

**EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN WEST BENGAL :**  
**A Review of Left Front Initiatives**

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### **CERTIFICATE**

Certified that this dissertation entitled "**Empowerment of Women in West Bengal : A Review of Left Front Initiatives**", Submitted by **Deepali Bhattacharya** in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** to this University has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University. This is her original work.  
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## Acknowledgements

Acknowledgement is the first thing in an academic work, but in a certain sense, it signifies the end of an association. One feels satisfied, though at the same time uneasy, to see the hand written manuscript in print, as the association almost becomes part of one's life. At this juncture one feels strangely dissatisfied as many unexplored areas remain which could have been explored. However, this dissatisfaction also kindles a desire to study the unexplored territories with a renewed vigour.

The topic "**Empowerment of Women in West Bengal : A Review of Left Front Initiatives**" was chosen with the aim of assessing empowerment in West Bengal which is politically and culturally a very sensitive state.

The first problem in this research was to select a model to study the empowerment process as the concept has become the keyword for every development activity in India. Therefore it is important for researchers to clarify the concept which questions the entire power structure of the society. Empowerment incorporates among everything a bargaining of power, expression and dignity to live. In the search for a model I was helped by Mrs.V.Mohini Giri (Chairperson, National Commission For Women) and Dr.Sreemati Chakrabarty (Delhi University). I am greatly indebted to Prof. Malini Bhattacharya [former M.P. CPI(M) ] Mrs. Shyamali Gupta (General Secretary, PBGMS), who despite their busy schedules gave me appointments and long interviews, without their help getting access to sources in Calcutta would have been difficult.

I encountered a major problem when I decided to do a data based analysis of the impact of Left Front Governmental policies on women. Being from the Humanities and Social Sciences backgrounds it was difficult for me to understand and even collect the data. Being a novice in statistical analysis, I had to struggle a lot, first to understand then to search material and incorporated them in my reasearch. For this, I am indebted to Prof. Amitabh Kundu (CSR,D,J.N.U) for the valuable guidance he gave me inspite of the fact that all the time he was surrounded by his students and admirers, before leaving for Germany.

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## **CHAPTER -1**

# THE CONCEPT OF EMPOWERMENT

The concept of empowerment originated in the "Popular Education" movement in Latin America (1970) with its roots in the 'conscientisation' theory of Paulo Friere. Though Friere did not talk about empowerment directly but the essence of both are in the similar spirit i.e. conscientization refers to learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to take actions against the oppressive elements of reality<sup>1</sup>. In the same tone empowerment is defined as

a process by which people, define, challenge and overcome the barriers in their lives. The essence of empowerment involves process of growth and development leading to deliberate efforts to bring about change<sup>2</sup>

The idea of empowerment expresses the interests of the disenfranchised groups of the society. Gender subordination and social construction of gender were a priori in feminist analysis and Popular Educations movement "The intention was to help women develop the skills to assert themselves ..... and to challenge oppressive behavior.....to build a network of women and men nationally [and internationally].....and to help build democratic

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<sup>1</sup>.Paulo Friere,The Pedagoqy of the Oppressed. Penguin Books U.K.1973.p.1.

<sup>2</sup>."Measuring Empowerment : Working towards a More Effective and Culturally Sensitive Evaluation of Women's Development Programme", a Proposal. Prepared by the Center for Population and Family Health, New York, 1991.P.7.

community and work organisation and strong civil society which can pressures for change<sup>3</sup>.

In 1980s, especially after the failure of 'Women In Development' policies and programmes and to bring any significant progress in women's life, empowerment became the most important agent for change. The schemes for poverty alleviation and welfare were sharply criticized for not addressing the structural factors that perpetuate the oppression and exploitation of poor women<sup>4</sup>. It was also seen that the approaches made no distinction between women's "condition" that is the material state in which the poor women live that is low wages, poor nutrition and lack of access to health care, education and training; and women's "position" i.e., the socio-economic status of women as compared to that of the men<sup>5</sup>. In a similar spirit, Young contended that by focussing on the daily requirements of women the policy makers overlooked the less visible but the original cause of women's subordination and inequality. She stressed on

[An] anlyasis of women's subordination and...the formulation of an alternative, more satisfactory set of arrangements to those which exist.....such as the abolition of the sexual division of labour, the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and child care, the removal of institutionalised forms of discriminations, the establishment of political equality, freedom of choice over child bearing and ....measures against male violence and control over women<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup>.Srilatha Batliwala, "The meaning of Women's Empowerment : New Concept from Action" ,Population Policies Reconsidered....(ed).Gita Sen and others,Harvard School of Public Health Boston - Massschusettes 1994

<sup>4</sup>.Caroline Moser, "Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and strategic needs". World Development.Vol.17.1989.p.10.

<sup>5</sup>.Maxine Moly neux, " Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's interests the state the evolution in Nicaragua",Feminist studies.Vol.11.No.2.1985. pp.227-254.

<sup>6</sup>. ibid p.233

Several Feminist Writers Supported and stressed upon a change in the policies so that women can be empowered. The concept soon was accepted all over the world especially in the South-Asian regions where condition of women was much beyond the grasp of the "Women In Development" approach.

**Development Alternative with Women for a New era. [DAWN]** ---- a south India based network of feminist scholars and women's group formed in Bangalore, 1984, was the first organisation in India which articulated empowerment in 1985 as a developmental approach for the first time. By 1990, it became a buzzword among feminists in India who emphasized on the question of women's reproductive rights. It was stressed that most approaches to contraception as well as women's health focus entirely on improved technologies and delivery systems for birth control, safe delivery, pre-natal or post-natal care and termination of fertility. But unfortunately, none of them question the discrimination against girls and women to their access to food and health care, male dominance in sexual relations, women's lack of control over their own sexuality, the gender division of labour that renders women little more than beasts of burden in many cultures, or the denial by many societies of women's right to determine the number of children they want<sup>7</sup>. All these issues were considered most important for women's right to live with dignity, in this background the concept was adopted in India.

A conceptual framework for understanding the empowerment of women must

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<sup>7</sup>.Srilatha Batliwala, The meaning .... p.129.

incorporate an analysis of the structural factors that create and reproduce the prevailing basis of gender oppression. In almost all the South-Asian countries the subordination of women is effected through the relationships that define the family and kinsgroups. Equally important role is played by the biased legal system and inheritance laws. Therefore, the process of empowerment must be understood in terms of an erosion of the capacities to these structures to ensure acquiescence, while individual women may transgress specifically defined boundaries<sup>8</sup>. Empowerment, thus must be conceptualized as a systematic weakening of the basis of gender subordination. Systematic weakening of the male domination would mean redefining the entire social system to give women their right place in the society.

Empowerment has become the mainstay of all social development programmes. The concept has been advocated as the only solution for high population growth rates, environmental degradation and the low status of women among others with the result that today there is no consensus in the meaning of the term, as it is frequently used in a way that it has become a vague concept devoid of any political meaning, sometimes as no more than a substitute word for integration or political participation the process whose parameters have already been set elsewhere<sup>9</sup>.

Empowerment should be looked upon as an objective of economic development for all the oppressed groups of the society ranging from unorganized workers and poor peasants

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<sup>8</sup>.ibid.p.131.

<sup>9</sup>.Manoranjan Mohanty, "On the Concept of Empowerment", Paper presented in National Seminar, Zakir Husain College. University of Delhi 1996.

to tribal people, dalits and women<sup>10</sup>. Mohanty calls it basically a Western discourse which has been brought as part of liberalisation discourse and used as a value response to the long standing demands of the struggling groups. He questions the sudden popularisation of the concept which is now seen as a part of the democratic discourses. He sees it as a process to govern and condition the lives of the poor and deprived sections from the above without giving them the opportunity to think for themselves.

The World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995<sup>11</sup> took empowerment as one of its prominent objectives, where the "Programme of Action" and the declarations linked up the concept with economic globalisation. Mohanty criticises the objectives as he feels "empowerment is not the goal, but something to be understood in the context of production and investment<sup>12</sup>". The declaration also doesn't ~~not~~ take into consideration the socio-economic structure, ideology and political processes which hinder the empowerment process thus showing their insensitivity towards the concept. Thus, it is more important to evolve a new definition rather than following the objectives and ideologies set by the west.

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<sup>10</sup>.ibid.

<sup>11</sup>. World Summit held March 1995, Copenhagen. The summit declares "we affirm that in both economic and social terms, the most productive policies and investments are those which empower people to maximize their capacities, resources and opportunities. "Recognize that empowering people particularly women, to strengthen their capacities is main objective of development and its principle resources. Empowerment requires the full participation of people in formulation, implementation and evaluation of decisions determining the functioning and the well-being of our societies. In Mohanty, M. 1995.

<sup>12</sup>.Mohanty, "on the concept....."

The only way to empower women is the bottom-up struggle of women's organisations who can reach the grassroots women and mobilise them. Any attempt to empower the grassroots women should come from the grassroots with the help of women's organisation at the grassroots level. However, it is asserted by many scholars that women's organizations generally do not exist in places where they are required most Kalapana Shah feels even if they exist they do not take interest in improving the position of the poorest women. She feels character only "they have social charity type character only"<sup>13</sup>. This precisely can be termed as the reason for failure of women's development specially in the rural areas "Mohanty partially supports this argument as he says that NGO's are more interested to be called a part of the "Grassroots Movements" interested in social transformation same way as the governmental agencies pick up the concept to fulfill their programme objective of development, for instance, the National Literacy Mission or Panchayati Raj or their Women's development schemes"<sup>14</sup>. Mohanty says in the same breath that this attitude of governmental agencies actually limit the empowerment process as the deprived sections lose their right to struggle in the society. The cooption of people's movements to carry on their autonomous campaigns have disenchanted people's faith towards the NGO's. The shift from struggle politics to NGO politics has become the focus which is detrimental for any social movement. Instead of emphasizing the formal institutional arrangements like 33 per cent reservation for women in Panchayats, which is of course essential, stress should be given on transformation of the entire power structure within the society otherwise empowerment will be a symbolic

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<sup>13</sup>. Loes Schenk Sandbergen, "Empowerment of Women : Its Scope in a bilateral Development Project" Economic and Political Weekly. April 27, 1991.

<sup>14</sup>. Manoranjan, Mohanty, ..... 1996

notion which entrusts power to a section without concretising it in definite spheres<sup>15</sup>.

For a thorough understanding of the concept, it is essential to see empowerment from a feminist theories perspective. It is important here to discuss the Feminist theories especially the transformation from classical approach to the present post-modernist approach, as these theories provide the base for the present gender approach.

## **THE CHANGING FEMINIST THEORIES :**

Gender discrimination is the chief concern of feminists of all categories, from the classicists to the post-modernists. Though the theories have changed manifold but the three classical position still remain most significant. The Liberal feminists who focus on individual rights and on the concepts of equality, justice and equal opportunities, where legal and social policy changes are seen as tools for engineering women's equality with men; The Marxist feminists or socialist feminists who are concerned with women's oppression as it is tied to forms of capitalist exploitation of labour and where women's paid and unpaid work is analysed in relation to its functions within the capitalist economy; The Radical feminists attempt to formulate new ways of theorising women's relationship with men. They stress on the various control devices used by men to control women i.e., violence, heterosexuality and reproduction. They visualise men as responsible for women's oppression.

The second wave of feminism in mid-1970's brought in the first change in feminist theories. Prominent theorists of this era were G.Yates, Barbara Deckard, Amanda Sebestyn, M. McFadden among several others.

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<sup>15</sup>. *ibid.*



Yates divided the ideologies of women's movements in three categories depending on their attitude towards men<sup>16</sup>. First, the women's liberationists who argued for separatism; second, the androgynist who believed women and men should be equal; and the third group is represented by those who believe women and men are equal. But, this categorization was severely criticized for overlooking the socialist viewpoint it was especially criticized for having an American outlook.

Barbara Deckard's distinctions within feminists : Socialist feminists, Radical feminists, women's rights feminist became the standard way of conceptualising the differences within feminism. She asserted there is a similarity between the socialist and Radical feminists as the ideal society for both of them is much similar i.e., the Socialist feminists feel "the system" to be the main problem. Similarly the Radicals feel Patriarchy to be their biggest enemy. Amanda sebestyn feels Socialist and Radical feminists both have the same enemy and marriage between the two will be most acceptable<sup>17</sup>.

More ideas were put forward in 1980's by Alison Jaggar, Sylvia Walby, Valerie Bryson, Jackie Stacey, Christine Delphy, Diana Leonard among the galaxy of writers. Alison Jaggar created a line of distinction between the Socialist and the Marxist Feminists. To her the Socialist Feminists were less economically deterministic than the Marxist Feminists.

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<sup>16</sup>. Yates, G.-- 1975, *What Women Want : the ideas of the movements* Cambridge. Harvard University.

<sup>17</sup>. Mary, Maynard,. "Beyond the Big -Three : The Development of Feminist Theory into the 1990's " Women's Historical Review, Vol.4.No.3.1995.

Sylvia Walby at the same time propounded 'dual system theory' and attempted to put both Marxist and Radical feminists in the same category. She forwarded Barbara Deckard's idea that Capitalism and Patriarchy are not two separate systems but one system which plays an important role in structuring of gender relations. In this era, feminism moved forward with more categories of feminists other than the "Big three"<sup>18</sup> : The Psychoanalysis, Post-modernism, Black, Lesbian movements etc. But these categorisations, according to Valarie Bryson and Mary Maynard, have put feminist theories in terms of narrow stereotypes, rather than as complex and evolving theoretical positions<sup>19</sup>. The chief problem of these theories is the ethnocentrism in writing. In this period the writings of Blacks and Asian writers were ignored though some of the Asian writers gained immense popularity in the west. Further, these narrow stereotypes pre-defined the work of writers forcing them to adhere to one ideology or views. This crippled the free and independent thinking process.

In 1990's the focus changed Psychoanalysis and Post-modernism with the chief proponents Jacques Lacan, Mary Maynard, N. Chodorow, M. Barrett among several others. The ideas of Foucault and Derrida influenced the feminist thinking of 90's immensely.

The post-modernists feel the discourses of gender cannot be taken in their face-value. Their meanings in the lives of specific women are never guaranteed. Thus, the discourses should be deconstructed which makes gender an unproblematic category in order to see how

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<sup>18</sup>.ibid

<sup>19</sup>.Valarie Bryson, *Feminist Political Theory* 1994.

women's subjectivity is diversely constructed<sup>20</sup>. Many feminists feel post modernism holds much freedom for women than the early ideas, there is also a move to break the categorisation of systems -- patriarchy, capitalism or male-defined liberal democracy as they feel such connotations restricts the women's ability to resist, struggle and act. Maynard says, instead of Patriarchy the stress now should be on the patriarchal relations, which means women and men can never have uniform or homogenous relations they can indeed be contradictory. They also reject any claim that there can be a specific cause of women's oppression or subordination says Barrett, be it male violence, capitalist needs for docile labour force or the discriminatory laws. Every individual experience does not necessarily relate to power relations within the society, sometimes there can be situations where women are not oppressed at all. Post-modernists also do not accept the previous feminist analysis that women and girls, have uniform and negative experiences and stress more on the fact that women are variously positioned in specific contexts<sup>21</sup>. In Berrett's words this shift in social sciences is a movement away from a "preoccupation with things and towards a more cultural sensibility of the salience of words".<sup>22</sup>.

The western feminist theories have immense influence on the feminism of Asian countries especially the South-Asian region, which are fast emerging as developed nations after a long colonial past, women in the South Asia are often unaware of their rights, illiteracy, high rate of unemployment, they are often victims of bride burning, dowry and other forms of exploitation. Their individuality and the right to live with dignity, are often at

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<sup>20</sup>.Mary Maynard, " Beyond the Big Three ...."

<sup>21</sup>. *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup>. *ibid.*

stake in these societies.

WID approach was adopted to uplift these women. Various programmes and policies were adopted but, Naila Kabeer feels all these programmes could be implemented either partially or failed because there was resistance at the grassroots level against the policies like family planning programmes, literacy programmes etc. It is not that the protest came from the menfolk but women actively supported their men as they were not convinced<sup>23</sup>. Hence, empowerment became the keyword after the failure of women in development approach. The term was popularised for all those feminist organizations and governmental agencies seeking to move beyond women in development.

Empowerment is a concept which consists of the various gender needs. Moser divides gender needs into strategic gender need and practical gender needs. Strategic gender needs are those which are formulated from the "analysis of women's subordination to men"<sup>24</sup>. Strategic gender needs are : abolition of sexual division of labour; removal of discrimination such as right to own property or land, or access to credit, decrease of the burden of domestic labour and child care; political equality, etc. These needs are feminist by their nature and so is the level of consciousness required to struggle for them<sup>25</sup>. The practical gender needs are those which arise from the concrete condition which women experience. These needs are for the human survival. They don't challenge the prevailing form of subordinations of women,

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<sup>23</sup>. Naila, Kabeer, Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought, Kali For Women, New Delhi. 1994. p.7.

<sup>24</sup>. Caroline Moser, .....p.10.

<sup>25</sup>. Loes Schenk-Sandbergen -- EPW. 1991.

even though they directly arise out of them<sup>26</sup>.

Loes Schenk -- Sandbergen says "empowerment of women can only be realized through strategic gender needs and interests"<sup>27</sup>. But, at the same time it is the practical gender needs which pave the way for the strategic gender needs<sup>28</sup>. The Chief problem that crops up at this stage is the measurement of empowerment as there is no set tool to measure the process and achievements of empowerments.

## **MEASURING EMPOWERMENT :**

Empowerment is taken as a force behind profound social and behavioral change in the society but at the same time it is rarely stated as programme objective and virtually the evaluation efforts are missing.[Paulo Friere]<sup>29</sup>.

Any attempt to measure empowerment meets with a variety of challenges. Firstly, empowerment being a new connotation, in the South-Asian context, is not understood in the proper light. Secondly, there are no set tools for the measurement of empowerment<sup>30</sup>. However, the Center for Population and Family Health, New York, has developed a conceptual framework to examine empowerment. The framework considers nine

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<sup>26</sup>. MOser, Caroline, Page 11..

<sup>27</sup>. Loes Schenk-Sandbergen.....p.WS-28.

<sup>28</sup>. Maxine Molyneux,p.233,

<sup>29</sup>.Paulo Friere, ...p.Intro.

<sup>30</sup>.Measuring Empowerment..... A Proposal 1991.p.4

inter related components for empowerment i.e, the change in these nine components reflect empowerment.

**Empowerment can be judged by :**

- i) Ways of feeling : Feeling of competence  
Feeling of esteem  
Feeling of Control
- ii) Ways of thinking : Knowledge of the environment  
Critical consciousness  
Aspirations.  
Problem solving
- iii) Ways of Behaving : Autonomy  
Determination

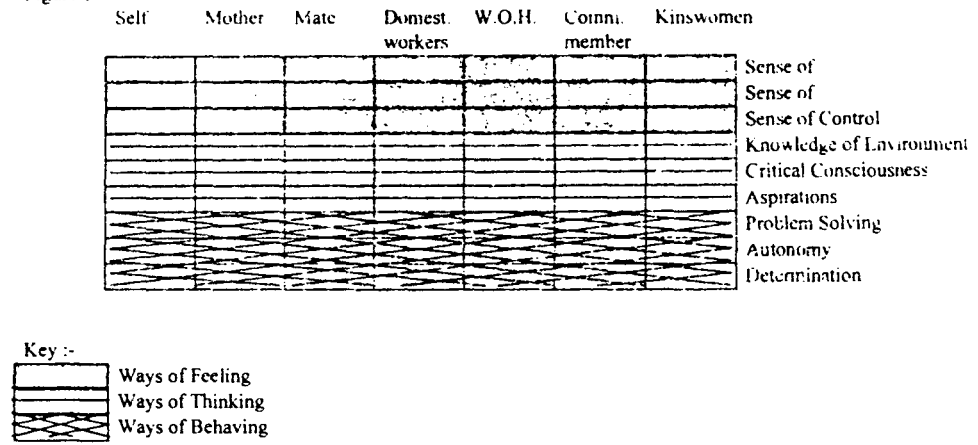
Empowerment process is directly related to the variety of roles played by women. The opportunities and obstacles to women's empowerment may differ from place to place depending on the social and cultural settings. Christie Oppong's model for understanding women's context is significant in this regard. She divided women's role in seven parts : Self, mother, mate, domestic worker, worker outside the home, Kinswomen and community member<sup>31</sup>.

Figure No.1

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<sup>31</sup>. A Proposal, 1991.

Figure 1



This figure shows clearly the intricacies of measuring empowerment as empowerment does not only involves : ways of feeling, thinking and behaving but in actual analysis it also involves different roles played by women in different cultural settings. It is also seen that when empowerment affects one domain it is automatically channelised to other domains of life.

On operationalising these indicators, precisely the process of empowerment can be studied through six indicators :

- i) Sense of security and vision of a future,
- ii) Mobility and visibility,
- iii) Ability to earn a living,
- iv) Decision-making power within the household,
- v) Ability to interact effectively in the public sphere,
- vi) Participation in the non-family groups<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup>.Syed Hashemi and Sidney Schuler, "Operationalising the Indicators of Empowerment", Draft Paper on Rural Credit, Women's Empowerment and Reproductive Health and Fertility in Bangladesh, BIDS, Bangladesh.

These indicators are the direct outcome of empowerment process. A discussion on how these indicators effect the life of common people is given below to show how empowerment in one domain affect the other domains of women's life, be in rural areas or in the urban settings of any particular society.

### **Sense of security and vision of future :**

Empowerment process starts with women's capability to own property i.e., productive assets, like, home, land, livestock etc.It leads to point where a women do not fear abandonment by husbands or at old age. It also enhances their position in the family. The communication power increases and women get appreciated for their efforts and initiatives. The men in such households help women in housework. They get relative freedom from physical violence. They can even initiate divorce proceedings if situation arises. The behavior towards daughters in the household goes through change i.e., no discrimination in food allocation, education and health care, they are not married off at a tender age. This gives women better share in life.

### **Mobility and Visibility :**

Mobility of women can be judged by their activities outside the home i.e., women visit banks, join in group meetings, training sessions, they go to pick up relief supplies, marketing, use the medical facilities provided by the state, attend social events, works in their fields, They often get employed either inside or outside the household. This in turn increases



visibility and assertiveness. As a result they do not leave the roads when men appear which is a common practice in rural areas. They talk directly to men while selling their own products in the markets, bargaining and they also fight injustice, etc. Women's organizations or Mahila Samitis play a significant role in their efforts. The organisations mobilise women to take collective actions against various injustices.

### **Earning a Living :**

Earning a living outside the home as well as working in the unorganised sectors, for instance, making bidis at home or the ability to run their own business collectively through a Mahila Samiti or independently. The way they can support their families partially or totally, and do not depend on their husbands for daily expenditure. This gives them a sense of pride and security.

### **Decision - making power within the household :**

Empowerment gives women a confidence and ability to use their own money like, participation in the allocation of resources, food and other basic necessities namely, education, health, nutrition etc. They take the decision, regarding what to grow in their land which is generally considered a male prerogative. They become independent to take decisions regarding production, sale and consumption within and outside their household. They also gain reproductive rights i.e., to decide the family planning methods to opt for adopt, and adoption

of contraception -- to decide the number of children the couple want to have and further they do not accept their husband's or in-law's dictatorship regarding their lives.

### **Ability to interact effectively in the public sphere :**

Awareness of the legal status i.e., the inheritance rights, divorce laws etc. are important areas which women come to know by interacting with fellow workers, friends or the mahila samitis. This increases their knowledge regarding the availability of the existing as well as new family planning methods, medical treatments, inputs for agriculture and other productions, veterinary services, etc. These women also provide community services as health and family planning workers. Their participation in credit programmes widens their perspective regarding business and money lending. These women do not get cheated by money-lenders easily further they also learn how to get redressal in case of injustice or exploitation like low wages, or sexual advances of fellow workers or bosses, etc.

### **Participation in non-family groups :**

Women acquire an identity outside the family as a job holder, income earner or as member of a women's groups like setting the agendas, managing group activities, interacting with the outside world as a group, joining the forums for creating a sense of solidarity with other women, participation in NGO programmes as members, leaders, etc. Besides this taking other leadership roles in collective economic activities, in social activities, in charitable activities or disaster relief, etc. They also actively advise others on their economic activities. They also determine who gets loans, pressurise others to repay loans, creating and managing

group saving funds, collective farming. They take group actions to make the system work, to negotiate higher wages for access to resources, to resist being cheated or forced to give bribes, to combat family violence, violence of employers or other villagers, policies or state agencies, etc. Their position in the society improves by their active participation.

The power thus accrued corresponds to the various resources they control and the extent to which they can shape the prevailing ideologies, whether social, religious or political. The control, in turn, confers the power of decision-making. the powerlessness of women, particularly poor women over their bodies, labour and skills, makes it difficult for them to take their own decisions. **The process of challenging the existing power relations and gaining greater control over the sources of power, may be termed as empowerment.** It involves a range of activities from individual self-assertion to collective resistance, protest and mobilization that challenge the existing power relations in the society. **It is therefore a process aimed at changing the nature and direction of systemic forces which marginalise women and other disadvantaged sections in given society<sup>33</sup>.** Any attempt to bring in this change meets resistance from the patriarchal forces and if the status and material condition of women's lives is to change at all, "the solution must penetrate just as deeply"<sup>34</sup>.

### Methodology :

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<sup>33</sup>. Srilatha Batliwala,..... p.130

<sup>34</sup>. *ibid.*p.130

The present research intends to study empowerment of women in West Bengal Specially in the light of Left Front government's policies and programmes towards women. The stress will be on secondary sources as well as some primary sources, like, the Census reports, Annual reports and interviews with some prominent women leaders and activists of the Left Front government.

Fig. 2.

Activity	Process	Outcome
Credit Programme	Sense of esteem	Health and
	sense of competence	Family Planning
Formal Education	sense of control	behavioral
Non-formal Education	knowledge of	change.
	environment	
'Employment	critical	Political/Social
Job training programmes	consciousness	Participation.
Health & Family Planning	Autonomy	Economic gains
Rural Development		Community
	Aspirations	Participation
programmes		Status/Role
Women's Groups	Problems solving	change

The above research model seems ideal for the present research. As for the present

research the different policies, programmes and achievement of the Left Front government in the light of Education, Employment, Health and Family Planning, Rural development will be our chief concern, as these are looked upon, as "control variables" which are essential for understanding the process of empowerment.

**Empowerment is seen both as a process and an outcome.** While attention to outcome is crucial to the understanding of the significance of empowerment, it is the study of the process that influences the state policies and programmes towards empowering the deprived individuals and communities.

As the figure. 2. emphasizes, the process of empowerment is stimulated by the activities or agents which in turn leads to a variety of outcomes. Infact, the processes and outcomes are both a correlation rather than sequentially occurring relationship.

Due to limited scope of this research there is less stress on the outcomes as it requires intense field work which is not possible within the short span of time. Thus, here an attempt has been made to study the various factors which directly affects the empowerment process like, education, health and family welfare, employment of women. These will be studied in the light of Left Front policies and programmes which have been implemented in the state since 1977. The study intends to see how a political party formulates and implements policies for the upliftment of masses, with special references to the impact of policies on women. It is generally seen policies have a political reason behind them, the implementation part is also highly politically charged. The real acid test, however, begins when the impacts of the programmes on the said population is studied. Thus, empowerment can be termed as a social

phenomenon which has a direct link with the culture and social systems, than being a mere political phenomenon, it is often connected with.

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## **Chapter - II**

## POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES OF THE LEFT FRONT GOVERNMENT FOR WOMEN

The present chapter deals with the various policies that the Left Front government has adopted since 1977 when it came to power for the first time. The policies discussed herewith, directly affect women's lives and their upliftment in a society in which women suffer various forms of exploitation inside as well as outside the household.

Left Front government since 1977 has given stability to the state. Stability of the government is most important factor in the development of states. As only a stable government can effectively implement its policies and programmes and also faces less resistance from the opposing groups thus the ruling party can follow its ideology in totality [SIC]. The Left movement in West Bengal has been ardent since the 1960's with it taking a violent turn in the late 60's under the ultra left movement led by CPI(ML), the movement popularly known as "Naxalite movement", severely disrupted the normal life in the state. Restoration of normalcy and peace became the most important task for the Left Front government in 1977-78, since then it has dominated in four consecutive elections forming a left coalition with CPI(M) as the leader of the coalition.

The main support base of the Left Front were the small and medium landowners in 1979 along with the landless peasantry and industrial workers. Women's consciousness and



activism in the CPI(M) was striking since then, observed Amrita Basu. Basu, however, says that the Paschim Banga Ganatantrik Mahila Samiti (PBGMS), which is the women's organisation of CPI(M), had little autonomy in relation to CPI(M). It mainly involved women in "constructive activities". It is true of all the movements i.e. women's movement becomes a part of any other movement and is subdued under the aieges of big movements like, the national movement or the communist movement. This is especially true in case of Left Front Government which follows the Marxist ideology and women's question is a part of the class struggle under the Marxist framework.

Thus, this particular research intends to see empowerment process in west Bengal under this focus. As west Bengal presents a picture of an alternative experience i.e. a communist rule under the parliamentary democratic system, it attracts researchers to study the functioning of the state government.

The policies and programmes adopted by the Front have been discussed in this chapter. Though there is no clear cut policy for women in the state but, the various policies have stressed on women's problems and eradication of these problems are considered by the state government (as said by Dr. Malini Bhattacharya to the researcher in a interview).

## **EDUCATION**

West Bengal, which is one of the pioneers in women's education, also has a history of strong political activities. The political activism reached its height during the Naxalite

movement in sixties and engulfed the entire education system in its smoke. The result was violence, killing, mass copying and irregular examination system. Education suffered most with loss of academic years by school, college and university students. After coming to power in 1977, Left Front came under tremendous pressure from its intelligentsia to normalise and regularise the education system. It adopted remedial policies to reform the entire education structure of the state. The reform measures did not bear much fruits as there is not much change from its earlier position which the government itself realised and an Education commission was set up to study the various aspects of education from primary level to the university level. The state government claims to have implemented the commissions recommendations since 1992. Its results can be judged only after it is fully implemented in the coming years.

The state government allocates 23% of its budget for education which is much higher than the centres allocation i.e., 2.5% of the total budget. Since 1975-76, when the education budget was 1140 million, the state budget allocation has increased manifold i.e. in 1991-92 the fund allocation stood at Rs. 16900 million.<sup>1</sup>

This is partly because literacy movement has become ardent in the past decade and the nation is paying more stress on "Education for All" and other policies.

The number of educational institutions in state has increased in the past sixteen years as shown in the figure 1.

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<sup>1</sup>.The Challenges of an alternative experience. Left Front govt. in West Bengal. West Bengal state Committee CPI (M), Alimuddin Street., Calcutta, 1993 Page 36.

Fig. 1 Number of Educational Institutions in the state

Level	1975-76	1991-92
Primary	40,941	51,021
Secondary Schools	7,874	8,443
Higher Secondary Schools	695	1,574
State University	7	8

Source : Introducing West Bengal.<sup>2</sup>

The government adopted many policies and programmes for mass and adult education which are basically the national policies for literacy. The policies and programmes of the state government towards education should be seen in this light.

### **Mass literacy Programmes :**

**Total Literacy Programme** : TLC is one of the most important governmental programme for literacy. It is based on the principle of mass mobilization in rural as well as urban areas.

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<sup>2</sup>.Introducing West Bengal. Information and Cultural Affairs Department, Government of West Bengal. 1994. p.75.

In this programme the Zilla Saksharta Samity and panchayats plays a significant role. The TLC lays great emphasis" on women's literacy. Women's literacy, according to the sate govt. declarations enthusiastically to these programmes than their male counterparts. The educational department report that in four district----Bardhaman, Bankura, Birbhum and North 24 Parganas--where the targeted group of women as 20.34 lakhs, 12.92 lakhs have already become literate by the National Literacy Mission norms. This has enabled a large number of neo-literates to become members of panchyat against the thirtythree percent reservation for women. 50 percent literacy has already been achieved, claims the state education department since the 1991 census<sup>3</sup>.

**Post-Literacy Programmes** :- The state embarked upon this programme with the objectives of ---starting a bridge course for revitalizing the neo-literates, continuation of learning activities by setting up of learning centres and proceeding library facilities and reading rooms facilities etc. and application of literacy skills to actual living and working conditions. The strategy that the government undertook for post-literacy and continuing education programmes are as follows:-

- 1) In the post-literacy phase, the drive for non-school going children, in the age group of 5-8 is undertaken side by side with the post literacy programme.
- 2) There is a provision for running the Basic literacy courses for the left out learners who couldnot achieve the literacy standard of National Literacy Mission.

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<sup>3</sup>.Introducing West Bengal. Govt. of West Bengal, 1994.  
Page - 78.

3) The new literates, in the age group of 9-14 years, are induced to join the course of three cycles, each of six months duration to achieve the literacy standard of class IV.

4) The adult neo-literates, in the age group of 15 and above, are similarly pursued to join a consolidation course of six months duration to consolidate their literacy achievements. After that a six months package is also arranged for them for the improvement of this educational status and educational skills.

5) The post literacy strategy also suggests running of Adult High School for persons in all age groups of neo-literates who wish to appear in Madhyamik Examination (Higher secondary) of the formal system of education.<sup>4</sup>

The West Bengal government provides free education to girls upto class V. These girls are also given free books and school uniforms (especially to the tribal girls). Many incentive measures are adopted in bid to create an interest in studies like serving light refreshments in schools at noon, giving money attendance in certain areas, education in different languages to impart education in vernacular. The government sources claim that approximately sixteen lakh girls have developed interest in studies. With a rate of increase by 64 percent, West Bengal secured first position in India for the spread of education among females in 1985.<sup>5</sup>

**Adult and Non-formal Education** :- This sphere of education is for those who could not avail the opportunities of education under the stress of poverty or had to leave halfway

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<sup>4</sup>.Introducing West Bengal. Page-79.

<sup>5</sup>.Role of left front government in the Progress of Women. Page-9.

avail the opportunities of education under the stress of poverty or had to leave halfway through, this form has been taken upon on large scale. There are 60 such projects and 630 centres for adult woman. There are approximately 8,330 women trainers. 23 women project officers, and 137 women supervisors all over the state<sup>6</sup>. Since 1986, a **Department of Mass Education** is also functioning in the state. The department involves many voluntary organisations in this effort. In 1989, a **women's vocational literacy scheme** was introduced 8000 women in the age group of 15-35 became literate under this scheme<sup>7</sup>. The department chalked out new programmes for the absolute eradication of illiteracy. In the state, 600 centres of non-formal education are running only for women. Educationally backward girls are being taught under these schemes and finally are brought under the purview of formal educations. In the years 1988-89, 4,20,000 girls were educated under these schemes<sup>8</sup>.

**Library** : - A library system has been evolved for women who are unable to attain the level of education even under non-formal educational scheme and adult literacy schemes due to socio-economic reasons. In 1979, a library law was embarked upon and since then 216 libraries have been set for such women<sup>9</sup>. These libraries have been extended to different parts in the state including the rural areas. Thus enabling common people to utilize these state given facilities.

**Higher Education** : - The state government is often quoted for taking interest in women's

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<sup>6</sup>.ibid. Page-11.

<sup>7</sup>.ibid, Page-12.

<sup>8</sup>.ibid, Page-12.

<sup>9</sup>. ibid, Page-13.

higher education. It has been reported that five lakhs girl students have entered the field of higher education in the last ten years<sup>10</sup>. The growth of students at the school going level has been 121% which the state claims to be more than the national average. At the Higher secondary level, the percentage increase is 256% compared to the growth rate of 86% at the all-India level<sup>11</sup>. However, this claim is debatable, especially after reading the table (Fig) showing the number of educational institutions in the state.

At the higher educations level, the state suffers from paucity of funds as the centre, they claim, doesnot allocate enough funds even though education is in the concurrent list of the Indian constitution. More than 70 colleges have been established in the state, new courses have been introduced in 250 colleges<sup>12</sup>. The government claims to have achieved a lot in women's education in its policy documents, which \needs to be seen in the proper light.

The government's literacy campaign works in co-operation with mass organisations, especially the **West Bengal Literacy Committee** which functions under the chairmanship of the chief minister of state. The state government claims to be self-critical of its own educational policies and has set up an **Education Commission** which submitted its report in 1992 and has recommended several changes in the state policies<sup>13</sup>. These recommendations

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<sup>10</sup>.ibid. Page-14.

<sup>11</sup>.The Challenges of an alternative Experience : The Left Front govt. in West Bengal. West Bengal state Committee CPI(M) 1993. Calcutta. Page-36.

<sup>12</sup>.ibid. Page-36.

<sup>13</sup>.ibid. Page-37.

are yet to be implemented to its full extent. But, it is expected to bring change in the entire educational set-up in the state.

## **Health and Family Welfare**

Health is sphere where women are generally the suffers in the whole south-Asian region. This area is one of the most important indicator of women's empowerment as well as the neglected area. The more women are empowered they become more aware and assertive towards their health and family welfare measures. Women's awareness and accessibility to family welfare schemes is the most important state responsibility.

The state government is said to have adopted a pro-people health and family welfare policy. As a result of which women's awareness towards health has increased in the state and they are participating actively in these programmes since the past ten years. Various programmes have been opted from time to time to educate women and help them, especially the rural women, in the pre-natal and post-natal periods.

Since 1985-86 Mother-child care project, under which mothers and small babies are given vaccinations and preventive injections, has taken-off well in the state. In 1977-78, 42,951 families were brought under the fold of this scheme and the number increased upto



4,18,082 by 1987-88<sup>14</sup>. The state got second position in India in the year 1984 and was awarded one crore rupees, for its family planning efforts<sup>15</sup>.

The state has also employed 65,000 women health employees for the implementation of its various programmes<sup>16</sup>. The state has taken up the **Immunisation and child Development** projects which is now called the **Integrated Child Development** programme in the state but it has not been extended throughout the state. The ICDS undertakes health care and awareness of pregnant women and girls. Under these programme women are taught to care for themselves and their young children. Under these schemes, the target groups are helped during the pregnancy and are told about the health, hygienic and nutrition by the health workers. Children register women who are in the early stages of pregnancy and keep in touch with these women till their babies are six years old. The health workers conduct meeting with their targeted groups and help them in adopting family planning measures they also act as mediators for convincing the husbands and in-laws of the targeted women. They also help the girls and marriageable age in understanding their sexuality and reproductive rights.

The government claims to have benefitted 13.25 lakhs of women and children and have provided jobs to 35,000 women in the state. These health workers are given an

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<sup>14</sup>.The Role of Left Front Govt. in the progress of Women. Govt. of West Bengal. Page-16.

<sup>15</sup>.ibid Page-16.

<sup>16</sup>.ibid. Page. 16.

allowance of Rs. 200-500. At present around 150 such projects are running in the state<sup>17</sup>.

## Social Welfare

Under the social welfare schemes, the state has 1 homes for destitute and deserted women. These women are the students of tailoring are given Rs. 50/- per month as stipend. After the completion of their training these women are given Rs. 500/- to utilize their skills<sup>18</sup>. The state also encourages dowry free marriages. Widows are given monthly widow allowances in certain areas, but, these have not been extended all over the state. The state also has 8 working girls hostels for single women and intends to construct more hostels to accommodate a large number of single women.

The Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961 has been implemented in the state. In the social welfare administration, the district officer acts as the Dowry Resistance officer. There are anti-oppression cells in the state. The state government also has representatives who on behalf of the Social Welfare Board assist police in dowry cases. The state sponsored Mahila Samities also play significant role in its. The Board works in close co-operation with different women's organisations in the state<sup>19</sup>.

The Paschim Banga Ganatantrik Mahila Samiti [PBGMS] is the women's wing of CPI (M). It functions in close proximity with the left front government. It also works as pressure

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<sup>17</sup>. *ibid.* Page-18.

<sup>18</sup>. This is date of 1986-97. *ibid* Page-17.

<sup>19</sup>. *ibid* Page-24.

groups in issues related to women. It has a wide support base in the state with its membership at 22,15,372 million in 1992<sup>20</sup>. The PBGMS registers cases of crimes against women and extends help to women in distress by effective counselling. PBGMS has its offices in rural as well as urban areas all over the state. It also actively support its members who contest panchyat elections. PBGMS also publishes a journal which has wide circulation in the state called 'Ek SHATH: Besides PBGMS and small mahilamandals the state also has women's commission which functions in the state under the central government statute. It started functioning since 1994. It is important to notice here that though the state government makes such tall claims but its implementation of these claims is not very encouraging. The measures that the government has undertaken for social welfare have a very less impact as they have not been properly implemented and extended to every block. Thus, benefitting only handful of women leaving a large section in the lurch. This has also been admitted by ardent left front activists like Shyamali Gupta and Malini Bhattacharya<sup>21</sup>.

### Employment

Organised Sector : The State government claims to encourage a large number of educated woman to get employed and earn their own living. A state report shows on increase of 9.8% in this sphere till 1988<sup>22</sup>. The left front has also adopted the policy of equal wages for equal

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<sup>20</sup>.PGBMS report on membership. PBGMS. Alimuddin Street. Calcutta.

<sup>21</sup>.Shyamali Gupta is the General Secretary PBGMS, Interview, December 1995.  
Dr. Malini Bhattacharya was the M.P. Lok Sabha 1991, She lost in the 1996 Elections. Interview ,March, 1996.

<sup>22</sup>.The Role of Left Front Govt.....Page-14.

amount of work for both women and men in the state. But, it has not been implemented all over the state pertaining to the resistance from the employers. The government also claims to have created congenial environment for women's employment<sup>23</sup>. Women are also encouraged to participate in the trade union movements and their interests are taken care of by the trade union. State government also runs creches for the working mothers active help of voluntary organisations i.e. at present approximately 74 creches are run all over the state<sup>24</sup>.

**Unorganised sectors** :- unorganised sector is where organisational rules and control measures are not extendable. It includes the women who work in households, weavers who make carpets, cotton Birhi makers, Agarbatti or match sticks makers, etc. These woman are given a certain amount of raw material and after date the employer collects back the finished products. Often the entire household gets involved in this work including the small children in the family. These jobs are easily accessible to women and quite often they get exploited like, they are paid a meager amount as wages, they often work day and night to compete work and in certain cases work under hazardous condition. Maximum number of child labor work in these unorganised sectors.

The state labor department has opened many creches for women who work in plantation activities. The Plantation Labor Act of 1951 has also been implemented under which these women are provided accommodations, medical treatment, creches and water

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<sup>23</sup>. *ibid*, Page-16.

<sup>24</sup>. *ibid*, Page-19.

facilities. The owners who do not abide by these compulsory provisions are punished by the state<sup>25</sup>.

**Small and cottage Industries** :- In a bid to improve the situation in this sphere the left front is encouraging women's employment in these industries. For instance, handloom, woollen and leather industries have maximum number of women as employees<sup>26</sup>. The state has opened many centres for women where they can sell their products. The government claims that in districts like Howrah 80% workers employment in the jobs of mat and door-mat makers are women and are working in an organised<sup>27</sup>.

The state government provides financial assistance and helps in improving the technical know-how. Under the **Entrepreneurship Development Programme** many entrepreneurs have been trained in the districts in collaboration with technical and financial institutions like **Electronic Testing and Development Centre, WEBCON and Small Industries Service**. Women and SC/ST artisans have been covered under this programme. The state government also provides incentives on fixed capital, in the backward areas of the state, as also for varied other items like electricity, captive power-generating sets, bank-interests, etc.

**Fisheries** :- Women in the coastal areas like Digha and Kakdwip are trained for prawn collection, peeling the skin of prawn and making fishing nets. The department of fisheries

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<sup>25</sup>.ibid. p.19.

<sup>26</sup>.ibid. p. 23.

<sup>27</sup>.ibid. p. 23.

take up projects and involve these women from time to time providing them employment<sup>28</sup>. These measures adopted by the state govt. has encouraged laks of woman to participate actively in income generation and self-reliance since 1977.

## **Rural Development**

**Rural Employment** :- In the sphere of rural employment the state involves Panchayats of every block to co-ordinate various rural development programmes like, JRY, IRDP, DPAP, etc. The government emphasises on integrating various programmes by decentralisation of planning to the block level. The merit of such dcentralisation consists of formulation of programmes on the basis of available local resources and in the light of local needs. These block plans are then integrated into a district plan. The planning commission has also stressed on this district level planning. Since 1985-86, the state has taken initiative to introduce district planning<sup>29</sup>.

The state government's district level planning has gone from 26% of the state plan in 1986-87 to 48% in 1989-90 to over 50% in 1992-93. The government also decided to plough back to the districts 50 percent of the revenue collected in excess of the target set<sup>30</sup>.

**The District Planning Committee Plays most important role in the rural employment**

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<sup>28</sup>.ibid. p. 24.

<sup>29</sup>.Introducing West Bengal op.cit. p. 68.

<sup>30</sup>.ibid. p. 69.

programmes. The committee is generally aware of the funds available by various government departments other than IRDP, JRY, or DPAP. The overall emphasis is on the optimising of benefits and creating durable assets and employment opportunities for the entire community<sup>31</sup>.

The state government improved the wage rate for the agricultural workers. The daily wage rate in the cash and kind is about Rs. 26.95 in 1994<sup>32</sup>. The state has also effectively implement programmes like National Rural Employment Programme [NREP], Rural landless Employment Guarantee Programme [RLEGP], Integrated Rural Development Programme [IRDP]. The government claims that by 1987-88, the percentage of women beneficiaries through IRDP was 33.27 percent it was much higher than the national percentage which was 22.64 percent<sup>33</sup>.

The government has granted finances to an autonomous body called **Comprehensive Area Development Corporation** which given shape to various developmental programmes. Most of its projects are meant for the benefit of women in west Bengal. CADC takes steps to meet the basic necessities for the rural people like expansion of education, health measures and cottage industries [many small wool knitting mills, factories for weaving mats, door mats, dokras, etc., tailor shops. husking machines have been set up in different districts]. The corporation encourages women in getting employment in these projects and also helps in selling their products in the markets.

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<sup>31</sup>.ibid. p. 69.

<sup>32</sup>.ibid. p. 72.

<sup>33</sup>.ibid. p. 73.

Since 1982 the CADC started a "Women in Industrial Development" projects, namely, SIAD, in the less developed areas of the state<sup>34</sup>.

The project includes, health, drainage, baby creches, non-formal training and money-earning schemes. The responsibility of implementing this project is on the Panchayat Pradhan, Mahila Samiti members and Voluntary health workers. The government claims that several women have benefitted through this programme. The statistics they have put forward are-- between 1982-88, 87,094 women and babies are brought under this project<sup>35</sup>. They have adopted many nutrition schemes and helped women to become self-sufficient by working in Poultry, Piggery, by growing vegetables, rearing sheeps, pigs, chicken, etc. SIAD also actively took up the responsibility of women's awareness. the state government acknowledges the role played by various Mahila Samities for women's awareness of their rights and capabilities.

**Social forestry** :- The state has implemented many forest projects for the rural women. Since 1977, schemes for economic up liftment were taken all over the state through forestry, thus improving the rural economy. From 1984 onwards the seedling cultivation schemes were started. The women selected for this purpose are generally from the poorest strata of the society and are known as Kisan Nursury beneficiaries. In the Howrah district, in 1989-90 around 82% of the plant workers were women. Smokeless ovens are also distributed to

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<sup>34</sup>.The Role of Left Front Govt op.cit. p. 22.

<sup>35</sup>.ibid. p. 22.



women under the forest conservation schemes<sup>36</sup>. Several women now earn their livelihood by collecting leaves and firewood, thus they are involved in forest preservation. For this purpose, the government opened club houses which are administered by women<sup>37</sup>. Summer garden or dry forming projects have been undertaken in the state<sup>38</sup>.

**Land Reforms** :- After coming to power in 1977 left front government took up land reforms as one of the first major policy. Redistribution of land among the rural poor and landless peasants was the chief motive behind land reforms. The 'Operation Barga' in 1977 helped Lakhs of landless peasants to acquire tenancy rights but, the operations was stopped, evidently, mainly because of strong resistance from the landlord section. the state government alleges of the ruling congress at the centre which tried to support its vote-bank i.e., the landlord class in state. The government claims to have distributed nearly one million acres of land till 1991-92 out of the total 1.3 million acres of land available<sup>39</sup>. It is said that nearly 0.1 million acres of land which was earlier declared to be unfit for distribution has actually been found cultivable by the Land Revenue Department<sup>40</sup>.

Land reforms Tribunal has also been set up in the state to ensure that cases in different court

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<sup>36</sup>.ibid. Page-20. [It is said that these women will earn Rs. 4,320/ in 5 months for raising 9,000 seedlings. They will also earn Rs.3,000 by setting them. Approximately 1,700 women will be benefitted from this seedling raising scheme] This report was published in 1988.

<sup>37</sup>.ibid. p. 21.

<sup>38</sup>.ibid p. 22.

<sup>39</sup>.The Challenge of an Alternative Experience op.cit. p. 27.

<sup>40</sup>.ibid. p. 27.

of law over the title dispute of land are not adjudicated arbitrarily in favour of landlords and rich peasants<sup>41</sup>. The front observes feel that women also benefit from these measures both individually and collectively. They get the benefits as individuals in the family and also collectively due to their agrarian connections<sup>42</sup>. The government has also implemented joint Patta System which will ultimately empower women as they get the ownership rights of land jointly with their spouses the menfolks in rural areas cannot be the sole owners of lands and neither can they sell the land without the consent of their spouses. Unfortunately this system has not taken off as yet once again because of the resistance from the landlord section and also from the menfolks in rural areas as they see it as possible threat to their independent control over property.

**Co-Operative System** :- An effective Co-operative system has been adopted by the state government for reviving the rural economy Lakhs of small and marginal peasants have been made universal members under the co-operative system<sup>43</sup>. The co-operatives provide facilities like, short-term loans, long-term loans through banks, training, supply of seeds, sale and storage of crops, etc. They help women in preserving their rights in the society. The state government encourages co-operatives run by women in rural areas. At present many such co-operatives have come up where women collectively produce consumer items, they have their own banks and credit system and are no longer dependant on the money lenders for credit<sup>44</sup>. The Mahila Samities and Panchayats play a very crucial role in the development of co-

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<sup>41</sup>.ibid. p. 28.

<sup>42</sup>.The Role of Left Front Government op.cit. p.5.

<sup>43</sup>.ibid. p. 8.

<sup>44</sup>.ibid. p. 8.

operative systems.

**Panchayats** :- Panchayat implementation is the most important feather in left fronts cap. Panchayats have become synonymous with left front regime since 1977.

The three-tier panchayat system is fully functional in the state i.e., Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad. Panchayats have the basic responsibility of implementing all the governmental policies related to education, industry, agriculture, irrigation, transport and environment. This grassroots organisation has encouraged women immensely. Women contest elections against the 33% reservation for them in Panchayats. One Mahila Samiti exists under every panchayat and actively participate in development activities and follow the governmental programmes. Generally the elected women Panchayat members belong to these Mahila Samities.

The left front government claims panchayati raj implementation to be a major success along with the land reforms. This, according to the Front, is visible from the class character of its panchayats i.e., more than 85% of panchayat members belong to marginal farmers or rural landless peasants whereas 90% of the panchayats in the rest of India are represented by the landlords or rich peasants<sup>45</sup>. The government claims to have made the institution an instrument of participatory democracy. The panchayats in the state act in close co-operation with the various peasant organisations. The Panchayat bodies undertake the implementation of water supply schemes, social forestry, fodder-farming, fisheries, etc. They also take up the

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<sup>45</sup>.The Challenges of an f an Alternative Experience  
op.cit.p.32.

schemes for sports, culture and Youth Welfare undertaken by the state government. Their functions also include implementation of the Public distribution systems [PDS], group insurance schemes, etc. for the rural poor<sup>46</sup>. With the implementation of these schemes the government intends to give social security to the down trodden section of the society especially in the rural sector.

The state government considers sports an essential part of education and hence encourages women's participation in **sports and games**. The government takes up programmes especially to encourage women to participate and also provides funds for these purposes<sup>47</sup>.

One more institution deserves attention i.e., the state **Prisons**. The living condition of women prisoners to extremely poor in the state. the women are often sexually assaulted by fellow inmates of the prison as well as by the jail employees. The state has only one prison which is exclusively built for women in Purulia. The government has set up Medical Board in each district for examination and treatment of the prisoners<sup>48</sup>.

The state has also set up welfare homes for vagrant and juvenile girls. These girls are

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<sup>46</sup>.ibid. p. 32.

<sup>47</sup>.The Role of Left Front Government op.cit. p. 10-11.

<sup>48</sup>.ibid. p. 17.

taught various skills so that they can earn their livelihood by utilizing these skills<sup>49</sup>.

Through these policies the Left Front government intends to usher in new era. i.e., a social change. In the next chapter we will discuss the impact of these policies on women in West Bengal. As it is true that at the policy level every government talks of change and development of human beings but in practice what the government does or what the government has achieved is the question. This is also an acid test of the government's performance in the state.

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<sup>49</sup>.ibid. p. 17.

# CHAPTER III

## IMPACT OF THE POLICIES ON WOMEN

The last chapter dealt with the various policies and programmes of the Left Front government which shows a paternalistic attitude of the government towards women's empowerment. The attitude has been described paternalistic because, though several policies are there in the Left Front agenda, no clear-cut policy has been adopted for empowering them. Women's question forms a part of the entire policy structure of the state. Further, these policies have often been found to be forced on women from above. Women generally do not contribute in formulation of such programmes. Thus, they are insensitively applied i.e. the programmes, have not been implemented everywhere with same vigour. In some backward districts education and health schemes have not been extended stringently whereas, in some places the policies have been a tremendous success. In short, the aims of the various policies has been one i.e. development but, their implementation has not been done sensitively. Thus, it can be said that women's empowerment constitutes a part of people's empowerment per se, notwithstanding the fact that women's empowerment depends a great deal on the orientation of the programmes and policies which certainly are not women oriented in West Bengal. It has been seen that the government stresses more on women's participation in the grassroots political institutions i.e. Panchayats. The government considers women's political participation as women's empowerment<sup>1</sup>. Thus,, it has implemented the 73rd constitutional amendment, reserving 33 percent seats for women in the panchayats. But, at the same time it is alleged that the government conducted Panchayat elections shortly before implementing

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<sup>1</sup>. Interview of Prof. Malini Bhattacharya. Former M.P. Lok Sabha March 1996, New Delhi.

the 33 per cent reservation so that they can evade elections for a longer time<sup>2</sup>. Another fact is women's political participation, as will be discussed later in the chapter, cannot be directly linked with political participation specially in India where a large section of women are illiterate and have a dependent status. Thus, political participation of women cannot be taken as a valuable indication as in most cases they do not possess the decision making power neither do they have mobility and assertiveness which results in women being nominal heads whereas the actual power rests with their menfolk. Only a handful of women panchayat members function independent of interference from their menfolk.

The present research, as discussed in the chapter 1, concentrates on the basic indicators i.e., education Health and Employment. Thus, the Left Front governments attitude towards these and the impact of this on women's development is the focus of this chapter. For assessment, this chapter is divided into four parts. The **first part** consists of the impact of the policies on women. The analysis has been done on the basis of some governmental reports of 1971, 1981 and 1991. --- the past three census years.

The **second part** comprises the assessment of Health and Family Planning achievements of the Left Front government. This part is divided in two sub heads i.e., (a) Health and survival and (b), Family Planning and Fertility. The assessment, here, is done on the basis of the latest data available i.e., 1988 onwards from various governmental and *situational analysis reports* of some non-governmental organisations and research institutes. An attempt is made here, to ascertain the reasons for low life expectancy as well as high infant mortality rates. Though it is true that West Bengal has shown better results of health and the family welfare measures adopted by the government than the combined results

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<sup>2</sup>. Agnimitra, Neera - "Women in Panchayats :Empowerment or Illusion".Gandhi Marg. Jan-March.1996.vol 17.No4.



of India, but the **Gender Related Development Index** puts West Bengal in 98<sup>th</sup> position in the world<sup>3</sup>. This clearly shows that the state policies need to be implemented in a more stringent manner.

**The part three** of this chapter assesses the work participation rate of women and their contribution to the economic growth of the state along with the wages women get in the state which has implemented the equal wage act. However, the latest wages are not available so, the 1987 wages are presented for an assessment.

**In the fourth** part an attempt to assess some of the rural employment schemes under the rural development programmes, in made. The land reforms and women's participation in panchayats has also been discussed in the chapter.

In the final assessment the chapter intends to compare West Bengal with India in a bid to obtain an overall picture of women's development and empowerment. However, at times the state achievements have been compared with the achievement of other states. Tables comparing states have been given in the appendix.

## I

### Education

As already discussed in the earlier chapter Left Front after coming to power was under tremendous pressure to normalise and improve the education system. The chief

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<sup>3</sup>. Shiva Kumar. A.K., "UNDP's Gender Related Development Index: A computation for the Indian States", Economic and political Weekly 6 April, 1996. Vol.XXXI.No.14.(See Appendix for the table).

concern of this research is to see whether the Left Front policies have actually improved education system in the state i.e., by popularising education and literacy movement among the masses especially among women. The disparity in literacy between the male and female population of the state has been presented in table 1.2 and 1.3 whereas the table 1.1 shows the position of West Bengal in India for the literacy. Several programmes and policies have been adopted by the Indian government to bring more and more people under the literacy fold as discussed in the earlier chapter, but given the regional, cultural and political diversity in India, these programme have shown mixed results. For instance, the education policy has been a tremendous success in Kerala whereas, the policy virulently failed in Rajasthan. This argument can be substantiated by the Table - 1.1

Table 1.1  
Literacy Rates by Place of Residence and Sex for India and the States : 1981-91

S.NO.	STATE	RURAL%		URBAN%		MALE%		FEMALE%		TOTAL %	
		1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
1.	A.P	28	36	61	67	47	55	24	33	36	44
2.	Bihar	28	34	62	68	47	53	17	23	32	39
3.	Gujarat	44	53	71	77	65	73	39	49	52	61
4.	Haryana	37	50	67	74	59	69	27	41	52	61
5.	Karnataka	38	48	67	74	59	67	33	44	46	56
6.	Kerala	80	89	87	92	88	94	76	86	82	90
7.	M.P.	26	36	65	71	48	57	19	29	34	44
8.	Maharashtra	46	59	74	79	70	77	41	52	54	65
9.	Orissa	38	46	65	72	56	66	25	35	41	49
10.	Punjab	42	53	65	72	56	66	40	42	48	59
11.	Rajasthan	23	30	58	65	45	55	14	20	30	39
12.	Tamil Nadu	45	55	73	78	68	67	40	42	54	55
13.	U.P.	29	37	55	61	47	56	17	25	33	42
14.	W.Bengal	40	51	71	75	60	68	36	47	49	58
15	India	36	45	67	73	56	64	30	39	44	52

Source : EDUCATION FOR ALL . A GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION NIEPA. 1993.

The table shows, Kerala where the total literacy in 1991 is 90 percent has 86 percent literate women, which is very high compared to the other states as the next state to have maximum literacy is Maharashtra with 56 percent women's literacy. On the other hand, in states like Rajasthan, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have the lowest literacy level i.e., 20, 23 and 25 percent respectively. West Bengal has the literacy of 47 percent for females which is very less compared to states like Kerala or Maharashtra. What needs to be seen is why a policy succeeds in one place and fails in another place ? The answer given by the demographers generally is the diversity, i.e., regional, cultural and socio-economic play most crucial role in ascertaining the success of one particular or all the governmental policies. Similarly, the political scientists argue this as the effects of centre-state relations along with the cultural and socio-economic background of the states. The implementation of policies depend on all these factors as regional, cultural and socio-economic disparity are all crucial factors which directly affects the implementation of policies, for instance, education and employment of women is a taboo in Rajasthan where child marriage, female infanticide, etc. are rampant. Similarly, Kerala, which has the highest literacy rate also has maximum number of employed women. Health sector is also developed. Generally, there is no discrimination against the female child in the state. In case of West Bengal, women's education is part of the bengali culture where it is seen more as a sign of status , but women's employment is part of taboo in the state<sup>4</sup>. Even in the labour market it is seen that the husband allows his wife to work only during the scarcity period, the moment he starts earning well the wife is asked to leave the job which she readily agrees to, as women's employment is still seen as sign of poverty, though, the scene has change in the urban sectors where more and more women are taking up professional

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<sup>4</sup>.Manisha Roy. Bengali Women, Stree Publication Delhi. 1993. (Introduction)

jobs and thus employment of women has gained some ground in the state<sup>5</sup>.

The other important factor -- centre state relations, plays significant role as all the major policies of the state are centrally aided. Thus, in case of strained centre-state relations, the state suffers, like the funds required to carry out a particular programme is not distributed in time or at times, the funds provided are not sufficient . In such cases the programmes suffer and it is termed as a failure. In West Bengal the state government alleges that the central assistance to the state is very less compared to the size and population.[See Appendix for the Table] It is also alleged that the centre distributes funds to the state in a step-motherly fashion<sup>6</sup>. Thus, the policy implementation in the state suffers, However, this argument is debatable, in the sense that Kerala is also ruled by the Left Democratic Front and the Central assistance to Kerala is not at par with its necessity, still the programmes have been successful in the state. Further, the state has a separate education policy, health schemes which have been developed keeping the socio-economic, cultural and political factors in mind. These initiatives have collectively put Kerala much ahead of the other states in literacy as well as the other spheres.

Lower literacy, level is the chief impediment for empowerment. It is also seen that gender disparity<sup>7</sup> is larger in those states where the level of literacy is low. The table 1.2

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<sup>5</sup>. Amrita Basu, The Two Faces of Protest : Contrasting Modes of Women's Activism in India, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1993. pp.3-25.

<sup>6</sup>.Documents of the 14th Congress of CPI [M] 1992.

<sup>7</sup>.Disparity is calculated by the formula :

$$Ds = \log \frac{X_2}{X_1} + \log \frac{100 - X_1}{100 - X_2}$$

Where,  $X_2$   $X_1$

Here,  $X_2$  is male and  $X_1$  is female.

and 1.3 indicates the disparity in literacy between male and female in rural as well as in the urban areas in three decades.

Table - 1.2

Levels of literacy in Rural India - 1971--1991.

STATE	1971			1981			1991		
	MALE	FEM*	DISPARITY	MALE	FEM	DISPARITY	MALE	FEM	DISPARITY
W. Bengal	36	15	0.42	44	22	0.51	51	31	0.61
INDIA	34	13	0.39	41	18	0.44	47	25	0.53

Table 1.3

Levels of Literacy in Urban India, 1971-91

State	1971			1981			1991		
	Male	Fem*	disparity	Male	Fem	Disparity	Male	Fem	Disparity
W.Bengal	62	48	0.77	69	55	0.79	72	59	0.83
INDIA	61	42	0.69	66	48	0.73	69	54	0.78

\* Fem, denotes Females

Note : all rates are for the base of total Population.

Source : 1971,1981,1991 -- literacy Digest, Directorate of Adult

Education, Ministry of Human Resources Development.

The table 1.2 above reveals that the gender disparity is falling over the years.

The gender disparity index in rural West Bengal has improved, from 0.42 in 1971 to 0.51 in 1981 and 0.61 in 1991. The respective disparity index in Urban Bengal is 0.77, 0.79 and 0.83 in 1971, 1981 and 1991 respectively. The disparity for all-India has also improved from 0.39 in 1971 to 0.44 in 1981 and 0.53 in 1991 in the rural sector whereas, in urban areas it is 0.69 in 1971 to 0.73 in 1981 and 0.78 in 1991. The high rate of literacy in Urban areas is because of the developed urban infrastructure, greater awareness among people, better facilities that are available in cities in comparison to the rural areas. The situation in the rural areas has also improved since 1977 pertaining to the growing awareness among masses, the role of media especially played important role. The government policies have become more people oriented than ever along with the fact that social and cultural factors have a pivotal role to play in the policy implementation and their impact. For instance, Rajasthan has the lowest literacy rate it is also true that child marriages, female infanticide, etc. are normal practice in the state (see Appendix).

The implementation of governmental policies depend greatly on the ruling political party i.e. the amount of stress the party gives on implementation and obtaining good results from the important developmental policies. For instance, the 'Kerala model' in Kerala for education has been immensely successful with 86% women's literacy in the years 1991. This model could be adopted by other states who genuinely want to move away from illiteracy or else the states can evolve and adopt their own models depending on the socio-cultural. The whole argument revolves round the fact that initiative is lacking in state governments to remove illiteracy. The Left Front government which has strong hold over the rural areas and claims to uplift the masses has virulently failed in the rural literacy campaign, as the female literacy in the state was 15 percent in 1971, it increased to 22 per cent 1981

and 31 per cent in 1991. There has been marginal increase in the literacy levels, which can be attributed to natural process i.e., people exposure to mass media, the increasing demands of daily life along with the increase in general awareness of people by watching friends, relatives or neighbours, etc. The effects of Mass Literacy, Total Literacy campaigns have been marginal in the state. The vast disparity between the rural and urban literacy strengthens the question for the Left front's policy for strengthening the rural infrastructure. A quick look at the district wise literacy strengthens the argument. As the data reveals, there is vast disparity between different districts of the state. Table -- 1.4

Position of Literacy in Different Districts of the State : 1991

S.NO.	NAME OF THE DISTRICT	PERCENTAGE OF MALE LITERACY	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE LITERACY	OVERALL PERCENTAGE
1.	CALCUTTA	89.04	78.90	84.70
2.	MIDNAPUR	80.10	57.30	69.10
3.	HOOGLY	77.80	59.20	69.10
4.	HOWRAH	77.10	59.80	69.00
5.	NORTH 24 PARGANA	74.20	58.20	66.60
6.	BARDHWAN	71.40	52.80	62.70
7.	DARJEELING	67.10	55.00	61.40
8.	SOUTH 24 PARGANAS	66.50	36.60	53.70
9.	NADIA	59.90	44.80	52.70
10.	BANKURA	64.80	37.30	51.50
11.	BIRBHUM	57.70	36.50	47.10
12.	COOCH BIHAR	55.70	33.60	45.10
13.	JALPAIGURI	55.50	33.50	45.00
14.	PURULIA	60.50	23.90	42.90
15-16	UTTAR & DAKSHIN DINAJPUR	47.80	28.30	38.50
17.	MURSHIDABAD	44.00	28.60	36.60
18.	MALDA	43.40	24.20	34.20

Source : Annual Report 1992-93, Department of Mass Education Extension, Government of West Bengal.

disparity between different district of the state. The district like Malda and Purulia have the lowest literacy percentage for women i.e. only 23.90 percent of women in Purulia and 24.20 percent in Malda are literate, closely followed by Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur and Murshidabad where the literacy levels of both the districts is very poor. The highest literacy rate is seen in Calcutta i.e. 78.90 percent, the state capital and a metropolitan city, followed by Midnapur, Hoogly and Howrah with an average of 69 percent among females. The reasons for better literacy in Hoogly, Howrah is due to their urbanisation being the peripheral districts of Calcutta. Midnapur is a developed and a politically active district, historically. All these districts are economically strong thus they have better access and awareness of the development schemes, whereas, Malda, Purulia. Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur are mainly poverty stricken districts their access to media and various development activities is less compared to other districts in the state.

This lower literacy level can be attributed to many other factors which, according to Amitabh Kundu, are the supply and demand related reasons. Two generic causes, according to him, are the low enrolment in educational institutions and high discontinuation rate in India<sup>8</sup>.The table -- 1.5 shows the enrolment ratio in the state and India.

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<sup>8</sup>.Amitabh Kundu, "*Links between Economic and Human Development in India*".Country Profile for Human Resource Development Report, 1996.



Table -- 1.5

## School Enrolment and Attendance -- 1991

## GROSS ENROLMENT RATIOS

## SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

	6-10 years 1991-92	6-10 years 1991-92	6-10 years 1991-92	7-14 years 1991-92	7-14 years 1991-92	7-14 years 1991-92	6-14 years 1981	6-14 years 1981	6-14 years 1981
States	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem
W.Bengal	124	139	107	64	74	55	48	55	42
INDIA	102	116	88	61	74	47	46	50	35

Source : Amitabh Kundu, Country Profile for Human Resource Development Report, 1996.  
Original Source : - Estimated by NCAER using National Account Statistics, Central Statistical Organisation.

The data reveal that female enrolment in both the age groups is less than the male enrolment which clearly suggests substantial gender gaps in enrolment. Kundu notes that often male enrolment is more than hundred percent as more often children are younger or older than the defined age category. At the same time people feel proud to enroll their male children in schools whereas, in case of females parents prefer to confine them to the home so that they can contribute to the household activities like, helping the mother in cooking, cleaning, taking care of the younger siblings etc. These factors contribute to their less enrolment in schools along with a high dropout rate in schools. Though, the school dropout rates are extremely high for both the sexes, but for female child the reasons are different. However, the state government has opened up several schools, other facilities are also provided for girls as discussed in the earlier chapter.

The only way to improve the overall literacy rates for females especially, is to improve the school enrolment rate and stop the dropout rates for both females and males. Such strategies, to improve these rates, requires a large amount of public investments in the literacy programmes. The Left Front government spends 23 percent of its total budget on the education sector but, this budget includes higher education, technical and specialised

education, and research activities. Only about half of the amount mentioned seems to be available for promoting elementary education which is grossly inadequate. The public investment in this areas will be welcome step as public accountability will lead to an effective administration of resources and the development schemes the recommendations of the Education commission for promoting a people oriented and effective education system needs to be implemented fully so that it can bring improvement in women's educational status. As the data reveal, women's education has marginally increased in the rural sector especially in the backward districts of the state. The government should give attention and evolve a separate policy for these backward districts.

## II

### HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE

A look at the National Health Policy becomes important before the analysis of Left Front policy regarding health in the state. The National Health Policy emphasises on ensuring primary health care to all by the year 2000 A.D. The policy also identifies certain areas which need special attention. These are :-

- 1) Nutrition for all segments of Population ;
- 2) Immunisation Programme;
- 3) Maternal and child health care;
- 4) The prevention of food adulteration and maintainance of the quality of drug.

- 5) Water supply and sanitation;
- 6) Environmental programmes;
- 7) School health programme
- 8) Occupational health services;
- 9) Prevention and control of locally endemic diseases;

The health policy also emphasises on community participation as one of its most supportive activities for the implementation of these policies<sup>9</sup>.

The implementation of these policies depend greatly on the socio-economic, demographic and the natural environment i.e. flood prone or drought prone areas, etc. of the states. The political ideology also plays important role in the implementation of various developmental policies. The political ideology the Left Front adheres to, is that of Marxism which stresses on equality, equal rights and justice for all. Thus, Left Front governmental has implemented various policies for the development of society in general. Though, the government does not have a clear-cut policy stand on women's issues but on the whole all the policies benefit women. Women's Health, according to Malini Bhattacharya, is the chief concerns of the state government<sup>10</sup>. The reports also reveal that women's health in the state is better than the national average. The general health of women in India is poor especially in the rural areas. These issue will be dealt with later in this chapter. For the purpose of this study health indicator has been divided in two parts. First, the health and Survival and second, Family planning and fertility.

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<sup>9</sup>. *National Family and Health Survey 1992-93*. International Institute for Population Sciences. Bombay. August 1995.

<sup>10</sup>. Interview with Prof. Bhattacharya. M.P. Lok Sabha, March. 1996.

## Health and Survival:-

Life Expectancy at Birth [LEB] is a good indicator summarising the health and morbidity situation in India. LEB in most developed countries favour females but the scene was just opposite in India till the last decade. Life expectancy for female child was only 41.3 years during 1950-60 which increased to 55.9 years by 1981-88 while also improving the female expectancy of life at birth. For 1992-93 the LEB is estimated to be 61.9. However, some reports show that LEB of India is much lower than even China which has reached the LEB of about 70 years. See Table 2.1 for the mortality and life expectancy in West Bengal and the Table 2.2 shows the infant and child mortality.

The table 2.1 states LEB of female child in west Bengal as the same as that of male child i.e, 61.9 years. Thus, the general LEB of the state is much higher than many other states like, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Assam, where the female LEB is 58.0, 52.8, 58.5 years respectively. It is also true that the LEB of females in the state is higher than the all-India figures i.e. 61.7.

Table 2.1 MORTALITY AND LIFE EXPECTANCY INDICATORS.

CRUDE DEATH RATE INFANT MORTALITY RATE INFANTMORTA

LITYRATE1989 CHILD DEATH RATE LIFE EXPECTANCY

STATE	1991 1	1991 2	TOTAL 3	MALE 4	FEM 5	0-4 YR. 6	MALE 7	FEM 8
W.Benal	8.3	71	86	83	71	21.9	61.9	61.9
India	9.8	80	91	92	90	29.9	70.6	61.7

Source : A.Kundu.....

Table 2.2

## Infant and Child Mortality 1992-93

States	Neo Natal Mortality(NN)	Post Neo Natal Mortality (PNN)	Infant mortality (1%)	Child mortality (4%)	Under 5 mortality (5%)
West Benagal	51.8	23.5	75.3	26.0	99.3
India	48.6	29.9	78.5	33.4	109.3

Note : Computed as the difference between the Infant and Neo natal Mortality Rates.  
Source : National Family and Health Survey 1992-93.....

The birth order is an important determinant of the infant mortality rate (IMR). A study finds that the highest number of neo-natal deaths takes place among those in the first birth order in cases where the birth intervals are less than two years and the age of marriage for girls is low.<sup>11</sup>

It is also said that lack of immunisation coverage does not seem to affect infant survival as majority of them die in the neo-natal period. The single largest cause of IMR is low birth weight or pre-maturity, acute respiratory, infection and birth infections,<sup>12</sup>. In West Bengal, as well as in many other states in India, the chief killer diseases are the water-borne diseases. Be in rural or in the urban areas, Diarrhoea is among the major killer diseases in the State along with pollution and various infections, etc. The IMR shows the figure to be 71 in 1991 for west Bengal. Though the figure reveals a poor health condition in the state but the IMR in the state is still lower than the national average i.e., 80 percent 1000 live birth.

Another major problem in the health sector is the maternal mortality which is equally alarming in the state as well as in India as a whole, several women in India die of

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<sup>11</sup>."A report on Preliminary Study of Infant Mortality and its Major Components: Health care in Singur, West Bengal.1991", Rural Health Unit and Training Centre, West Bengal.

<sup>12</sup>.ibid.

infections during delivery or due to lack of good health and nutrition. The Tables 2.3 and 2.4 show the maternal mortality and maternal care in the state. However, the complete table can be seen in the appendix.

Table 2.3

Maternal Mortality and Health Indices.

State	maternal Mortality Ratio 1982-86	% births delivered by trained attendant 1989	Population served by doctor 1990
W. Bengal	551	37.4	15438
India	555	43.2	5848

Source : Amitabh Kundu, Links between Economic and Human Development in India. country profile for HRD report, 1996

The maternal mortality ratio presents a picture of gross discrepancy in the policy implementation regarding the health of women. As the majority of women who die during or after the delivery of the babies are below the age group of 19 years and also suffer from mal-nutrition and are under weight. These women generally give birth to weak babies and are more prone to infections and subsequently death. Thus, both the IMR and MMR are dependent on these factors which are not taken care of in India as well as in most of the South Asian countries. Both MMR and IMR are high in rural areas than in the urban areas. The National Health survey reveals IMR is 52 percent higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas in India.

A recent newspaper report shows a sharp increase in the IMR of urban areas. Ashish Bose feels there is a total collapse of health system in India<sup>13</sup>. The causes are the industrialisation and pollution in cities, lack of health care facilities, inadequate provisions in health centres, etc. The water borne diseases are on rise in the cities in west Bengal especially

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<sup>13</sup>.The Times of India.May 17 1996.

is the slum areas. But, the data presented in the report shows no increase in the urban IMR in West Bengal and in rural sector it has actually declined as in many other states and the national average. That is, in rural areas of West Bengal the IMR which was to 70 in 1991 has declined to 66 in 1992-94, and in the urban sector IMR was 39 in 1991 and remained at 39 in 1992-94.

Table 2.5

IMR--THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE 1991-94

	RURAL		URBAN	
STATE	1991-93	1992-93	1991-93	1992-93
W. Bengal	70	66	39	39
India	85	82	50	50

Source: Times of India, May, 17, 1996.

The high rate of infant mortality in the rural sector is the cause of serious concern in India. The Left Front government which has strong grass roots base in the state has virtually failed to improve the situation among the rural poor. The implementation of health policies is not up to the mark as the Integrated Child Development Service scheme or the maternal care schemes have not been extended to every block in the districts. In some districts, though the ICDS schemes have been implemented but its record keeping is poor thus it become difficult to analyse the results<sup>14</sup>. Further, the role of health workers and Anganwadi workers (ICDS) is not satisfactory in the state. There is a visible dissatisfaction among these workers as what they get by full time work as Anganwadi workers is a meager amount varying from Rs. 200/- to Rs. 500/- in different district of the state. They often complain of lack of incentives and encouragement on the part of government. Another

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<sup>14</sup>.Interview with the Project Officer, ICDS, Howrah Dist. West Bengal, Dec 1995.

problem the ICDS schemes encounter with is the supply of resources i.e. money and food items which is very erratic as these schemes are centrally assisted and funded by the UNICEF. The chief idea behind this scheme is to provide nutrition to the underprivileged children unfortunately, the whole idea gets marred by the irregular supply of funds and other supplies<sup>15</sup>.

The centre-state relations also play significant role in distribution of funds to the states. The Left Front government and its supporters allege that the centre has discriminatory internal policies, by which they discriminate among states, i.e., the ruling congress government in the centre, at the helm of the entire distribution system, deliberately delays supplies to pose problems for the non governed states<sup>16</sup>. Though this argument is debatable i.e., Kerala is also left governed state but, most of its developmental policies in the state have been successful. The Kerala Government has its own set of policies regarding women's health, education which is virtually absent in not only West Bengal but also in other states. Another major criticism of left government in this case is that the government doesnot pay much attention towards the water-borne disease which are the major killers in the state as already been discussed. A CINI report finds that IMR is higher among muslims compared to the Hindu community in the state. It is also high among the working mothers. The state government is ignorant regarding the plight of this section as illiteracy, poverty, unhygienic working and living conditions are the major causes of increasing mortality rate among this

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<sup>15</sup>. Interview with CDPO of Howrah Dist, ICDS 1995. and also Shayamali Gupta, General Secretary, PBGMS, 1995.

<sup>16</sup>. Malini Bhattacharya....1986.



section <sup>17</sup>. Another report of CINI finds out that an integrated package of health services was being provided by workers and professionals for child health in the rural areas of West Bengal. The PVOH curative services were highly utilized in the state and there was significant increase in the immunization coverage and awareness levels. Nutrition status, however, did not change and the morbidity rate was also very high. The high awareness of child survival strategies did not lead to its practice in the state. The project fizzled out which is a major cause of concern. i.e., the projects are started with great enthusiasm but by the time it touches ground the original aura is lost.<sup>18</sup>.

It has been seen that the number of private practitioners administering immunization has considerably increased in the state. But, despite considerable coverage record maintenance and reporting is almost non-existing though they are supposed to keep track on immunization.<sup>19</sup>. This, in turn, adversely affects the entire immunization programme in the state, i.e., some people are given immunization twice or thrice whereas, some are left out this causes the failure of immunization programme all over the country.

**Family Planning and Fertility** : Family Planning is one of the most important programme for a country with highest population. These policies have been implemented with a great vigour in India. The first thing that seeks attention is the fertility rates in the state.

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<sup>17</sup>. "Situational Analysis of Women and Children in Urban Areas of West Bengal". CINI, West Bengal 1989.

<sup>18</sup>. "Evaluation of PVOH Project: An Integrated Programme for the Child in Need", CINI, West Bengal, 1988.

<sup>19</sup>. "Situational Analysis of Immunisation Services Provided by the Private Health Sector in Calcutta Municipal Areas", CINI, West Bengal 1991.

The fertility rates in India has declined in 1992-93, which proves that general awareness of people towards family planning and contraceptives is more in the state and people accept these policies of population control. The tables 2.6 and 2.7 gives a pictures of fertility and Family Planning in West Bengal in comparison to India as whole.

Table -- 2.6

Fertility and selected proximate determinants

State	Crude birth rate 1991 (1)	Total Fertility rate 1989 (2)	Mean age at marriage 1981 Female (3)	Couple protection rate 1990 (4)	% users of non terminal methods 1990 (5)
W. Bengal	27.0	3.3	19.3	34.0	4.6
India	29.5	3.9	18.3	43.3	13.2

Table 2.7

Fertility by states 1992-93.

Age Specific Fertility Rate

State	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Total fertility Rate	Mean CEB for Women Age 40-49	Crude Birth Rate
West Bengal	0.123	0.202	0.138	0.075	0.031	0.008	0.005	2.92	4.72	25.5
India	0.116	0.231	0.170	0.097	0.044	0.015	0.005	3.39	4.84	28.7

Note : CEB ---- Children Ever Born

Source: National Family and Health Survey, 1992-93----

The Fertility rate, according to the table 2.6, is 3.3 in 1989-90 but got reduced to 2.92 by 1992-93 in the state. The all-India fertility rate has also come down from 3.9 to 3.39 in 1992-93. The decline in fertility rates has been termed as success of the family planning programmes. The fertility rate is affected directly by the age of marriage which earlier used to be 18 or 19 years (even younger girls are married off in India) but in the past few years the marital age for girls has gone up to 20-24 years. This has resulted in less fertility period

for women in the state. Other reasons for decline in the FR are, firstly, the role played by mass media in creating awareness. Secondly, education plays greater part in changing the attitude of people towards family planning. Thirdly, the growing economic crisis, the complexity of life especially in the urban areas pressurise couples to adopt family planning measures to restrict their families which is not the case in rural areas thus there is a high fertility rate in rural areas. The following tables 2.8 and 2.9 reveal that rate is 2.14 in the urban areas of west Bengal whereas, it is quite high in the rural areas i.e., 3.35.

Table 2.8

Age specific Fertility Rates (Urban)

Age Specific Fertility rate

State	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	TFR <sup>1</sup> 15-49	Mean CEB For Women Age 40-49	Crude Birth Rate
West Bengal	0.083	0.158	0.107	0.058	0.016	0.000	(0.007)	2.14	3.64	18.5
India	0.075	0.203	0.154	0.071	0.027	0.006	0.004	2.70	4.16	24.1

Table 2.9

Age Specific Fertility Rate (Rural)

State	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	TFR 15-49	Mean CEB for Women Age 40-49	Crude Birth Rate
West Bengal	0.140	0.219	0.152	0.084	0.039	0.012	0.005	3.25	5.28	28.4
India	0.131	0.243	0.177	0.108	0.051	0.019	0.006	3.67	5.13	30.4

Note : 1. Total Fertility Rate

( ) Based on 125-129 women Years of Exposer for the Age Specific Fertility rates and 25-49 Unweighted Women Age 40-49 for CEB.

The data shows that the above mentioned reasons for fertility to be true. One reasons for high fertility rate in rural areas is the rural poverty which is also an important reasons for infant mortality in India. This leads couple to have many children hoping that some of them would survive. This also causes maternal mortality as the gap between two children is often

less that a year among poor families where women generally suffer from malnutrition and ill health. Secondly, poor families need more hands to share the family burden i.e., to work in the fields as wage laborers the female child looks after the home and the young siblings in the family while the mother works in the fields or works as maid in the households. These factors are important while looking at the disparity in the rural and urban fertility rate. Thus, people in rural areas don't generally participate in family planning programmes of the government and virtually alienate themselves from such programmes fearing that these programmes would be harmful for them as well as their entire community.

FP programme are generally successful in Urban area as bigger families are considered a burden for an urban lifestyle. Further, the mortality rate is also low as literacy rate is high in urban area. The urban infrastructure also plays important role in this regard. The role of media is pre-eminent in the spread of awareness among masses. The following table -- 2.10 shows the percentage of ever-married women who have heard a family planning message on the radio or television, who approve of media messages on family planning, and the percentage of non-sterilized currently married women knowing a contraceptive method and have discussed FP with their spouses, those who approve and perceive that their husbands approve of FP.

Table 2.10

Exposure to and Acceptance of FP Messages, Discussion and Approval of FP 1992-93.

State	Heard of FP Messages on the Radio or T.V.	Accept Media Messages on FP	Discussed FP with Husbands	Both Husband and Wife Approve of FP
West Bengal	34.2	83.5	58.7	70.0
India	42.2	68.3	50.3	58.4

Source : Same

The above table reveals that only 34.2 percent of women have heard of FP in radio and television. It seems surprising, with the kind of propaganda the government machinery has generated all over the country, people are still unaware about the policies. However, 83.5 percent of them accept media messages on family planning. While only 58.7 percent of women discuss FP with their spouse 70 percent of the couples approve of family planning measures. These figures reveal that women in the state have the decision-making power as far as the reproductive rates are concerned. The approval of FP by both the spouses depend greatly upon how many times do husbands and wives discuss FP. The decision on contraceptive method to be used, should be discussed between partners as their decision immensely affect women's health. It also depends on the educational levels of both the partners as it is generally true that educated couples have greater access to various informations related to contraception and family planning. People in urban areas don't depend on government health centres as they have better access to private health clinics which the rural women cannot afford. Thus, the role of health centres run by the government becomes most important for rural people as well as the urban poor who are often governed by superstitions, taboos. The role of Gram Sevikas or health workers become all the more important as these women consider discussing FP with their husband's a taboo, especially in the rural sector.

The table 2.11 shows the current use of contraceptives in the state in both rural and urban areas. The role of health centres in the state, for the promotion of safe contraceptives among the people is very important as selecting a unsafe method may cost them life.

Table 2.11

## Current Use of Contraceptives in the State 1992-93

State	Any Method 1	Any Modern method 2	Any Modern Temporary Method 3	Bill 4	TUD 5	Injection 6	Condom 7	Female Sterilization 8	Male Sterilization 9	Any Traditional Method 10	Periodic Abstinence 11	Withdrawal 12	Other methods 13	Not Using Any Method 14	Total Percentage 15
West Bengal	61.8	36.5	11.1	1.2	1.6	-	4.3	21.3	2.1	25.3	12.8	11.8	0.7	38.2	100.00
India	51.0	45.3	11.7	1.9	3.0	-	3.8	30.4	3.2	3.8	3.5	2.1	0.2	49.0	100.00

Table 2.12

## Rural

State	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
West Bengal	55.7	37.6	5.0	2.9	1.1	0.1	0.9	27.4	5.1	18.2	10.8	6.9	0.5	44.3	100.00
India	36.9	33.1	3.4	0.9	1.2	-	26.3	3.5	3.8	2.3	1.2	1.2	0.2	63.1	100.00

Table 2.13

## Total

States	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
West Bengal	57.4	37.3	6.7	3.5	1.3	0.1	1.9	26.3	7.3	20.1	11.3	8.3	0.5	42.6	100.00
India	40.6	36.3	5.5	1.2	1.9	-	2.4	27.3	3.4	4.3	2.6	1.4	0.2	59.4	100.00

Source : National health and family Survey 1992-93...

The data reveal that the use of contraceptives is at least one third higher than the national average in the state. Sterilization is the mainstay of the family planning programmes and it accounts for more than three fourth of contraceptive use in half of the states. Male sterilization constitutes 11 percent of the total sterilization in India. Assam, West Bengal, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh are the only states where the relative contribution of methods other

than sterilization is large. The rate of use of modern temporary contraceptive methods is less than 10 percent in West Bengal among the currently married women. The traditional methods have high prevalence. i.e., 35 percent in West Bengal which according to the National Health and Family survey is quite unusual. The rural urban differentials is low in West Bengal. The age of contraceptive use in the state is 20-24 years. This is the only state where the contraceptive use rate is higher than 40 percent in this age group, especially among the women with one child. The early use of contraception is consistent with fact that spacing methods are particularly popular in the state. More than 60 percent of two child couples are using various methods FP in the state<sup>20</sup>. West Bengal is a state where son preference is low (but is still pronounced) along with the southern states, Goa, Delhi and parts of North-east India. Thus generally the discrimination against females in the state is less pronounced which results in less cases of female infanticide and other forms of female discrimination. This is basically a cultural phenomenon of the state that female child is happily accepted in the family<sup>21</sup>. Women are generally respected in the state and this has got nothing to do with the Left Front government's policy stand.

The Left Front government's contribution towards health and family welfare is significant as the data above reveal good result of the various FP programmes but, at the same time there is a decline in the total expenditure on FP programme in the years 1992-93. See the table in Appendix 3.14

The table reveals the total expenditure on Family Welfare programmed has declined from 4974.43 lakhs in the years 1991-92 to Rupees 4441.05 in 1992-93. There was also a

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<sup>20</sup>.National Health and Family Survey 1992-93....

<sup>21</sup>.Manisha Roy, Bengali Women....

decline in 1990-91, i.e. the total expenditure which was 4694.87 in 1989-90 has gone down to 3081.51 laksh in 1990-91. This shows the government resources often face crunch in the state which, needless to say, effects the family welfare and health programmes in the state adversely. The programmes for family welfare are most crucial for the development of states. Thus a sudden decrease in funds could prove serious set back for the various programmes.

The state government has taken better initiatives than many other states, for instance, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar where family planning and other health schemes have virtually failed not because of the resources crunch but lack of initiatives and the prevalent social and cultural factors. The same argument can be used for Kerala and Maharashtra where these programmed have succeeded. Thus, it can be said that for the success of developmental schemes, the socio-economic, cultural and other environmental factors play the most important role, yet the role of political parties cannot be undermined as the implementation of development policies depend on the ruling party. In case of west Bengal, though culturally and historically the state is quite enriched but the result does not show a very strong political will, on comparing the state with Kerala and Maharashtra. (see Appendix for the table).

### III

## WORK PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

Empowerment of women through work participation is fast emerging as a slogan for 1990's. However, merely increasing work participation doesnot in itself lead to empowerment especially in a situation where not only does the labour market favours men over women, but



the division of labour within occupations is sex biased<sup>22</sup>. Though west Bengal government has adopted policy of equal pay for equal work, i.e., equal wages, but it has not been implemented yet. The implementation of equal wages would definitely be a pioneering step towards women's equality in the employment field.

Work participation is very important factor for women's mobility in the world outside home. Women's work participation rate is marginal in India as well as in the state. In society where the entire labour market is gender biased, nominal women's participation is obvious.

The total female workers in India is 16.43 percent of the total female population in 1991 whereas it is much less in W.B. The table -- 3.1 shows the proportion of main workers in the state in 1981-91.

Table : 3.1

State	Persons		Males		Females	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
W.Bengal	28.26	30.20	48.71	50.50	5.81	8.07
India	33.48	34.19	51.62	50.62	14.07	16.48

Source : Census of India 1991. India Series - 1. Paper - 3. of 1991. Provisional Population Totals: workers and their distributions.

<sup>22</sup>.Amar Jesani, "Limits of Empowerment: Women in Rural Health Care", Economic and Political Weekly, May, 1990. Vol.25.No.20.

There has been a marginal increase in the female main workers from 1981 to 1991. Women contribute only 8.07 percent of the total main workers in the state which is very low. In the rural areas of the country, only 19.07 percent females are main workers. The proportion of female main workers in rural areas is less in all states compared to the urban areas. However, the decadal growth of female workers had gone up in the state by 33.10 per cent which is higher than the national average i.e., 26.12 percent since 1981.

Table -- 3.2

GROWTH RATE OF MAIN WORKERS DURING 1981-91.

STATE	PERSONS	MALE	FEMALE
W.Bengal	73.57	28.71	33.10
INDIA	44.24	21.51	26.12

Source : same

However, the female main workers have recorded an impressive growth rate of 33.10 which is higher than the national average of 26.12 percent. West Bengal is the third state to have highest female work participation rate in the rural areas. In the urban areas the rate is 68.77 percent which is more than the national average, i.e., 62.41 percent.

In case of marginal workers the growth rate of female marginal workers has registered a rise of 99.56 percent, which is significantly higher than the national average, i.e., 37.31 percent. In the rural areas, the national average was 33.12 percent in 1981 whereas in the state it was 53.73 percent. In 1991 the growth rate increased to 36.72 and 114.06 percent respectively. In the urban areas the growth rate is 50.75 percent. The female work

participation rate as marginal workers in more than the corresponding growth rate of male marginal workers is the country by 15 percent.

Table 3.3

PROPORTION OF TOTAL WORKERS MAIN AND MARGINAL WORKERS TO  
TOTAL POPULATION IN WEST BENGAL 1981-91.

TOTAL WORKERS MAIN WORKERS MARGINALWORKERS

Total Rural Urban	Persons Male Fem						
		1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
	P	30.17	32.37	28.26	30.20	1.91	2.17
<b>TOTAL</b>	M	50.30	51.36	48.71	50.50	1.59	0.86
	F	8.07	11.67	5.81	8.07	2.26	3.60
	P	30.30	33.40	28.04	30.58	26.26	2.82
<b>RURAL</b>	M	50.56	52.09	48.72	57.04	1.84	1.05
	F	8.89	13.54	6.19	8.83	2.70	4.71
	P	29.80	29.66	28.87	29.20	0.93	0.46
<b>URBAN</b>	M	49.62	49.52	48.70	49.12	0.92	0.40
	F	5.59	6.46	4.65	5.93	0.94	0.53

Source : same.

The work participation rate among women has increased manifold in the state but merely increasing the participation rate cannot be singularly seen as negative empowerment i.e., often the girls have to discontinue education to get employed whereas, the education of the male children is continued in the household. This has increased the school dropout rates, among females. Further, lack of proper creche facilities, lower wages, exploitative employers

often put them in vulnerable position. They are paid less wages for equal or more work they do in comparison to their male counterparts. The entire labour market is gender biased in India as in other South Asian countries. It is seen that in agriculture the sowing, transplantation, weeding, thrashing, etc. are done by women, but the ploughing work is done by men. Even though the job done by women is not considered inferior or subordinate but what they get out of it is comparatively less than men<sup>23</sup>. In this light employment is seen as negative empowerment but keeping these factors aside there are a large number of households headed by females. Rise in female headed household is an indicator of women self reliance and decision making.

According to a NSS report the per thousand distribution of female headed household in major cities of India is very less but west Bengal holds a better position among other cities. The table -- 3.4 shows the per thousand distribution of female headed households type for cities and the table 3.5 shows the per thousand distribution of persons belonging to females headed household types. The survey reveal that 501 of the total one thousand female headed households are 'those of regular employees, 205 are self employed. Whereas, the number of casual labourers is negligible in the city while others constitute 288 of the total households surveyed. Another table shows that 274 of per thousand households live in female headed household in Calcutta, where the women are self employed, and around 557 persons belong to families with a regular source of income.

This indicates that these women are self reliant and can take their own decisions. It is also a fact that such women have considerable visibility and mobility and they can

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<sup>23</sup>. *ibid.*

Table 3.4

Per thousand distribution of Female Headed Households by Household Type for each City/Size Class of Towns.

City Size      Household type      Per 1000 Households.

(1)	Self Employee	Regular Employee	Casual Labour	Others	No of Sample Household surveyed
Ahmedabad	177	388	235	250	44
Bangalore	104	248	80	569	667
Bombay	138	613	52	197	221
Calcutta	205	501	5	288	117
Delhi	321	256	33	389	67
Hyderabad	266	360	189	185	395
Kanpur	319	293	156	232	126
Madras	184	324	68	424	95
Nagpur	315	321	122	242	23
Pune	149	650	61	140	46
All cities	199	415	70	317	769

Size Class III towns 188 311 162 339 847

Size Class II towns 246 282 154 318 1143

Size Class I towns 222 196 216 363 1794

Note : Differences, if any, between 1000 and sum of cols.

(2) to (5) belongs to 'not recorded' category.

Sarvekshana - 57th issue. Vol. XVII. No 2. Oct-Dec 1993. NSS organisation. Dept of Statistics  
Ministry of Planning Govt. of India.

Table 3.5.

Per Thousand Distribution of Persons Belonging to Female Headed H.H. by H.H. type for each city /size Class of Town.

City/size Class of Towns	Self employed	Regular Employees	Casual labours	Others	No of sample Persons Surveyed
Ahmedabad	291	324	290	105	162
Banglore	230	404	137	229	282
Bombay	184	686	41	90	936
Calcutta	274	557	3	166	371
Delhi	421	314	31	234	237
Hyderabad	297	404	161	138	316
Kanpur	294	307	235	164	63
Madras	272	390	93	245	350
Nagpur	318	397	151	134	66
Pune	207	620	62	111	123
All Cities	273	481	79	167	2906
Size Class III Towns	214	383	186	217	3027
Size Class II Towns	299	327	153	220	4494
Size Class I Towns	270	214	237	277	6626

Note : Differences, if any, between 1000 and sum of col (2) to (5) belongs to 'not' recorded' category.

H.H.denotes House Holds

Source : Same.

command their own live, which is the mainstay of empowerment. However, what empowerment question bases upon is the wages, woman get after working full time along with their males counterparts in the state, because the state, become the state government has pioneered the policy of equal wages for both men and women in the state which remains in the papers as the state government alleges resistance from the other political parties especially the centre ruled by congress party.

Table -- 3.6

The Equally Distributed Income Index-1991

States	Population		Share of Agri Economically Active Population 1991		Regular Non Agri. Adult Wage Rate Earning Per Day (in Rs.) in 1987-88		Ratio of female Non Agri. Wages to Male Non Agri. Wages 1987-88	Share of Earned Income		Proportional Income Shares	
	F%	M%	F	M	F	M		F	M	F	M
West Bengal	0.465	0.535	0.167	0.833	15.20	13.19	0.432	0.080	0.920	0.171	1.721
India	0.481	0.519	0.286	0.714	26.28	34.90	0.753	0.232	0.768	0.481	1.481

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

The above table shows the share of economically active women in the state as 0.167 as compared to 0.833 percent of male share. Population above the age of 15 are considered economically productive thus, for this calculation work participation rates above the age of 15 are considered. It is assumed that female employment and male employment are proportional to female and male participation in the labour force. The above table shows picture where women's participation in labour force is marginal in the non agricultural sector. The reason for less participation of women according to Amrita Basu is that generally, bengali society doesnot encourage women to work as laborers. They only work outside in

circumstances where the husbands earning is very low or he is incapable to earn. She also observed that the moment the husbands starts earning well the women are forced to discontinue menial jobs and be a housewives<sup>24</sup>. This view is shared by Manisha Roy as she observed only in cases of divorcees, abandoned, disabled or extremely poor women there is no restriction on their moving out to work, otherwise women's going out to work is not socially encouraged<sup>25</sup>. Wages, which is a most important factor in employment shows how much equality women have with men as labour force. The Left Front government claims to have implemented the equal wages out but the data presented above shows that women get only Rs. 15.20 per day as compared to 35.19 rupees per day for men which is less than even 50 percent of what male labourers get for the equal amount of work done in a day. However the situation has changed over the years. The above mentioned wages are for the year 1987-88. Since then there has been a considerable hike in prices and wages have also gone up all over India. The wage rate for 1991-92 is not available yet, thus, it is difficult to assess the wage disparity in the state. But, one fact that remains is women are discriminated all over the nation it is also true women are discriminated all over the nation and nowhere women get equal pay for equal work in India. Even in Kerala, where women have a better position than in any other states, they earn only Rs. 32.95 and men earn Rs. 40.34. (see appendix for the table). Equal pay for equal amount of work done by the non-agricultural laborers can be achieved only if the government enforces the act in a stringent manner, specially in states where a large number of families are headed by females and often they are the bread earners for the families.

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<sup>24</sup>. Amrita Basu, *The Two Faces*.....

<sup>25</sup>. Manisha Roy, *Bengali Women*.....



In case of women's share in the earned income women in west Bengal contribute only 0.080 percent compared to men, who contribute 0.920 percent to the state GDP as only 8.3 percent women are employed in the state. This result is very discouraging from their participation point of view as less participation means only a few women are economically independent in the state. This has a negative impact on their assertiveness and mobility as well as their decision making power.

Though it is argued that employment is negative empowerment as often women get discriminated in the work distribution. They also get sexually assaulted at the work place and also outside as the society as a whole is not matured enough to give women place for themselves and to live with dignity. Further, it is also true that women who go out of the house to work have to share double burden i.e., they work full time at their work-place at the same time they are expected to work in the household whereas men often donot share the burden of the household and children of the couple. Mortality rates both among the women as well as their babies is more in case of working mothers as women often do to get enough time to look after themselves and their children. It is also seen that girls are forced to work whereas their brothers go to school which is why the literacy rates and the school drop out rate are more among girls. These factors are very important and need to be considered while discussing employment of women as an indicator of empowerment. Still employment remains a very important indicator of women's empowerment per se.

## RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND WOMEN.

Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) is the most important programme of rural development which incorporates several schemes for the alleviation of poverty. Poverty alleviation is the primary objective of planned development in India especially in rural areas where the majority of poor live despite the decline in the incidence of rural poverty<sup>26</sup> The mainstay of the policies adopted, is to extend minimum income generation schemes to the rural poor.

Under the IRDP schemes target groups are selected and provided financial assistance (in the form of the one third subsidy for productive assets by the government). These targeted group is given another two third by the financial institutions in the form of term credit. The expenditure incurred for the programme is shared equally by centre and the state government. The target group mainly consists of small and marginal farmers agricultural labourers and rural artisans "Among the assisted families 50 percent are SC or ST families and 40 percent of those assisted should be women and three percent of the assisted should be physically handicapped"<sup>27</sup>.

Since the inception of IRDP during 1980, upto 1992-93, 26.87 lakh families have been assisted in the state under this programme with rupees 4447.96 crore as subsidy and Rupees 816.97 crore in the form of bank credit. The table 4.1 shows the number of families assisted

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<sup>26</sup>. Refer to Appendix for Poverty in West Bengal.

<sup>27</sup>. *Annual Plan, West Bengal 1994-95, Vol.I.* Department of Development and Planning, Government of West Bengal, January 1994.

by the state government since its inception.

Table 4.1

IRDP : FAMILY ASSISTANCE IN WEST BENGAL 1980-93

Period	Families Assisted (no. in Lakh)	Subsidy (Rs. crores)	Credit (Rs. crores)	Total Investment (Rs. crores)	Per Family Investme nt Rs.
1980-85	6.91	48.65	86.42	135.07	1955
1985-90	13.98	231.19	446.94	678.13	4879
1990-91	2.26	58.99	101.43	160.42	7098
1991-92	2.01	57.72	96.30	154.02	7653
1992-93	1.71	51.41	85.88	137.29	8000

Source : Annual plan west Bengal, 1994-95 vol 1 Development and Planning

The table reveals, in the year 1992-93 against a target of assisting 1.71 lakh the per family investment is around rupee 8000 which is more than the preceding years. One reason behind this increase is the high prices of material. But, an important question that rises after looking at the table, is the declining family assistance amount. It is visible from the table that highest number of people were assisted in the period of 1985-90 i.e., 13.98 lakh but, it came down to 2.26 lakh by 1990-91 i.e, within a year the initial enthusiasm was washed out and since then there is a decline in the number of families assisted under IRDP. The question, why is there a decline in family assistance since 1990 gains from the fact that the total investment has also touched its all time low i.e., 137.29 crores since 1985 when the total investment was highest i.e., 678.13 crores. Even though the per family investment has increased to rupee 8000 and out of the target of 1,54,457 families to be assisted, actually, 1,71,695 families were assisted. Out of them 40.8 percent belonged to SC/ST categories and 44.83 percent were women<sup>28</sup>,but the picture that emerges is not satisfactory because the number of families assisted have come down. This illustrates that a large number of deserving poor people are left out without any assistance. This argument should also be seen in the light of left Front government's commitment towards the rural poor and alleviation of the rural poverty. Thus, Left Fronts ignorant attitude towards the poor people in the state can be elucidated from this.Assisting poor families is the major aim of IRDP. In a poverty stricken society, failing to support poor would mean failing in the entire development process[SIC]. In such societies women suffer most because they are the ones's who get exploited by the money lenders or the land lords from whom poor people take monetary help.

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<sup>28</sup>.ibid

Here, two important sub-programmes of IRDP are discussed to substantiate the above argument. They are attention at this juncture are Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas [DWACRA] and Training of Rural Youth for self employment [TRYSEM]. Under DWACRA a group of distressed rural women folk are assisted for social and economic upliftment and improvement of the quality of life and status. Similarly, under TRYSEM rural youth are imparted training for formation and upgradation of skills for taking up economic activities.

TRYSEM has been playing very important role in helping youths for employment. During 1992-93, 15,224 youths were trained against a target of 16,400<sup>29</sup>, but it has not been extended to all the blocks of the districts. Whereas DWACRA, which is a major programme for rural women, has been implemented in 12 districts of the state. The programme has been extended to 174 blocks of these districts. Around 2499 groups have been formed all over the state. In 1992-93, 345 groups were formed whereas the state government's target was 300. But, in 1993-94 the earlier enthusiasm declined and out of the target of 450 only 214 groups were formed<sup>30</sup>. This sharp decline confirms the above argument i.e., the Left Front Government is neglecting the entire rural sector of the State.

The government is dependent heavily on the voluntary organizations for the success of its various programmes. The VO's have done better work than the State Government machinery for rural development. Thus, in a bid to analyse the success or failure of these

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<sup>29</sup>. *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup>. D.K. Ghosh, "TRYSEM and Voluntary Action: A case study of West Bengal, D.R.D.A., Suri, Birbhum, West Bengal", Kurukshetra. September 1993. Vol. XLI. No. 12.

programmes the achievements of some voluntary organizations, in this regard, need to be seen. The voluntary organizations act in collaboration with the **District Rural Development Agency (DRDA)**, which bears all the expenditure on training while the voluntary organizations impart training with the help of specialists and experts. The achievement rates of these VO's is very high compared and to the government agencies. One organisation which needs to be mentioned in the regard is the Elmhirst Institute of Community Studies (EICS).

The EICS adopted skill endowment programmes under TRYSEM in collaboration with the DRDA and trained 47 women of poor families the craft of embroidery, Kantha stitch and hobby loom etc. in 1991-92. A sample of 20 was studied by D.K. Ghosh to see the impact of this training on the trained women and their families<sup>31</sup>. The result, according to his study was encouraging. The table 4.2 shows that 50 percent of these women are earning more than Rupees 400 per month which is quite good as these women belong to very poor families and are generally engaged in household activities or menial jobs. This way women who work in the unorganized sectors have been brought under the purview of regular income in Bolpur. West Bengal.

Table 4.2

Distribution of women trainees on the basis of per month Income.

Range of Income	Numbers of trainees	percentage
Upto Rs.100	1	5.00
101-200	2	10.00

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<sup>31</sup>. *ibid.*

201-300	4	20.00
301-400	3	15.00
401-500	5	25.00
501-600	2	10.00
Above Rs.600	3	15.00
Total	20	100.00

Source : "D.K. Ghosh : TRYSEM and voluntary action : A Casestudy of West Bengal", Kurukshetra 1993.

This table reveals that the trained women have utilized their skills and are earning their livelihood which is the mainstay of these programmes. EICS takes up projects to assist women in Bolpur to earn in their spare time. The institute works in 50 villages around Santiniketan and helps women in distress by family counselling, popularising education, immunization and child care, health projects etc<sup>32</sup>.

Another voluntary organisation -- Tagore Society for Rural Development has trained 996 males and females under TRYSEM schemes in 1991-92. It organized training programmed on (a) construction of bio gas plants and block printing with the help for District Industries centre. (b) bee-keeping with to help of Lok Shiksha parishad and (c) weaving with the help of Weavers Service Centre. This organisation also functions in Bolpur, Santiniketan. The Table 4.3 shows the trades for which youths were trained in 1991-92.

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<sup>32</sup>. *ibid.*

Table 4.3

## Trade Adopted by Trained Youth 1991-92

S. N O.	Trade	Male	Female	Total
<b>A</b>	<b>Residential Centre :</b>			
i)	Poultry	330	21	351
ii)	Carpentry	164	X	164
iii)	Weaving	89	127	216
iv)	Tailoring	57	28	85
	<b>Sub total</b>	640	176	816
<b>B.</b>	<b>Non-Residential Centre :</b>			
i)	Tailoring	X	90	90
ii)	Weaving	X	90	90
	<b>Sub-total</b>	X	180	180
	<b>Grand Total</b>	640	356	996

Source : Same  
original source : Tagore Society for Rural Development.

It is surprising to note that out of these trained women only 5 took up poultry farming others were found to be not working, out of sample of 40 women trained by the Tagore Society. the result of this study is not encouraging as most of the women were not utilising the skills they were taught <sup>33</sup>.

Another organisation which deserves attention here is the Gramin Resham Khadi Samiti in Birbhum district which has shown a success rate of 67.5 percent<sup>34</sup>. The organisation designed a programme taking 40 local women mostly from the muslim community. After completion of the training 27 women got engaged in yarn production. The

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<sup>33</sup>. *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup>. *ibid.*



society provides processed cotton to these women and takes back finished yarn. On an average a women earns Rupees 10 to Rupee 12 per day along with full-time housework. Ghosh in his study finds that the governmental organisations in the state implemented these programmes in a lackadaisical manner as they are more interested in achieving the targets in quantitative terms and not in qualitative terms. He also found that women were more serious than men, not only about themselves but also about the objectives of the programmes<sup>35</sup>. His argument can be substantiated by the fact that Jawahar Rozgar Yojna (JRY), which is a major programme for rural employment, has along with other employment generation programmes shows poor results in the state.<sup>36</sup>

JRY is a rural employment programme aimed at generating supplementary employment for the unemployed and under employed in the rural areas. This intends to generate employment on productive works which would improve the infrastructural base of the rural areas and provide more sustained employment in the long run. The Central assistance under JRY is shared between the centre and state in the ratio of 80: 20 and is allocated to the states on the basis of proportion on rural poor in a state to the total rural poor in the country. From the state to the districts, the allocations are made on an index of backwardness formulated on the basis of the (a) proportion of agricultural labourers to the main workers in the rural areas, (b) percentage of rural SC/ST population in relation to the total rural populations and (c) inverse of agricultural productivity is given to these in the

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<sup>35</sup>. *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup>. Annual Plan. West Bengal 1994-95.....

proportion of 20 : 60 : 20<sup>37</sup>.

JRY, thus, is a very important programme in rural development which along with other employment generation programmes can reduce the poverty especially in rural areas. the table given below shows the achievements of employment generation programmes in the state.

Table 4.4

Achievement of employment Generation Programmes in West Bengal.

Year	Available funds (Rs. in crores)	Fund Expenditure	percentage of utilization	Target for employment generation	Employment generation achieved	Percentage of achievement
1989-90	285.36	199.75	59.9	572.15	558.81	97.7
1990-91	284.27	170.19	59.9	643.16	516.85	80.4
1991-92	240.99	193.42	80.3	544.08	491.99	90.4
1992-93	253.00	214.13	84.6	557.24	525.55	94.3
1993-94	181.35	93.21	51.4	263.61	194.39	34.6

Source : Annual plan West Bengal 1994-95. Development and Planning Department. Govt. of West Bengal. 1994.

The table reveals that the achievement rate has declined in the state since the inception of these employment generation schemes in 1985. In 1989-90, the percentage of achievement was 97.7 per cent which was very impressive for an assessment but it declined afterwards, the lowest being in 1993-94 when it came down to 34.6 percent from 94.3 percent in 1992-93. This reveal that IRDP on the whole has stopped showing results in the state. The Left Front government which pledges to restructure the rural infra structure has virtually taken no steps to improve the situation going from bad to worse.

Land reforms is another major core of the strategy for poverty alleviation via both generation of greater employment and incomes and availability of more food for

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<sup>37</sup>. *ibid.*

consumption. The primary objective of the land reforms is to bring in a structural change in the rural society "by bringing about a publicly controlled change in the existing land ownership and to correct the skewed pattern of land tenure system so that the intermediary interest on the land is eliminated and security of the tenure of the actual tillers of the soil is ensured"<sup>38</sup>. The **West Bengal Estate Acquisition Act** of 1953 and the **West Bengal land Reform Act** of 1955 provide the necessary legislative infrastructure for restoring the land to the landless peasants various schemes have been taken up to supplement the legislative measures, like, the institutional finance to the allottees of ceiling surplus lands and the sharecroppers so that they can profitably cultivate the lands, generate some surplus and thereby contribute to the national economy.

The West Bengal land Reforms Act, after its recent amendment, brought all the classes under the ceiling limits. That is, the ceiling limits which was earlier prescribed for agricultural land only are now applicable to the aggregate of all classes of land held by a family. The act also provides for constitution of a land corporation with the objective of providing loans to the share croppers for the purchase of lands under their cultivation. The provision for **Joint Patta system** is significant for women's empowerment as they will automatically gain the ownership rights. After the implementation of Joint Patta system women can achieve decision making power within as well as outside the household, as firstly, they will gain the ownership rights of land. secondly, they will be in a position to decide what to grow in the land, where and whom to sell the products etc., which are all important decisions and are generally taken by men. But the policy has not been implemented as yet, as discussed in the earlier chapter, pertaining to the resistance from the landlord classes in the state. Land reforms has not

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<sup>38</sup>. *ibid.*

benefitted women directly but they have been affected by the measures, being a part of the family unit.

Restoring ownership rights to women is a major challenge in the Indian society as has been discussed earlier in this chapter that the entire work done by women is, though not undermined, but is grossly neglected, they are not acknowledged for doing a great amount of labour that they put in while working in the fields as well as in the household. In order to improve women's status the government needs to adopt stringent measures to curb the vested interests from extending their interests at the cost of the underprivileged section in the society.

The rural Development programmes mainly consists of four projects namely,

- (a) Strengthening of Block organisation.
- (b) State institute for rural development,
- (c) Strengthening and promotion of Mahila Mandals (samiti)
- (d) setting up of administrative headquarters and colony for development blocks<sup>39</sup>.

Strengthening and promotion of Mahila Mandals is a major step towards women's development as Mahila Mandals play a significant role in helping and supporting fellow women. In short, it is an important step towards women's collectivisation. Collectively women can challenge the existing system along with the fact that they can work together for various income generating programmes and thus ensure a better bargain for themselves in all walks of life.

The schemes ensure establishment of Mahila Samities in each Gram panchayat area.

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<sup>39</sup>. *ibid.*

A sum of rupees 1410.00 per samiti is provided along with the measures to revitalize the existing weaker samitis. In the year 1992-93 Rupees 1 lakh was provided for this purpose [38]. In 1993-94 also, the provision was rupees one lakh only. The total provision of the 8th plan stands at rupees 10.28 lakhs which is to be spent on Mahila Mandals<sup>40</sup>.

The Mahila Mandals play active role in the gram panchayat. Gram panchayats are the grassroots political organisation which functions at the base of the three tier structure. It needs to be mentioned here that in west Bengal, a three tier system has been functioning since 1978. All the three tiers are associated with the planning process through about 71,122 elected representative <sup>41</sup>. Almost all the anti-poverty and rural development programmes are implemented through panchayats. After the 73rd amendment to the constitution, Panchayats will acquire the status of local government units and will form part of the federal structure of the country. As institutions of self government, the panchayats are supposed to play crucial role in the overall economic development and social justice. Participation of women in panchayats is crucial for the overall women's development, as women at the grassroots suffer the most in the Indian society. Considering this factor, the Constitution of India provided for a 33 percent reservation for women in the panchayats. In the 4th general elections of panchayati raj nearly 24,895 women have been elected in the state against the 33 percent reservation, which on paper looks impressive but in actual analysis looks more like an eye wash as these women are generally the kith or kin of some important person, like the landlords or senior panchayat members. Though women in the state are actively participating in panchayat elections, a study conducted by H. Bhattacharaya district show that in Hijana

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<sup>40</sup>. *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>. *ibid.*

Gram Panchayat<sup>42</sup> out of the 25 members, 8 are females and have been elected against the 33 percent reservation for women<sup>43</sup>.

The study reveals that all the female members have been elected on CPI(M) tickets. Of these 7 are associated with the Mahila Samiti (AIDWA) and one is party member (A.S.M.)<sup>44</sup>. The study also reveals their level of education as well as the caste they belong to. He finds all the women members to be literate including one who has passed school Final Examination. Of them 1 belongs to the Aguri caste, 4 are scheduled castes and 3 are Muslims. They all belong to the age-group of 22-40 years. Most of them are housewives and socio-economically all belong to the poorer section of the rural society<sup>45</sup>. Bhattacharayya calls it a proof of CPI(M)'s preference for this section for the candidature but, the most important aspect of these policy implementations is the response of the women members, for instance, the level of participation in the decision making process. Secondly, it needs to be seen whether these women are aware of their powers and are utilizing their powers effectively. Third important question is the amount of time these women spend in panchayats.

As the study of H. Bhattacharyya reveals women members in general, are ignored as far as the decision making is concerned. Further, it has been seen that people do not have

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<sup>42</sup>. It is located at Bandgachha, it is a big Panchayat covering 15 villeges in Southern Burdwan, the Population is 18,481 according to the 1981 census.

<sup>43</sup>. H. Bhattacharyya, " Communist Panchayat in West Bengal since 1978: Contradictions of Grassroots Democracy". Draft Paper Presented in Grassroot Politics Colloquium, 1996. Department of Political Science. University of Delhi. 1996.

<sup>44</sup>. *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup>. *ibid.*

faith on women members as they seldom approach any woman members. It has also been seen that the women devote less time for panchayat activities than panchayat members is required. Most of them do not even attend the meetings and they are just asked to sign whenever needed, and those who attend the meetings are mostly accompanied by their husbands or any male member of their family. Thus, their participation in the decision making process of panchayats is nominal. Bhattacharyya also found that most of the decisions are imposed on the panchayats from above i.e., the party office. There is seldom an opportunity for the members to decide of their own. It is evident from this particular revelation, that women's panchayat participation is merely in paper as the political parties play most crucial role in the grassroots decision making process.

Another important aspect of women's participation in grassroots politics is their leading the offices of panchayati raj institutions, as women's participation is encouraged but they are not given the post of head of the institution even though many deserving women members exist. The Table 4.5 below shows representation as heads of panchayats is nominal.

Table 4.5

## Representation of women as Heads of Offices of PRI's

Districts	No. of Panchayat Samitis	No of women Sabhapatis	No of Gram panchayats	No. of women Panchayats
Cooch Bihar	12	X	128	2
Jalpaiguri	13	X	125	6
Dinajpur (N)	9	X	99	4
Dinajpur(S)	7	X	65	1
Malda	15	1	147	9
Murshidabad	26	1	255	1
24 Parganas (N)	22	X	214	7
24 Parganas (S)	29	2	312	10
Howrah	14	1	158	3
Hoogly	18	1	211	20
Burdwan	31	X	278	22
Birbhum	19	X	169	4
Bankura	22	1	190	31
Purlia	20	X	170	14
Midnapur	54	1	514	51
Total	328	8	3222	186

Source : D.K.Ghosh, "Women Panchyat Members As Heads of Offices : A study of West Bengal", Journal of Rural Development, Oct-Dec. 1995. vol. 14, No. 4.

In the 1993 elections, about 35 percent women joined the Panchayati raj institutions in the state. Not a single woman got the post of sabhapati in the Zilla Parishad. The table reveals only 8 women sabhapatis are there in Panchayat samitis and 186 in Gram panchyats. the gross under representation of women in panchayats is visible from the above table. The



highest tier of the panchayati raj has only 2 women Sahakari Sabhapati (second in command at Zilla parishad) in West Bengal. the panchayat Samiti has 3202 women but, only 8 from those elected were selected to head the samities i.e., only 2.43 percent women were found capable of managing the samiti, whereas, the total number of women members in the Gram panchayats constitute just 5.77 percent of the total membership<sup>46</sup>.

Thus, it can be said that women's representation in politics in terms of reservations is superficial in character, as the political parties are not yet ready to give women the decision making power to function independently D.K.Ghosh find Left Front to be no exception to this even though the state has unique distinction of organising elections to the panchayati raj bodies at all the three levels for four consecutive terms i.e., 1978, 1983, 1988 and 1993. He also suggests an adequate and continuous training support to women panchayat members for empowering them. This discussion is particularly important in a situation where left Front government considers empowerment to be synonymous with women's panchayat participation. However, it is appreciable for the state to have more than 33 percent women in its panchayat bodies, but as far as empowerment is concerned women have not achieved their deserved place in the panchayat. In order to empower women, left front should not only concentrate on women's participation rate but also focus on their "power bargain" for responsible posts.

The entire discussion in the chapter boils down to one single argument i.e., there is a direct link between the infrastructural change and empowerment. It has been seen that infrastructural development is directly proportional to better literacy situation, better access

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<sup>46</sup>. D.K.Ghosh, "Women Panchayat Members As Heads of Officers: A Study in West Bengal", Journal of Rural Development, October - December 1995.Vol.XIV.No.IV.

to health and consciousness towards family planning/welfare and better opportunities for employment. As we see literacy scenario has changed in the past few years in India, as more people are lured by better job opportunities in the cities where education is a basic necessity, better health facilities and modern health measure have lessened the mortality. the Poverty scene has also improved pertaining to opening of new avenues for employment. Further, family planning awareness has also increased because people in the urban areas find large families a burden for the urban lifestyle, the mass media and propaganda machinery also plays important role in the mass awareness. Whereas, in the rural areas the infrastructural developments is less, thus, people's access to health and family welfare, education, employment etc, is less in these areas, but with a lot of people migrating in the cities in search of better options. The incidence of poverty has come down in the rural sectors also. The rural infrastructure should be developed in order to develop the rural sector to stop the rural migration which is a major demographic problem. Population explosion in cities, which is due to rural migration, also affect women's life immensely. Generally such migrant women get employed in the unorganised sectors as unskilled labourers and get exploited by their employers. For instance, they are paid less and are often sexually exploited and their plight is ignored by the society.

Women should be provided with the proper reservation system, specialised training for rural and poor women especially the migrants, can improve their situation. They should also be provided free legal help for getting redressal. The government should adopt stringent measures to help women regain their position in the society and thus empower the half of its population.

## CONCLUSION

The Final part of this research deals with the assessment of empowerment in West Bengal since the left front rule. The major policies of the left front government, which directly affects the women's welfare, have already been discussed in the chapter II and their implementation has been studied in the chapter III. the question that crops up at this point is, why after implementing the policy measures women's position is nowhere near satisfaction leave aside the question of development in West Bengal. Though it is true that women's position in West Bengal is better than many other States in India but empowerment remains elusive for them as well as their counterparts in other states of India.

West Bengal, one of the most chaotic states in 1960's, emerged as one of the most well-governed states in India under the left Front rule in 1980's. Since then it has given political stability to the state. Still its performance has by no means been spectacular, it has left quite a few problems unresolved<sup>1</sup>. The failure in achieving good results (Chapter III) proves this statement true. It is a fact that a majority government can fully implement its policies and programmes without much resistance from opposition parties and groups. The state government since 1977 had ample opportunity to implement those policies which it claims in its agenda, like, the land reforms, equal wages, education, health, rural development, etc. These, if implemented properly, could have revolutionised the entire system in West Bengal, but, the government failed in the attempt of doing so alleging resistance from the centre (Congress governed) and the landlord class. The left front also alleges biasness in distribution of resources by the centre which has been countered by Amithabh Kundu.

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<sup>1</sup>.Atul Kohli, - Democracy and Discontent : the crisis of governability. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.1991.page-296.

According to Kundu, west Bengal is the fourth among the non-special category states to get the maximum central assistance i.e., 1529.00 crores<sup>2</sup>.

The reasons for decline in the achievement rate in the state are, firstly, lack of initiatives on the part of the government as what ever has been said is yet in papers, practical implementation has been grossly neglected in the state. Secondly, the complacency within political order i.e., after resuming power for the third time the left front leaders felt complacent about its performance and ignored the development activities in the state.[sic].The result of such a situation where 'the ruling party is not willing to reform or not capable of implanting reforms, one of the two outcomes are likely : Either the party will rapidly lose power or it will be attracted to deinstitutionalising populism, thus exacerbating the long term problems of establishing legitimate order'<sup>3</sup>. The outcome of the 1996 general elections clearly show a sharp decline in the number of seat won by the left front. The front has managed to win by a small margin composed to the earlier elections.

Women's empowerment becomes more elusive in this kind of a political backdrop eventhough the communist parties believe in equality between women and men. Women's empowerment depends on their participation in education, health and employment but the left front government perceives women's Political participation at the grassroots as the mainstay of empowerment (Particularly the state is one of the Pioneers in implementing Panchayati Raj

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<sup>2</sup>.Amitabh Kundu, , Links between Economic and Human Development in India. Country Profile for Human Resources Development Report. 1996.

<sup>3</sup>. Atul Kohli, Democracy and Discontent....p.296.

system and 33 percent reservation for women in the Panchayats)<sup>4</sup>.

Participation in politics is a very important form of participation in the developmental activities but, it is not the same for a society in which women suffer various constraints, like, firstly depressed economic status, i.e., poverty, economic dependence on men, lack of access to resources like land, credit, skills, technology and development assistance. Most of them struggle hard for a livelihood participating in politics is a remote activity. The second most important constraint is the inferior socio - religious position of women. The religions generally restrict women's activities outside the home. women are taught to be submissive and docile. they should fear the loss of honour and character assassination if they venture outside homes. Thirdly, illiteracy of majority of women in India keeps them ignorant and negligent about their rights. Further, the organisational handicaps like polarisation in favour of men and the all pervasive male hegemony act as important barrier in women's participation in the world outside home<sup>5</sup>. In case of west Bengal, women's mobility outside the home is better since the nineteenth century when the upper class women participated in the education and other grassroots political movements. However, the rural and poor people didn't have access to education in the state as much as enjoined by their city and rich counterparts in the state. But, employment of women was never seen as an important activity for the upper class, educated women. The restrictions on them were not extendable to the lower caste and class people, tribal women, particularly old widows, divorcees or abandoned women as they were

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<sup>4</sup>.Interviews with Dr.Malini .Bhattacharya, Former.M.P.Lok Sabha(1991) CPI(M). 1996. Shyamali Gupta, General Secretary.PBGMS,CPI(M).1995.

<sup>5</sup>.Neera Agnimitra," women in Panchayats: Empowerment or Illusion "Gandhi Marg, Jan-March 1996. Vol.178.No.4.

driven out by the economic necessities of their daily lives<sup>6</sup>. The present era has brought in many changes in the cultural and social settings of the state. Linda Mayoux attributed this change to four major reasons. firstly, increase in women's education increases their accessibility towards Bengali literature which deals with the various aspects of female exploitation. This leads to change in the attitude of families to change some of the norms restricting women's mobility outside home. Secondly, increasing dowry demands has led to a number of girls taking up employment to avoid dowry especially in families where the father is dead or disabled. At times, women from humble background take up full time employment to support themselves as well as their families. These women, according to Mayoux, are often leaders of change in their villages. Thirdly, the extension of communication has been fully exploited by women of all ages to visit relatives, for other traditionally sanctioned activities, and for newer Leisure pursuits. And fourthly, the communist and other political parties have mobilized women for fund raising and other party activities. This has given women a new courage to question their traditional roles within the households and the party<sup>7</sup>. In short, it can be said that bengali women have started questioning their role in the society as a whole.

It is also interesting to note that though Left Front encourages women for raising and other party activities but, their participation in politics as candidates for election to the assembly is not encouraged it is evident from the fact that the left front fielded only six

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<sup>6</sup>.Amrita Basu.. The Two faces of Protest.....

<sup>7</sup>. Linda C. Mayoux, "The Poverty of Income Generation : A Critique of women's Handicrafts schemes in India". In Changing Perceptions : writings on Gendr and Development. Edited by Tine Wallace & Candida March. ~~Ofn~~ Publication. Oxford. 1991.

women candidates for Lok Sabha elections held in May 1996 out of a total 42 candidates<sup>8</sup>. However, only two of them won the elections and have been taken in the cabinet of the left front ministry in the state<sup>9</sup>. It is also a fact that though women actively participated in the independence struggle their participation rate in the post independence era has declined to 7 percent in the 1991 general elections<sup>10</sup>. and 6.6 percent in the 1996 general elections in India<sup>11</sup>.

Thus to equate women's political participation with their empowerment is grossly erroneous in the Indian context because it seems "the transition from representation to empowerment will either not come about or will be along, painful and protracted process in the absence of efforts leading to a substantial power redistribution. In the present state of things, reservation in Panchayats can only be minor measures for transforming the power structure that is heavily tilted against women"<sup>12</sup> The only process through which women can be empowered is to educate them, provide better health facilities and provide them with better employment opportunities.

Before concluding this discussion a look at the latest tool for assessing the empowerment process is necessary. The new tool- The Gender - Related Development Index (GDI) is an innovative contribution of the Human Development Report (HDR) of 1995.

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<sup>8</sup>.List of Candidates for Lok Sabha. Telegraph 19 March 1996.

<sup>9</sup>.Telegraph, 20 May 1996.

<sup>10</sup>.Neera Aginimitra, ...Women in Panchayats:....p.445.

<sup>11</sup>.Times of India, June.16.1996.

<sup>12</sup>. Neera Agnimitra, "Women in Panchayats: Empowerment or Illusion" Gandhi Marg. Jan-March 1996, Vol. 17, No.4. P.451.



Prepared for the UNDP. The GDI Reflects gender disparities in the basic human capabilities. It goes beyond looking merely at average levels of achievements and relates the female - male disparity to the overall achievements in a society.

The GDI puts west Bengal on the 98th position in the world followed by India on 99th position. Calculation of **GDI depends on three factors** :-

- 1) The equally distributed index for life expectancy;
- 2) The equally distributed index for educational attainment;
- 3) The equally distributed index for income.

The GDI puts west Bengal on the 8th rank among 16 Indian states excluding the union territories, states with very less population and Jammu & Kashmir where the 1991 census was not held<sup>13</sup>.

The GDI calculation for West Bengal and India 1991-92.

GDI for States	Gender Related Development Index (GDI)	Share of earned Income Percentage		Life expectancy at birth (years) 1990-92		Adult Literacy Rate 1991. Percentage	
		Female	Male	Females	Males	Females	Males
W.B	0.399	8.0	92.0	62.0	60.5	42.8	69.3
INDIA	0.388	23.0	76.8	59.4	59.0	33.9	62.4

Source: A.K. ShivKumar. EPW. 6. April 1996<sup>14</sup>.

This above Table clears our Vision regarding the empowerment of women in the State where women contribute only 8.3 percent in the GDP for India whereas, their male counterparts contribute

<sup>13</sup>. A.K Kumar, Shiva, See App. for the table.

<sup>14</sup>. See App. for the GDI Calculations.

maximum i.e., 92 percent for the GDP. The Women's positions in the state is nowhere near empowerment. However, it is commendable that the life expectancy of women in the state is better than many other states not to compare with Kerala which has shown tremendous progress in women's position. The most discouraging aspects are the share in GDP and the literacy where we find a vast disparity among females and males in the state. For this disparity in the basic human capabilities West Bengal government or any political party cannot be blamed singularly because the entire system is responsible for depriving a large section of the society from leading a purposeful and healthy life. Until there is strong demand for redistributing the entire power structure women's empowerment would remain elusive as ever. Though there is move to reserve 1/3 seats in Lok Sabha for women but this move needs to be implemented with full force along with the other policies -- equal wages, land reforms, legal support to women, etc. Otherwise, empowerment of women will remain in papers and women in India would suffer in silence as they have done since ages.

## **APPENDIX**

Table A-3.1  
Levels of Literacy in Rural India, 1971 - 1991

State	1971			1981			1991		
	Male	Female	Distp	Male	Female	Distp	Male	Female	Distp
Andhra Pradesh	27	11	0.40	32	15	0.46	39	20	0.51
Assam	34	17	0.48	-	-	-	47	31	0.66
Bihar	28	6	0.23	34	10	0.30	38	14	0.37
Gujarat	39	17	0.44	48	24	0.50	55	32	0.58
Haryana	33	9	0.28	43	15	0.?	52	26	0.50
Karnataka	35	15	0.41	42	20	0.47	50	29	0.58
Kerala	66	53	0.81	74	64	0.87	80	74	0.93
Madhya Pradesh	27	6	0.23	33	9	0.27	41	16	0.39
Maharashtra	43	18	0.41	51	25	0.49	57	34	0.59
Orissa	36	12	0.33	45	18	0.41	50	26	0.52
Punjab	35	20	0.57	42	28	0.66	51	37	0.72
Rajasthan	23	4	0.18	30	5	0.18	38	9	0.24
Tamil Nadu	45	19	0.42	51	26	0.50	58	36	0.63
Uttar Pradesh	28	7	0.25	35	9	0.27	42	15	0.36
West Bengal	36	15	0.42	44	22	0.51	51	31	0.65
India	34	13	0.39	41	18	0.44	47	25	0.53

Notes : All rates are for the base of total population.

Source: 1971, 1981, 1991 - Literacy Digest, Director of Adult Education Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India.

Table A-3.2

## Level of Literacy in urban india, 1971 - 1991

State	1971			1981			1991		
	Male	Female	Dist	Male	Female	Dist	Male	Female	Dist
Andhra Pradesh	57	36	0.63	62	42	0.67	64	48	0.74
Assam	65	51	0.79	-	-	-	73	62	0.85
Bihar	55	32	0.58	62	40	0.64	65	46	0.70
Gujarat	64	45	0.70	69	51	0.75	72	57	0.80
Haryana	59	41	0.70	65	47	0.73	68	53	0.78
Karnataka	60	42	0.69	65	48	0.75	70	56	0.80
Kerala	72	61	0.84	80	72	0.90	83	78	0.94
MadhyaPradesh	60	37	0.61	64	42	0.66	67	48	0.72
Maharashtra	67	47	0.71	72	55	0.76	74	60	0.81
Orissa	60	37	0.61	65	43	0.66	70	52	0.74
Punjab	59	45	0.78	61	50	0.82	65	56	0.86
Rajasthan	56	30	0.53	61	34	0.57	64	41	0.64
Tamil Nadu	67	45	0.68	73	54	0.74	75	61	0.81
Uttar Pradesh	52	33	0.64	55	35	0.65	58	41	0.71
<b>West Bengal</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>0.77</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>0.79</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>0.83</b>
India	61	42	0.69	66	48	0.73	69	54	0.78

Note: All rates are for the base of total population.

Source : 1971, 1981, 1991 - Literacy Digest Directorate of Adult Education, Ministry of Human Resources Development, Govt. of India.

Table A-3.3 School Enrolment & Attendance:  
Gross Enrolment Ratios:

States	(6-10 years) 1991-92			(11-14 years) 1991-92			School Attendance Rate (6-14 years) 1981.		
	Total (1)	Male (2)	Female (3)	Total (4)	Male (5)	Female (6)	Total (7)	Male (8)	Female (9)
A.P.	109	123	94	57	70	43	44	54	34
Assam	112	116	108	62	69	54	NA	NA	NA
Bihar	80	104	55	37	53	20	36	48	23
Gujarat	126	141	110	71	84	58	57	66	48
Haryana	86	93	78	63	74	51	51	62	36
H.P.	117	125	108	110	124	96	67	78	56
J&K	86	101	71	61	75	46	44	56	31
Karnataka	111	115	106	56	65	47	49	58	40
Kerala	99	100	98	105	106	104	87	88	85
M.P.	104	119	88	55	74	35	38	50	25
Maharashtra	126	132	119	79	91	66	62	71	53
Orissa	103	119	86	51	65	37	45	56	34
Punjab	98	102	94	72	79	65	63	68	57
Rajasthan	79	106	50	44	65	22	36	51	18
Tamil Nadu	135	142	127	98	109	86	61	69	52
U.P.	86	104	66	51	67	33	37	49	23
<b>West Bengal</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>42</b>
Four Larger Northern states	87	107	66	47	65	29	37	49	23
Rest of India	112	122	102	70	80	59	53	63	44
<b>India</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>35</b>

Source : A.Kundu Links Between Economic & Human Development in India .....

Table A-3.4  
Crude Death Rate

S.No.	State	1961	1971	1981	1991
1.	A.P	20.4	14.6	11.1	9.7
2.	Bihar	23.3	14.2	13.9	9.8
3.	Gujrate	16.8	16.4	12.0	8.5
4.	Haryana	16.6	9.9	11.3	8.2
5.	Karnataka	17.6	12.1	9.1	9.0
6.	Kerala	13.7	9.0	6.6	6.0
7.	M.P.	21.5	15.6	16.6	13.8
8.	Maharashtra	16.9	12.3	9.6	8.2
9.	Orissa	20.5	15.5	13.1	12.8
10.	Punjab	17.4	10.4	9.4	7.8
11.	Rajashtan	18.7	15.6	14.3	10.1
12.	TamilNadu	16.8	14.4	11.8	8.8
13.	U.P.	24.2	20.1	16.3	11.3
14.	W.Bengal	18.5	N.A.	11.0	8.3
	India	19.0	15.0	12.5	9.8

Crude Birth Rate

S.No.	State	1961	1971	1981	1991
1.	A.P	39.2	34.8	31.7	26.0
2.	Bihar	41.9	32.8	39.1	30.7
3.	Gujrate	41.6	40.0	34.5	27.5
4.	Haryana	44.5	42.1	36.5	33.1
5.	Karnataka	39.9	31.7	28.3	26.9
6.	Kerala	37.5	31.1	25.6	18.3
7.	M.P.	46.6	39.1	37.6	25.8
8.	Maharashtra	41.0	32.2	28.5	26.2
9.	Orissa	41.3	34.6	33.1	28.8
10.	Punjab	36.9	34.2	30.3	27.7
11.	Rajasthan	42.7	42.4	37.1	25.0
12.	Tamil Nadu	36.8	31.4	28.0	20.8
13.	U.P.	42.5	44.9	39.6	35.7
14.	W.Bengal	44.3	N.A.	33.2	27.0
	India	41.2	37.2	33.9	29.5

Source : Same

Table.A-3.5

Infant Mortality rate (per 1000 live birth)

State	1971	1976	1981	1986	1988	1989	1990	1991
Andhra Pradesh	106	122	86	82	82	81	70	73
Assam	139	124	106	109	100	91	77	81
Bihar	NA	NA	118	101	97	91	75	69
Gujarat	144	146	116	107	91	86	72	69
Haryana	72	112	101	85	89	82	69	68
Himachal Pradesh	13	127	71	88	79	74	68	--
Karnataka	95	89	69	73	74	80	71	77
Kerala	58	56	37	27	28	22	17	16
Madhya Pradesh	135	138	142	118	120	117	111	117
Maharashtra	105	83	79	63	68	59	58	60
Orissa	127	127	135	123	122	122	123	124
Punjab	102	108	81	68	62	67	55	53
Rajasthan	NA	142	108	107	103	96	83	79
Tamil Nadu	113	110	91	80	74	68	67	57
Uttar Pradesh	167	178	150	132	123	118	98	97
West Bengal	NA	NA	91	71	70	86	63	71
India	129	129	110	96	94	91	80	80

Source: Same



Table 3.6  
Mortality and Life Expectancy Indicators  
Infant mortality rate                      Child Life Expectation

Crude Infant                      1989                      Death 1991-96  
Death Mortality -----  
rate rate                      Total Male Female 1889  
Rate Rate                      Rate -----  
0-4                      Male Female  
1991 1991                      (3) (4) (5) (6)                      (7) (8)  
(1) (2)

State	Crude Death rate 1991	Infant Mortality Rate 1991	Infant Mortality Rate 1989			Child Death rate 1989. 0-4	Life Expectation 1991-96	
			Total	Male	Female		Male	Female
Andhra Pradesh	9.7	73	81	89	73	21.8	61.4	64.5
Assam	1.5	81	91	97	85	29.6	58.7	58.5
Gujarat	8.5	69	86	85	88	29.2	60.9	62.7
Haryana	8.2	68	82	75	90	24.1	65.2	62.2
Himachal Pradesh	8.9	NA	74	59	92	19.3	NA	NA
Jammu & Kashmir	7.9	NA	69	72	60	19.6	NA	NA
Karnataka	9.0	77	80	86	74	25.7	64.2	65.3
Kerala	6.0	16	22	23	20	6.1	67.2	72.4
Madhya Pradesh	13.8	117	117	115	120	43.0	49.2	58.0
Maharashtra	8.2	60	59	64	53	18.0	63.9	65.1
Orissa	12.8	124	122	123	119	39.7	60.1	59.4
Punjab	7.8	53	67	72	56	21.9	66.6	65.5
Rajasthan	10.1	79	96	95	99	35.6	60.5	61.3
Tamil Nadu	8.8	57	68	67	69	20.6	62.8	63.1
Uttar Pradesh	11.3	97	118	114	123	41.3	57.1	52.8
West Bengal	8.3	71	86	83	71	21.9	61.9	61.9
Four large Northern States	11.2	91	108	107	110	38.7	58.9	56.8
Rest of India	8.8	72	80	82	76	24.0	61.8	65.1
India	9.8	80	91	92	90	29.9	70.6	61.7

\*Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.  
Sources: Same

Table A-3.7

## Maternal Mortality and Health Indices

	Maternal mortality Ratio 1982-86	% births Delivered by trained attendants 1989	Population served by doctor 1990
Andhra Pradesh	402	51.9	1924
Assam	1028	26.8	3536
Bihar	813	25.1	8750
Gujrat	355	54.2	2523
Haryana	435	82.1	13976
Himachal Pradesh	NA	45.0	11705
Jammu & Kashmir	NA	34.4	5350
Karnataka	415	57.1	1884
Kerala	234	91.8	1457
Madhya Pradesh	535	24.2	7213
Maharashtra	393	47.1	6803
Orissa	778	23.9	5401
Punjab	NA	85.0	6985
Rajasthan	938	21.1	5642
Tamil Nadu	319	67.6	4297
Uttar Pradesh	931	27.4	3822
West Bengal	551	37.4	15438
Four Large Northern States*:	823	25.4	5997
Rest of India	457	54.0	5750
India	555	43.2	5848

\*Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

Source : (Col.1) Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 1991.  
Family Welfare Programme in India Yearbook 1990-91. (New Delhi :  
Ministry of Health and Family Welfare), (Col. 2-3)

Table A-3.8  
Maternal care indicators by state Percentage of live births during the four years preceding the survey by various maternal care indicators and state, India, 1992-93.

State	% receiving ante-natal care	% receiving two doses of tetanus toxoid vaccine <sup>1</sup>	% receiving iron / folic tablets	% of births delivered in medical institutions	% of deliveries assisted by health professionals <sup>2</sup>
<b>India</b>	62.3	53.8	50.5	25.5	34.2
<b>North</b>					
Delhi	82.4	72.5	74.9	44.3	53.0
Haryana	72.7	63.3	59.9	16.7	30.3
Himachal Pradesh	76.0	47.0	71.7	16.0	25.6
Jammu & Kashmir	79.5	78.9	70.7	21.9	31.2
Punjab	87.9	82.7	73.6	24.8	48.3
Rajasthan	31.2	28.3	29.2	11.6	21.8
<b>Central</b>					
Madhya Pradesh	52.1	42.8	44.3	15.9	30.0
Uttar Pradesh	44.7	37.4	29.5	11.2	17.2
<b>East</b>					
Bihar	36.8	30.7	21.4	12.1	19.0
Orissa	61.6	53.8	49.9	14.1	20.5
<b>W.Bengal</b>	75.3	70.4	56.3	31.5	33.0
<b>North East</b>					
Arunachal Pradesh	48.9	31.9	44.7	19.9	21.3
Assam	49.3	34.9	39.4	11.1	17.9
Manipur	63.4	48.0	35.5	23.0	40.4
Meghalaya	51.8	30.0	49.6	29.6	36.9
Mizoram	88.9	42.5	63.7	48.9	61.5
Nagaland	39.3	33.0	23.9	6.0	22.2
Tripura	64.9	58.7	53.2	30.7	33.5
<b>West</b>					
Goa	95.4	83.4	89.3	86.8	88.4
Gujarat	75.7	62.7	69.3	35.6	42.5
Maharashtra	82.7	71.0	70.6	43.9	53.2
<b>South</b>					
Andhra Pradesh	86.3	74.8	76.4	32.8	49.3
Karnataka	83.5	69.8	74.9	37.5	50.9
Kerala	97.3	89.8	91.2	87.8	89.7
Tamil Nadu	94.2	90.1	84.1	63.4	71.2

Note: Table is based on births in the period 1-47 months prior to the survey. <sup>1</sup>Includes women who received more than two doses <sup>2</sup>Allpathic doctor or nurse/midwife.

Source : National Family & Health Survey 1992-93.....

Table A-3.9

## Infant Mortality Rate

Three-year moving average (1991-1994)

States

Rural

Urban

States	Rural	Urban
--------	-------	-------

	91-93	92-94	91-93	92-94
India	85	82	50	50
States				
A.P	75	72	48	45
Assam	81	80	52	58
Bihar	73	72	45	46
Gujrate	70	69	50	49
Haryana	73	73	53	55
Karnataka	83	78	43	42
Kerala	16	16	11	11
M.P	116	109	72	66
Maharashtra	67	66	36	36
Orrisa	121	114	72	71
Punjab	60	60	40	38
Rajasthan	88	89	57	61
T.Nadu	66	65	41	43
U.P.	100	97	73	72
W.Bengal	70	66	39	39

Source : The Times of India, May 17, 1996

Table A-3.10  
Fertility and selected proximate determinants

	Crude birth rate 1991 (1)	Total fertility rate 1989 (2)	Mean age at marriage 1981 female (3)	Couple protection rate 1990 (4)	% Users of nonterminal methods 1990
Andhra Pradesh	26.0	3.1	17.3	44.1	8.2
Assam	30.9	3.4	NA	25.2	2.0
Bihar	30.7	5.1	16.5	26.3	4.0
Gujarat	27.5	3.6	19.5	56.6	17.1
Haryana	33.1	4.4	17.9	58.2	26.2
Himachal Pradesh	28.5	3.2	N.A.	50.0	13.3
Jammu & Kashmir	30.7	3.3	N.A.	22.4	3.4
Karnataka	26.9	3.3	19.2	45.4	7.8
Kerala	18.3	2.0	21.9	52.5	8.2
Madhya Pradesh	35.8	4.7	16.5	40.3	12.5
Maharashtra	26.2	3.4	18.8	56.4	12.8
Orissa	28.8	3.6	19.0	40.8	9.2
Punjab	27.7	3.3	21.0	74.2	34.9
Rajasthan	35.0	4.7	16.1	29.5	8.0
Tamil Nadu	20.8	2.5	20.2	56.2	12.3
Uttar Pradesh	35.7	5.2	17.8	33.8	14.0
<b>West Bengal</b>	<b>27.0</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>19.3</b>	<b>34.0</b>	<b>4.6</b>
Four large northern states* :	34.3	5.0	17.0	32.6	10.3
Rest of India	26.4	3.2	19.2	50.3	15.1
<b>India</b>	<b>29.5</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>18.3</b>	<b>43.3</b>	<b>13.2</b>

\*Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

Source : Registrar General, 1993, Sample Registration.

Bulletin XXVII-I, (col.1). Ministry of Health and Family Welfare., 1991. Family Welfare Programme in India : yearbook 1990-91. Delhi : Ministry of Health and Family Welfare), (cols, 2-5).

Table A-3.11 Fertility by state (contd.) Age-specific and total fertility rates (TFR), average number of children ever born (CEB) for women age 40-49, and crude birth rate for the three-year period prior to the survey, according to residence and state, India, 1992-93

## URBAN

State	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	TFR(5-49)	Mean CEB for women age 40-49	Crude birth rate
India	0.075	0.203	0.154	0.071	0.027	0.006	0.004	2.70	4.16	24.1
North										
Delhi	0.061	0.223	0.186	0.085	0.041	0.008	0.000	3.00	4.15	26.2
Haryana	0.075	0.274	0.181	0.063	0.019	0.015	*	3.14	4.35	26.7
H.P.	0.023	0.184	0.124	0.059	0.015	0.000	(0.000)	2.03	3.41	20.2
J&K	0.026	0.144	0.165	0.081	0.010	0.000	(0.000)	2.13	3.89	21.2
Punjab	0.041	0.224	0.147	0.059	0.021	0.003	*	2.48	3.92	21.0
Rajasthan	0.063	0.184	0.181	0.087	0.031	0.000	(0.000)	2.77	4.14	22.3
Central										
M.P.	0.062	0.239	0.185	0.077	0.037	0.012	(0.000)	3.27	4.58	27.1
U.P.	0.062	0.240	0.204	0.125	0.057	0.014	0.015	3.58	5.18	28.5
East										
Bihar	0.069	0.224	0.182	0.080	0.033	0.012	0.000	3.25	4.59	27.5
Orissa	0.070	0.182	0.147	0.084	0.012	0.011	(0.000)	2.33	4.64	23.9
W.Bengal	0.083	0.198	0.107	0.038	0.016	0.000	(0.000)	2.14	3.64	18.5
Northeast										
Arunachal	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	NC	*	NC
Assam	0.070	0.167	0.159	0.054	0.046	0.011	(0.000)	2.53	4.16	23.2
Assam	0.030	0.122	0.121	(0.133)	(0.035)	(0.000)	*	NC	(4.51)	NC
Mizoram	0.045	(0.207)	(0.194)	*	*	*	*	NC	(4.33)	NC
Mizoram	0.053	0.125	0.154	0.089	(0.028)	(0.006)	(0.000)	NC	4.06	NC
Nagaland	0.050	(0.145)	(0.128)	*	(0.035)	*	*	NC	(3.71)	NC
Tripura	(0.057)	(0.088)	(0.121)	(0.082)	*	*	*	NC	*	NC
West										
Goa	0.019	0.092	0.124	0.083	0.032	0.008	0.002	1.80	3.58	16.4
Gujarat	0.63	0.227	0.154	0.085	0.011	0.006	(0.004)	2.85	4.01	24.6
Maharashtra	0.088	0.196	0.151	0.054	0.014	0.005	0.000	2.54	3.94	24.2
South										
A.P.	0.085	0.210	0.104	0.049	0.019	0.003	(0.000)	2.35	3.88	22.3
Karnataka	0.094	0.189	0.127	0.057	0.020	0.002	0.000	2.38	4.04	22.7
Kerala	0.033	0.149	0.121	0.036	0.013	0.003	0.000	1.78	3.31	18.0

Fertility by state (Contd.) Age-specific and fertility rates (TFR), average number of children ever born (CEB) for women age 40-49, and crude birth rate for three three-year period prior to the survey, according to residence and state, India, 1992-93.

Age-specific fertility rates

RURAL

State	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	TFR 15-49	Mean CEB for women age 40-49	Crude birth rate
India	0.131	0.243	0.177	0.100	0.061	0.019	0.006	3.87	5.13	30.4
North										
Delhi	(0.131)	(0.251)	(0.190)	*	*	*	*	NC	4.91	NC
Haryana	0.196	0.331	0.202	0.109	0.043	0.015	(0.004)	4.32	3.51	35.1
Himachal Pradesh	0.089	0.287	0.179	0.044	0.036	0.008	0.000	3.07	4.54	29.0
Jammu & Kashmir	0.056	0.243	0.216	0.093	0.045	0.011	0.007	3.36	3.37	29.3
Punjab	0.074	0.242	0.184	0.078	0.021	0.005	0.003	3.09	4.29	28.5
Rajasthan	0.124	0.284	0.181	0.113	0.063	0.017	0.011	3.87	5.22	28.1
Central										
Madhya Pradesh	0.173	0.280	0.182	0.115	0.051	0.020	0.011	4.11	3.42	32.9
Uttar Pradesh	0.126	0.269	0.234	0.195	0.105	0.044	0.014	5.19	6.19	37.9
East										
Bihar	0.127	0.244	0.191	0.150	0.083	0.029	0.003	4.14	5.36	32.9
Orissa	0.099	0.209	0.166	0.089	0.036	0.010	0.000	3.00	4.65	27.9
W. Bengal	0.140	0.219	0.152	0.094	0.039	0.012	0.005	3.25	5.29	26.4
Northeast										
Arunachal	0.118	0.246	0.184	0.150	0.086	(0.045)	*	4.36	4.86	34.6
Assam	0.122	0.205	0.209	0.128	0.057	0.023	(0.000)	3.88	6.01	31.4
Manipur	0.053	0.176	0.185	0.124	0.067	(0.016)	*	3.03	4.87	25.5
Meghalaya	0.066	0.178	0.176	0.125	0.116	0.053	(0.029)	3.90	5.03	31.9
Mizoram	0.039	0.157	0.129	(0.095)	(0.063)	(0.029)	(0.000)	(2.30)	4.49	(19.6)
Nagaland	0.064	0.199	0.212	0.150	0.087	0.019	0.006	3.80	4.26	34.2
Tripura	0.091	0.185	0.129	0.099	0.056	0.031	(0.000)	2.91	5.70	24.5
West										
Goa	0.011	0.099	0.172	0.084	0.030	0.001	0.000	1.99	3.94	17.8
Gujarat	0.096	0.254	0.158	0.080	0.027	0.005	0.004	3.17	4.64	28.4
Maharashtra	0.133	0.252	0.116	0.052	0.010	0.000	0.000	3.12	4.33	27.9
South										
A.P.	0.184	0.198	0.101	0.046	0.020	0.005	0.000	2.67	4.12	24.7
Karnataka	0.147	0.226	0.186	0.089	0.026	0.009	0.002	3.06	4.99	27.3
Kerala	0.40	0.164	0.125	0.063	0.018	0.006	0.001	2.09	3.82	20.3
Tamil Nadu	0.099	0.212	0.121	0.051	0.029	0.004	0.000	2.54	4.27	23.5

Age-Specific and Total Fertility Rates (TFR), Average Number of Children Ever Born (CEB) for Women Age 40-49, and Crude Birth Rate for the three-year prior to the Survey, According to Residence and State, India, 1992-93.

TOTAL

State	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	TFR 15-49	MeanCEB for women age 40-49	Crude birth rate
India	0.116	0.231	0.170	0.067	0.044	0.015	0.006	3.39	4.84	26.7
North										
Delhi	0.086	0.224	0.184	0.086	0.040	0.005	0.000	3.02	4.19	26.8
Haryana	0.143	0.318	0.196	0.066	0.036	0.015	0.003	3.99	4.21	32.9
H.P.	0.075	0.259	0.172	0.046	0.034	0.007	0.000	2.97	4.42	26.2
J&K	0.054	0.223	0.206	0.080	0.036	0.009	0.005	3.13	5.05	27.9
Punjab	0.085	0.238	0.180	0.072	0.021	0.005	0.002	2.92	4.16	25.0
Rajasthan	0.112	0.247	0.181	0.107	0.055	0.014	0.010	3.83	5.00	27.0
Central										
M.P.	0.133	0.256	0.191	0.108	0.047	0.018	0.010	3.90	5.22	31.6
U.P.	0.113	0.279	0.251	0.177	0.064	0.037	0.014	4.82	5.97	35.9
East										
Bihar	0.121	0.241	0.190	0.141	0.078	0.028	0.004	4.00	5.23	32.1
Orissa	0.088	0.204	0.163	0.069	0.031	0.010	0.000	2.92	4.86	26.5
W.Bengal	0.123	0.292	0.136	0.075	0.031	0.008	0.006	2.82	4.72	25.8
Northeast										
Arunachal Pradesh	0.115	0.246	0.194	0.130	0.061	(0.039)	*	4.25	4.86	34.6
Assam	0.116	0.200	0.195	0.117	0.055	0.021	0.000	3.53	5.74	30.4
Manipur	0.037	0.132	0.176	0.126	0.057	0.010	(0.000)	2.76	4.80	24.4
Meghalaya	0.079	0.182	0.180	0.117	0.115	0.051	0.022	3.73	4.82	31.9
Mizoram	0.046	0.140	0.143	0.065	0.031	0.014	0.000	2.30	4.26	20.8
Nagaland	0.067	0.186	0.186	0.131	0.059	0.015	0.006	3.26	4.16	31.3
Tripura	0.065	0.186	0.125	0.081	0.052	0.028	(0.000)	2.67	5.44	23.1
West										
Goa	0.018	0.096	0.146	0.083	0.031	0.005	0.001	1.90	3.74	17.2
Gujrat	0.068	0.251	0.157	0.074	0.021	0.005	0.004	2.99	4.42	27.2
Maharashtra	0.141	0.227	0.132	0.053	0.012	0.006	0.000	2.66	4.25	26.3
South										
A.P.	0.144	0.292	0.101	0.047	0.019	0.005	0.000	2.59	4.05	24.2
Karnataka	0.129	0.208	0.134	0.054	0.024	0.008	0.005	2.85	4.85	25.9
Kerala	0.036	0.180	0.123	0.054	0.017	0.006	0.001	2.00	3.85	19.8
Tamil Nadu	0.067	0.203	0.132	0.051	0.019	0.004	0.000	2.48	4.21	23.5

Notes : NC : Not Calculated because there are too few women in this category. ( )  
Based on 125-129 women - years of exposure for age specific fertility rates and 25-49 of CEB.  
Rate not shown are based on fewer than 125 women - years of exposure for age - specific fertility rates  
and fewer than 25 unweighted women age 40-49 women 40-49 for CEB. Source : National Health and family survey 1992-93.



Table A-3.12

Exposure to and acceptance of family planning messages and discussion and approval of family planning.

Percentage of ever-married women who have heard a family planning message on the radio or television, who approve of media messages discussing family planning, who have discussed family planning with their husbands, who have discussed family planning with their husbands and approved of family planning, according to state, India, 1992-93.

State	Heard family planning message on the radio or television	Accept media messages on family planning	Discussed family planning with husband	Both husband and wife approve of family planning
<b>India</b>	42.2	68.3	50.3	58.4
<b>North</b>				
Delhi	79.3	76.2	66.9	76.4
Haryana	52.5	82.2	67.3	79.4
Himachal Pradesh	45.2	84.1	58.0	77.8
Jammu & Kashmir*	60.4	79.9	62.1	80.2
Punjab	59.9	81.8	69.5	86.0
Rajasthan	33.3	55.1	44.2	59.1
<b>Central</b>				
Madhya Pradesh	34.3	50.0	36.3	50.3
Uttar Pradesh	32.7	50.3	47.8	42.3
<b>East</b>				
Bihar	26.6	37.5	39.6	46.0
Orissa	26.1	71.5	30.8	61.1
W.Bengal	34.2	83.5	58.7	70.0
<b>Northeast</b>				
Arunachal Pradesh	29.9	48.5	53.4	52.1
Assam	23.7	85.3	78.7	76.3
Manipur	63.3	66.7	71.7	59.2
Meghalaya	35.4	39.7	48.2	44.4
Mizoram	50.8	70.7	55.9	60.7
Nagaland	38.6	41.5	79.5	57.9
Tripura	38.1	89.3	64.7	80.7
<b>West</b>				
Goa	74.2	83.4	58.5	67.1
Gujarat	47.4	81.4	58.5	70.1
Maharashtra	51.5	77.4	59.7	57.8
<b>South</b>				
Andhra Pradesh	58.4	86.7	41.6	77.1
Karnataka	66.8	77.8	56.9	63.2
Kerala	55.9	87.4	60.9	62.6
Tamil Nadu	51.9	92.5	47.9	63.7

\*Jammu region of J&K Source : National Health & family Survey 1992-93....

Table A - 213 Current use of Contraceptives by state (Contd.)  
 Primary definition of currently married women, age 15-49 by contraceptive method currently used, according to IIPS and national, India, 1992-93  
 UPOW

State	Any method	Any modern method	Any modern temporary method	PI	R/D	Injection	Condom	Female sterilisation	Male sterilisation	Any trad. method	Periodic abstinence	Withdrawal	Other methods	Not using any method	Total %
Andhra Pradesh	51.0	45.3	11.7	1.9	3.9	..	5.8	30.1	3.2	5.8	3.5	2.1	0.2	48.0	100.0
Assam	80.7	54.9	31.5	3.0	8.1	0.1	30.3	20.2	3.1	5.8	3.2	2.5	0.1	28.3	100.0
Bihar	58.0	48.7	20.2	1.5	5.4	..	13.3	23.5	5.0	9.3	3.0	8.1	0.2	42.0	100.0
Chhatisgarh	70.4	63.0	24.4	1.2	8.9	..	14.3	29.1	3.8	7.4	2.4	4.9	0.1	29.6	100.0
Goa	64.8	50.1	21.5	2.5	7.0	..	13.1	22.5	5.0	14.3	3.9	8.9	0.4	35.1	100.0
Gujarat	62.8	54.3	23.9	1.8	7.8	..	14.4	27.6	2.8	8.5	4.3	4.0	0.3	37.3	100.0
Haryana	47.1	46.8	8.5	0.8	2.5	0.1	5.1	24.9	3.4	..	0.1	0.2	..	52.9	100.0
Himachal Pradesh	47.7	46.2	11.6	1.2	3.6	..	8.8	26.9	4.7	1.5	1.0	0.2	0.2	52.3	100.0
Jharkhand	31.0	28.6	13.7	1.5	3.4	..	8.8	13.6	2.2	2.4	1.6	0.8	0.2	68.0	100.0
Karnataka	42.5	36.2	8.5	2.3	1.8	0.2	4.5	27.4	3.3	3.3	1.7	1.1	0.5	57.5	100.0
Kerala	47.4	45.1	7.9	2.5	3.2	..	2.2	33.1	4.1	2.3	1.2	0.7	0.4	52.6	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	61.8	38.8	11.1	8.2	1.8	..	4.3	23.3	2.1	36.3	12.8	11.8	0.7	38.3	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	34.5	29.0	1.3	4.0	5.8	..	4.0	14.5	0.8	10.5	8.9	1.8	..	60.5	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	62.3	32.8	10.9	3.9	1.8	..	5.5	21.4	1.3	28.7	17.2	11.0	0.5	37.7	100.0
Maharashtra	44.3	31.8	17.2	3.4	12.0	..	1.7	11.0	3.4	12.7	12.0	0.7	..	55.7	100.0
Mizoram	31.9	27.7	7.9	2.7	2.7	..	0.5	12.4	0.5	4.2	3.1	2.1	..	68.1	100.0
Nagaland	52.1	58.8	8.5	3.8	4.8	..	1.4	46.0	0.2	1.4	0.9	0.5	..	42.9	100.0
Nagaland	20.6	20.6	8.3	2.2	3.2	..	11.8	11.9	0.5	..	..	..	..	79.4	100.0
Nagaland	71.1	38.3	13.9	6.5	2.0	..	2.5	23.4	2.0	3.8	15.4	15.9	0.5	28.9	100.0
Nagaland	51.2	36.7	8.3	0.9	3.0	..	5.4	26.0	1.4	14.5	11.3	3.1	0.1	48.8	100.0
Odisa	52.7	48.0	11.0	1.7	5.5	0.1	3.7	34.8	3.3	3.7	2.8	0.8	..	47.3	100.0
Punjab	52.9	50.8	11.3	2.3	4.8	..	4.4	38.7	2.8	2.2	2.9	0.1	0.1	47.1	100.0
Rajasthan	56.6	56.8	4.3	1.1	1.0	..	2.1	44.1	7.2	1.0	0.8	..	0.2	43.4	100.0
Tamil Nadu	51.0	46.1	8.7	0.7	5.0	..	2.9	26.4	1.0	2.9	2.6	0.2	0.1	48.0	100.0
Tamil Nadu	88.2	57.3	6.9	0.6	2.3	..	3.9	42.6	7.8	1.9	7.9	3.0	..	31.8	100.0
Tamil Nadu	51.9	44.5	8.9	0.9	4.1	..	3.0	33.3	1.4	6.3	4.3	1.6	0.5	46.1	100.0

## RURAL

State	Any method	Any modern method	Any modern temporary method	Pill	IUD	Injection	Condom	Female sterilization	Male sterilization	Any local method	Periodic abstinence	Withdrawal	Other methods	Not using any method	Total %
India	36.9	33.1	3.4	0.9	1.2	-	1.2	26.3	3.5	3.8	2.3	1.2	0.2	63.1	100.0
North															
Delhi	55.5	50.6	28.4	1.8	4.3	-	22.8	17.9	4.3	4.7	2.3	1.9	0.4	44.7	100.0
Haryana	46.7	42.8	5.8	1.1	2.4	0.1	2.3	32.0	3.0	3.9	2.0	1.9	-	53.3	100.0
Himachal Pradesh	57.1	53.4	6.9	0.5	2.8	0.1	4.3	33.0	13.6	3.6	1.8	1.9	0.1	42.9	100.0
Jammu&Kashmir	46.2	37.5	7.3	1.1	1.9	-	4.4	25.9	4.2	8.8	3.3	5.4	-	53.8	100.0
Punjab	57.2	50.2	14.8	2.3	5.7	-	6.8	33.0	2.4	7.0	4.5	2.5	-	42.8	100.0
Rajasthan	28.2	27.1	2.0	0.4	0.9	-	0.8	23.0	2.1	1.0	0.5	0.4	0.1	71.8	100.0
Central															
Madhya Pradesh	33.4	32.3	1.8	0.5	0.4	-	0.9	25.4	5.3	0.9	0.6	-	0.3	66.6	100.0
Uttar pradesh	16.7	15.8	3.4	0.9	0.6	0.2	1.8	11.2	1.2	1.0	0.7	0.1	0.1	83.3	100.0
East															
Bihar	19.8	18.5	2.0	0.9	0.4	-	0.7	15.6	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.4	-	80.2	100.0
Orissa	34.2	32.7	2.1	0.8	1.2	-	0.5	27.3	3.3	1.5	0.9	0.2	0.3	65.8	100.0
West Bengal	55.7	37.6	5.0	2.0	1.1	0.1	0.9	27.4	5.1	18.2	10.9	6.9	0.5	44.3	100.0
Northeast															
Arunachal Pradesh	29.8	17.8	7.7	3.1	4.4	0.1	0.1	9.8	0.3	3.2	3.0	0.3	-	79.2	100.0
Assam	40.1	18.0	4.7	2.7	0.8	-	1.2	10.8	2.5	22.1	13.3	5.7	1.0	59.9	100.0
Manipur	30.3	20.5	7.0	1.8	4.2	-	1.8	10.8	2.7	8.8	9.0	0.8	-	69.7	100.0
Meghalaya	18.0	12.1	4.4	2.1	1.8	-	0.5	7.0	0.6	5.9	1.0	0.2	4.7	82.0	100.0
Mizoram	50.5	50.1	7.1	1.3	5.8	-	-	43.0	-	0.4	0.4	-	-	49.5	100.0
Nagaland	16.9	10.9	6.1	1.9	1.7	0.2	2.2	4.9	-	-	-	-	-	89.1	100.0
Tripura	52.4	25.9	8.4	5.6	1.4	-	1.4	13.1	2.5	26.4	17.0	9.1	0.4	47.6	100.0
West															
Goa	44.4	39.0	3.4	0.5	2.4	-	2.5	33.0	0.8	5.3	3.7	1.8	-	55.6	100.0
Gujarat	47.5	43.7	3.2	0.7	1.7	-	0.8	36.9	3.7	1.7	1.1	0.8	-	52.5	100.0
Maharashtra	54.3	33.8	2.9	0.7	1.1	-	1.2	42.3	8.5	0.5	0.4	-	0.1	45.7	100.0
South															
Andhra Pradesh	43.6	43.3	0.9	0.2	0.4	-	0.2	36.0	6.4	0.3	0.1	-	0.2	56.4	100.0
Karnataka	47.7	46.4	2.9	0.3	2.3	-	0.3	41.7	1.8	1.2	1.0	0.1	0.1	52.3	100.0
Kerala	61.4	53.2	5.8	0.4	2.9	-	2.5	41.5	6.0	8.1	3.2	2.9	0.1	38.6	100.0
Tamil nadu	49.2	45.5	3.4	0.4	2.2	-	0.8	39.9	2.3	3.7	1.7	1.3	0.7	50.8	100.0

Current use of Contraception Methods by state  
Percent distribution of currently married women, age 15-49 by contraceptive method actually used, according to state residence, India, 1992-93

Total

State	Any method	Any modern method	Any modern temporary method	Pill	IUD	Injection	Coitus	Female Sterilization	Male Sterilization	Any trad. method	Periodic abstinence	Withdrawal	Other methods	Not using any method	Total Fertility
India	40.6	36.3	5.5	1.2	1.9	--	2.4	27.3	3.4	4.3	2.8	1.4	0.2	59.4	100.0
North															
Delhi	60.1	54.6	31.3	2.9	7.8	0.1	20.5	20.0	3.2	5.7	3.1	2.5	0.2	39.7	100.0
Haryana	45.7	44.3	9.6	1.2	3.2	--	5.2	28.7	5.0	5.3	2.2	3.0	0.1	50.3	100.0
Himachal Pradesh	56.4	54.4	8.6	0.5	2.7	--	5.3	32.6	13.2	4.0	1.7	2.2	0.1	43.6	100.0
Jammu&Kashmir**	49.4	39.7	10.0	1.3	2.8	--	5.9	25.3	4.4	9.7	3.4	6.2	0.1	50.6	100.0
Punjab	56.7	51.3	17.3	2.2	6.3	--	8.9	31.5	2.5	7.4	4.4	2.9	0.1	43.3	100.0
Rajasthan	31.8	30.9	3.3	0.5	1.2	0.1	1.3	25.3	2.4	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.1	68.2	100.0
Central															
Madhya Pradesh	36.2	35.5	4.0	0.7	1.1	--	2.2	26.4	5.1	3.0	0.7	0.1	0.3	63.5	100.0
Uttar Pradesh	19.8	18.5	5.5	1.0	1.1	0.1	3.2	11.7	1.4	1.3	0.9	0.2	0.1	80.2	100.0
East															
Bihar	23.1	21.6	2.9	1.1	0.5	--	1.3	17.3	1.3	1.5	0.9	0.5	0.1	76.9	100.0
Orissa	36.3	34.6	3.0	0.9	1.5	--	0.6	26.2	3.4	1.6	0.9	0.3	0.5	63.7	100.0
West Bengal	57.4	37.3	6.7	3.5	1.3	8.1	1.9	26.3	4.3	26.1	11.3	8.3	6.3	42.6	100.0
North-east															
Assam Pradesh	23.6	19.3	8.6	3.2	4.6	0.1	0.7	10.3	0.4	4.3	3.8	0.5	--	76.4	100.0
Assam	42.8	19.8	5.4	2.8	0.9	--	1.7	12.1	2.3	22.9	15.7	6.3	0.9	57.2	100.0
Manipur	34.9	24.1	10.3	2.4	6.7	--	1.2	10.9	2.9	10.8	10.0	0.8	--	65.1	100.0
Mizoram	20.1	15.1	5.1	2.4	2.2	--	0.5	9.4	0.6	5.6	1.2	0.6	3.8	79.3	100.0
Nagaland	51.8	52.9	8.3	2.5	5.1	--	0.7	44.5	0.1	0.9	0.7	0.2	--	48.2	100.0
Nagaland	13.0	13.0	6.5	2.1	2.0	0.2	2.2	6.3	0.1	--	--	--	--	87.0	100.0
Tripura	56.1	28.6	9.5	6.4	1.5	--	1.6	16.7	2.4	27.5	16.7	10.5	0.4	43.9	100.0
West															
Goa	47.8	37.9	7.3	0.7	2.7	--	3.9	29.5	1.0	9.9	7.5	2.4	0.1	52.2	100.0
Goa	49.3	46.9	3.9	1.0	3.0	0.1	1.8	37.5	3.5	2.4	1.7	0.7	--	50.7	100.0
Maharashtra	53.7	52.9	6.4	1.4	2.3	--	2.5	40.0	6.2	1.2	1.1	0.1	0.1	46.3	100.0
Goa															
Andhra Pradesh	47.0	46.5	1.8	0.5	0.6	--	0.7	38.1	6.6	0.5	0.3	--	0.2	53.0	100.0
Karnataka	49.1	47.3	4.8	0.4	3.2	--	1.2	41.6	1.5	1.8	1.5	0.1	0.1	50.9	100.0
Kerala	63.3	34.4	6.1	0.3	2.7	--	2.9	41.8	6.3	8.9	6.0	2.9	0.1	36.7	100.0
Tamil Nadu	49.8	34.2	5.7	0.6	3.5	--	1.4	37.5	2.0	4.6	2.6	1.4	0.6	50.2	100.0

Table 3.14

Expenditure on Family Welfare Programmes in West Bengal.

Year	Total Expenditure on Family Welfare [Rs.in Lakhs]
1984 - 85	1909.38
1985 - 86	2602.51
1986 - 87	3021.78
1987 - 88	3469.23
1988 - 89	3455.21
1989 - 90	4694.87
1990 - 91	3081.51
1991 -92	4974.43
1992 -93	4441.05

Source :- Department of Health and family Welfare, Government of West Bengal, 1994.

A-3.15 Groth Rates of Main Workers During 1981-91

Among Children age 12-23 months, the % who have recieved each vaccine at any time before the interview and the % with a vaccination card which was shown to the interviewer, by state, India, 1992-93.

% vaccinated among Chidren age 12-23 months

State	% vaccinated among Chidren age 12-23 months									% showing vaccination		
	BCG	DPT			Polio			Measles	All*	None	Card	
		0	1	2	3	1	2					3
<b>India</b>	62.2	4.6	66.3	59.2	51.7	67.0	61.2	53.4	42.2	35.4	30.0	30.6
<b>North</b>												
Delhi	90.1	12.3	89.0	81.9	71.6	88.8	85.1	75.0	69.6	57.8	6.7	45.5
Haryana	77.4	2.1	80.5	75.0	66.8	80.5	75.4	67.7	60.9	53.5	17.5	31.3
H.P	84.5	2.2	90.1	83.8	78.2	90.1	85.9	77.7	71.5	62.9	8.7	53.6
J&K	81.3	1.7	83.7	82.3	77.8	83.8	82.4	77.1	69.1	65.7	16.2	47.9
Punjab	77.4	1.7	81.9	78.5	73.6	82.2	78.2	73.4	64.8	61.9	17.5	37.8
Rajasthan	45.7	11.4	47.8	38.6	29.7	48.8	41.2	32.8	31.2	21.1	48.5	16.3
<b>Central</b>												
M.P.	56.8	4.3	60.8	53.5	43.7	62.8	56.7	46.6	40.7	29.2	34.4	21.8
U.P.	48.9	1.5	52.2	41.8	34.1	51.8	44.7	37.1	26.3	19.8	43.3	23.0
<b>East</b>												
Bihar	33.9	2.8	42.8	37.0	29.1	45.0	40.6	31.6	14.6	10.7	53.5	16.7
Orissa	63.3	3.1	69.0	63.6	56.3	70.3	64.8	56.7	40.2	36.1	28.0	41.7
W.Bengal	63.1	0.9	73.7	62.9	51.9	75.2	66.6	56.0	42.5	34.2	22.4	47.7
<b>North East</b>												
Arunachal Pradesh	46.3	2.5	50.0	45.6	38.8	48.1	44.4	38.8	27.5	22.5	47.5	37.5
Assam	48.2	1.2	53.4	42.2	31.0	54.2	42.9	32.7	25.8	19.4	43.6	39.5
Manipur	63.8	3.1	66.0	55.9	43.3	63.8	51.2	39.4	37.0	29.1	32.3	42.5
Meghalaya	43.8	1.4	36.8	30.6	22.9	36.1	31.9	23.6	13.2	9.7	54.9	15.3
Mizoram	77.3	4.5	83.6	80.0	71.8	80.9	76.4	69.1	65.5	56.4	14.5	38.2
Nagaland	19.4	3.1	21.3	16.9	12.5	21.9	18.8	15.0	10.0	3.8	75.0	11.9
Tripura	39.7	0.8	57.0	43.8	32.2	57.0	43.0	32.2	28.9	19.0	42.1	43.0
<b>West</b>												
Goa	93.5	14.0	93.9	90.0	86.7	94.3	90.7	87.1	77.8	74.9	5.4	74.9
Gujarat	77.1	4.4	77.8	71.4	63.8	77.8	71.2	62.8	55.9	49.8	18.9	32.0
Maharashtra	86.9	5.9	90.0	85.9	83.1	90.2	85.5	81.6	70.2	64.1	7.5	39.2
<b>South</b>												
Andhra Pradesh	73.9	3.3	77.3	72.3	66.1	78.9	74.6	68.0	53.8	45.0	17.5	35.3
Karnataka	81.7	5.3	80.6	76.6	70.7	81.9	77.7	71.4	54.9	52.2	15.2	34.4
Kerala	86.1	11.9	84.8	81.5	73.7	85.1	82.3	75.2	60.5	54.4	11.4	56.2
Tamil Nadu	91.7	19.4	95.0	92.2	86.5	94.1	91.0	85.3	71.6	64.9	3.3	38.2

\*Children who are fully vaccinated, i.e., those who have recieved BCG, measles and three doses of DPT and Polio vaccine (polio). Source : National Health & Family Survey, 1992-93, International Institute for Population Sciences, Bombay, Aug, 1995.

Table A - 3.16

Among children under four years of age, the percentage classified as under nourished according to three anthropometric indices of nutritional status, by state, India, 1992-93

State	Weight for age	Weight for Age	Height for Age	Height for Age	Weight for Height	Weight for Height
	% below -3 Sd	% below -2SD <sup>1</sup>	% below -3SD	% Below -2SD <sup>1</sup>	% Below -3Sd	% Below -2SD <sup>1</sup>
<b>India</b>	20.6	53.4	28.9	52.0	3.2	17.5
<b>North</b>						
Delhi	12.0	41.6	19.3	43.2	2.7	11.9
Haryana	9.0	37.9	19.3	46.7	0.6	5.9
Himachal Pradesh	12.9	47.0	U	U	U	U
Jammu & Kashmir	13.8	44.5	18.6	40.8	3.4	14.8
Punjab	14.2	45.9	15.7	40.0	2.8	19.9
Rajasthan	19.2	41.6	26.6	43.1	5.2	19.5
<b>Central</b>						
Madhya Pradesh	22.3	57.4	U	U	U	U
Uttar Pradesh	24.6	59.0	35.6	59.5	2.7	16.1
<b>East</b>						
Bihar	31.1	62.6	39.5	60.9	4.1	21.8
Orissa	22.7	53.3	25.2	48.2	3.6	21.3
<b>West Bengal</b>	18.4	56.8	U	U	U	U
<b>Northeast</b>						
Arunchal Pradesh	14.5	39.7	27.9	53.9	3.6	11.2
Assam	18.7	50.4	26.3	52.2	1.7	10.8
Manipur	7.2	30.1	16.0	33.6	1.2	8.8
Meghalaya	17.2	45.5	38.4	50.8	4.8	18.9
Nagaland	7.6	28.7	13.2	32.4	2.3	12.7
Tripura	18.6	48.8	21.3	46.0	0.7	17.5
<b>West</b>						
Goa	8.9	35.0	11.0	32.5	2.4	15.3
Gujrat	17.6	50.1	25.3	48.2	3.7	18.9
Maharashtra	21.3	54.2	23.5	48.5	4.2	20.2
<b>South</b>						
Andhra Pradesh	15.6	49.1	U	U	U	U
Karnataka	19.4	54.3	22.7	47.6	2.6	17.4
Kerala	6.1	28.5	9.0	27.4	1.3	11.6
Tamil Nadu	13.3	48.2	U	U	U	U

Note: Figures are for children born 1-47 months prior to the survey. Each of the indices is expressed in standard deviation units (SD) from the median of the International Reference Population. The percentages of children who are more than three and more than two standard deviation units below the median of the International Reference Population (-3 SD and -2SD) are shown according to selected characteristics. U: Not available because children's height/length was not measured. Also includes the children who are below -3 standard deviations from the International Reference Population median. Source: Same

Provisional Population Table No A - 3.17(Contd.)  
 Proportion of Total workers, Main workers and Marginal Workers to Total Population in Districts By Residence and Sex, 1981-1991.  
 Percentage of total population

S.No.	India / state or Union Territory/Dist.	Total Rural Urban	Persons Males Females	Total Workers		Main Workers		Marginal Workers	
				1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
1.	W.Bengal	Total	Persons	30.17	32.37	28.26	30.20	1.91	2.17
			Males	50.30	51.36	48.71	50.50	1.59	0.86
			Females	8.07	11.67	5.81	8.07	2.26	3.60
		Rural	Persons	30.30	33.40	28.04	30.58	2.26	2.82
			Males	50.56	52.09	48.72	51.04	1.84	1.05
			Females	8.89	13.54	6.19	8.83	2.70	4.71
		Urban	Persons	29.80	29.66	28.87	29.20	0.93	0.46
			Males	49.62	49.52	48.70	49.12	0.92	0.40
			Females	5.59	6.46	4.65	5.93	0.94	0.53
2.	Koch Bihar	Total	Persons	29.80	32.52	28.99	30.55	0.81	1.97
			Males	53.63	53.62	52.96	53.07	0.67	0.55
			Females	4.32	9.91	3.36	6.44	0.96	3.47
		Rural	Persons	30.04	32.87	29.18	30.78	0.86	2.09
			Males	54.29	54.17	53.59	53.60	0.70	0.57
			Females	4.12	10.03	3.10	6.31	1.02	3.72
		Urban	Persons	26.62	28.36	26.44	27.92	0.18	0.44
			Males	44.73	47.19	44.50	46.86	0.23	0.33
			Females	7.07	8.52	6.94	7.97	0.13	0.55
3.	Jalpaiguri	Total	Persons	33.60	33.92	31.75	31.49	1.85	2.43
			Males	52.00	50.57	50.53	49.47	1.47	1.10
			Females	13.38	15.97	11.10	12.11	2.28	3.86
		Rural	Persons	34.52	34.81	32.44	31.96	2.08	2.85
			males	52.59	50.76	50.97	49.49	1.62	1.27
			Females	14.74	17.65	12.15	13.11	2.59	4.54
		Urban	Persons	27.98	29.38	27.54	29.08	0.44	0.30
			Males	48.41	49.61	47.87	49.38	0.54	0.23
			Females	4.91	7.30	4.58	6.93	0.33	0.37



S.No.	India/ State or Union Territory / Dist	Total Rural Urban	Persons Males Females	Total Workers		Main Workers		Marginal Works	
				1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
4.	Darjeeling	Total	Persons Males Females	36.24 49.55 21.24	33.77 46.07 20.44	35.01 48.66 19.63	33.00 45.62 19.32	1.23 0.89 1.61	0.77 0.45 1.12
		Rural	Persons Males Females	38.65 49.83 26.37	35.16 44.94 24.98	37.08 48.73 24.28	34.15 44.41 23.46	1.57 1.10 2.09	1.01 0.53 1.52
		Urban	Persons Males Females	29.91 48.86 7.06	30.64 48.46 9.48	29.58 48.47 6.80	30.42 48.19 9.31	0.33 0.39 0.26	0.22 0.27 0.17
5.	West Dinajpur	Total	Persons Males Females	32.05 54.16 8.46	34.49 54.39 13.10	29.85 52.60 5.58	32.63 53.89 9.78	2.20 1.56 2.88	1.86 0.50 3.32
		Rural	Persons Males Females	32.83 55.40 8.87	35.70 55.90 14.10	30.44 53.75 5.69	33.62 55.37 10.36	2.39 1.65 3.18	2.08 0.53 3.74
		Urban	Persons Males Females	25.84 44.49 5.12	26.63 44.80 6.43	25.21 43.71 4.67	26.24 44.52 5.92	0.63 0.78 0.45	0.39 0.28 0.51
6.	Maldah	Total	Persons Males Females	30.31 50.08 9.47	34.80 51.50 17.01	27.28 47.65 5.81	31.62 50.47 11.53	3.03 2.43 3.66	3.18 1.03 5.48
		Rural	Persons Males Females	30.55 50.40 9.66	35.38 51.88 17.81	27.40 47.89 5.84	31.97 50.79 11.93	3.15 2.51 3.82	3.41 1.09 5.88
		Urban	Persons Males Females	85.49 43.93 5.59	27.28 46.58 6.36	24.73 42.89 5.13	27.09 46.38 6.18	0.76 1.04 0.46	0.19 0.20 0.18
7.	Murshidabad	Total	Persons Males Females	28.75 50.09 6.50	31.60 51.35 10.69	27.09 48.81 4.45	29.93 50.73 7.92	1.66 1.28 2.05	1.67 0.62 2.77
		Rural	Persons Males Females	28.87 50.64 6.14	31.50 51.70 9.98	27.11 49.30 3.95	29.79 51.14 7.14	1.76 1.34 2.19	1.71 0.64 2.84
		Urban	Persons Males Females	27.65 44.77 9.98	32.48 47.63 16.67	25.95 44.02 9.25	31.17 47.16 14.49	0.70 0.69 0.73	1.31 0.47 2.18

Percentage of total population.

S.No.	India/ States or Union Territory/ Districts	Total Rural Urban	Persons Males Females	Total Workers		Main Workres		Marginal Workrs	
				1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
8.	Nadia	Total	Person Males Females	27.47 49.84 3.83	29.28 51.74 5.33	26.71 48.94 3.23	28.71 51.52 4.38	0.76 0.90 0.60	0.57 0.22 0.95
		Rural	Persons Males Females	27.63 50.79 3.09	29.39 52.62 4.46	26.80 49.77 24.47	28.86 52.43 3.56	0.83 1.02 0.62	0.53 0.19 0.90
		Urban	Persons Males Females	26.90 46.35 6.51	28.91 48.69 8.25	26.39 45.89 5.95	28.19 48.36 7.12	0.51 0.46 0.56	0.72 0.33 1.13
9.	North 24th Parganas	Total	Persons Males Females	27.70 48.88 3.94	29.00 49.96 5.95	26.94 48.08 3.22	28.17 49.53 4.67	0.76 0.80 0.72	0.83 0.43 0.28
		Rural	Persons Males Females	27.97 50.81 3.84	29.51 51.43 6.24	26.73 49.58 2.59	28.16 50.92 4.01	1.24 1.23 1.25	1.35 0.51 2.23
		Urban	Persons Males Females	27.44 47.12 4.03	28.51 48.58 5.65	27.14 46.71 3.86	28.18 48.23 5.34	0.30 0.41 0.17	0.33 0.35 0.31
10.	South 24th parganas	Total	Persons Males Females	26.50 48.45 2.82	28.37 48.77 6.43	24.93 46.33 1.83	26.04 47.46 2.99	1.57 2.12 0.99	2.33 1.31 3.44
		Rural	Persons Males Females	26.46 48.68 2.77	28.55 48.95 6.75	24.77 46.39 1.70	25.96 47.56 2.88	1.69 2.29 1.07	2.59 1.39 3.87
		Urban	Persons Males Females	26.78 46.85 3.20	27.15 47.50 4.05	26.11 45.92 2.85	26.61 46.73 3.76	0.67 0.93 0.35	0.54 0.77 0.29
11.	Calcutta*	Total	Persons Males Females	33.70 54.14 6.10	32.98 53.66 7.04	33.38 53.71 5.94	32.78 53.41 6.90	0.32 0.43 0.16	0.20 0.25 0.14
		Urban	Persons Males Females	33.70 54.14 6.10	32.98 53.66 7.04	33.38 53.71 5.94	32.78 53.41 6.90	0.32 0.43 0.16	0.20 0.25 0.14

\* Entirely urban district.

S.No.	India/ State or Union Territory/ Dist	Total Rural Urban	Persons Males Females	Total workes		Main Workers		Marginal Workers	
				1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
12.	Haora	Total	Persons	26.91	29.67	26.21	28.58	0.70	1.09
		Males	48.42	51.51	47.35	50.91	0.07	0.60	
		Females	2.26	4.79	1.98	3.15	0.28	1.64	
		Rural	Persons	24.65	28.92	23.66	27.14	0.99	1.78
		Males	46.29	50.95	44.72	50.11	1.57	0.84	
		Females	1.89	5.53	1.51	2.74	0.38	2.79	
		Urban	Persons	29.65	30.42	29.29	30.05	0.36	0.37
		Males	50.81	52.06	50.30	51.68	0.51	0.38	
		Females	2.77	3.96	2.61	3.61	0.16	0.37	
13.	Hughli	Total	Persons	29.75	31.19	28.63	30.50	1.12	0.69
		Males	50.23	52.22	49.07	51.85	1.16	0.37	
		Females	7.22	8.26	6.13	7.23	1.09	1.03	
		Rural	Persons	30.32	32.10	28.93	31.23	1.39	0.87
		Males	50.95	53.48	49.55	53.07	1.40	0.41	
		Females	8.44	9.51	7.06	8.17	1.38	1.35	
		Urban	Persons	28.39	29.16	27.90	28.87	0.49	0.29
		Males	48.61	49.54	48.01	49.24	0.60	0.30	
		Females	4.11	5.29	3.76	5.02	0.35	0.27	
14.	Medinipur	Total	Persons	29.72	35.16	26.77	30.35	2.95	4.81
		Males	48.41	51.77	46.02	49.86	2.39	1.61	
		Females	10.07	17.55	6.52	9.56	3.55	9.99	
		Rural	Persons	30.08	35.91	26.93	30.71	3.15	5.20
		Males	48.77	52.34	46.24	50.43	2.53	1.91	
		Females	10.53	18.59	6.73	9.93	3.80	8.66	
		Urban	Persons	25.85	28.43	24.98	27.04	0.87	1.39
		Males	44.63	46.80	43.70	45.83	0.93	0.97	
		Females	5.02	8.03	4.21	6.18	0.81	1.85	
15.	Bankura	Total	Persons	32.91	36.40	29.14	32.77	3.77	3.63
		Males	49.96	51.83	46.93	50.46	3.03	1.37	
		Females	15.24	20.13	10.69	14.11	4.55	6.02	
		Rural	Persons	83.42	37.11	29.40	33.22	4.02	3.89
		Males	50.31	52.20	47.09	50.76	3.22	1.44	
		Females	15.94	21.22	11.09	14.74	4.85	6.48	
		Urban	Person	26.82	28.55	26.03	27.78	0.79	0.77
		Males	45.81	47.75	45.04	47.14	0.77	0.61	
		Females	6.67	8.06	5.86	7.13	0.81	0.93	

S.No.	India/ States or Union Territory/ Dist.	Total Rural Urban	Person Males Females	Total Workers		Main Workers		Marginal Workers	
				1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
16.	Purulia	Total	Persons Males Females	38.27 51.00 24.98	44.06 51.64 36.04	31.10 47.71 13.76	35.41 49.41 20.60	7.17 3.29 11.22	8.65 2.23 15.44
		Rural	Persons Males Females	39.50 51.63 26.89	45.85 52.35 39.01	31.71 48.07 14.71	36.40 49.91 22.19	7.79 3.56 12.18	9.45 2.44 16.82
		Urban	Persons Males Females	25.87 44.74 5.01	26.98 45.03 6.84	24.98 44.10 3.85	25.90 44.67 4.96	0.89 0.64 1.16	1.08 0.36 1.88
17.	Bardhaman	Total	Persons Males Females	30.61 50.01 8.99	31.25 50.49 9.82	28.20 47.91 6.24	30.00 49.79 7.95	2.41 2.10 2.75	1.25 0.70 1.87
		Rural	Persons Males Females	30.11 50.32 8.47	33.69 53.72 12.19	29.01 49.29 7.29	32.12 52.96 9.76	1.10 1.03 1.18	1.57 0.76 2.43
		Urban	Persons Males Females	31.81 49.31 10.33	26.81 44.90 5.25	26.26 44.79 3.52	26.12 44.30 4.46	5.55 4.52 6.81	0.69 0.60 0.79
18.	Birbhum	Total	Persons Males Females	30.52 51.47 8.75	33.27 52.51 12.91	28.11 49.83 5.54	30.47 51.55 8.17	2.41 1.64 3.21	2.80 0.96 4.74
		Rural	Persons Males Females	31.88 51.99 9.02	33.81 53.06 13.51	28.31 50.26 5.58	30.80 52.05 8.38	2.57 1.73 3.44	3.01 1.01 5.13
		Urban	Persons Males Females	26.58 45.83 5.68	27.72 47.08 6.81	25.94 45.15 5.08	27.07 46.55 6.03	0.64 0.68 0.60	0.65 0.53 0.78

Source : Census of India 1991, India Series 1, Paper 3, of 1991. Provisional Population Totals : Workers & Their Distribution.

Table A - 3.18  
States & Union Territories Arranged in Descending order  
of their Proportion of Rural Female Marginal Workers and rank in 1991 & 1981.

Rank in 1991	India/ States or Union Territory	1991	1981
1.	Sikkim	24.57	3.36
2.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	18.40	15.83
3.	Gujarat	18.21	13.39
4.	Rajasthan	17.18	14.40
5.	Daman & Diu	16.21	13.32
6.	H.P.	16.14	13.89
7.	M.P.	11.86	10.00
8.	Orissa	9.61	10.02
9.	Maharashtra	9.53	9.46
10.	Karnataka	8.82	8.39
	India*	8.01	6.97
11.	Mizoram	7.74	6.03
12.	Manipur	6.38	4.54
13.	Tamil Nadu	6.35	5.70
14.	Haryana	6.24	7.41
15.	Andaman & Nicobar Island	6.15	7.56
16.	Bihar	5.84	4.95
17.	A.P.	5.62	8.08
18.	U.P.	5.56	3.14
19.	Goa	5.33	8.42
20.	West Bengal	4.71	2.70
21.	Tripura	4.60	4.25
22.	Kerala	4.52	4.25
23.	Meghalaya	4.01	4.99
24.	Arunachal Pradesh	3.85	5.40
25.	Punjab	3.51	5.18
26.	Nagaland	2.70	0.80
27.	Pondichery	1.97	3.74
28.	Lakshadweep	1.53	4.93
29.	Delhi	1.24	2.65
30.	Chandigarh	0.12	0.47

Note: \* Excludes Assam & J&K Source: same.

Source: Provisional Population Totals: Workers and their Distribution Census of India 1991, India Series 1, Paper 3.

Table A - 3.19.  
Growth Rates of Main Workers During 1981 & 1991  
in States & Union Territories - All Areas

	India/ States/ Union Territory	Persons	Males	Females
	India*	26.12	21.51	44.24
	States			
1.	A.P.	25.47	19.03	39.43
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	24.31	26.32	21.01
3.	Bihar	23.61	20.74	40.07
4.	Goa	22.85	21.77	26.17
5.	Gujarat	28.46	23.20	54.85
6.	Haryana	25.24	21.18	73.96
7.	H.P.	17.54	13.98	27.25
8.	Karnataka	26.32	19.48	46.54
9.	Kerala	20.70	22.44	15.27
10.	M.P.	24.54	22.29	30.27
11.	Maharashtra	27.10	21.86	39.34
12.	Manipur	19.03	20.71	16.74
13.	Meghalaya	23.95	19.49	31.42
14.	Mizoram	40.84	36.38	48.39
15.	Nagaland	37.16	36.67	37.85
16.	Orissa	19.35	15.98	36.84
17.	Punjab	22.49	18.76	122.02
18.	Rajasthan	32.75	24.18	62.65
19.	Sikkim	12.46	11.51	14.31
20.	Tamil Nadu	20.74	15.21	34.87
21.	Tripura	30.38	26.30	54.06
22.	U.P.	27.61	21.58	91.20
23.	W.Bengal	33.10	28.71	73.57

Source : Same

Note : \* Excludes Assam & J&K Where the 1991 Census was not conducted.

Table A - 3.20  
Per Thousand Distribution of Persons by H.H.Type for each H.H. monthly per-capita expenditure class  
Calcutta

H.H Monthly Percapita Expenditure (1)	Self emp (2)	Regularly Wage salaries (3)	Casual labour (4)	Others (5)	Total (6)	Per 1000 dist. of persons (7)	Sex of Heads of H.H. Estimated persons(00) (8)	Total Sample persons (9)
Less than 90	380	588	27	5	1000	25	927	91
90-110	320	376	294	10	1000	44	1618	168
110 - 135	441	372	114	72	1000	131	4832	390
135 - 160	410	513	12	65	1000	130	4808	492
160 - 185	192	684	118	7	1000	65	2410	275
185 - 215	343	590	54	12	1000	88	3243	453
215 - 255	467	590	18	24	1000	87	3231	403
255 -310	399	545	15	41	1000	105	3872	492
310 -385	269	616	35	80	1000	89	3274	445
385 - 520	314	588	75	23	1000	116	4289	532
520 - 700	287	544	-	169	1000	58	2159	248
700 - above	219	735	-	46	1000	59	2192	495
Not recorded	379	519	68	33	1000	4	131	26
all	351	543	58	49	1000	1000	36986	4510
Estimated Persons	12982	20067	2131	1806	36986	X	X	X
Sample Persons	1707	2432	158	213	4510	X	X	X

Note H.H. denotes House Hold. Source : Sarvekshana 57th issue, Vol.XVII.No.2. Oct-Dec 1993.NSS organisation Dept.of Statistics Ministry of Planning.govt.of India.

Table A-3.21  
Total & Per Capita Allocation of Central Assistance : 1991-92 to 1994-95 (at 1991-92 Prices)

	Total 1991-92 to 1994-95 (Rs. Cro.)	Avg. Per capita 1991-92 to 1994-95 (Rs.)
<b>A. Special Category States</b>		
Arunachal Pradesh	922.78	4929
Assam	2826.87	483
Himachal Pradesh	1064.26	769
Jammu & Kashmir	2675.28	1449
Manipur	723.03	1685
Meghalaya	646.21	1506
Mizoram	605.72	4561
Nagaland	645.11	3125
Sikkim	370.67	4413
Tripura	763.48	1227
<b>Total : A</b>	<b>11243.38</b>	<b>1009</b>
<b>B. Non-Special Category States</b>		
Andhra Pradesh	2032.75	117
Bihar	2937.15	130
Goa	161.65	506
Gujarat	824.35	77
Haryana	483.45	120
Karnataka	944.83	81
Kerala	1185.58	139
Madhya Pradesh	1754.43	106
Maharashtra	1416.62	70
Orissa	1203.67	137
Punjab	566.86	104
Rajasthan	1360.29	132
Tamil Nadu	1855.75	113
Uttar Pradesh	4046.43	114
West Bengal	1528.00	86
<b>Total: B</b>	<b>22304.60</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>Total (A + B)</b>	<b>33547.99</b>	<b>15</b>

Note : Central Assistance Data pertain to the Formula based on Divisible Pool of Assistance from state Plans. Resources Given To States Under Area Programme Tribal Sub-plan, Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes, and Against Externally Aided Projects are Additional to this.  
Source : A.Kundu Links Between Economic & Human Development in India.....



Table A-3.22

Infant and child mortality by states. Neonatal, post Neo-Natal, Infant, Child and Under-Five Mortality by State for the 5 - Year Period Preceding the Survey. India, 1992-93.

State	Neonatal Mortality (NN)	Post-neonatal Mortality <sup>1</sup> (PNN)	Infant mortality (1q <sub>0</sub> )	Child mortality (4 q <sub>1</sub> )	Under - Five mortality (5q <sub>0</sub> )
<b>India</b>	48.6	29.9	78.5	33.4	109.3
<b>North</b>					
Delhi	34.9	30.5	65.4	19.0	83.1
Haryana	38.4	34.9	73.3	27.4	98.7
Himachal Pradesh	34.2	21.7	55.8	14.1	69.1
Jammu & Kashmir	31.9	13.5	45.4	14.3	59.1
Punjab	31.2	22.5	53.7	15.0	68.0
Rajasthan	37.2	35.4	72.6	32.3	102.6
<b>Central</b>					
Madhya Pradesh	53.2	32.0	85.2	49.3	130.3
Uttar Pradesh	59.9	40.0	99.9	46.0	141.3
<b>East</b>					
Bihar	54.8	34.4	89.2	42.0	127.5
Orissa	64.7	47.4	112.1	21.3	131.0
<b>W. Bengal</b>	<b>51.8</b>	<b>23.5</b>	<b>75.3</b>	<b>26.0</b>	<b>99.3</b>
<b>Northeast</b>					
Arunachal Pradesh	17.5	22.5	40.0	33.3	72.0
Assam	50.9	37.8	88.7	58.7	142.2
Manipur	25.1	17.3	42.4	20.2	61.7
Meghalaya	37.8	26.3	64.2	24.3	86.9
Mizoram	8.3	6.3	14.6	14.9	29.3
Nagaland	10.0	7.2	17.2	3.6	20.7
Tripura	43.6	32.3	75.8	31.2	104.6
<b>West</b>					
Goa	20.6	11.3	31.9	7.2	38.9
Gujarat	42.3	26.4	68.7	37.9	104.0
Maharashtra	36.4	14.0	50.5	20.9	70.3
<b>South</b>					
Andhra Pradesh	45.3	25.0	70.4	22.4	91.2
Karnataka	45.3	20.2	65.4	23.5	87.3
Kerala	15.5	8.2	23.8	8.4	32.0
Tamil Nadu	46.2	21.5	67.7	20.1	86.5

1. Computed as the difference between the infant and Neo- Natal Mortality rates.

Source : National Health & Family Survey 1992-93...

Table A - 4.1  
The Equally Distributed Index of Educational Attainment :

State	Population % Female 1991	Population % Male 1991	Adult Literacy Rate Female	Adult Literacy Male 1991	Adult Literacy Rate Total	Education Index Female	Education Index Male	Education Index Total	The equally Distributed index of education
A.P.	0.493	0.507	27.3	52.4	40.1	0.273	0.524	0.401	0.361
Assam	0.480	0.520	33.9	62.4	49.4	0.339	0.624	0.494	0.445
Bihar	0.477	0.523	18.2	55.3	38.7	0.182	0.553	0.387	0.280
Gujarat	0.483	0.517	41.8	70.4	56.7	0.418	0.704	0.567	0.529
Haryana	0.464	0.536	27.0	64.3	49.9	0.270	0.643	0.499	0.382
H.P.	0.494	0.506	35.5	64.4	50.9	0.355	0.644	0.509	0.459
Karnataka	0.490	0.510	37.7	65.3	52.2	0.377	0.653	0.522	0.481
Kerala	0.509	0.491	80.6	91.7	86.0	0.806	0.917	0.860	0.857
M.P.	0.482	0.518	24.3	56.6	41.8	0.243	0.566	0.418	0.345
Maharashtra	0.483	0.517	44.2	74.4	60.3	0.442	0.744	0.603	0.559
Orissa	0.493	0.507	29.0	62.5	46.4	0.290	0.625	0.464	0.398
Punjab	0.469	0.531	41.8	60.5	51.8	0.418	0.605	0.518	0.500
Rajasthan	0.476	0.524	17.5	52.7	36.1	0.175	0.527	0.361	0.269
Tamil Nadu	0.493	0.507	35.8	65.0	50.6	0.358	0.650	0.506	0.463
U.P.	0.486	0.532	20.6	53.6	38.4	0.206	0.536	0.384	0.306
W.Bengal	0.465	0.535	42.8	68.3	57.1	0.428	0.683	0.571	0.536
India	0.481	0.519	33.9	62.4	48.7	0.339	0.624	0.487	0.444

Source : A.K. Shivkumar, UNDP's Gender-Related Development Index: A Computation for The Indian States, Economic & Political Weekly Vol.XLI, No.12 6th April 1996.

Table A - 4.2  
The Equally Distributed Index of Life Expectancy for Indian States

States	Population % Female 1991	Population % Male 1991	LEB Female	LEB Male (Years) 1990-92	LEB Total	Index of Life Expectancy Female	Index of Life Expectancy Male	Index of Life Expectancy Total	The Equally Distributed Index of Life expectancy
A.P.	0.493	0.507	61.5	59.0	60.3	0.567	0.606	0.586	0.587
Assam	0.480	0.520	53.8	54.8	54.3	0.436	0.538	0.486	0.485
Bihar	0.477	0.423	58.3	60.4	59.4	0.513	0.632	0.573	0.569
Gujarat	0.483	0.517	61.3	59.1	60.2	0.563	0.610	0.587	0.587
Haryana	0.464	0.536	63.6	62.2	62.8	0.602	0.662	0.630	0.632
H.P.	0.494	0.506	64.2	63.8	64.0	0.612	0.686	0.650	0.646
Karnataka	0.490	0.510	63.6	60.0	61.8	0.602	0.625	0.613	0.613
Kerala	0.509	0.491	74.4	68.8	71.6	0.782	0.772	0.777	0.777
M.P.	0.482	0.518	53.5	54.1	53.8	0.433	0.527	0.480	0.477
Maharashtra	0.483	0.517	64.7	63.1	63.9	0.620	0.677	0.648	0.648
Orissa	0.493	0.507	54.8	55.9	55.4	0.455	0.557	0.507	0.501
Punjab	0.469	0.531	67.5	65.4	66.4	0.667	0.715	0.690	0.692
Rajasthan	0.476	0.524	57.8	57.6	57.7	0.505	0.585	0.545	0.544
Tamil Nadu	0.493	0.507	63.2	61.0	62.1	0.595	0.642	0.618	0.618
U.P.	0.468	0.532	54.8	56.8	55.8	0.452	0.572	0.513	0.508
W.Benagal	0.485	0.515	62.0	60.5	61.2	0.575	0.633	0.603	0.605
India	0.481	0.519	59.4	59.0	59.0	0.532	0.606	0.570	0.569

Source: Same

Table A-4.3  
The Equally Distributed Income Index for Indian States

States	Populations Female % 1991 (1)	Populations Male % 1991 (2)	Share of Economically Active Population Female % 1991 (3)	Share of Economically Active Population Male % 1991 (4)	Regular Non-Agri Adult Wage Rate Earning Per Day (in Rs.) Female 1987-88 (5)	Regular Non-Agri Adult Wage Rate Earning Per Day (in Rs.) Male 1987-88 (6)	Ratio of Female Non - Agri Wages to Male Non-Agri Wages 1987-88 (7)	Ratio Female wages to average wage 1987-88 (8)	Ratio of Male Wage of Average Wage 1987-88 (9)	Share of Earn Income Females (10)	Share of Earn Income Males (11)	Proportional income Shares - Females (12)	Proportional income Shares - Males (13)	Per Capita SDP 1991-92 (Rs/Year) (14)	Real GDP Per Capita 1992 (\$PPP/Year) (15)	Equally Distributed Income Index (16)
A.P.	0.493	0.507	0.376	0.624	23.39	37.72	0.620	0.723	1.166	0.272	0.728	0.551	1.438	5,570	1,227	0.165
Assam	0.480	0.520	0.287	0.713	31.08	40.39	0.769	0.824	1.071	0.237	0.763	0.493	1.468	4,230	932	0.113
Bihar	0.477	0.523	0.220	0.780	33.37	33.86	0.985	0.988	1.003	0.218	0.782	0.457	1.495	2,904	640	0.067
Gujarat	0.483	0.517	0.312	0.688	30.64	37.82	0.810	0.861	1.063	0.288	0.732	0.556	1.415	6,425	1,416	0.198
Haryana	0.484	0.536	0.161	0.839	14.41	36.78	0.392	0.434	1.108	0.070	0.930	0.151	1.735	8,660	1,915	0.087
H.P.	0.494	0.506	0.401	0.599	34.83	39.10	0.893	0.933	1.045	0.375	0.625	0.759	1.236	5,355	1,180	0.189
Karnataka	0.490	0.510	0.343	0.657	22.84	35.03	0.652	0.740	1.135	0.254	0.746	0.518	1.483	5,555	1,224	0.158
Kerala	0.509	0.491	0.147	0.853	32.87	40.34	0.817	0.840	1.028	0.124	0.876	0.243	1.784	4,618	1,017	0.082
M.P.	0.482	0.518	0.388	0.632	17.42	29.84	0.584	0.689	1.181	0.254	0.746	0.526	1.441	4,077	898	0.113
Maharashtra	0.483	0.517	0.372	0.628	23.79	33.90	0.702	0.789	1.125	0.294	0.706	0.608	1.366	8,180	1,802	0.269
Orissa	0.493	0.507	0.273	0.727	19.43	30.87	0.629	0.700	1.112	0.191	0.809	0.368	1.594	4,068	898	0.087
Punjab	0.499	0.531	0.067	0.933	29.36	33.36	0.890	0.887	1.008	0.069	0.941	0.127	1.770	9,843	2,124	0.081
Rajasthan	0.476	0.524	0.336	0.664	19.64	33.26	0.590	0.685	1.159	0.230	0.770	0.483	1.471	4,361	961	0.115
Tamil Nadu	0.493	0.507	0.340	0.660	13.91	26.30	0.529	0.630	1.161	0.214	0.786	0.435	1.551	5,078	1,119	0.124
U.P.	0.486	0.532	0.179	0.821	21.72	31.86	0.682	0.723	1.080	0.129	0.871	0.277	1.636	4,012	894	0.083
W.Bengal	0.485	0.535	0.167	0.833	15.30	35.19	0.432	0.477	1.185	0.090	0.920	0.171	1.721	5,983	1,188	0.095
India	0.481	0.519	0.286	0.714	26.26	34.90	0.753	0.810	1.078	0.232	0.768	0.481	1.481	5,583	1,230	0.152

Source : Same

Table : A-4.4  
Basic Statistics on sixteen Indian States

States	Population in million 1991 (1)	Population % Female 1991 (2)	Population % Male 1991 (3)	Sex Ratio Females Per 100 males 1991 (4)	Life Expectancy At Birth in years Females (5)	Life Expectancy at Birth Male 1990-92 (6)	Life Expectancy at Birth Total (7)	Adult Literacy Rate Female (8)	Adult Literacy Rate Male 1991 (9)	Adult Literacy Rate Total (10)	Share of Economically active Population % female 1991 (11)	Share of Economically Active Population % Male 1991 (12)	Regular Non-Agr. Adult Wage Rate Per Day Female 1987-88 (13)	Regular Non-Agr. Adult Wage Rate Per Day Male 1987-88 (14)	Per capita income State Domestic Product Per year 1991-92 (15)	Per-capita Income Real GDP Per Capita (PPP) 1992 (16)
A.P.	66.5	0.493	0.507	972	61.5	59.0	60.3	27.3	52.4	40.1	0.376	0.624	23.39	37.72	5,570	1,227
Assam	22.4	0.480	0.520	923	53.8	54.8	54.3	33.9	62.4	49.4	0.287	0.713	31.06	40.39	4,230	932
Bihar	86.4	0.477	0.523	911	58.3	60.4	59.4	18.2	55.3	36.7	0.220	0.780	33.37	33.88	2,904	640
Gujarat	41.3	0.483	0.517	934	61.3	59.1	60.2	41.8	70.4	56.7	0.312	0.688	30.84	37.82	6,425	1,418
Haryana	16.5	0.484	0.536	865	63.6	62.2	62.8	27.0	64.3	49.9	0.161	0.839	14.41	36.78	8,890	1,915
H.P.	52	0.494	0.506	976	64.2	63.8	64.0	35.5	64.4	50.9	0.401	0.599	34.93	39.10	5,355	1,180
Karnataka	44.9	0.490	0.510	960	63.6	60.0	61.8	37.7	65.3	52.2	0.343	0.657	22.84	35.03	5,555	1,224
Kerala	29.1	0.509	0.491	1,036	74.4	68.8	71.6	80.6	91.7	86.0	0.147	0.853	32.97	40.34	4,618	1,017
M.P.	66.2	0.482	0.518	931	53.5	54.1	53.8	24.3	56.6	41.8	0.368	0.632	17.42	29.84	4,077	898
Maharashtra	78.9	0.483	0.517	934	64.7	63.1	63.9	44.2	74.4	60.3	0.372	0.628	23.79	33.90	1,180	1,802
Orissa	31.7	0.493	0.507	971	54.8	55.9	55.4	29.0	62.5	46.4	0.273	0.727	19.43	30.87	4,068	898
Punjab	20.3	0.489	0.531	882	67.5	65.4	66.4	41.8	60.5	51.8	0.067	0.933	29.38	33.36	9,643	2,124
Rajasthan	44.0	0.476	0.524	910	57.8	57.6	57.7	17.5	52.7	36.1	0.336	0.664	19.64	33.26	4,361	961
Tamil Nadu	55.9	0.493	0.507	974	63.2	61.0	62.1	35.8	65.0	50.6	0.340	0.660	13.91	26.30	5,078	1,119
U.P.	139.1	0.488	0.532	879	54.8	56.8	55.8	29.6	53.6	38.4	0.179	0.821	21.72	31.86	4,012	884
West Bengal	68.1	0.485	0.535	917	62.0	60.5	61.2	42.8	69.3	57.1	0.167	0.833	15.20	35.19	5,363	1,186
India	846.3	0.481	0.519	927	59.4	59.0	59.2	33.9	62.4	48.7	0.286	0.714	26.28	34.90	5,583	1,230

Source : Same

Table A-4.5  
Gender Related Development Index for Indian States 1991-92

GDI Rank	Gender Related Development Index (GDI)	Share of Earned Income Females	Share of Earned Income Males	LEB (Years 1990-92) Females	LEB(1990-92) Males	Adult Literacy Rate 1991 Percentage Females	Adult Literacy Rate 1991 Percentage Males
1. Kerala	0.565	12.4	67.8	74.4	68.8	80.6	91.7
2. Maharashtra	0.492	29.4	70.8	64.7	63.1	44.2	74.4
3. Gujarat	0.437	28.8	73.2	61.3	59.1	41.8	70.4
4. H.P.	0.432	37.5	62.5	64.2	63.8	35.5	64.4
5. Punjab	0.424	5.9	94.1	67.5	65.4	41.8	60.5
6. Karnataka	0.417	25.4	74.6	63.6	60.0	37.7	65.3
7. Tamil Nadu	0.402	21.4	78.6	63.2	61.0	35.8	65.0
8. W.Bengal	0.398	8.0	92.0	62.0	60.5	42.8	68.3
9. A.P.	0.371	27.2	72.8	61.5	59.0	27.3	52.4
10. Haryana	0.370	7.0	93.0	63.6	62.2	27.0	64.3
11. Assam	0.347	23.7	76.3	53.8	54.8	33.9	62.4
12. Orissa	0.329	19.1	80.9	54.8	55.9	29.0	62.5
13. M.P.	0.312	25.4	74.6	53.5	54.1	24.3	58.6
14. Rajasthan	0.309	23.0	77.0	57.8	57.6	17.5	52.7
15. Bihar	0.306	21.8	78.2	58.3	60.4	18.2	55.3
16. U.P.	0.295	12.9	87.1	54.6	56.8	20.6	53.6
India	0.388	23.2	76.8	59.4	59.0	33.9	62.4

Source : Same

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