Original Research Article

Comparative Analysis of the Trends of Ownership Pattern Based on Intersectionality of Gender and Social Categorization in Karnataka, India

ABSTRACT:

Accessing land ownership in India faces some challenges including among others tenancy, land markets, and same with limited women's access. Despite farm women's proficiency in agriculture and household management, gender disparities persist, restricting resource access. Against this background, this paper examined ownership trends in Karnataka by utilizing gender-segregated data from the past five agricultural documented records. The findings show that over time, operational holdings and farming areas operated by women increased, contrasting with a decline among men. Although the total average area decreased, women still held smaller plot portions. Examining social categories, the paper noted a higher participation by women in scheduled caste land holdings, though their plot sizes remain smaller compared to scheduled tribe women. Similarly, among social classes, more women own land in the marginal and small farmer categories, indicating a growing interest in land ownership. This reflects women's proficiency in succession acts. Male agricultural land holdings declined due to urbanization and labour shortages. Farm women's participation in land ownership in Karnataka is higher among India. While the data shows a positive trend with increasing female-owned holdings, a noticeable gap persists in average holding sizes, indicating gender-related inequalities. The paper addressed gender disparities in agriculture, citing social stigma and a lack of legal knowledge as barriers. Therefore, empowering women farmers is crucial, and policy interventions facilitating land, credit, and resource access are essential for balance and sustainable agricultural development.

KEYWORDS: Gender inequity, Land tenure, Land Policy, Ownership Pattern, Agriculture

1. INTRODUCTION:

India's economy is often characterized as agrarian, heavily reliant on the agriculture sector for sustenance and livelihoods, with rural women's roles remaining less acknowledged (Agrawal, B. 1998). These women play a crucial role in not only agricultural production but also contributing to the economic and social fabric of rural communities. Beyond traditional farming duties, they manage households, preserve indigenous knowledge, and engage in diverse income-generating activities, showcasing the multifaceted nature of their contributions (Malik et al,. 2024). Despite their pivotal role, gender inequity poses significant challenges, limiting access to resources and requiring immense effort from these women. To foster sustainable growth in India's rural areas and propel agricultural expansion, it is imperative to equip women in agriculture with essential tools, encompassing education, resources, and gender-sensitive regulations. Recognizing and supporting these women extends beyond a matter of social justice; it is instrumental in ensuring the overall livelihood security of households.

In general, there are some major key issues in accessing land ownership comprising tenancy, land markets, women access to land and implementation of existing laws (Alden, 2018).

Issues regarding tenancy regulations: The landowner was harmed prior to and during independence because of the tenants' ability to bargain (Quinn, 1969). As a result, many states have prohibited tenancy and implemented limitations and rules. According to China's experience, land tenancy will play a larger role and raise incomes in a developing economy (Rozelle et al., 2002). There is additional opportunity in the rental land markets (Janvry et al., 2001). The abolition of intermediary tenures, redistribution of land via land ceilings and regulation of tenancy are the three major land reforms legislation were enacted in most of the states of India after independence, due to the strict rules and regulations renters are evicted, and landlords switch them out in schemes to keep them from acquiring rights (Appu, 1997).

Issues related to land sale markets: Some studies (two in Punjab, one in U.P., and one in M.P.) show that land sale transactions often work to limit small and marginal farmers' access to land due to ability to finance for land purchases, Government policies favoring large landowners and High transaction costs (Rawal, 2001).

Issues related to women's access to land: Women's agricultural land access enhances the country's rural livelihood. In India, where males migrate for increased non-agricultural economic prospects and women make up a significant portion of the rural population, the impact on livelihoods is particularly noticeable (Agarwal, 2003). Thus, achieving gender equality in land rights serves as both a self-sufficient goal and a potent tool for ending poverty (Human Development Report, UNDP, 1997). But still, there are some non-conventional indicators that show gender disparity. In terms of the Human Development Index (2021), the value is 0.633, a decrease of 0.009 from the previous year. The Inequality-Adjusted Human Development Index (2021) value is 0.475. The Gender Development Index (2021) value is about 0.849, and the Gender Inequality Index (2021) value is about 0.490, which is decreased by 0.003 as compared to the previous year. These all show the gender gap in various dimensions, which leads to gender disparity.

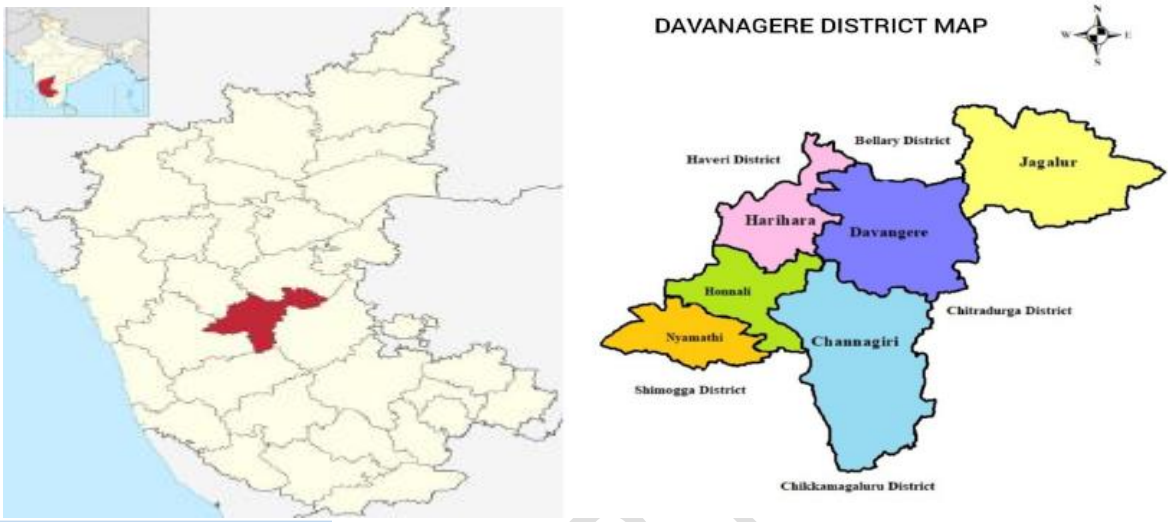
Issues related to the implementation of laws: In India, about 82% of people were Hindu and the remaining were Muslims. Some laws were made for both: The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 and the Muslim Personal Laws of 1937. In both of the laws, it didn't give more importance to women, but in the Hindu Succession Amendment Act of 2005, This law grants girls the same rights to their ancestors' property as sons and recognizes daughters as coparceners by birth in the family. Another option for giving women security and the assets associated with property rights while also serving as a stepping stone toward ownership is for an NGO to buy land and lease it to a women's group or cooperative (Velayudhan, 2008). Government wasteland and ceiling surplus land have made up the majority of the land that states have dispersed. Government estimates indicate that as of 2000, governments had allocated to chosen beneficiaries more than 14 million acres of wasteland and more than 5 million acres of surplus land under the ceiling (Government of India, Ministry of Rural Development, Annual Report 2000-2001). But the study conducted by RDI (West Bengal, Assam) discovered a number of families that claimed to have obtained government-allocated land following the policy's introduction and who claimed that the land had been given exclusively to the male head of household (Brown et al., 2002).

2. MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY:

2.1 Study Area: The study was conducted in the Davanagere district of Karnataka state, India in 2022–2023 because it had a higher percentage of women residents, more crop diversification, and women's access to land. It can be found between latitudes 14.4644° N and 75.9218° E. According to the Davanagere district at a Glance report, 2021–22, the study area

in Davanagere district of Karnataka has 50912 total female agriculture land holders and 177308 total male agriculture land holders. The district's economic development is primarily fuelled by agriculture. Rice, maize, gherkins, tomato, onion, chilli, arecanut, and other crops are some of the major crops grown. The district is divided into two agro climatic zones: The Southern Transition Zone (Channagiri, Honnali, and Nyamathi) and the Central Dry Zone (Davanagere, Harihara, and Jagaluru) were purposefully chosen.

Fig: 1 study area Davanagere District in Karnataka District



(Source: Patil et. al,. 2014)

2.2 Nature of Data:

Here secondary data were collected from the past five (5) agricultural censuses (1995–96, 2000–01, 2005–06, 2010–11, 2015–16), which includes gender-segregated data about the number of operational holdings, area operated, and total average area.

2.3 Statistical Tools:

Descriptive and inferential analyses, through use of computer software package like statistical package for social science (SPSS), were done for this research. The land holding percentage, distribution of land, percentage distribution of number of cultivated land holdings (Das, D. 2015)

The arbitrary number between 0 and 100 representing the percentage of number of holdings, which is the number, amount, rate, etc., expressed as part of a total of 100. This measure was used for a simple understanding of numeric values with different groups. For calculating the percentage, the frequency of a particular set was divided by the total number of observations multiplied by 100.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:

The findings of this study show that in Karnataka, agricultural land ownership pattern, the participation of women in terms of operational holdings, operated land area, and average size of land holdings was not as remarkable as that of men. Whereas the participation of women in terms of operational holdings and the area they operate has been increasing, and for men, their share in these aspects has seen a slight decreasing. However, both men and women have experienced a decline in the average size of their land holdings over time.

3.1 Operational holdings in India and Karnataka:

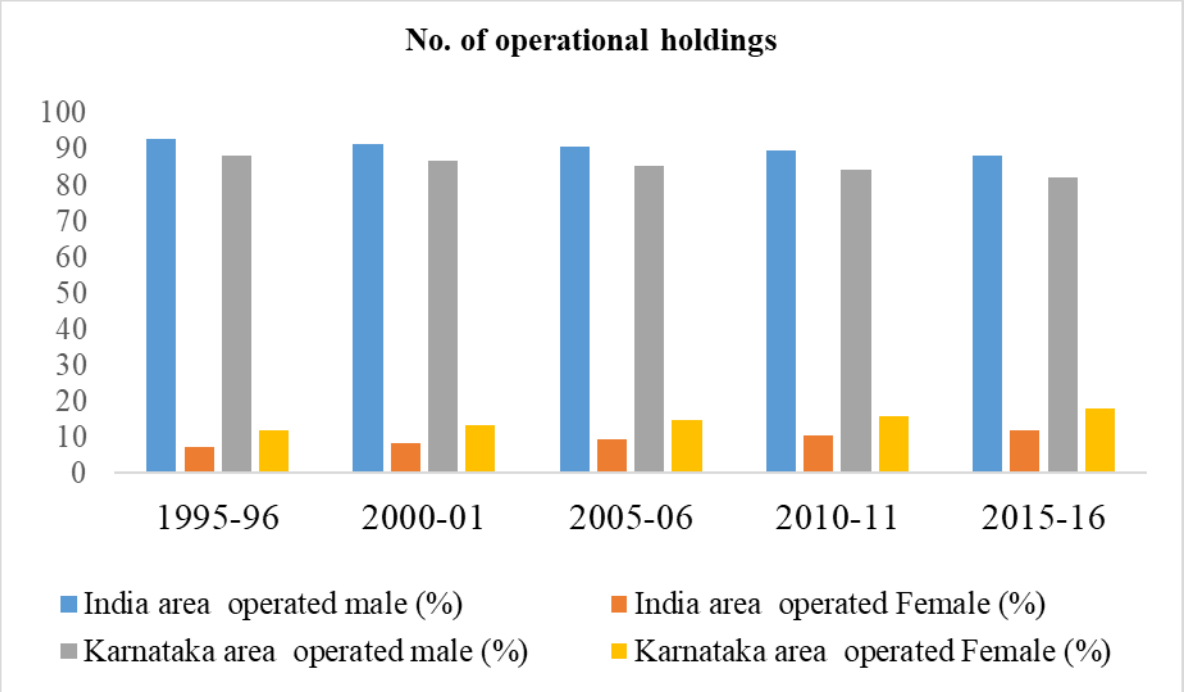
Table. 1. Number of operational holdings in India and Karnataka

Year	India no. of operational holdings male (%)	India no. of operational holdings Female (%)	Karnataka no. of operational holdings male (%)	Karnataka no. of operational holdings Female (%)
1995-96	90.46	9.54	85.62	14.38
2000-01	89.14	10.86	83.95	16.05
2005-06	88.28	11.72	82.65	17.35
2010-11	87.2	12.8	80.99	19.01
2015-16	86.02	13.98	79.88	20.12

(Source: Agriculture Census 1995-96, 2000-01, 2005-06, 2010-11, 2015-16)

In Karnataka, the proportion of operational holdings owned by women was only 14.38% in 1995–96. This percentage increased to 16.05% in 2000–01, further rose to 17.35% in 2005–06, and subsequently experienced another increase to 19.01% in 2010–11. Finally, it reached 20.12% in 2015-16. Conversely, for men, there was a slight decline in the number of operational holdings over the entire period in Karnataka and at national for man.

Fig. 2. Number of operational holdings in India and Karnataka



In Karnataka, more women were involved in managing and owning agricultural land compared to the national average. Over the years, the number of women owning land in Karnataka has steadily increased. In 1995–96, 14.38% of operational land holdings were

owned by women in Karnataka, while at the national level, it was only 9.54%. However, in Karnataka, this percentage grown to 20.12% in 2015–16. Nationally, the increase was smaller, going from 10.72% to 13.98% between 2000–01 and 2015–16. This shows that more women in Karnataka are becoming involved in agricultural land ownership compared to the rest of the country.

3.2 Area operated in India and Karnataka:

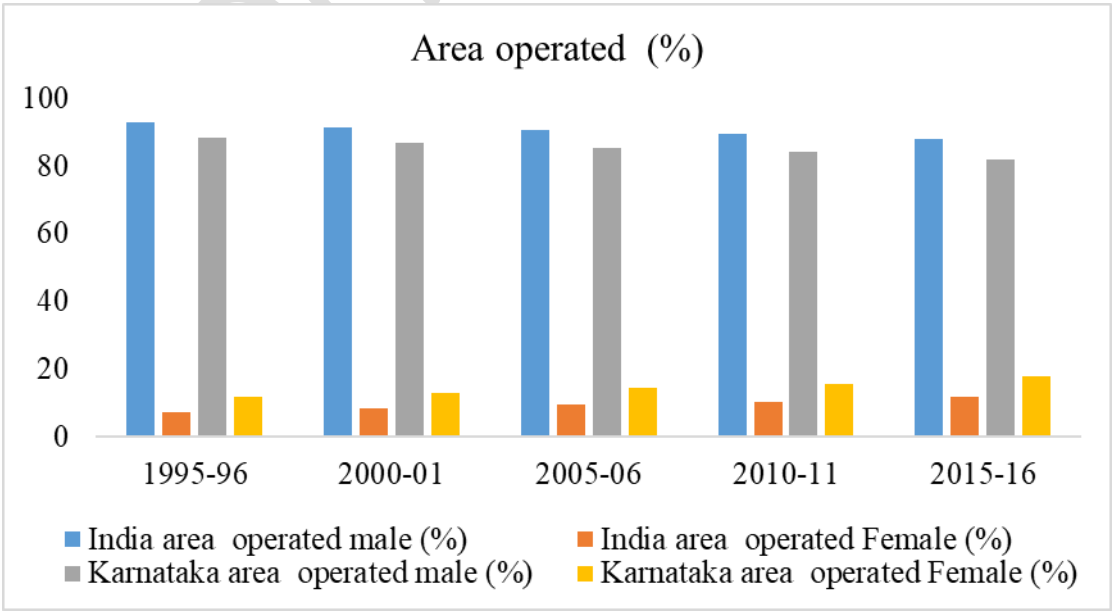
Table 2. Area operated in India and Karnataka

Year	India area operated male (%)	India area operated female (%)	Karnataka area operated male (%)	Karnataka area operated female (%)
1995-96	92.77	7.23	88.3	11.7
2000-01	91.52	8.48	86.8	13.2
2005-06	90.57	9.43	85.45	14.55
2010-11	89.55	10.45	84.3	15.7
2015-16	88.17	11.83	82.05	17.95

(Source: Agriculture Census 1995-96, 2000-01, 2005-06, 2010-11, 2015-16)

According to table 2, the most recent agriculture census in 2015-16 the percentage of land operated by women in Karnataka stood at 17.95% during 2015–16. Notably, there has been a consistent increase in the share of land operated by women over the years. In 1995–96, women operated 11.70% of the land, which progressively increased to 13.20% in 2000– 01, further to 14.55% in 2005–06, and reached 15.70% in 2010–11. Conversely, when considering the number of operational holdings, the share of land operated by men in the total area shows a declining trend over the period.

Fig. 3 Area operated in India and Karnataka



In Karnataka, more women have actively worked on agricultural land over the years. Back in 1995–96, 11.70% of the total operated area was managed by women, and this increased to 15.70% by 2010–11. The latest census of 21-2016 also shows a slight rise in the area managed by women in Karnataka was 17.95%. Comparing this to the national average, both Karnataka and the whole of India have seen small increases in the share of operated areas managed by women. In 1995–96, it was 11.7% in Karnataka and 7.23% nationally, and it gradually increased to 17.95% in Karnataka and slightly less 11.83% at the national level by 2015–16. This suggests that more women in Karnataka are actively involved in working on agricultural land compared to the national average.

3.3 Distribution of Landholdings by Size in Karnataka: Segmented by Gender:

Table 3: Landholding Size Distribution in India and Karnataka, 2015-16: Gender Segmentation (%)

Size class	No. of Operational Holdings (%)			Area Operated (%)		
	M	**F**	**Total**	**M**	**F**	**Total**
INDIA						
Marginal	67.9	72	68.47	23.7	28.19	24.23
Small	17.74	16.97	17.63	22.71	26.02	23.1
Semi-Medium	9.8	8.05	9.55	24.08	23.54	24.02
Medium	3.97	2.66	3.79	20.75	16.65	20.26
Large	0.6	0.32	0.56	8.76	5.6	8.39
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
KARNATAKA						
Marginal	53.77	59.52	54.93	16.94	21.33	17.72
Small	25.86	24.16	25.52	26.15	27.99	26.48
Semi-Medium	14.23	11.82	13.74	27.41	25.98	27.16
Medium	5.48	4.04	5.19	22.46	18.92	21.83
Large	0.67	0.47	0.63	7.04	5.78	6.81
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Looking at Table 3 a clear trend becomes apparent as we move to larger land size categories there's a decrease in the proportion of operational holdings and operated areas linked to females in both Karnataka and across India. Interestingly, when comparing female land ownership in India to that in Karnataka, there's a somewhat fairer distribution among all Indian females. This includes both the number of operational holdings and the corresponding operating area. In simpler terms, as we look at larger land sizes, the percentage of land owned and managed by women decreases in both Karnataka and India. However, the distribution appears somewhat more balanced at the national level compared to Karnataka. In Karnataka, the ownership of land is noticeably concentrated in the small-sized category. However, for

women across India, the concentration is more evident in the marginal size category. This could be because many women might be hesitant to claim land. In simpler terms, in Karnataka, smaller plots of land are more commonly owned, while across India, women tend to own land in the smallest size category, possibly because many women are hesitant to assert their land ownership. which is supported by the study Brown et al. (2002).

In general, from all the above tables, it is identified that women's agricultural land ownership, irrespective of social category and social class, improved every year in terms of accessibility to land, which is followed by. From the fiscal year 1995–96 to 2015–16, there's been a consistent trend in the total number of operational holdings. The overall number of holdings has gradually decreased, and throughout this period, a higher percentage of holdings have been owned by women compared to men each year. This suggests that the proportion of female-owned holdings has increased over time, as supported by (Agarwal, 1994). The total land under operation by these holdings has slightly decreased over the years. Similar to the trend in the number of holdings, there has been a noticeable shift towards a greater proportion of land being managed by female-owned holdings, indicating a relative increase in women's control of land in agriculture. This change can be attributed to several factors. Societal norms have evolved, allowing women to take on more active roles in economic activities, especially in agriculture. This has led to a growing trend of women participating in farming and owning agricultural land.

The empowerment and education of women have played a crucial role in their involvement in agriculture and land acquisition. Better access to education and empowerment programs has enabled women to make informed decisions about farming and finances, giving them more control over agricultural activities and land assets. However, according to (Swaminathan et al., 2012), improvements in women's decision-making may not always translate into equal decision-making within couples. Additionally, even women who own land may not always have full authority over it or the resources it generates, as noted by (Mukund, 1999). Government and organizational initiatives have further encouraged this shift by implementing policies that support women's participation in agriculture and land ownership. These policies include land reforms, inheritance laws, and improved access to credit and resources, collectively enhancing women's control and access to land.

Economic changes also play a role in altering landownership patterns. Evolving agricultural practices and changing economic conditions lead families to recognize and allocate land assets based on the recognized value of women's contributions to farming. The entrepreneurial spirit of women in agriculture is notable, as many showcase their skills to seek opportunities for improving livelihoods and contributing to family income. This has resulted in an increased prevalence of women owning land. In specific regions, targeted land redistribution programs aim to promote gender equity by allocating land directly to women or encouraging joint ownership with male family members. Women's self-help groups have become important entities, providing support to female farmers, enhancing their skills, facilitating credit access, and promoting collective decision-making, ultimately contributing to an increase in women's land ownership. The growing recognition of women's labour and contributions to agriculture has led to a realization of their inherent right to landownership and control over agricultural assets. Despite the positive trend, it remains essential to continue addressing gender disparities and promoting women's empowerment in agriculture for more equitable and sustainable rural development.

Table 4: Transformation in Land Ownership Patterns in India and Karnataka from 1995 to 2016: A Breakdown by Gender and Social Category (%)

Year	India																	
	SC									ST								
	No. of operational holding(%)			Area Operated (%)			Average size of Holdings (ha)			No. of operational holding(%)			Area Operated (%)			Average size of Holdings (ha)		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1995-96	91.1	8.84	100	93	6.67	100	0.93	0.71	0.91	92.7	7.3	100	93.6	6.44	100	1.86	1.62	1.84
2000-01	90.2	9.81	100	91.9	8.07	100	0.88	0.71	0.86	91.1	8.9	100	92.3	7.44	100	1.17	1.53	1.76
2005-06	89.1	10.9	100	90.9	9.08	100	0.84	0.69	0.83	90.4	9.65	100	91.5	8.53	100	1.66	1.45	1.64
2010-11	87.7	12.3	100	89.6	10.4	100	0.82	0.68	0.8	88.7	11.3	100	90	10	100	1.54	1.34	1.52
2015-16	86.6	13.4	100	88.3	11.8	100	0.79	0.68	0.78	87.3	12.7	100	88.9	11.2	100	1.43	1.23	1.4
	Karnataka																	
1995-96	85.77	14.23	100	87.58	12.42	100	1.46	1.25	1.43	85.57	14.4	100	87.4	12.6	100	2.02	1.74	1.98
2000-01	83.81	16.19	100	85.89	14.11	100	1.33	1.13	1.3	84	16	100	85.8	14.2	100	1.8	1.57	1.76
2005-06	82.36	17.64	100	84.40	15.60	100	1.1	1.25	1.25	82.6	17.4	100	84.4	15.6	100	1.69	1.48	1.65
2010-11	81.34	18.66	100	83.26	16.74	100	1.05	1.18	1.18	81.8	18.2	100	83.5	16.5	100	1.52	1.36	1.49
2015-16	79.0	21.00	100	80.31	19.69	100	1.07	1.14	1.14	79.4	20.6	100	80.8	19.2	100	1.42	1.31	1.4

(Source: Agriculture Census 1995-96, 2000-01, 2005-06, 2010-11, 2015-16)

Table 4 above, shows that in India, when it comes to people from scheduled castes, about 80% of the land and operational holdings are owned by men, while women from the same community only own around 20%, as shown in Table 2. This pattern is the same in both Karnataka and the entire country. Over the years, there has been a rise in the number of operational holdings and the land area managed by scheduled caste women. On the other hand, scheduled caste men have experienced a decrease in these aspects. In simpler terms, most of the land and operational holdings among scheduled castes are owned by men, but the trend is changing slowly with more women getting involved.

In Karnataka, the change in the proportion of land ownership among scheduled caste individuals is more noticeable compared to the entire country of India. In India, the trend for scheduled caste men shows a decrease in the share of operational holdings and land area managed from 1995–96 to 2015–16. In the earlier period, scheduled caste men held 91.06% of operational holdings, which decreased to 86.57% in the later period. Similarly, the share of land area operated by them decreased from 93.03% to 88.25%. It's important to note that while the average size of landholdings for scheduled caste women in India was initially smaller than that of men, there was a gradual decline in the average size for both groups over time. Simply put, in Karnataka, changes in land ownership among scheduled-caste individuals are more noticeable than in the entire country. In India, scheduled caste men are gradually owning less land over the years, and both men and women from this group have smaller average landholdings.

In India, there's significant inequality in land ownership among scheduled tribe individuals, favouring men. As shown in Table.2, the majority of landholdings and land area were owned by scheduled tribe men, but these numbers have been decreasing over the years, from 92.7% to 87.28% for the number of landholdings and from 93.56% to 88.85% for the land area, between 1995–96 and 2015–16. On the other hand, there's been a noticeable increase among scheduled tribe women in both the number of landholdings (from 7.3% to 12.72%) and the land area managed (from 6.44% to 11.15%) during the same period. Looking at the average size of landholdings, there's a consistent decrease for both male and female members of the scheduled tribe population. In Karnataka, average landholding size for scheduled tribe men went down from 2.02 hectares to 1.42 hectares over the years, and for women, it decreased from 1.74 hectares to 1.31 hectares. This decline is also seen nationally among scheduled tribe individuals, where average landholding size in 2015-16 was 1.43 hectares for males and 1.23 hectares for females, compared to 1995-96 figures of 1.86 hectares for males and 1.62 hectares for females. In simpler terms, men from scheduled tribes in India have historically owned most of the land, but numbers are decreasing, while there's a noticeable increase in land ownership among women from the scheduled tribe community. Additionally, the average size of landholdings for both men and women in this community is decreasing over time.

Unlike scheduled caste individuals, scheduled tribe men in both Karnataka and India have experienced a continuous decrease in both the number of landholdings and the area of cultivated land they manage over the years. On the flip side, scheduled tribe women have shown the opposite trend, with an increasing number of landholdings and expanded areas of cultivated land. In simpler terms, while land ownership and cultivation have been decreasing among scheduled tribe men, women from the same community are gaining more land and cultivating larger areas because of some land related scheme focused to women, land transferring charge of land is lees for women

Even though the average size of landholdings is decreasing for both scheduled tribe men and women in Karnataka and India, men still tend to have larger landholdings than women. However, when we compare women from scheduled tribes to women from scheduled castes, scheduled tribe women actually have larger average landholdings. This indicates that fewer women, particularly from scheduled tribes, have access to larger agricultural land holdings. On the other hand, scheduled caste women have smaller average landholdings compared to women from other categories, suggesting that a higher number of them have limited access to agricultural land. In simpler terms, while landownership is decreasing for both men and women in scheduled tribes, men generally have larger landholdings. Among women, those from scheduled tribes have larger landholdings compared to their counterparts in scheduled castes, where more women have smaller landholdings.

For the development of schedule cast and schedule tribe, it's essential to consider their implications for the livelihoods of both social categories. The 2020 Amendment to Karnataka Land Reforms Act, 1961, doesn't explicitly address caste issues; this statement is supported by (Iyer & Kunale, 2022).

4. CONCLUSION:

Overall, the data shows a positive trend, with more women getting involved in and owning agricultural holdings, and despite the increasing percentage of female-owned holdings, there is still a noticeable gap in the average size of holdings between men and women. This difference suggests the presence of gender-related inequalities in both land ownership and access to resources in agriculture, as shown in previous study. It's important to address these disparities to promote gender equality in agriculture and empower women farmers. Implementing policies and interventions that make it easier for women to access land, credit, and agricultural resources is crucial for achieving a more balanced and sustainable path for agricultural development.

Disclaimer (Artificial intelligence)

Option 1:

Author(s) hereby declare that NO generative AI technologies such as Large Language Models (ChatGPT, COPILOT, etc.) and text-to-image generators have been used during the writing or editing of this manuscript

REFERENCES:

Alden Wily, L. (2018). Collective land ownership in the 21st century: Overview of global trends. Land, 7(2), 68.

Agarwal, B. (1994). Gender and command over property: A critical gap in economic analysis and policy in South Asia. *World Development*, 22(10), 1455–1478.

Agarwal, B. (1998). Disinherited peasants, disadvantaged workers: a gender perspective on land and livelihood. Economic and political weekly, A2-A14.

Agarwal, B. (2003). Gender and land rights revisited: Exploring new prospects via the state, family and market. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 3(1- 2), 184–224.

Appu, P. S. (1997). *Land reforms in India: a survey of policy, legislation and implementation.* New Delhi, India: Vikas Publication House.

Brown, J., Ananthpur, K., and Giovarelli, R. (2002). *Women's access and rights to land in Karnataka*. Rural Development Institute.

Das, D. (2015). Changing distribution of land and assets in Indian agriculture. Review of Radical Political Economics, 47(3), 412-423.

De Janvry, A., Sadoulet, E., and Wolford, W. (2001). *Access to land and land policy reforms* (Vol. 3). UNU World Institute for Development Economics Research Helsinki. Retrieved from https://www.staff.ncl.ac.uk/david.harvey/AEF806/AccessToLand.pdf

Etefa, D. F. Exploration of Contributions of Women in Rural Development and Determinant Factors Influencing their Participation, the case of Agricultural Cooperatives in Ethiopia.

Gaddis, I., Lahoti, R., and Swaminathan, H. (2022). Women's legal rights and gender gaps in property ownership in developing countries. *Population and Development Review*, 48(2), 331–377.

Government of India. (2015). *Agriculture Census 1995-96, 2000-01, 2005-06, 2010-11, 2015-16*. Department of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare, Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare, Government of India. Retrieved from https://agcensus.dacnet.nic.in/DatabaseHome.aspx

Government of India. (2000). *National Human Rights Commission Annual Report, 2000-2001*. Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India. Retrieved from https://nhrc.nic.in/sites/default/files/Annual%20Report%202000-2001.pdf

Iyer, S., and Kunale, B. P. (2022). Karnataka land reforms 2020: what is in it for Dalits? *Area Development and Policy*, 1–13.

Mallick, M., Singh, P. K., & Pandey, R. (2024). Harvesting resilience: Tribal home-gardens as socio-ecological solutions for climate change adaptation and sustainable development in a protected area. Journal of Cleaner Production, 445, 141174.

Mukund, K. (1999). Women's property rights in South India: A Review. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(22), 1352–1358.

Patil, V. I. K. R. A. M., Chandrakanth, M. G., Gangadharappa, N. R., Manjunatha, A. V., & Shivanagouda, B. (2014). Economic impact of forest management institutions on groundwater recharge in Karnataka, India. Indian Forester, 140(11), 1095-1106.

Quinn, T. M., & Phillips, E. (1969). The Law of Landlord-Tenant: A Critical Evaluation of the Past with Guidelines for the Future. Fordham L. Rev., 38, 225.

Rawal, V. (2001). Agrarian reform and land markets: a study of land transactions in two villages of West Bengal, 1977–1995. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 49(3), 611–629.

Rozelle, S., Brandt, L., Guo, L., and Huang, J. (2002). Land rights in China: facts, fictions, and issues. *China Journal*, 47(1), 67–97.

Swaminathan, H., Lahoti, R., and Suchitra, J. Y. (2012). *Women's property, mobility, and decision making: evidence from rural Karnataka, India*. International Food Policy Research Institute. Retrieved from https://repository.iimb.ac.in/handle/2074/13742?mode=full

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (1997). Human Development Report, 1997. New York: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from https://hdr.undp.org/system/files/documents/hdr1997encompletenostatspdf.pdf

Velayudhan, M. (2008). *Women's Right to Land: Voices from Grassroots Movements and Working Women's Alliance in Gujarat.* India: Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (India). Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/ACH/Downloads/SSRN-id2097301.pdf