Working Paper
329

IMAGINING WOMEN'S SOCIAL SPACE IN EARLY MODERN KERALAM

J. Devika

April 2002

IMAGINING WOMEN'S SOCIAL SPACE IN EARLY MODERN KERALAM

J. Devika

Centre for Development Studies
Thiruvananthapuram

April 2002

The author wishes to thank Dr. Neesar Ahmed for his valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

ABSTRACT

The paper argues that the formation of modern gender identities in late 19th and early 20th Century Keralam was deeply implicated in the project of shaping governable subjects who were, at the one and same time, 'free' and already inserted into modern institutions. Because gender appeared both 'natural' and 'social', both 'individualised' and 'general', it appeared to be a superior form of social order compared to the established *jati*-based ordering. The actualisation of a superior society ordered by gender was seen to be dependent upon the shaping of full-fledged Individuals with strong internalities and well-developed gendered capacities that would place them within the distinct social domains of the public and domestic as 'free' individuals, who, however would be bound in a complementary relationship. By the 1930s, however, this public / domestic divide came to the blurred with the rapid spread of disciplinary institutions. Womanhood came to be associated not with a domain but with a certain form of power. And with this, Malayalee women gained access to public life and with it, a highly ambiguous 'liberation'.

Key Words: public sphere, gendering, individual, domestic, modernity, womanhood, non-coercive power.

Introduction

One undisputedly significant development of the late nineteenth century in Keralam was the emergence of an English-educated class which began to review the existent social order, ideas and institutions in sharply critical terms. Scholarly attention has focussed upon the gradual emergence of a reading public, stressing the increasing circulation of Newspapers and magazines in Malayalam[1]. But such re-evaluation took place in other, perhaps less noticed sites as well. We hear of the functioning of 'reading clubs' and 'debating societies' by the late nineteenth century, mostly groups of modern-educated men gathering to discuss topics of 'general interest'.[2] So also, the newly-emergent domains of modern literature and drama belonged in large measure, to this sphere of self-evaluation – C.V.Raman Pillai's farces, for example, which drew upon the everyday life of the modern-educated class in early-twentieth century Thiruvananthapuram, lampooning their pompousness and pretensions, engages precisely in such self-questioning.[3] These were performed first by the National Club and by the students of the Maharajah's College at Thiruvananthapuram.[4] The newly introduced genre of the novel also got involved in the self-fashioning of a new middle- class. For example, the late-nineteenth-century Malayalam novels *Indulekha* and *Parangodiparinayam*, sometimes read to be voicing 'progressive' and 'conservative' interests,[5] may well be interpreted as a sort of indirect conversation involving the question of how the new self may be shaped. These are but a few of the

arenas in and through which modern individuals who were both subjects and objects of modern reason were to be bound together for the purpose of forming a 'general' or 'public' opinion.

All these sites of formation of 'public' opinion formed a nascent 'public sphere'in Keralam[6] This space itself cannot be seen as a consequence of the conscious demands of the modern- educated groups. It pre-supposes the prior transformation of social ties, their convergence to form new institutional arrangements, which reshaped the entire context of social communication. But it was certainly the space in which new forces contended for hegemony in the late nineteenth century. Often, the challenge to the older order was made in terms of an image of society in which gender-difference figured as the fundamental principle of ordering human beings, as the alternative to the established social order that privileged birth and inherited status.

That Women's Magazines began to appear in Keralam since the late nineteenth century has been noticed.[7] But the brisk spread of Women's Associations – the *Streesamajams* – has hardly been noticed.[8] The appearance of such special slots for women seems to indicate that the public sphere was already a structured space that promoted 'gendering'—in its very structuring, and in the circulation of new ideals of gendered subjectivity within it. These ideal subjectivities privileged 'inherent capacities'[9] supposedly given to individuals at birth and set them in opposition to such 'external' determinants as lineage and inherited status. Among the 'natural givens', physical sex was accorded a most important status. Thus Women's Magazines and Associations addressed a population that was supposed to already possess a specific set of 'capacities' deemed 'Womanly'. Discussions within these arenas were focussed on the ways and means of fostering these given qualities so as to best benefit modern society, of overcoming the

obstacles in the path of this project, of expanding it to reach a maximum number of women, and so on. This ensured that the interventions of agents in and through these institutions did not simply add on women as readers, writers and speakers to the generally expanding horizons of debate and discussion. Rather, Women's Magazines defined for women a domain projected as direly in need of capacities that were specifically 'Womanly'—the domain of modern domesticity. However, as we shall see, this delineation of the Womanly domain was not to remain static.

By this time the trichotomous ideational division between the State, Civil Society and the Family had already become familiar in the public sphere. That this obeyed a principle according to which the participation of agents was organised in terms of gender became clear when women started entering the public sphere. Women figured most prominently in debates centring upon the constitution of the modern domestic domain. This was no mere coincidence. The earliest of Women's Magazines in Malayalam, the *Keraleeya Sugunabodhini* (1892), accepted this delineation of domains when it proclaimed in its very first issue that politics and narrow argumentation about religion would be strictly avoided.[10] One would also be not surprised that the two all-male discussions in the well-known late nineteenth century Malayalam novel, *Indulekha*, should be precisely on these two topics—politics and religion.[11] The heroine, though well- educated in modern fashion, makes forceful intervention precisely in a matter that falls clearly in the domain of the modern domestic, namely, marriage and marital fidelity.[12] In the early decades of the twentieth century, 'narrower publics', constituted on behalf of specific identities, proliferated. In various discursive realms, questions of the interrelations of caste, class, gender etc. came to acquire ever-greater primacy. But women- participants tended to be drawn towards questions of defining the Womanly domain. Indeed, these debate acquired considerable vigour and scope by the 1930s[13].

The following sections of this essay pursue the delineation of gendered space that the Malayalee public sphere of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century promoted. The key focus is on how the modern domestic realm and the public domain are constituted as distinct if interrelated spaces, how this was made to seem as though following 'natural' divisions defining the genders. However, the boundaries between the two were certainly not fixed once for all—a great volume of speech and writing in / of the public in these times centres upon negotiating them . It may be pointed out that the colonial public sphere was restricted on the one hand by the presence of the colonial power and the local states that owed allegiance to it, and by the very narrow access local people had to modern ideas and institutions – which meant that the participants in these discussions were largely the economically-privileged and/or those who possessed sufficient cultural capital in the traditional sense. The debates regarding community- formation that took place within various community reform movements—like the Nair Service Society, the SNDP Yogam, the Yogakshema Sabha, the Araya Samajam and the others—were not outside this public sphere, limited as it was in the ways specified above. This does not mean that all debates had equal circulation or attracted widespread response. As the public sphere expanded, however, the debates about gender and gendering itself became far more intense, being increasingly identified as crucial to the project of community- formation itself.

II

By the mid-nineteenth century the imperialist criticism of Indian domestic life[14] had become quite commonly voiced in the modern educated circles in Malayalee society.The 'decadent sexual morals' supposedly rampant within matrilineal familial and marital arrangements was also a common target[15]; but equally important was the alleged lack

of discipline and order in homes.[16] The standard of evaluation was clearly recognised to be mid-Victorian ideals of domestic life . By the end of the nineteenth-century, this criticism gained general circulation, and modern intellectuals generally felt answerable to the questions it raised .For many intellectuals, regardless of how they were positioned vis-a- vis the colonial power or the local powers, this provoked a self-evaluation, a probing into the condition of women, very often posed in terms of a comparison between 'women of the East' and 'Western women'[17].

The question of the 'condition of women' in Keralam was clearly submerged in the question of defining modern domesticity. The core of this debate lay in the attempts to define women's enlightenment and their freedom. The notion of *swatantryam*, much discussed, did not have an equivalent in the English word 'freedom'; it meant 'self-means for survival'. It was not meant to suggest a free passage between different social domains. Neither was it envisaged to be a state immediately available to any human being – though it is undoubtedly accepted as a possibility open to, indeed necessary for all human beings. Prior to attaining this state, one was supposed to undergo a long process of training through which capacities, taken to be inherent to human beings, and highly determined by the sexual endowment of the body, as well as the ability to regulate oneself, were to be developed. The entire purpose of modern education, it was repeatedly assured, was the development of a self with a focus on *interiority* – both in the sense of a supposed inner-space that pre-exists any education, and in the sense of the act of looking inwards. By *swatantryam* was meant not just the removal of external forms of constraint on a person but also their replacement by internal means of regulation. More importantly, the ability to conform to ideal gendered subjectivities – the ability to be 'Man' or 'Woman', to be comfortable in the domains specified as proper to them - was crucial in *swatantryam.* It was precisely because of this that *swatantryam* was

strictly defined against *tantonnittam* (doing- as-one-pleased).[18] In the literary works of this period, a contrast between two kinds of characters is set up: there are those who have 'developed' them-selves, thus attaining the eligibility for exercising *swatantryam*, and those who have not – such as Madhavan and Soory Nambootiripad in *Indulekha* or Pankajakshi and 'Panchamritam'in C.V.Raman Pillai's play, *Kuruppillakalari* [19]. This notion, further, served as a nodal point in redefining the relation between the self and the collectivity; i.e, the individual must first be 'free' in the above sense for her to be inscribed in modern institutions.

Thus men and women who had attained *swatantryam*, it was claimed, would not shy away from the domains deemed proper to them— the public and the domestic. For their well-developed 'capacities' would direct them towards these. The relation between Man and Woman ensuing from their roles in these different domains was imagined to be of a contractual nature: two agents engaged in an exchange for mutual benefit.[20] The nature of this 'sexual contract' was brilliantly spelt out by Chattambi Swamikal, a prominent spiritual and social-reformist figure of these times, in a lecture delivered to the members of the Ernakulam *Streesamajam*. [21] He questioned the use of the word *Bharya* (she who must be ruled) to designate Woman's position in the family and argued that since not just the capacity for Reproduction, but also the responsibility for it 'naturally' belonged to the Woman, she must be regarded as the superior party in the family.[22] Man's duty, said Swamikal, is merely to arrange adequate material support while the Woman who performed her duty well ruled the world with invisible authority.[23] Such a Woman, it was claimed, is "…. With Man's presence and help, the Mistress of the three worlds, *Sarvatantraswatantra*" – 'free' in all respects.[24] There is, thus, a neat division of the world into specific domains in which Men and Women would find their 'freedom'.

The question of 'enlightening' women was likewise linked to the question of fashioning the Womanly space of the domestic. This, in turn, was found to be absolutely crucial for equipping men adequately, so that they could be positioned comfortably within the public domain. Female education was to be such that women were trained to become overseers of the modern home, regulators of altruistic exchange between family members and agents of 'civilising' their desire. In this way the complementarity of the relation between men and women was both illustrated and justified. Tachchattu Devaki Amma, in a speech to the Chittoor Balika Sahitya Samajam, put this in crystal- clear terms:

> "It seems that giving the same sort of education to men and women is not appropriate. That nature has not ordained Man and Woman for the tasks is amply revealed by the difference in their bodies, dispositions and mental ability…. even if women do not enter public life, if they raise able childre, is that not itself adding to the prosperity of the world? Therefore the aim of their education is to increase such qualities as compassion, sympathy, love, maternal affection and patience, and not to make them into second-rate men… Woman's duty lies in being Man's helpmate in the struggle for life, in easing his toil by her Womanliness. She must achieve victory through compassionate words and deeds. Not through competition."[25]

The authorities that Man and Woman were supposed were also seen to differ greatly. Man's authority derived from political influence, economic strength and intellectual prowess, while Woman's seemed to be derived entirely her attributed power over emotion and sentiment. It is thus a non-coercive power that works through "compassionate words and deeds", tears, prayer and gentle advice. The woman who breached the sexual contract, or subverted the complementarity between Man and Woman would lose the claim to such authority – while being unable

to integrate herself into the public domain (the reason being, of course, her lack of real 'male' capacities). The caricature of such a woman appeared in the late- nineteenth century novel, *Parangodiparinayam* (1892), in the figure of Parangodi who is made to appear a total fool, alienated from local domestic life, incapable of modern domesticity, yet distanced from the public domain, despite her reading the London Times (it will not get her a suitable husband).[26] One of the most persistent complaints about the kind of modern education that was beginning to be given to girls around these times was that it was not designed to arouse and develop their inherent Womanliness, and indeed was producing women devoid of Womanliness.[27] Such women, it was claimed confused service with servitude, and the status of the mistress of the house with that of a powerless servant – it was readily admitted that in the established mores of domestic life, women had little space, but this was not to be so in the modern home, which indeed, was to be presided over, supervised by the woman. The modern wife and mother were seen to have power over the home and its inmates. It is not surprising to see that we often find objections being raised to the inclusion of the Hindu mythological heroine Sheelavati in the list of mythological and historical exemplars of a supposedly timeless 'Indian / Hindu Womanhood'. Such authors claimed that Sheelavati's all- suffering attitude implied a passivity that did not mix with the supervisory functions entrusted to the modern woman.[28]

Yet recommendations for fundamental, far-reaching change as these were presented in such a way that they seemed neither 'foreign' nor unsettling of an established way of life. It may be claimed that the project of transforming society on modern lines was presented not by the wholesale rejection of the older order. For instance, where the use of ideas related to sex and sex-specific domains did matter, modern authors often changed only the conceptual meaning of existent usages while

retaining their emotive meaning. The notion of *Paurusham*, which formerly meant not just manliness but also bravery of fantastic proportions, for example, was now, linked with hither-worldly, concrete forms of power and authority circulating in the modern public domain[29]. Also, the delineation of the home as women's rightful place was certainly not new in Malayalee society of these times. What is different now is that the domestic domain seems to consist of entirely new elements .For instance among the Malayala Brahmins, the inner-quarters of the *Illam* (the Malayala Brahmin homestead) was largely the space inhabited by women-folk, who were restricted from moving freely outside the home. The Nambutiri reform movement[30] which sought to modernise the Malayala Brahmins, at least the so-called 'moderates' among them, did not completely and fundamentally unseat this: but the inner-quarters were completely redefined. The daily routine of the women within *Illams* was traditionally a highly regimented series of ritualistic observances[31]. This was to be partially or fully replaced by a new routine that stressed domestic management, child-care, entertainment of guests etc. The place assigned to women—the inner-quarters—seems undisputed, but the function attributed to the home, the power-relations traversing it, the practices of domestic life and the agency of women, are all different. Secondly, a number of authors sought to locate the ideals in tradition and history so that they seemed to be not alien at all but part of a long-lost golden age[32], merely the rediscovery of one's own lost legacy. A third strategy was to present the project of modernisation as more or less a process of selection. The gap perceived between the existing arrangements and the ideal, it seemed, was not to be filled by importing solutions from the West. Rather, it seemed to lie in a careful process of selection, of isolating elements of socio-cultural life that were amenable to modern self-building and community- building and blending them to actualise the imagined modern order. [33] For instance, the answer to

the question of liberating / making the modern Woman, it was suggested, is best found through such a sifting process: Malayalee women were repeatedly asked not to blindly imitate Western women but to undertake the more difficult task of re-examining local values, norms and practices in the light of bourgeois domesticity, and to bring the selected elements in the older order to a fruitful combination with bourgeois ideals of domesticity so as to form a new arrangement to suit local requirements best. This is why an author like Taravath Ammalu Amma (and many others like her) could lament the extinction of certain rhythms and routines of (upper-caste) women's lives, and of certain homely skills they possessed, and still endorse modern domesticity.[34]

Thus among the classes engaging with modern ideas in late nineteenth- and twentieth century Keralam, gender came to be presented as the 'natural' alternative to *Jati*-based social order, one that seemed to be based on something readily apparent and concrete, even unambiguous, i.e., sexual difference. At the same time, strategies of (re-) presentation, which effectively combated the strengthening of any sense of cultural alienation, were deployed. It would be no exaggeration to claim that this double move was of key importance, among others, in helping the thorough-going institutionalising of this particular 'order of gender' with its emphasis on sexual complementarity. Indeed, by the 1950s, it had become quite well entrenched, used, paradoxically, both to oppose women's entry into popular politics, and to support it. Thus we have a Congress president, Kumbalathu Sanku Pillai, declaring that the negligible number of women in the list of Congress candidates need not be a matter of great concern because women are best suited to be good home-makers[35]. But during the anti-Communist 'Liberation Struggle' launched against the first Communist Ministry in Kerala (1959) which saw the massive mobilisation of women in militant action, their participation was justified by precisely highlighting their role as

'guardians of the Home' and keepers of the social conscience.[36] However, as may be seen in the following section, this did not mean that there were no reinterpretations of this order of gender, no questioning of the model emerging as dominant. Indeed if it has been a remarkably persistent presence in Keralam, it is precisely because it co-existed with modified versions of itself: Woman's space could be widened out without necessarily compromising 'Womanliness'. In the 1930s, such an ingenious, if necessarily limited, strategy was put into circulation in debates about women's presence and agency in the public domain.

III

The key role played by the idea of 'inborn capacities' of Woman which speaks of the 'natural authority' of Woman in the domestic domain and her natural proneness to use sentimental capacities to oversee the materials and souls within her household in these representations of gender has been touched in the above section. The fashioning of Individuals might be therefore seen as largely dependent on such powers of Woman. This theme underlies the remarkable arguments that gained considerable velocity by the 1920s and 1930s justifying the entry of women into the public domain.

Since the late nineteenth century, one notices a steady trend in the manner in which the is public domain conceived of. The latter is increasingly seen as a reticulation of different institutions that shaped their subjects through non-coercive power, the power of words and emotion. As early 1889, the modernising Dewan of Tiruvitamkoor, T.Madhava Row, had reconceptualised the power of the state in these terms. In a text outlining the correct upbringing of children, he claimed that the relation between the subject and the State was similar to that between child and parent, and that the State must be revered by its subjects in the same way children respect their father, as a benevolent

protector and guide.[37] A number of new institutions in which such a new mode of transforming human beings was identified to be relevant were apparently coming forth. For example, the modern school was one institution which was identified early enough to be one in which the power of words would play an important role. In a circular issued by Alfred Forbes Sealy, the Director of Education at Kochi State in1890, we find an interesting demarcation of authority, delegated to different levels within the modern school:

> "No corporal punishment is to be inflicted on a pupil in any class of a Sircar school except by the Headmaster of the school, or at his express order and in his presence. Teachers stand in the place of parents to their pupils and kind and encouraging words are generally better than blows to make boys work.[38]"

The possibility of corporal punishment is not ruled out entirely here; however it is not to be normal means of securing obedience .It may be inflicted only by the highest authority, and not by those immediately responsible for the pupil. They are to use kindness and goodwill, and refrain from inflicting pain on the body. Another institution that was linked, right from the beginning, to the spirit of caring, compassion and charity, was the modern hospital, which came early enough to Keralam, and has flourished ever since. The establishment of medical institutions was part of the effort to redefine the Tiruvitamoor's image as the *Dharmarajyam* ,in terms of modern charity, which clearly aimed at shaping productive subjects. Opening the new Civil Hospital at Thiruvananthapuram in 1865, the Maharajah of Tiruvitamkoor made this clear. His speech firmly redraws the State as a benevolent power, which strives to conserve the lives of its subjects, and perceives this as its duty. At the same time a striking resemblance between the hospital and the modern home surfaced in his hope that the new institution " will

be always distinguished for its sanitary arrangements, for the attention and tender care of the sick and the suffering."[39] In the twentieth century, ever more institutions came to be identified as best worked through the powers of words and persuasion. Even the modern community, the aim of most twentieth century reformisms in Keralam, was no exception. A. Gopala Menon, writing in 1924 about the ideal modern community, envisaged it in exactly these terms. He stressed that the modern community was to be run not through the use of force but through the power of persuasion, and by a leadership that possessed the "discretionary sense to recognise the different skills and abilities of particular individuals and assign different tasks accordingly", and that for this not just "knowledge' but also "patience" was necessary.[40]

As was argued in the former section, precisely such qualities were attributed to women in the debates around gender which was drawing more and more participants in these times. But this certainly did not mean that these institutions were instantly opened up to women. Indeed, the autobiographies of women who sought to enter the public domain in these times are full of accounts of struggle, often against not merely the older order, but against the newly educated that were its opponents.[41] But the justification for the entry of women into these institutions was in the offing. The close affinity between the figure of the modern mother and the ideal teacher had already appeared in the arguments advanced in favour of employing married women as teachers and inspectresses by the 1910s in Tiruvitamkoor.[42] The 'natural talent' women had in shaping the minds of young children was officially acknowledged in Tiruvitamkoor and Kochi by the 1930s.[43] The same argument, viz., that married women, women used to caring for a family, were better qualified for work in modern institutions, was deployed In the debates over the suitability of married women –nurses. Objecting to the restrictions put on married women's employment as nurses in the Health Department of

Tiruvitamkoor (Travancore) , P.K. Narayana Pillai, noted intellectual and member of the Shree Moolam Praja Sabha, argued thus:

> "It is totally meaningless to insist that nurses must necessarily be unmarried. Everyone will agree that women, in comparison to men, have greater natural talent, patience, and maturity for this profession. This is why of course, women are appointed in hospitals for this job. But such qualities are found in greater brilliance in married women. It is married women, rather than unmarried ones who have greater experience, patience and skill in nursing."[44]

The Head of the Medical Department of Tiruvitamkoor, Dr.Mrs. Mary Punnen Lukose, had not really objected to the claim regarding women's 'natural' capacity for nursing. She had raised a practical problem– that of the loss involved when women divide their time and energy between their homes and the hospital. [45] In another debate, when such an objection had been raised regarding the appointment of Assistant Inspectresses, member T. Narayani Amma gave a much more pointed reply when she pointed out that domestic duties are not restricted to married women alone, and extended to unmarried women as well.[46] We also find the claim about women's 'natural' capacities being raised to justify their entry into the newly- constituted civic institutions. Writing in 1934, the well-known columnist Sanjayan, claimed women had the natural bend of mind that made them worthy of governing local bodies because "The chief qualities that rulers need these days…are womanly qualities like patience, gentle disposition, tact and resourcefulness. There is not much difference between governing the home and governing a municipality."[47] What is also interesting about Sanjayan's argument is that he redefines political authority itself to be associated with 'gentle power' stating unequivocally that the older form of political authority was 'male' and "… a relic of those older times when brute force was the

law."[48] Several authors used the same argument to carve out a niche for women within the sphere of economic production, in cottage industry and the co-operative movement. Indeed in the wake of the 1930s, when the multifarious effects of the Great Depression, the legislation sanctioning the partition of joint-families and other economic difficulties were beginning to be felt, Women's cottage industry was prescribed as a sort of panacea.[49] The Co-operative Movement, it was argued, was particularly suited to women's 'nature', as B.Anandavalli Amma argued at the Tiruvitamkoor Co-operative Conference in 1930 "…the principles of co-operation may be more naturally found in women's nature…. Women, when together, are more likely to co-operate with each other than men."[50] Even the police force which seemed to be quite impenetrable to women, generally acknowledged to be unsuitable for women as it involved 'brute force', seemed to be giving way by the 1940s.[51] In the early thirties, even avid advocates of women's entry into the public domain did not often question women's non-eligibility for police duties[52] despite the fact that there were some suggestions for opening up certain special duties to accommodate women in the police force[53], and despite the fact that there were challenges to the idea that women are physically weak.[54] The anti-imperialist struggles that gained momentum in the 1930s in Malabar appealed to precisely those very qualities that were projected as 'natural' to women in the contemporary debates. Gandhian *satyagraha* with its emphasis on patience, endurance, love, compassion etc. combined with steadfastness and moral courage seemed particularly appealing: for example, the courage required of the *satyagrahi* seemed to strongly resemble the kind of courage B. Bhageerathy Amma, and very many authors like her, identified as 'Womanly':

> "Only when a Woman's courage is aroused does she become capable of praiseworthy deeds of courage. …A Man's courage is absolutely animal. It is displayed only

> on occasions that lead to fame and Honour. But Woman's courage? It is sublime. Woman does not hope to win fame by her courage. On the contrary, it is through love and strength of mind that women become courageous."[55]

The nationalist movement also involved a great deal of constructive activity and philanthropic work, which was closely akin to modern charity.[56] Indeed, the justification for women's entry into the public domain has remained extendable to any institution, provided that it may be made to look like one that required 'gentle power', which employed the procedures of the modern government of Individuals[57].

This has proved highly durable in the Malayalee context. It permitted women to move out of a certain limited domain without losing their claim to Womanhood, while resting upon and perpetuating a cultural milieu in which gender continued to be regarded as a valuable identity. Educated women in Keralam have continued, to the present, to be concentrated in areas identified as unambiguously 'Womanly'[58] and this has not been lost upon observers favourably inclined towards the picture of 'progressiveness' of Malayalee society. As two authors have remarked,

> " Kerala women have benefited from the expansion of educational opportunities. Educated women in Kerala find jobs in teaching, nursing, and social work and related fields."[59]

One important development that accompanied this reinscription of Womanhood as associated with a certain kind of power, rather than with a certain domain, was that now, the Man- Woman relationship could be conceived as not only a complementary relation, but a competitive relation as well. These were the early appearances of a dichotomy that would endure, that continues to endure, shaping

countless narratives that populate everyday reading, seeing and hearing in contemporary Keralam—television, cinema, serial novels in 'popular'magazines etc. The theme that pits legal power against the power of sentiment presented in a strongly gendered fashion that has been narrated all too often in popular cinema in Malayalam is too familiar to be cited in detail. The harmonious conjunction of Manly and Womanly capacities in certain individuals was never ruled out as an impossibility—for instance when the *Matrubhoomi* felicitated High Court Judge Anna Chandy, who was the first Malayalee woman to enter the legal profession, on her retirement in 1967, it praised her for maintaining that very balance.[60] But even in the thirties, we see instances of 'Womanly' power being pitted against 'Manly' power, as competitors, with 'Womanly' power being projected as of superior utility in modern society, and, more importantly, with women as its major agents.[61] At the same time the possibility of critical reflection on the sexual contract, as seen, for example, in the writings of women-authors like K.Saraswati Amma [62] and Lalitambika Antarjanam[63], became more and more a reality.

On the other hand, the woman who failed to display altruistic qualities and seemed acquisitive, aggressive or competitive stood clearly condemned, as one who disrespected Womanliness. Since the altruistic qualities attributed to women seemed to make them fully capable of being law-abiding members of modern society; it seemed perfectly possible to extend the arm of the Law to them equally. Indeed, the truly 'Womanly' woman would seem to be far more obedient to modern law than men. Thus it was being recommended in the 1930s that the practice of exempting women and Brahmins guilty of murder from the death- penalty should be removed, and that women- murderers deserved the rope no less than their male counterparts.[64] To renounce an altruistic quality, for a woman, was to renounce Womanliness itself and this Womanliness would ensure women's commitment to modern legal

justice. As the *Matrubhoomi* [65] commented about Justice Anna Chandy's judgements at the occasion of her retirement, Woman's capacity to effect mental transformation through moral advice was seen to be complementary to modern law, and hardly subversive of it. Arguments that seem similar to the above were not entirely unfamiliar in late-twentieth century Keralam. Back in 1892, C.P.Achyutha Menon, reviewing Tottaikkattu Ikkavu Amma's much –celebrated play *Subhadrarjunam*, remarked that "…women who are not content with the glory that may be earned through the performance of domestic tasks, and are hell-bent on displaying their cleverness in the literary field also do not deserve any sympathy. One need not give any thought to the *(sex of)* author in criticising a poem, in judging it to be good or bad."[66] The difference, of course, is that in this latter case, it is a domain that is specified as what women may step out of at their own risk, while in the earlier one, it is a form of power that operates through altruism that women must not renounce in order to stay Womanly. Then, the moment a woman became a subject of the modern literary institution, she must lose any special considerations entailed by her sex ; now, the moment she renounces altruism she loses her special claims as Woman. Indeed, such a woman must stay outside society itself.

It was with such a reinscription of Womanliness that those who advocated the abolishment of gender as a significant criterion of social delineation had to contend with. Despite the fact that the latter view had some powerful adherents like K.Saraswati Amma who was quite prolific a writer in the 1940s and 50s [67], and immensely- popular humanist-radical writers like Kuttippuzha Krishna Pillai,[68] it never was a serious challenge. Indeed, now that women's entry into the public domain seemed easily justified without jettisoning gender-difference, it was easy to either caricature this position, or reduce it to an unrealistic yearning for Sameness, even in the 1930s itself. Sanjayan, the same author who had

warmly approved of women's entry into civic institutions, ridiculed such aspirations. Writing in 1936, he sharply criticised women- speakers thus:

> " Have you heard any of our women make speeches these days? (*they*) begin by quoting from the *Manusmriti* of long ago…. These women have not understood that it is sheer lowly lack of self- respect to claim that a woman can truly realise herself (*only*) by being like a man." [69]

In the 1940s and 50s, the leftist cultural challenge often opposed the figure of the domestic Woman with that of the Woman- as- labouring – subject. Subsequently, the space of the modern family and the sexual contract itself were sought to be redrawn. First, the family was no longer accepted to be a watertight space entirely removed from civil society, and organised primarily by gender-difference. Several autobiographies of prominent leftist and rationalist intellectuals and activists testify to this. In these works, the modern family is a centre of discussion and debate on social issues, no longer closed to the public world, but separate from it in that it involved reproductive and sexual activities besides.[70] Wife and husband were bound by not so much the complementary sexual exchange but by a rational intellectual 'contract' and equal participation in public matters. Yet this did not mean that the gendered division of labour within the home was entirely done away with. Cherukad's famous heroine of *Muthassi*, Nani 'Mistress', brings thrift, order, neatness and efficiency to her husband's home besides being a hard-working and capable school-teacher and a committed and disciplined political activist.[71] The former is no less important as the latter in the construction of Nani 'Mistress' as the heroine of those times, in spite of the fact that nothing is really marked out to be 'Womanly' in her. In the 50s, communists had often to face wild accusations from their opponents who claimed that communism sought to make women the 'common

property' of society, endorsed a shockingly permissive 'glass-of-water theory' of sexual union etc.[72] In such 'hate- literature' it is quite common to find that the social acceptance of Sameness between Man and Woman, the availability of legalised abortion services to women etc. are readily conflated with sexual anarchy and destruction of parental love and concern. In reply, communist commentators chose not to embark on a full-fledged critique of the modern family – especially as it was emerging in mid-20th century Keralam – but rather stressed that 'really healthy' family life was possible only under socialism in which both husband and wife could earn. They also took pains to highlight the high premium placed on sexual self-discipline for leftist activism, and endorsed marriage as inevitable for its achievement.[73] Other attempts at problematising the bourgeois family from a leftist perspective, such as the effort to form unions of domestic workers, never took off. [74] And in the 50s, the communists seemed no better when it came to fielding women- candidates in elections.[75] Women-workers, who were excluded from the reinscribed Womanhood discussed above were organised in leftist trade unions;[76] a leftist critique of middle-class women's social work as bourgeois tokenism was already showing occasionally in the 40s itself.[77] However, none of these seems to have proved forceful enough to even mount a serious questioning of the new Womanhood that was associated with a highly individualising disciplining – and for that reason, claimed space in any institution that seemed to require it. Moreover, at least one observer noted how, in speeches conducted in *Streesamajams*, gender-issues were beginning to get sidelined by those of class.[78] Indeed, in the post-40s, one senses a certain 'flattening' of the debate over gendered subjectivity, into a certain ideology and little more. Now there appears very little that is new, or presented as new, and debating seems to be the simple repetition of well-worn platitudes.

IV

By now it would be superfluous to point out that this reinscription of Womanhood, by and large, did not take place within an oppositional space—in, say, a 'subaltern counter-public', ranged in opposition to the liberal public sphere. [79] The articulation of a reinscribed Womanhood discussed above accompanied and augmented the challenge posed by individualising power of social management – which is also the power of the 'embourgeoisfied' classes— against sovereign political power. The importance of the emergence of modern community-identities to the process by which the former came to gradually displace the latter in Malayalee society of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century has been generally accepted, but the same cannot be said for modern gender. This paper has tried to argue that the formation of modern gender-identities has been thoroughly implicated in the process of shaping governable subjects, perhaps even more than community-identities, because modern gender was presented as something that is at the same time 'natural' (in that it seems to rely on naturally-given capacities) and 'social' (in that it seems to require correct training to be realised), and individualised (in that the endowments of particular bodies seem crucial to it) and general (in that it implicates individuals in well-defined roles). Modern gender as it was articulated in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Keralam seemed to possess a certain propensity to link the 'natural' and the 'social', the 'individualised' and the 'general', enabling mutual adjustments. Manhood and Womanhood, in this context, were not 'ideal types' but projected goals to be realised through concrete activity, with specific prescriptions for the direction of individual behaviour, choices, desire etc. The numerous community-reformisms of this period did not merely involve the forging of a new political framework for determining the conditions and forms of possible activity for members who were, of course, individualised to a certain

extent at least. They equally involved putting together practical means through which all these individuals, of different abilities, dispositions; everyday lives etc. could be integrated into the newly evolving collectivities with minimum friction. The organisation of sexual difference in modern gender was one of the important ways in which this need was met in modern Malayalee society. But, as we have seen in the former sections, the model of separate sex-specific social domains was just one suggestion. The reinscription of Womanhood that complicated the neat domestic-public divide representing the rightful and natural space of women and men was no less a part of this effort. In and through these rewritings, individualising power acquires increasing acceptance through the figure of Woman, who is projected as the agent of a form of power that does not seem to be power at all. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that the dominant construction of Womanhood in Keralam has been wholly agreeable to interventions of the State in the name of social welfare and general good, while being mostly inimical to any radical politicisation.

Thus the new Womanhood did not necessarily indicate a more inclusive category – indeed, it immediately created other kinds of work that counted as 'not-Womanly'. For instance, production and sale of liquor was strictly demarcated as a profession that was not in the least 'Womanly'.[80] Other professions such as dancing and singing had to undergo a 'sanitisation' process before being granted at least a certain degree of acceptance.[81] As mentioned earlier, the reinscribed Womanhood never resonated with the struggles of working-class women, and moreover, within it, the working-class woman could figure only as a junior-member, an aspirant to full Womanhood, who had to be guided into it by women with adequate cultural capital. It is this that is continually reiterated in the great number of articles that advise middle-class women to engage in social work and cottage –industry, all intended

to 'uplift' less-privileged women. Thus within the very heart of the new Womanhood, a thoroughly non-reciprocal relation of power between women themselves was consecrated.

It is not surprising, then, to note that attempts to critique the reinscribed Womanhood—such as the one that may be read in the writings of Lalitambika Antarjanam [82]—had often to address the question of government. Antarjanam's critique re-visions the Man-Woman relationship by first reconstructing the Individual and the Collectivity. In her alternative vision, individuals are not bound by their reasonableness, but by their capacity to give unconditionally to each other. It seeks, through various strategies, to reveal the limits of 'liberation' promised by modern Womanhood to women, to show up the ambiguity of the power that is deemed Womanly for them.

From the 1930s onwards, the field of modern Malayalam literature has provided the ground from which women-authors have sought to reimagine the sexual contract. As mentioned before, by the late 40s there begins a certain 'flattening' of the debate over gendered subjectivity, but in modern Malayalam literature, the struggle over the meaning of gender and its implications for everyday life continued in a charged fashion. From Antharjanam's meditations to K.Saraswati Amma's trenchant criticism of the emergent reality of the bourgeoisfied nuclear family in mid-twentieth century Keralam, to Madhavikkutty's radical reworking of *Premam* and *Kamam,* to the attempted open subversion of masculinist language by the *Pennezhuthu* authors of the recent past, this has remained the case. But this resistance has proved to be limited, staying within the 'literary', too often read as irremediably opposed to 'real life'. Yet the struggles which these authors had to put up against outraged middle-class moral conscience have been quite considerable. Women's Magazines, which have enjoyed a powerful revival in the late-

twentieth century, did little to re-establish gender as a debatable topic. They, rather, worked as formidable instruments of flattening and propagating modern gender into a powerful ideology, vouching for its naturalness and unassailability, and at the same time, exposing its fault-lines. Indeed, with the onslaught of global consumerism in full swing, these internal fault-lines are deepening far too quickly to be ignored. As must be already evident, a contemporary radical politics of gender cannot reach back nostalgically to redefine Woman (or, for that matter, Man), in new terms. At best, this can be a short-term strategy. For its limitations—and ironies— are too conspicuous in contemporary Keralam. Maybe a 'revival' that seeks to place gender once again within debate as something of contested and negotiated meaning may be well in order; but it would have to have as its aim the dispersal and dissipation of gendered subjectivities, not their solidification.

J. Devika is Research Associate at the Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum. Her research interests are Feminist Theory and History of Malayalee Modernity. Her email contact: devika@cds.ac.in.

NOTES

1. See, for instance, Raghavan, 1985; Priyadarshsan, 1974, 1999.

2. We hear of the 'Puthenchandai Reading Association' and the 'Chalai Reading Club' felicitating V.Nagam Aiya on his appointment as officiating Dewan of Tiruvitamkoor (Travancore) in 1902. From *Nagam Aiya: A Biographical Sketch*, by 'An Old School-fellow and Friend', Thirvananthapuram: Keralodayam Press, 1911, p.40. Earlier, the 'Trevandrum Debating Society' was holding periodic lectures. One such was delivered by the First Prince of Tiruvitamkoor, Prince Rama Varma on 'Our Industrial Status' in 1874 (Kottayam: CMS Press,1874). This period also saw the beginning of literary societies like the *Vidyavilasini Sabha* and the *Bhasaposhini Sabha*. See, Raghavan(1985).

3. These have been collected together in a volume titled *Prahasanamala* (1973).

4. Dr.K. Ayappa Panicker, *C.V. Raman Pillai*, Thiruvananthapuram: University of Kerala, 1993,pp.70-78.

5. See, Irumbayam, 1985, 'Introduction'.

6. Habermas defines the public sphere as " a sphere which mediates between society and state, in which the public organises itself as the bearer of public opinion". J. Habermas, 1974. However I would stress the fact that the observations of the critics of Habermas' work which seek to disentangle the historical from the programmatic, are fully relevant to this context. Geoff Eley, for example, has argued that right from the beginning, the public sphere was "an arena of contested meanings" in that "different and opposing publics manoeuvred for space" within it, and in that certain groups, like women, popular classes like the urban poor, working classes etc. were excluded from it. It was, thus a harnessing of public life to the interests of a limited number of

privileged groups. See, Geoff Eley in C. Calhoun (ed), 1992. In our context, the privileged groups consisted of those who gained early access to modern ideas and institutions by modern education or service, for example, the Tamil Brahmins and the Nairs—though significant sections of both *Jatis* were yet to gain such access. Later, such groups were joined by other groups, which were lower down in the local *Jati* hierarchy, like the Ezhavas and others who organised themselves into community-building movements. The excluded were all those who were far away from any engagement with Western ideas or institutions –for instance, both Antarjanams (Malayala Brahmin women, who belonged to a *Jati* that possessed formidable privileges in early twentieth century Malayalee society), and the poor labouring classes were equally outside the public sphere.

7. See Raghavan, op.cit. note 1,for a brief account.

8. The *Malayala Manorama* (henceforth, M.M) reported the activities of a *streesamajam* at Thiruvananthapuram in 1907 (M.M, 'Swadeshakaryam',13 October,1909;of a similar institution at Palakkad (M.M, 23 July,1910); news of a *streesamajam* at Attingal appeared in 1909 (M.M,18 September,1909); that of the Guruvayoor *streesamajam* in 1908 (M.M,19 December,1908); The *Sharada* reported the activities of a *streesamajam* at Kozhikode in 1905 *(Sharada* Vol.2(7),1905-6,p.137); the formation of the Arya Balika Samajam at Tiruvalla was reported in 1909 (M.M, 16 June,1909); a *streesamajam* was operating at Talasherry in the 1910s which home delivered books to women (M. Kunhappa , 'Preface' to C.K.Revati Amma,1977, p.iii).

9. Such 'capacities do not really pre-exist in bodies; they are hollowed out. Disciplinary power fashions them: "… it dissociates power from the body, on the one hand, it turns it into an 'aptitude', 'capacity', which it seeks to increase, on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that may result from it, and

turns it into a relation of strict subjection". M.Foucault, 1985, p.138.

10. Quoted in Raghavan, 1985, p.141.

11. O. Chandu Menon, 1991 (1889), pp.218-61.

12. Ibid., pp.44-46.

13. For debates around the 'truly Womanly'subjectivity in Keralam in the 1930s, see Chapter 3, J. Devika, 1999.

14. This was, of course, the familiar egalitarian-orientalist criticism voiced most clearly in James Mill's *History of British India* (1817): " The condition of women is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the manners of nations…The history of uncultivated nations uniformly represents the women as in a state of abject slavery, from which they slowly emerge as civilisation advances… A state of dependence more strict and humiliating than that is ordained for the weaker sex among the Hindus cannot be easily conceived". J. Mill, 1840, pp.309-10.

15. See. Rev. George Mathen, 'Marumakkathayathalulla Doshangal' (The Disadvantages of Matriliny) , in *Vidyasanghraham* Vol.1(5), July1865,pp.384-52 ; A. Blandford , c.1901,.n.d; S. Mateer, 1883. But besides such missionary accounts as these, colonial law making displayed repugnance and unease at the apparently non-conformative sexuality and agency attributed to women in matrilineal arrangements. See, P. Kodoth, 2001.

16. Even groups who could not be accused of 'sexual decadence', like the local Christians, were criticised for not maintaining good order and discipline in their homes. See, for instance, the criticism of the home-life of local Christians in Mrs. Collins' novel, *Ghatakavadham* (translated and published as 'The Slayer Slain'), in 1877.

17. See, for example, V. Nagam Aiya, a prominent civil servant in Tiruvitamkoor, and Swadeshabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai,a

pioneering journalist and arch-critic of corruption of state-power in Tiruvitamkoor,who were contemporaries, shared the same views on the 'uplift' of Indian/upper-caste Hindu Woman. V.NagamAiya, 1906; Swadeshabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai, 'Bharyadharmam' quoted in K. Bhaskara Pilllai, 1950.

18. See, among the great many articles that appeared on this theme during these times, the discussion of the concept in 'Sharada', 'Streeswatantryam' ,in *Sharada* Vol 2 (3),1905. A fairly detailed discussion of the concept is to be found in M. Rajaraja Varma Tampuran , *Samudacharavicharam*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1931.

19. O. Chandu Menon,op.cit. n. 11; C.V. Raman Pillai, op. cit. , n. 4.

20. It may be noted that the contract presupposes the existence of two parties before the exchange even as it constitutes them.

21. Chattambi Swamikal, 'Prapanchattil Streepurushanmarkkulla Sthanam' (The Place of Women and Men in the Universe) in K. Maheshwaran Nair (ed) 1995, pp.808-12.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid

25. Tachchattu Devaki Amma, 'Streevidyabhyasathinte Uddesham' (The Purpose of Female Education), *Lakshmi Bhayi* Vol.20 (1), 1924-25, pp. 36-8.

26. K. Ramankutty Menon, *Parangodiparinayam*, in G. Irumbayam, 1985.

27. See, for instance, the novel *Sukumar*i,written by Joseph Mooliyil in 1897 in which the training of girls in the missionary boarding school, and that offered by other institutions is compared (in Irumbayam,1985). The Women's Magazines, which began to circulate from this period onwards, contain innumerable articles

that repeat this very complaint. These continued well into the 30s and even into the 40s, however by then, stronger challenges were beginning to be raised against such a view. See, for instance, G.R. Thankamma, 'Utkrishta Vidyabhyasavum Streekalum' (Higher Education and Women), *Mahila Mandiram* Vol 1 (1-11), 1926, pp.455; T. C. Kalyani Amma, 'Oru Adhyakshaprasangam' (A Presidential Address), *Deepam* Vol 2(8), 1931, pp.312-13; C.S.Subrahmanyan Potti, 'Streekalum Sarkarudyogavum' (Women and Government Employment), *Sumangala* Vol 1(2), 1916, pp.40-3; Kaveri Amma, 'Nammude Pradhanapetta Chumatalakal' (Our Chief Responsibilities), *M.M*, October 10, 1925.

28. See, among several such articles, Gauri Amma, Speech at the Annual Day Celebrations at the Pettah Vernacular Girls' School, published in the *Mahila Mandiram* Vol 1(1-12), 1926-27,p.78. Also see Kottarathil Sankunni's retelling of the story of Pakkanar's wife in *Aiteehya Mala*, 1992, pp.186-88, first published 1909-1938 in many volumes. The *Mathrubhoomi* in the 1930's carried an interesting debate on how far Sheelavati's character was worthy of emulation, initiated by the well-known humourist,Sanjayan. See his collected essays titled *Hasyanjali*, 1974.

29. See, for example, C.N. Chellappan Nair, 'Paurusham', *Kerala Nandini* Vols 1 (1 , 2), 1927, pp.72-82 ; 134-38. Also see, C.V. Raman Pillai, *Videsheeya Medhavitvam* (1994), first published, 1922.In an extremely stimulating essay on 'modernity' as represented in the writings of the Bengali *Bhadrolok,* Dipesh Chakrabarthy has tried to show how the ideal of *Grihalakshmi* as articulated in these writings held within it "…. At least two contrary ways of bringing together the domestic and the national in public narratives of the social life of the family…", one which subordinated domesticity and personhood to the project of the citizen-subject, and the other which imagined a connection between the domestic and the mythico-religious social. Through

detailing how these worked, he indicates how the Bengali modern "…is constituted by tensions that relate to each other asymptomatically." Therefore one cannot draw up a singular history of its shaping. In texts that bear the stamp of European modernity, stressing the virtues of companionate marriage the ideology of the patriarchal *kula* make conspicuous appearance. Chakrabarthy refuses to reduce the latter into the former, claiming that "…. Whatever else it may have been, it was never merely a ruse for staging the secular-historical project of the citizen-subject." In the emergent Malayalee public sphere being discussed here, one finds a marked anxiety, especially among those who hailed from matrilineal groups, regarding the absence of a 'properly' patrilineal *Kula* , i.e., one that conformed at least to a certain degree to the model that was often projected as of an 'original', 'ancient', 'Indian' past. Here most authors are at pains to specify what they mean by 'modesty', 'thrift', 'kindness etc., to distance themselves from the pre-existing codes of conduct. Take, for instance the old- time virtue of *Bhakti* – to mark the modern individual, *Bhakti* was not just to be the strict observance of ritualistic and devotional practices, but a state of mind which would constantly tie the individual to an omnipresent divine, regulatory presence. Yet the emotive meanings could not certainly be eclipsed by such concerns. And the importance of these in ushering in a Malayalee modern can hardly be ignored. D. Chakrabarthy, 1994, pp. 50-88.

30. For a fairly detailed account of the Nambutiri reform movement, see, I.V.Babu, 2000.

31. A detailed account of everyday life of women in an *Illam* is to be found in Kanipayyur Sankaran Nambutiripad, 1963, pp.158-166. Also see Cheruvakkara Parvati Antharjanam, 2000.

32. See, Swadeshabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai, op.cit., n.17; P.Idros, 'Islam Annum Innum' (Islam Then and Now), *The Muslim Vanita* Vol 2(4), 1939-40; Neduveli Narayana Menon,

'Pracheenabharatathile Streekal, (Women in Ancient India) ,*The Mahila* Vol 6 (5), 1926.

33. A good illustration of this strategy was to be found in the late nineteenth century Malayalam novel, *Meenakshi* (1890), written by Cheruvalathu Chattu Nair, reprinted in 1988.

34. Taravathu Ammalu Amma, 'Oru Prasangam' (A Speech), *LakshmiBhayi* Vol 20(10), 1925, pp.353-66.

35. See, statement by the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee President, Kumbalathu Sanku Pillai, reported in the *Nazrani Deepika*, 29 October, 1951. He said, "…Here (*the common practice is that*) once a woman is married, even if she is educated, the burden of her livelihood is borne by her husband with a sense of moral duty. The Woman usually stays at home and rules the Man. Here women have not felt the need to enter and act in public domains with a sense of freedom. Women haven't yet felt that they have been enslaved by men ,and that it is necessary to enter into a competition with them in politics…..In this land where women enjoy all kinds of rights with a moral understanding and where women rule their husbands as wives, no harm is to be expected from women not attending Legislative Assemblies". However, by now, such views no longer went uncontested. Several women active in politics and in the public domain expressed their protest, notably, the prominent freedom fighter, A.V. Kuttimalu Amma (*Nazrani Deepika*, November 3,1951,p.5). See also, Mariakutty John BL, 'Vanita Pradhinityam' (The Representation of Women), which strongly criticises the views of the KPCC President, *Nazrani Deepika*, January 8,1952, p.2.

36. It is interesting that the important role played by women in the 'Liberation Struggle' was amply acknowledged and a space for women in the public domain was conceded. But this was not the space of popular politics, but that of a thoroughly apolitical 'social work'. This, again, was justified by stressing the difference between men and women, which made them naturally- disposed

towards specific domains. For a clear articulation of such a position, see, Editorial, 'Streekalude Samoohyadautyam' (The Social Role of Women), *Nazrani Deepika*, September 20, August 2, 1959.

37. T. Madava Row, *Hints on Training Native Children*, Trans. V. Nagam Aiya, Kottayam: CMS Press, 1889.

38. Alfred Forbes Sealy, Director of Education, Circular No. 26 regarding Corporal Punishment, Jul. 1890. Reprinted in the *Archives Treasury*, Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala State Archives, 1993, pp, 99-100.

39. Quoted in the *Travancore Administration Report* 1865-66, pp. 61-62. The speech was made on November 9, 1865.

40. A. Gopala Menon, *Samudayolkkarsham* (Progress of Society), Thiruvananthapuram, 1924, pp. 23.

41. See, for instance, Akkamma Varkey, Appendix, 1977; N.Lalitambika Antharjanam, 1991; Mary John Koothattukulam, 1988; Sr.Mary Benigna, 1986; Kochattil Kalyanikutty Amma, 1991. Anna Chandy, who contested the elections in Tiruvitamkoor in 1931, had to face a great deal of mud slinging from her opponents. When she lost the contest, she commented about the use of unfair campaigning tactics in an editorial in the magazine *Shreemati*, which she edited. This, however, led to an even more vituperative response from the *Malayala Rajyam*. Commenting on the controversy, an observer remarked with regret that community considerations were undermining a politics on behalf of women. See, L.G.Beemar, "Malayala Rajyam Patradhipar Avarkalkku', *Nazrani Deepika* , July 2, 1931, pp. 5-6. There were also allegations that women who desired employment in the government had to sometimes render sexual services to higher-ups. See the editorial of the *Navashakti*, 25 July 1937, quoted in Venganoor Balakrishnan, 2000.

42. It was advanced by one of the earliest women-reformers in Tiruvitamkoor, K.Chinnamma, in a memorandum to the Dewan of Tiruvitamkoor, protesting against the barring of the entry of married women into employment in the Education Department.See her biography, N.Balakrishnan Nair, 1947, pp.42-44.

43. The Director of Public Instruction of the Kochi State admitted this in 1926. Cited in the 'Mahilabhashanam'(News of Women) column of *The Mahila* Vol 6 (7),1926,p.395. The Junior Maharani of Tiruvitamkoor was endorsing this view in her public speeches, identifying in them the 'natural capacities' to be good teachers, besides recommending to them the professions of 'teaching, medicine and nursing'. Quoted in V. Gopala Kurup, 1942, p.43. Also see report of her speech at Thiruvananthapuram, *M.M*, November, 24,1927.

44. P.K.Narayana Pillai, Query during question-answer session at the Tiruvitamkoor Legislature, *M.M*, August 8, 1926.

45. Ibid.

46. See, *Proceedings of the Travancore Shree Mulam Praja Sabha* Vol II, 1934, pp.98.

47. Sanjayan (M.R.Nair), 'Bharanadhikaram Streekalkku' (Political Authority to Women), 1934, reprinted in Sanjayan, 1974, p.49.

48. Ibid.

49. See, Konniyoor Meenakshi Amma, 'Nair Streekalum Grihavum'(Nair Women and the Home), *The Mahila* Vol 6(4),1924,pp.125-7 ; Tottaikkattu Madhavi Amma, 'Vyavasayam' (Industry), *The Mahila* Vol 16(9), 1936, pp.403-11 ; Princess Setu Parvati Bhayi, Presidential Address to the All-India Women's Conference, titled 'Financial Independence : The Wide Gateway to Freedom', *The Mahila* Vol 16 (1), 1936,pp.20-30; Chengannur Bhargavi Amma, 'Nammude Dharmam' (Our Duty) in *The Mahila* Vol 6(5), 1926, pp.161-66.

50. B. Anandavalli Amma , ' Streekalum Sahakaranavum'(Women and Co-operation), *Mangalodayam* Vol 17(8), 1930, pp.592-94.The *Travancore Cooperatives Enquiry Committee Report*,1934, agreed with this opinion admitting that women possess, by birth, "frugality and the propensity to save" . See, Chapter 1, p.101.

51. By the1940s, the Tiruvitamkoor State was boasting of its women-police. Indeed, it now seemed that special tasks were present within the business of keeping the law that were compatible with Womanly nature. *The Travancore Information and Listener* (Vol 7(11), August 1947) proudly carried a photograph of its policewomen with the following caption : "The State's pioneer experiment in the enlisting of Women Police has been marked by unqualified success both in dealing with the problem of the woman- delinquent and in the performance of wider duties of citizenship." In 1942, the Inspector General of Tiruvitamkoor, G.S. Abdul Karim Sahib Suhrawardy, answering a question in the legislative assembly, remarked that the policewoman needed to have 'Manly' qualities. But from his elucidation of those qualities, it is not difficult to see that these were precisely the qualities that were being claimed for women by those who sought to reinscribe Womanliness. Suhrawardy listed "….courage, endurance, fearlessness, boldness, absence of timidity…" as the qualities essential for a policewoman. Answer to Question No.3, 20 July 1942, *Proceedings of the Tiruvitamkoor Shree Moolam Praja Sabha* Vol XX, 1945, p.34. 'Timidity', for instance, was often considered to be a quality forced upon women by the oppressive older order, and the contrast between the courageous woman and the timid one often defined the difference between the modern woman and her unenlightened traditional counterpart, as in the late nineteenth century novel, *Indulekha* (O.Chandu Menon, 1889).

52. See, for instance, Anna Chandy's brilliant defence of women's right to work in the public domain, 'Streeswatantryatte Patti' (On

Women's Freedom), Speech delivered to the Vidyabhivardhini Sabha at Thiruvananthapuram, 1928, published in the *Sahodaran*, Special Issue, 1929, pp.135-36.Also see, T.Narayani Amma, Reply to Query, Second Session, First Assembly, 1934, From the *Proceedings of the Travancore Shree Moolam Praja Sabha* Vol 2, 1935, p.951.

53. See,for example, S.J.Nair arguing in the Shree Moolam Praja Sabha in 1934 for representation of women and the depressed classes in the police force. *Proceeding*s, op.cit, n.46, p.820.

54. See, Anna Chandy, op.cit., n. 51 ; also, 'K.P.M', 'Streekal Abalakalano?', (Are Women Weak?), *LakshmiBhay*i Vol 3 (8), 1908, pp.329-37.

55. B.B. Amma, 'Streeyude Jeevitam', *The Mahila* Vol 16 (8), 1936, p.338.

56. An account of the activities of the nationalist Streesamajams in Malabar during the Civil Disobedience Movement is to be found in P.K.K. Menon,1972. See also, the reminiscences of the prominent Congresswoman of the thirties, Mukkappuzha Kartyayani Amma, published in the *Matrubhoomi Weekly*, November- January, 1983-84.

57. The government of individuals involves the deployment of a form of power that aims at getting individuals to act and commit themselves to ends projected in general models of possible action. The central problem here would be of attaining a correct balance between totalising power, and an individualising, 'pastoral' power.

58. It must not be supposed that all these different professions became acceptable all at once. Indeed not. The stigma attached to nursing endured well into the sixties, and there is good reason to surmise that it was sheer economic need that led many families to send their young women for training in nursing. See, Robin Jeffrey, 1993. Also it is not the case that women did not enter other

professions like engineering and scientific research, but their numbers were certainly not as prolific as those who aspired for the 'Womanly' professions.

59. R.Franke and B.Chasin, 1991, p.15.

60. The *Matrubhoomi* showered warm praise upon Anna Chandy for her success in the legal profession and added thus: "…There is something special about Smt. Anna Chandy's judgements. It will be accompanied by a long piece of moral advice. One may hear within it the echo of the natural inspiration that springs in Woman's heart". See, Editorial, 'Justice Anna Chandy', *Matrubhoomi*, April 5, 1967.

61. For a significant article that pursues this line of argument, see, V.K.Chinnammalu Amma, ' Samudayattil Streekalude Sthanam' (The Place of Women in Society), *The Mahila* Vol 4 (7), 1924, pp.250-57.

62. See, J. Devika, 'Kuladaykkum Kulinakkum Appuram : Lingabhedavicharam Saraswati Ammayude Kritikalil', Appendix to Dr. K.S. Ravikumar (ed.), 2000.

63. See, J.Devika, 2000.

64. See, Editorial in the *Kesari*, titled 'Vadhashiksha' (Death-Penalty), April 3,1935; Reprinted in A. Balakrishna Pillai, 1989, p.154.

65. Op.cit. n.60.

66. C.P.Achyutha Menon, ' Subhadrarjunam', *Vidyavilasini Vol* 2 (11), 1892. Reprinted in T.T. Prabhakaran (Compiler), 1994, pp.106-9.

67. J. Devika, op.cit., n.62.

68. See his essays like ' Streekalude Paratantryam' (The Unfreedom of Women), written in 1941, 'Russiayile Streekal' (The Women of Russia), in 1944 etc. reprinted in Kuttippuzha Krishna Pillai , 1990, pp.11-14; pp.54-56.

69. From Sanjayan , 'Shreemati Teravathu Ammalu Amma- Oru Anusmaranam' (Teravathu Ammalu Amma- A Remembrance), reprinted in Sanjayan,1970, pp.163-64.

70. See for instance the thoughts of the prominent leftist writer Cherukad , whose writings displayed sensitivity towards gender-power. His ideals of family life are elaborated in his autobiography, *Jeevitappata* (1974), and in his novels like *Muthassi* (1989) and *Devalokam* (1971). Also see, A.K.Gopalan, 1980. For a survey of female characters in Cherukad's literary writings, see M.Leelavati, 1990. For an interesting account of a progressive marriage, see M.R.Bhattatirippad, 'Varan Delhikkum Vadhu Kollethekkum!' (The Bridegroom To Delhi, The Bride to Kollam!), in M. R. Bhattatiripad, 1988. Also see, V.T.Bhattatiripad, 1988.

71. Cherukad, 1989.

72. For a good sample, among the very many pamphlets, articles etc. of this type which appeared in the 1950s, see, Narikkuzhi, *Kutumbathinte Nere*, Aluva: S.H. League, 1954, first edition, 1952; by the same author, *Marxisathil Kutumbajeevitamo*?, Aluva : S.H.League, 1954. See also Br. Vadakkan's article directed against K. Damodaran's booklet, *Marxisavum Kutumbajeevitavum* titled 'Sakhavu Damodaran Sannadhanano?' in *Tozhilali*, 26 July, 1953. However such allegations were not made by the Catholic Church alone .The same charge was repeated in the editorial of the *Navashakti* on 5 August 1959, titled 'Samaram Aarambhichitteyullu'.

73. See, K.Damodaran, ibid. , Above; C.J.Thomas, 1951.Also, E.M.S. Nambutiripad, 1949 (published under the pen name 'K.K.Vasudevan'). Even those who were otherwise not sympathetic to the communist offered them the fullest praise for their sexual self-restraint, and lauded the Party for its prompt action against any wanderings. See for instance, the warm praise showered upon them by a prominent non-leftist politician and legislator of these years, Annie Joseph. Annie Joseph, 1954.

74. P.J.Cheriyan, 1993, p. 29. The attempt was made in the 1940s in Alappuzha were militant trade-unionism was making steady inroads at this time.

75. In the elections to the State Legislature in 1960, there were but 14 women-candidates in all, of whom four were communists, three were independents supported by the communists and the seven left were Congress candidates. See report in the *Nazrani Deepika*, 10 January 1960, p.3.

76. Women-workers were beginning to be unionised in the 30s. The Ambalappuzha Kayarupiri Tozhilali Union was formed in the 30s with K.Devayani as Secretary. See K.Devayani, 1995.In the 1940s, the Tiruvitamkoor Coir Factory Workers Union actively organised women in their own factory committees, with full-time women organisers, conducting camps and study-classes, and agitating on many issues like arbitrary dismissal from work, unequal wages and maternity benefits. See, Meera Velayudhan, 1984. But despite the presence of dedicated full-time activists like K.Meenakshi and the massive participation of women-workers in trade-union agitation, observers have noted that women were hardly conspicuous in the top-level trade-union leadership. See K.T.Ram Mohan, 1996, pp.158-59.And, most strikingly, gender struggles now seemed to occupy a circumscribed space, being largely subsumed under class struggle. Meera Velayudhan quotes one of the women who attended an early study-camp for women organised by the Party at Palakkad in the 40s: "…. we began to consider ourselves as soldiers for communism and prepared to start work on a war footing". M.Velayudhan, 1984.

77. C.Achyuta Menon's play, *Sevanathinte Peril*, written in the 40s though published only in 1975 delivers a caustic criticism of women's social work.

78. See Kumari Saraswati, 'Vanita Sanghatana', *Kaumudi Weekly* Vol 6 (10), 9 May 1955, pp.13-15.

79. This notion is drawn from Nancy Fraser's sympathetic critique of Habermas in which she defines the 'subaltern counter-publics' as "…parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinate social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identity, interests and needs." N.Fraser, 1992, p.123.

80. A woman-member of the Kochi legislature demanded in 1928 that if the government could not implement prohibition, then it should at least make laws to prevent women from buying and selling liquor. A motion was moved later, suggesting such a law. Such suggestions were not infrequent in discussions on Abkari laws even much later. See ' Kochiniyamasabha Sammelanam', *M M* Aug. 4, Aug. 8, 1928.

81. Mahakavi Vallathol in his Kerala Kalamandalam rehabilitated dancing. The necessity of 'sanitisation' was pressed by no less a figure than Sahodaran K.Ayappan. See his article, ' Vallatholum Devadasitvavum' in *Sahodaran*, Aug. 9, 1952.

82. J. Devika, 2001.

References

Achyuta Menon, C. *Sevanathinte Peril*, Thiruvananthapuram: Prabhatam Publications, 1975.

Ayyappa Panikker, K. *C.V. Raman Pillai*, Thiruvananthapuram: University of Kerala, 1993.

Abstracts, Papers presented at the Seminar on *Women in Kerala: Past and Present*, February 11-12, 1995, A. K. G Centre for Research and Studies, Thiruvananthapuram.

Balakrishnan, Venganoor, *Balaramapuram G.Raman Pilla; Oru Deshabhimaniyude Katha*, Thiruvananthapuram: Navasakti Books, 2000.

Balakrishnan Nair, N. *K.Chinnamma-Jeevacharitram*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1947.

Balakrishna Pillai, A. *Kesariyude Mukhaprasangangal*, Kottayam: D.C Books, 1989.

Bhaskara Pillai,K. *Swadeshabhimani*, Kottayam: SPSS, 1950.

Bhattatirippad, M.R. *MRByude Upanyasangal*, Kozhikode: Matrubhoomi, 1988.

Bhattatirippad, V.T. *Karmavipakam*, Thrissur: Best Books, 1988.

Blandford, Augusta, *The Land of The Conch-Shell*, London: Zenana Missionary Society, c, 1901.

Chakrabarty, D. ' The Difference- Deferral of a Colonial Modernity: Public Debates on Domesticity in British India', D.Arnold and D. Hardiman (eds.), *Subaltern Studies* VIII, N.Delhi: OUP, 1996.

Chandu Menon, O. *Indulekha*, Kottayam: D.C Books, 1991, First Published, 1889.

Chathu Nair, Cheruvalathu, *Meenakshi*, Thrissur: Kerala Sahitya Akademi, 1988, First Published, 1890.

Cheriyan, P.J. 'The Communist Movement in Travancore; From Origins To the Uprisings of 1946', Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the University of Calicut, 1993.

Collins, Mrs. R. *Ghatakavadham*, Kottayam: D.C Books, 1990, First Malayalam translation, 1877.

Devika, J. 'En-Gendering Individuals: A Study of Gender and Individualisation in Reform- Language in Modern Keralam, 1880s to 1950s', Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to Mahatma Gandhi University, 1999.

———— 'Unnameable Discontents: Individualism and Gender in the writing of Lalitambika Antarjanam', Paper presented at the seminar *Rethinking Modernity*, Dept. of Philosophy, Sree Sankara University of Sanskrit, Nov.16-18, 2001.

Eley, G. ' Nations, Publics and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century' in Craig Calhoun (ed,), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992.

Foucault, M. *Discipline and Punish* , Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984.

Franke, R.W; Chasin, B.H. 'Kerala State, India: Radical Reform as Development', Monthly Review 42(8), Jan. 1991, pp.8-20.

Fraser, N. 'A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracies' in Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992.

Gopalan, A.K. *Ente Jeevita Katha*, Thiruvananthapuram: Deshabhimani, 1980.

Govinda Pisharoty, Cherukad , *Devalokam*, Thiruvananthapuram: Deshabhimani,1971.

Muthassi, Thrissur: Kerala Sahitya Akademi, 1989.

———— *Jeevitappatha*, Thiruvananthapuram: Deshabhimani, 1974.

Habermas, J. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991.

Irumbayam, P.V.G. *Nalu Novelukal*, Thrissur: Kerala Sahitya Akademi, 1985

Joseph, Annie, *Ee Kathukal Ninakkullatanu*, Kottayam, 1954.

Jeffrey, Robin, *Politics, Women and Well-Being*, New Delhi: Macmillan, 1993.

Kodoth, P. ' Courting Legitimacy or Delegitimising Custom? Sexuality, Sambandham, and Marriage Reform in Late Nineteenth Century Malabar', *Modern Asian Studies* 35(2), 2001, pp.349-84.

Krishna Pillai, Kuttippuzha, *Kuttippuzhayude Prabandhangal*, Thrissur: Kerala Sahitya Akademi, 1990.

Lalitambika Antarjanam, N. *Atmakathaikku Oru Amugham*,Kottayam; D.C Books, 1986.

Leelavati, M. *Streesankalpam—Cherukadinte Novelukalil*, Thiruvananthapuram: Prabhatam Publications, 1990.

Maheshwaran Nair, K. (ed.) *Chattambi Swamikal: Jeevitavum Kritikalum*, Thiruvananthapuram: Bhooma Books, 1995.

Mary Benigna, Sr. *Lokame Yatra*, Bharanaganam: Jeevan Publishers, 1986.

Mary John, Koothattukulam, *Kattu Paranja Katha*, Kottayam: D.C Books, 1988.

Mateer, S. *Native Life in Travancore*, London, 1883.

Menon, P.K.K. *The History of the Freedom Movement in Kerala*, Vol.II, Thiruvananthapuram: Govt. of Kerala, 1972.

Mill, J. *The History of British India*, Vol.1, London: H.H.Wilson, 1840, First published, 1817.

Nagam Aiya, V. *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol II, N.Delhi: AES, First published, 1906.

Nambootiripad, E.M.S. ‘ Marxisavum Sanmargika Bodhavum’, 1949. Reprinted in P.Govinda Pillai (ed.) , *EMS Sampoorna Kritikal 1947-1949* Vol. 8, Thiruvananthapuram: Chinta Publications, 1999, pp.282- 96.

Parvati Antarjanam, Cheruvakkara. *Antarjanangalude Aacharanush-tanangal*, Chengannoor; Rainbow Publications, 2000.

Prabhakaran, T.T. *C.P. Achyuta Menonte Niroopanangal*, Thiruvananthapuram: State Institute of Languages, 1994.

Priyadarshan, G. *Masikapadhanangal*, Kottayam: SPSS , 1974. — *Kerala Patrapravartanam: Suvarna- Adhyayangal*, Thrissur: Current Books, 1999.

Raghavan, Putuppally, *Kerala Patrapravarthana Charitram*, Thrissur: Sahitya Akademi, 1985.

Ram Mohan, K.T. ‘Material Processes and Developmentalism: Interpreting Economic Change in Tiruvitamkoor 1800-1945’, Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996.

Raman Pillai, C.V. *Prahasanamala*, Kottayam:SPSS, 1973. — *Videsheeya Medhavitvam*, Thiruvananthapuram: Dept. of Cultural Publications, Govt.of Kerala, 1994.

Ravikumar, Dr.K.S. *K.Saraswati Ammayude Sampoorna Kritikal*, Kottayam: D.C Books, 2000.

Revati Amma, C.K. *Sahasrapoornima*, Kottayam: SPSS, 1977.

Sanjayan (M.R.Nair), *Hasyanjali*, Kozhikode: Matrubhoomi, 1974. _ *Sanjayan-1936-le Hasyalekhanangal* Vol.3, Kozhikode: Matrubhoomi, 1970.

Sankaran Nambutirippad, Kanippayyur. *Ente Smaranakal*, 4 Vols, Kunnamkulam: Panchangom Press, 1963.

Sankunni, Kottarathil, *Aiteehya Mala*, Thrissur: Current Books, 1992.

C Varkey, Akkamma. *1114-nte Katha*, Kottayam: D.C Books, 1977.

CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
LIST OF WORKING PAPERS

(From 1991 onwards)

MRIDUL EAPEN Hantex: An Economic Appraisal.
September, 1991, W.P.242

SUNIL MANI Government Intervention in Commercial Crop Development: A Case of Flue Cured Virginia Tobacco.
November, 1991, W.P.243

K. PUSHPANGADAN Wage Determination in a Casual Labour Market: The Case Study of Paddy Field Labour in Kerala.
January, 1992, W.P.244

K.N. NAIR & S.P. PADHI Dynamics of Land Distribution: An Alternative Approach and Analysis with Reference to Kerala.
January, 1992, W.P.245

THOMAS ISAAC Estimates of External Trade Flows of Kerala - 1975-76 and 1980-81.
March, 1992, W.P.246

THOMAS ISAAC, RAM MANOHAR REDDY, NATA DUVVURRY Regional Terms of Trade for the State of Kerala.
March, 1992, W.P.247

P. MOHANAN PILLAI Constraints on the Diffusion of Innovations in Kerala: A Case Study of Smokeless Chulas.
March, 1992, W.P.248

R. ANANDRAJ Cyclicality in Industrial Growth in India: An Exploratory Analysis.
April, 1992, W.P.249

T.M. THOMAS ISAAC, RAM MANOHAR REDDY, NATA DUVVURY Balance of Trade, Remittance and Net Capital Flows: An Analysis of Economic Development in Kerala since independence.
October, 1992, W.P.250

M. KABIR, T.N. KRISHNAN Social Intermediation and Health Transition: Lessons from Kerala,
October, 1992, W.P.251

SUNIL MANI, P. NANDAKUMAR Aggregate Net Financial Flows to India: The Relative Importance of Private Loan vis-a-vis Foreign Direct Investments.
August, 1993, W.P.252

PULAPRE BALAKRISHNAN Rationale and the Result of the Current Stabilisation Programme.
November, 1993, W.P.253

K.K. SUBRAHMANIAN, P. MOHANAN PILLAI Modern Small Industry in Kerala: A Review of Structural Change and Growth Performance.
January, 1994, W.P.254

DILIP M.MENON Becoming Hindu and Muslim : Identity and Conflict in Malabar 1900-1936.
January, 1994, W.P.255

D. NARAYANA Government Intervention in Commodity Trade: An Analysis of the Coffee Trade in India.
January, 1994, W.P.256

K.J. JOSEPH, P. NANDAKUMAR On the Determinants of Current Account Deficits: A Comparative Analysis of India, China and South Korea.
January, 1994, W.P.257

K.K. SUBRAHMANIAN, K.J. JOSEPH Foreign Control and Export Intensity of Firms in Indian Industry.
February, 1994, W.P.258

PULAPRE BALAKRISHNAN, K. PUSHPANGADAN Total Factor Productivity Growth in Indian Manufacturing - A Fresh Look.
April 1994, W.P.259

D. NARAYANA, K.N. NAIR Role of the Leading Input in Shaping Institutions: Tendency in the Context of Irrigation Uncertainty.
May, 1994, W.P.260

G. MURUGAN, K. PUSHPANGADAN Pricing of Drinking Water: An Application of Coase Two-part Tariff.
December, 1994 W.P.261

MOHANAN PILLAI On the Mexican Crisis.
December, 1995, W.P.262

SUNIL MANI Financing Domestic Technology Development through the Venture Capital Route.
December, 1995, W.P.263

T.T. SREEKUMAR Peasants and Formal Credit in Thiruvithamcore: The State Institutions and Social Structure 1914-1940.
December, 1995 W.P.264

AMITABH Estimation of the Affordability of Land for Housing Purposes in Lucknow City, Uttar Pradesh (India): 1970-1990.
March, 1996. W.P.265

K. PUSHPANGADAN, G. MURUGAN, K. NAVANEETHAM Travel Time, User Rate & Cost of Supply: Drinking Water in Kerala, India:
June 1996. W.P.266

K.J. JOSEPH Structural Adjustment in India: A Survey of Recent Studies & Issues for Further Research,
June 1996 W.P.267

D. NARAYANA Asian Fertility Transition: Is Gender Equity in Formal Occupations an Explanatory Factor?
October, 1996 W.P.268

D. NARAYANA, SAIKAT SINHAROY Import and Domestic Production of Capital Goods from Substitution to Complementarity,
October 1996. W.P.269

NEW SERIES

W.P. 270 **ACHIN CHAKRABORTY** *On the Possibility of a Weighting System for Functionings* December 1996

W.P. 271 **SRIJIT MISHRA** *Production and Grain Drain in two inland Regions of Orissa* December 1996

W.P. 272 **SUNIL MANI** *Divestment and Public Sector Enterprise Reforms, Indian Experience Since 1991* February 1997

W.P. 273 **ROBERT E. EVENSON, K.J. JOSEPH** *Foreign Technology Licensing in Indian Industry : An econometric analysis of the choice of partners, terms of contract and the effect on licensees' performance* March 1997

W.P. 274 **K. PUSHPANGADAN, G. MURUGAN** *User Financing & Collective action: Relevance sustainable Rural water supply in India.* March 1997.

W.P. 275 **G. OMKARNATH** *Capabilities and the process of Development* March 1997

W. P. 276 **V. SANTHAKUMAR** *Institutional Lock-in in Natural Resource Management: The Case of Water Resources in Kerala,* April 1997.

W. P. 277 **PRADEEP KUMAR PANDA** *Living Arrangements of the Elderly in Rural Orissa,* May 1997.

W. P. 278 **PRADEEP KUMAR PANDA** *The Effects of Safe Drinking Water and Sanitation on Diarrhoeal Diseases Among Children in Rural Orissa,* May 1997.

W.P. 279 **U.S. MISRA, MALA RAMANATHAN, S. IRUDAYA RAJAN** Induced Abortion Potential Among Indian Women, August 1997.

W.P. 280 **PRADEEP KUMAR PANDA** *Female Headship, Poverty and Child Welfare : A Study of Rural Orissa, India,* August 1997.

W.P. 281 **SUNIL MANI** *Government Intervention in Industrial R & D, Some Lessons from the International Experience for India,* August 1997.

W.P. 282 **S. IRUDAYA RAJAN, K. C. ZACHARIAH** *Long Term Implications of Low Fertility in Kerala,* October 1997.

W.P. 283 **INDRANI CHAKRABORTY** *Living Standard and Economic Growth: A fresh Look at the Relationship Through the Non- Parametric Approach,* October 1997.

W.P. 284 **K. P. KANNAN** *Political Economy of Labour and Development in Kerala,* January 1998.

W.P. 285 **V. SANTHAKUMAR** *Inefficiency and Institutional Issues in the Provision of Merit Goods,* February 1998.

W.P. 286 **ACHIN CHAKRABORTY** *The Irrelevance of Methodology and the Art of the Possible : Reading Sen and Hirschman,* February 1998.

W.P. 287 **K. PUSHPANGADAN, G. MURUGAN** *Pricing with Changing Welfare Criterion: An Application of Ramsey- Wilson Model to Urban Water Supply,* March 1998.

W.P. 288 **S. SUDHA, S. IRUDAYA RAJAN** *Intensifying Masculinity of Sex Ratios in India : New Evidence 1981-1991,* May 1998.

W.P. 289 **JOHN KURIEN** *Small Scale Fisheries in the Context of Globalisation,* October 1998.

W.P. 290 **CHRISTOPHE Z. GUILMOTO, S. IRUDAYA RAJAN** *Regional Heterogeneity and Fertility Behaviour in India,* November 1998.

W.P. 291 **P. K. MICHAEL THARAKAN** *Coffee, Tea or Pepper? Factors Affecting Choice of Crops by Agro-Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth Century South-West India,* November 1998

W.P. 292 **PRADEEP KUMAR PANDA** *Poverty and young Women's Employment: Linkages in Kerala,* February, 1999.

W.P. 293 **MRIDUL EAPEN** *Economic Diversification In Kerala : A Spatial Analysis,* April, 1999.

W.P. 294 **K. P. KANNAN** *Poverty Alleviation as Advancing Basic Human Capabilities: Kerala's Achievements Compared,* May, 1999.

W.P. 295 **N. SHANTA AND J. DENNIS RAJA KUMAR** *Corporate Statistics: The Missing Numbers,* May, 1999.

W.P. 296 **P.K. MICHAEL THARAKAN AND K. NAVANEETHAM** *Population Projection and Policy Implications for Education:A Discussion with Reference to Kerala,* July, 1999.

W.P. 297 **K.C. ZACHARIAH, E. T. MATHEW, S. IRUDAYA RAJAN** *Impact of Migration on Kerala's Economy and Society,* July, 1999.

W.P. 298 **D. NARAYANA, K. K. HARI KURUP,** *Decentralisation of the Health Care Sector in Kerala : Some Issues,* January, 2000.

W.P. 299 **JOHN KURIEN** *Factoring Social and Cultural Dimensions into Food and Livelihood Security Issues of Marine Fisheries; A Case Study of Kerala State, India,* February, 2000.

W.P. 300 **D. NARAYANA** *Banking Sector Reforms and the Emerging Inequalities in Commercial Credit Deployment in India,* March, 2000.

W.P. 301 **P. L. BEENA** *An Analysis of Mergers in the Private Corporate Sector in India,* March, 2000.

W.P. 302 **K. PUSHPANGADAN, G. MURUGAN,** *Gender Bias in a Marginalised Community: A Study of Fisherfolk in Coastal Kerala,* May 2000.

W.P. 303 **K. C. ZACHARIAH, E. T. MATHEW, S. IRUDAYA RAJAN ,** *Socio-Economic and Demographic Consequenes of Migration in Kerala,* May 2000.

W.P. 304 **K. P. KANNAN,** *Food Security in a Regional Perspective; A View from 'Food Deficit' Kerala,* July 2000.

W.P. 305 **K. N. HARILAL, K.J. JOSEPH,** *Stagnation and Revival of Kerala Economy: An Open Economy Perspective,* August 2000.

W.P. 306 **S. IRUDAYA RAJAN,** *Home Away From Home: A Survey of Oldage Homes and inmates in Kerala,* August 2000.

W.P. 307 **K. NAVANEETHAM, A. DHARMALINGAM,** *Utilization of Maternal Health Care Services in South India,* October 2000.

W.P. 308 **K. P. KANNAN, N . VIJAYAMOHANAN PILLAI,** *Plight of the Power Sector in India : SEBs and their Saga of Inefficiency* November 2000.

W.P. 309 **V. SANTHAKUMAR AND ACHIN CHAKRABORTY,** *Environmental Valuation and its Implications on the Costs and Benefits of a Hydroelectric Project in Kerala, India,* November 2000.

W.P. 310 **K. K. SUBRAHMANIAN. E. ABDUL AZEEZ**, *Industrial Growth In Kerala: Trends And Explanations* November 2000

W.P. 311 **INDRANI CHAKRABORTY** *Economic Reforms, Capital Inflows and Macro Economic Impact in India,* January 2001

W.P. 312 **N. VIJAYAMOHANAN PILLAI** *Electricity Demand Analysis and Forecasting –The Tradition is Questioned,* February 2001

W.P. 313 **VEERAMANI. C** *India's Intra-Industry Trade Under Economic Liberalization: Trends and Country Specific Factors,* March 2001

W.P. 314 **U.S.MISHRA AND MALA RAMANATHAN** *Delivery Complications and Determinants of Caesarean Section Rates in India - An Analysis of National Family Health Surveys, 1992-93,* March 2001.

W.P. 315 **ACHIN CHAKRABORTY** *The Concept and Measurement of Group Inequality,* May 2001.

W.P. 316 **K. P. KANNAN AND N. VIJAYAMOHANAN PILLAI** *The Political Economy of Public Utilities: A Study of the Indian Power Sector,* June 2001.

W.P. 317 **K. J. JOSEPH AND K. N. HARILAL** *India's IT Export Boom: Challenges Ahead.* July 2001.

W.P. 318 **JOHN KURIEN AND ANTONYTO PAUL** *Social Security Nets for Marine Fisheries-The growth and Changing Composition of Social Security Programmes in the Fisheries Sector of Kerala State, India.* September 2001.

W.P. 319 **K. C. ZACHARIAH**, **P. R. GOPINATHAN NAIR AND S. IRUDAYA RAJAN** *Return Emigrants in Kerala: Rehabilitation Problems and Development Potential.* October 2001

W.P. 320 **N. VIJAYAMOHANAN PILLAI, K. P. KANNAN,** *Time and Cost Over-runs of the Power Projects in Kerala,* November 2001.

W.P. 321 **VEERAMANI C.** *Analysing Trade Flows and Industrial Structure of India: The Question of Data Harmonisation,* November 2001.

W.P. 322 **K. C. ZACHARIAH,** *The Syrian Christians of Kerala: Demographic and Socioeconomic Transition in the Twentieth Century,* November 2001.

W.P. 323 **V. K. RAMACHANDRAN, MADHURA SWAMINATHAN, VIKAS RAWAL,** *How have Hired Workers Fared? A Case Study of Women Workers from an Indian Village, 1977 to 1999.* December 2001.

W.P. 324 **K. P. KANNAN, N. VIJAYAMOHANAN PILLAI,** *The Aetiology of the Inefficiency Syndrome in the Indian Power Sector Main Issues and Conclusions of a Study.* March 2002.

W.P. 325 **N. VIJAYAMOHANAN PILLAI,** *Reliability and Rationing cost in a Power System.* March 2002.

W.P. 326 **K.C. ZACHARIAH, B.A. PRAKASH, S. IRUDAYA RAJAN,** *Gulf Migration Study : Employment, Wages and Working Conditions of Kerala Emigrants in the United Arab Emirates.* March 2002.

W.P. 327 **K. RAVI RAMAN,** *Bondage in Freedom, Colonial Plantations in Southern India c. 1797-1947.* March 2002.

W.P. 328 **K. P. KANNAN, K. S. HARI,** *Kerala's Gulf Connection Emigration, Remittances and their Macroeconomic Impact 1972-2000.* March 2002.