



IAWS

Indian Association for Women's Studies

GENERAL BODY MEETING

**General Secretary's Report
Treasurer's Report
Financial Report**

**30th January, 2020
National Law University, Delhi**

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

Anagha Tambe, General Secretary, IAWS

Delhi, 30th January 2020

Dear Members,

A warm welcome to all the members present here for the General Body Meeting at the XVI National Conference on women's Studies in Delhi. We are glad to share with you a brief report on activities undertaken by us in the last three years and also the organizational matters.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS:

Membership:

Presently the IAWS has 2103 members in total: 981 life members (including an addition of 129 before this Delhi conference), 74 student members (which is a floating category with the term of 3 years), 48 institutional members and 6 Friends of Association.

Executive Committee (2017 - 2020):

The present (eighth) Executive Committee was elected in 2017 after the last GBM in Chennai. Kumkum Roy from Centre for Historical Studies, JNU, Delhi, a stalwart of IAWS, was appointed the Returning Officer by previous EC. The election schedule extended over a period of four months beginning with the dispatch of nomination forms on 5th August, 2017 to final declaration of results on 25th November. Kumkum Roy was supported by Mallarika Sinha Roy and Jaya Menon, both of whom are IAWS life members from Delhi, and the Secretariat team.

10 members were declared elected, 8 from the category of life members, 1 from that of student members and 1 from the category of institutional members. The new EC includes the following members:

- Meera Velayudhan (life member category)
- Uma Chakravarti (life member category)
- V. Geetha (life member category)
- Anagha Tambe (life member category)
- N. Manimekalai (life member category)
- Kiran Moghe (life member category)
- Ishita Mukhopadhyay (life member category)

- V. S. Elizabeth (life member category)
- Vibhuti Patel (institutional member category)
- Akhil Kumar Gupta (student member category)
- Ritu Dewan (Ex-Officio Member)
- Indrani Mazumdar (Ex-Officio Member)

The handing over of charge by the previous EC to the newly elected EC took place in their joint meeting on 13th Dec. 2017. In a separate meeting, the new EC unanimously elected following office bearers and distributed responsibilities as under:

Office bearers:

- President: Meera Velayudhan
- Vice President: Uma Chakravarti
- General Secretary: Anagha Tambe
- Joint Secretary: N. Manimekalai
- Treasurer: Ishita Mukhopadhyay

Distribution of Responsibilities:

- Editor, Newsletter: Kiran Moghe
- Coordinator for Northern Region: Uma Chakravarti
- Coordinator for Southern Region: Elizabeth V. S
- Coordinator for Western Region: Vibhuti Patel
- Coordinator for Eastern Region: Ishita Mukhopadhyay

In the newly elected EC, 4 members are from southern region, 3 from the western, 2 from the northern, and 1 from the eastern. These members come from different sites of women's studies; from women's studies centres and research/ professional institutes and universities to movement organizations, bringing out the diversity of IAWS membership. In February 2018, the EC coopted Dhammasangini Rama Gorakh as a member with an aim of having social justice balance.

The secretariat is presently located in Pune, in KSP Women's Studies Centre, Savitribai Phule Pune University, and the finance office is with Centre for Women's Development Studies, Delhi.

EC Meetings:

5 meetings of the previous Executive Committee (2014- 2017) were convened, since the last GBM held on 24th January 2017 during the XV National Conference in Chennai, till the present Executive Committee (2017- 2020) met for the first time in December 2017. These meetings were held in January (just after the conference in Chennai), February (in Ranchi, with subtheme coordinators, as meeting with them could not be conducted during the conference as was done previously), July, September and December (along with the newly elected EC).

The present EC conducted 6 meetings in the last two years.

1. 13th December, 2017, CWDS, Delhi (joint meeting of outgoing and incoming EC)
2. 15th and 16th February, 2018, Secretariat, KSP Women's Studies Centre, Pune
3. 14th July, 2018, TISS, Mumbai
4. 2nd and 3rd March, 2019, Secretariat, KSP Women's Studies Centre, Pune
5. 21st and 22nd July 2019, CWDS, Delhi
6. 30th Nov. and 1st Dec., 2019, CWDS, Delhi

In the first meeting, the EC elected office bearers, distributed responsibilities, discussed the broad plan of work and finances, and decided to move secretariat to Pune where the general secretary is located.

In the second meeting in Pune, EC discussed the criticality to have regional and social justice balance in the EC and decided to coopt Dhammasangini as member. The role of women's studies centres in the field of women's studies, their present condition and contribution, and their relationship with the UGC was discussed in detail with a plan of action to work upon. The office-bearers who had met UGC officials to consolidate rapport with UGC, shared about the meeting. Following the progress of Jharkhand project facilitated by IAWS to establish the Centre for Women's Studies in Jharkhand, the Oak Foundation had invited IAWS to extend it in the second phase, and develop a new proposal for the same. The EC discussed on the feminist question in Jharkhand focusing its specificities, and also the possible initiatives there. The EC also discussed the plan for strengthening the regional focus of the activities.

The third meeting was held at TISS, Mumbai with which Archives committee meeting was also organized. In this meeting, new regional committees were formed and regional conference plans were discussed, Jharkhand proposal was finalized, the theme for newsletter was discussed, and Chennai conference report was finalized. We also started exploring possible themes and venues for the national conference in this meeting.

In the fourth meeting in Pune along with the reporting, and taking ahead the discussion and planning of IAWS activities, the EC met Anjali Deshpande, member of UGC standing committee on women's studies to discuss the prevalent crisis.

The fifth and sixth meeting in Delhi worked out the conference plan, venue and collaborators. In addition to these meetings, there were sub-committee meetings with regard to different IAWS activities. 3 meetings of Finance sub-committee took place to routinize finance processes and seek funds for the national conference and for organizational running, 2 meetings of office-bearers to explore the conference venue, and 3 meetings with the UGC officials when the issue of continuation of WSCs and new guidelines for WSCs became very critical.

ACTIVITIES:

This EC discussed and decided to work with 2 broad aims, 1) to bolster the regional focus to debate and map the gender issues of the region, with participation and voices of young women and women from socially marginalized groups, 2) to consolidate the linkages with WSCs across India as well as the UGC, in order to address the issues of institutionalization of women's studies.

Following activities were undertaken to achieve these goals:

1. Regional Conferences:

In the last three years, the IAWS has reconsolidated its regional focus, specifically through its regional conferences and workshops that sought to document and debate region specific women's issues and their linkages with the wider political economy of the regions, as well as the specific regional experiences of women's movements. The IAWS EC formed **Regional Committees** of scholars, activists and practitioners working on women's issues from many states represented in the region, to work with the Regional Coordinator from the EC. This facilitated a multi-pronged dialogue to understand gender question of the region. The Regional Committees extensively deliberated on 'what is the feminist question in the region', generating critical insights from WS scholars, activists from different constituencies. The broad frame to think about the nature and focus of activities involved:

- Methodology workshops with young scholars, activists to develop research capacities e.g. for research on intersectionalities- caste and gender
- Dialogue with movements- organizations, activists, networks, to discuss upcoming feminist issues and challenges for the feminist movements, also expanding our understanding of what is women's movement
- Building South Asia component in regional concerns and extending Friends of IAWS membership
- Documentation of case studies to be identified for the Archives Committee e.g. documentation of women's studies syllabi.

This proved an extremely fruitful process with democratic and analytical outputs. Accordingly, the Eastern and Southern Conferences were organized and the planning for Northern and Western conferences is under process.

A ***Southern Regional Consultation*** was organized on 18th August, 2018 in Chennai in collaboration with RAWS (Regional Association of Women's Studies), in which representatives from 15 women's studies centres participated from the southern states. The programme was titled "***Contemporary Relevance of Women's Studies: Current Concerns and Challenges and Future Action***".

The *Eastern Regional Conference* was organized in collaboration with National Alliance of Women's Organization, CEDAW Alternate Report Consultation, Centre for Women's Studies, and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Studies Centre, Rabindrabharati University, Aapne Aap, Sruti Disability Rights Centre, 21st Century Knowledge Initiative, University of Calcutta on 19th-20th November, 2018 at Rabindrabharati University, Kolkata. The theme for this programme was '**Increasing Vulnerabilities, Facing Challenges and Women's Leadership and Movement**'. The conference also provided the space for consultation with activists in Eastern India, which made its way into the preparation of an Alternate CEDAW Report in 2019. It involved a vibrant Round Table on Women's Studies as a discipline, which centered on different issues such as the challenges of Women Studies as an academic discipline, strategies for strengthening the interrelationship between women studies and women's movement, the questions raised by emerging grass roots movements, and young women's initiatives. The two-day conference had the following subthemes which described the different dimensions of vulnerabilities, 1) Issues relating to girl child labor, child marriage and sexual violence, 2) Violence against Dalit women, Adivasi women, and minorities, 3) Disability and Gender, 4) Women's Entrepreneurship and leadership question, 5) Employment, migration and wages, 6) Trafficking and Prostitution and 7) Climate Change as a challenge. Participation of students in the parallel sessions of subthemes was the highlight of this conference.

The *IAWS Southern Regional Conference* was held in the University of Calicut on January 30th and 31st, 2019. It was jointly organized by the IAWS, Kerala Institute for Local Administration (KILA) and Department of Women's Studies, University of Calicut. The theme for the conference was **Intersectional Approaches to Addressing Gender, Religion, and Culture - South India Focus**. It aimed to look at violence from the perspectives of caste, class, ethnicity, and sexualities to realize how these identities intersect, and to think about methodologies to be used and its implications for agency. The conference covered diverse themes through sessions on 1) Gender, Religion, Culture: Patriarchies and Power, 2) Interrogating Violence and Honor in the context of Inter-caste/Inter community Relations, 3) Gender Discrimination in Natural Disaster: Programme, Policy and Law with South Indian Focus, 4) Contemporary Challenges of Women Studies and Women Studies Centers, 5) Addressing Gender Inequalities in Local Governance and Decentralisation, and 6) New Modes of Activism: Remaking the Gender Order (Dalit, Adivasi, Muslim Women, LGBTIQ, Disability Rights, Urban Groups, Labour Unions). It also involved a talk on recently formed union of women working in the film industry in Kerala. The highlight of this conference was the session of paper presentations by young scholars from various disciplines which were an eye opener for the delegates in terms of the issues that the younger generation is interested in and potential areas for research for the future.

2. Linking with Women's Studies Centres:

The last decade and more has witnessed an expansion of institutionalized presence of women's studies in the universities and colleges, which has a peculiar dimension. This expansion of WSCs

has taken place with an increasing marginality of these WSCs within the university structures, due to the ambiguity about the UGC support that had sustained these WSCs for decades. The EC recognized this uncertainty of the WSCs that have played an important role in the university, and in the society at large, through its teaching and research programmes as well as outreach and gender sensitization programmes. And several activities were undertaken in the last three years to bring together WSCs across India, and to represent their concerns to the UGC.

A *National Convention on WSCs* was organized in Delhi on 23rd August 2017, since there was no clear commitment from the UGC after scrapping off the plan-wise implementation of its schemes including that of the women's studies centres. The convention aimed to highlight the role and development of WSCs over decades, and to bring collective pressure to demand the continued support for WSCs from the UGC, until regularization and adequate support from their respective universities and colleges. It was spread across four sessions covering the Foundations and History of Women's Studies in India, Contributions and Experiences of Women's Studies Centres, Women's Studies Centres and Higher Education, and an Open Forum on The Way Ahead. The discussions brought out several commonalities of experiences across states and regions, and the common demand for continued support from pioneer scholars, WS faculty and students, and leading activists of women's movement, albeit from a range of perspectives. With around 200 registered participants at the Convention, a memorandum was submitted to the UGC signed by the participants. While the success of the Convention lay in the upsurge of support for the demand for continued UGC funding from WSCs across the country, it is remarkable that the IAWS was able to consolidate the concerns of WSCs across India, and also provide solidarity support to regional conventions held at the WSCs in Jadavpur, Chennai and Pune.

Yet, there were anxieties and uncertainties amongst women's studies centres about continuation of UGC support, due to non- receipt of funds after March 2017 and also due to lack of clear communication to individual centres. The larger community of students, scholars and activists of women's studies also shared these concerns about this journey of WS. With regards to this crisis, the *IAWS delegation met the UGC officials* in January 2018 to continue the dialogue on sustenance and strengthening of WSCs. The IAWS office- bearers also met the *members of standing committee on women's studies* to further this dialogue. The EC *constituted a sub-committee and nominated a Coordinator* to work on the issues of WSCs.

The ambiguity about the working of WSCs came to be felt again in 2019, with the continued non-receipt of funds and absence of guidelines after the 12th Plan. The IAWS committee therefore networked with WSCs across India, and collected information about their present status. It *prepared and submitted memorandum to the UGC* and received positive assurance from the UGC officials. When the new guidelines for the WSCs were declared by the UGC which could have impacted the WSCs adversely with major cuts in resources, the IAWS made representation to the UGC. And responding actively to the UGC appeal for feedback on the guidelines, it gathered

feedback from the centres and made *collective representation to the UGC*. An IAWS delegation met the UGC Secretary to represent the Issues of WSCs. This has resulted in the UGC invitation to IAWS office bearers to participate in the UGC WS Standing Committee meeting. It is due to these concerted efforts by the IAWS and the solidarity received from the WSCs, it has been possible to achieve some reassurance from the UGC, and more significantly a dialogue and linkage amongst women's studies centres.

3. Jharkhand Project:

The IAWS has been trying to develop regional focus in women's studies, through a special project on consolidating women's studies in Jharkhand, where the growth of institutionalized presence of women's studies, and the feminist movement has been relatively limited. The regional imbalance in development of women's studies in India has also resurfaced while addressing the problems in and with institutionalization of women's studies centres.

In this background, the IAWS planned a targeted intervention in Jharkhand through a project supported by Oak Foundation from July 2016. The Economics department at Ranchi University hosts this IAWS programme, and a Women's Studies Centre has been set up there. In the period of two years between February 2017 – March 2019, the first phase of the project was concluded. The Oak Foundation also offered support to continue this intervention in the second phase. Encouraged by such a unique intervention to develop women's studies in the space of higher education with the networking between governmental, non- governmental and civil society initiatives for gender equality, this project is expanded outside Ranchi, in other sub- regions of Jharkhand. This *new project spread over four years* has been granted for consolidating and expanding the institutional presence of Women's Studies in Jharkhand.

With a principal aim of generating interest in women's studies, in the first phase of this project, a baseline report drawing from the preliminary review of social science syllabi and PhD theses in Ranchi University was brought out which assessed both the extent and framework of inclusion of women's issues as subject matter within the disciplinary frameworks. A vibrant forum of research scholars comprising more than 50 research scholars (both women and men) of social sciences has been established which meets regularly through workshops and discussions, special orientation workshops on feminist concepts and methodologies, and lectures on critical gender issues in Jharkhand. This has helped the students to integrate conceptual and methodological frameworks of women's studies in their research work on women/ gender. Many researchers from this group could meet larger women's studies community through academic visits to feminist documentation centres and libraries in different parts of India, and their participation in seminars and conferences on women's studies, including IAWS national conferences in Chennai 2017 and Delhi 2020. In order to create support for such initiatives in women's studies, there was an attempt to strengthen linkages and exchanges with development and civil society organizations working on women's issues in Jharkhand.

Further with an aim to support local capacities to research the woman question of Jharkhand, a special component was introduced which included 8 research grants and a PhD scholarship involving local researchers within academia and civil society organizations for field-based research. These research studies are being presented in this *Delhi conference* through a *special panel on Women's Issues in Jharkhand*. Recognizing the specificities of the woman question in Jharkhand, a seminar on 'The Changing Worlds of Tribal Women' was organised in collaboration with Vinoba Bhave University, Hazaribagh in November 2017, where tribal women, specifically from eastern and north-eastern India, significantly spoke about their experiences as tribal, workers and migrants. The differences in their voices brought a new dimension to the seminar. This seminar brought out the interlinkages between the struggles of tribal communities to protect their land, resources and livelihoods and also to protect their cultural identities, and further their troubled and complex relationship with women and gender relations.

The new project has begun this April 2019 with dual aims, of expanding the scope of project in other sub-regions of Jharkhand, and sustaining and strengthening the women's studies centre in Ranchi university commenced under this project.

4. Archives:

Following the discussion in the last GBM, a joint meeting of former and present members of the Archives Committee with the then EC members was convened in Mumbai on 21st July, 2017. The discussions in the meeting covered three broad areas – the relationship of the IAWS Archives with RCWS at SNTD, co-ordination between the Archives Committee and the IAWS EC, and planning for the future with reference to finances.

The Archives Committee was reconstituted and two meetings of this newly constituted committee took place in February and July 2018. The present committee involves

- Iilina Sen (Chair), Life member category
- Meera Velayudhan, Life member category
- Shadab Bano, Life member category
- K. M. Sheeba, Life member category
- Uma Chakravarti, Nominee of IAWS President
- V Geetha (Convenor), Member from IAWS EC
- Putul Sathe, Representative of RCWS

In this period, RCWS has put together the list of IAWS conference material available with the archives and the committee has identified and listed the missing material -both textual and audio-visual which maps various IAWS activities, and it has attempted to procure it. The convenor visited the Archives, and the AC discussed how the objectives of the Archives can be realized. Presently,

the committee has undertaken the task of reordering the archives to make it more research friendly, by identifying important aspects of the contents that could interest potential researchers.

5. Newsletter and Brochure:

Two issues of newsletter have been brought out. The May 2018 issue has the detailed reporting on XVth National conference in Chennai as well as the National Convention of Women's Studies Centres in Delhi. While the November 2019 was a double issue, including articles and features on the New Education Policy and issues of discrimination in higher education and a special issue for the announcements of upcoming national conference, 2020.

A more detailed report of the XV National Conference is also brought out, and its soft copy is available on the website. A new brochure with updated activities and focus has also been created.

6. Joint Panels with Professional Bodies:

IAWS has been making an attempt to reach out and connect with different disciplinary/interdisciplinary fields and their professional organizations. It has been able to organize joint panels with ISLE (Indian Society of Labour Economics), both in annual ISLE conferences and in IAWS conferences. Since the last IAWS conference, three such panels have been organized. 1) A special panel was organized in memory of Preet Rustagi on '*Violence against Women at Workplace*' at 59th Annual ISLE Conference in *December 2017*, in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala. 2) A joint session in the 60th ISLE conference in *December 2018* in Mumbai focused on '*Framing Migration and Development from a Gender Perspective*'. This session discussed diverse issues, such as macro-level data that records 'marriage' as the major reason for women's migration, migration as a process that straddles different sectors and regions with continuous movement of workers and their earnings, issue of local recruitment practices, especially wage theft, gender insensitive laws and concrete strategies for employment in the context of migration, and the role of the State. 3) While the joint panel on *Labour Codes and Women Workers* was organized at 61st Annual ISLE conference in Patiala in *December 2019*. This session examined the new labour codes from a gender lens as located within the gendered realities of women workers, to highlight the connects and also disconnects between labour rights and gender rights, both historically and in the current scenario, with the hope of intervening and ensuring the intrinsic linkages and interdependency.

7. Awards and Donations:

In 2017, two special donations were received for creation of special funds for instituting a) Triennial IAWS *President's Award for the Best National Conference Paper*, and b) Annual *Preet Rustagi Research Award* to support field-based research on women's work. Swagata Basu received the first President's Award for the Best Conference Paper in the Chennai conference. The selection was made by the jury decided by the EC from the papers shortlisted by the sub-theme coordinators. The award was presented in the National Seminar organized by IAWS in Hazaribaug

in November 2017. The announcement for the first Preet Rustagi Research Award has been made in December 2019 and the selection process will take place in the coming month.

The IAWS is also associated with Veena Mazumdar Memorial Fund (VMMF) in presenting Annual VMMF (@CWDS)- IAWS award for the Best Published/ Accepted to be Published Research Paper/ Article by a young scholar, focusing Women/Gender in Asia. Nandini Hebbler N is presented the Young Research Scholar's Award in 2019.

REPORTING ON THE XVI NATIONAL CONFERENCE IN CHENNAI, 2020:

The review of the Chennai conference reveals that the conference had 610 participants, and 210 papers were presented across 13 sub-themes. Since the last conference, we have started collecting diversity information about the participants. The analysis of conference participation brought out the following points:

- The conference had drawn large numbers of young participants. 59% of participants were 35 and below
- There was significant participation of students. 37% of participants had registered under student category
- Participants came from 26 states, but unevenly distributed. 52% were from just 3 states (Maharashtra, Delhi and Tamilnadu), 82% from 8 states and 11% from 17 states.
- The overwhelming majority of participants had post graduate degrees and were involved in education and research.
- It was however, also found that more than half the participants were non-members of IAWS which meant that its membership base had not kept pace with the expanding outreach of the conference.

A detailed report of the plenary sessions and sub-themes of the conference was uploaded on the website, and it also came out through the Newsletter issue.

Since the reports of subthemes could not be presented on the last day of conference in the context of protests around Jalikattu in Chennai during the conference, a special meeting of sub-theme coordinators was convened to present reports of sub-theme discussions at the conference, and to discuss further the possibilities of disseminating/ publishing those. The meeting was held in Ranchi on 15th September 2017, with 12 subtheme coordinators and a detailed and responsive discussion took place, leading to a suggestion by the coordinators that such meeting with sub-theme coordinators after national conferences may be made a regular practice as it gives an opportunity for more in-depth discussions than is perhaps possible in the immediate and pressured time frames of large conferences. Different possibilities of publication from the sub-themes, in terms of edited books, journal issues, online portals were discussed. This was followed by a special issue of the

journal 'Women's Link' which is now being brought out by the Sarojini Naidu Centre for Women's Studies in Jamia Millia Islamia on the subtheme papers.

PREPARATION FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE, 2020:

After deciding to hold the national conference, 2020 in the northern region, the EC explored different possibilities for venue. Considering the time-line, support of local IAWS members and willingness of the host institution, National Law University Delhi was identified as the venue of the conference. Two EC members being from the region helped to finalize the venue. Along with the NLUD, the host institution, CWDS has become a natural collaborator for this conference. Along with the collaborators, the EC was supported by the able local organizing committee including Sabiha Hussain, Lata Singh, Sadhana Arya, Dimple Tresa Abraham, K C Bindu, Sandhya Gawali, and Arpita Anand. Along with them, coordinators of 10 subthemes, preconference and special panels coming from different regions and different sites of women's studies have helped shaping this conference.

The report indicates the challenges and possibilities experienced by the EC in addressing the IAWS objectives, and we are looking forward to your suggestions and feedback for the same.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Ishita Mukhopadhyay, Treasurer, IAWS

I welcome you all to the General Body of Indian Association of Women's Studies.

I am now presenting the Treasurer's Report with the Statement of Accounts from December 2017 till December 2020.

I took over the charge of Treasurer from N.Manimekalai in the First Executive Committee Meeting of the Association on December 13, 2017.

The funds of IAWS are operated jointly by General Secretary, President and Treasurer in a transparent manner as decided in the EC. The central financial office of IAWS for banking, accounts and tax purposes has been established at the Centre for Womens Development Studies, CWDS, New Delhi since 2005 through a resolution of the General Body. Such continuity in the location of the financial office has ensured that all the operations related to taxation, accounts, general funding remain streamlined and properly maintained. This ensures stability of financial accounting, maintaining records and maintaining regularity with regard to submission of the requisite papers in compliance with reporting and submission of financial records as per FCRA and Income Tax Regulations. The IAWS Secretariat has been able to adapt to the continuously changing formats of reporting and submission of financial records as per the FCRA and Income Tax regulations.

IAWS applied for FCRA renewal on 07.03.2016 and obtained renewal of the certificate which is valid for a period of five years with effect from 01.11.2016.

Management of IAWS funds revealed that our accounts still not generate sufficient interest to fully cover day to day functioning of the Secretariat and Financial office. The spread of EC members in different parts of the country has also raised the cost of holding of EC meetings. EC tried to minimize the cost of EC meetings by holding EC meetings simultaneously with seminars and other programmes where some of the EC members participated and their travel costs were covered by the programme or seminar. This is an attempt which has been going on since the outgoing EC and to build the Corpus Funds.

The detailed audited statement of 2017/18 and 2018/19 are attached with this report. In the year ending March 2018, INR 21,72,586.00 has been obtained from Membership of the Association. Preet Rustagi Research Fund of INR 6,00,000 was received from Dr. Uma Rani. In the outgoing

EC in the year 2017 it was decided that this fund could be utilized for the Purpose of Best Research Proposal. In the year ending March 2019, INR 2,22,086.50 has been obtained from Membership of the Association.

Ford Foundation has supported IAWS with core maintenance grant of US\$ 5,50,000 of which US\$50,000 was earmarked for XV National Conference. It was sanctioned with the stipulation and specificities that a 30% of the interest accrued from the Ford grant must be invested in order to maintain financial stability and sustainability. This has become difficult with continuously lowered interest rates. We are grateful to Ford Foundation for this support.

The last EC obtained a grant of INR 87,87,230 approved by Oak Foundation to develop Women's Studies in Jharkhand. Oak Foundation approved a grant of INR 21,960,000 for the project "Consolidating the Centre for Women's Studies in Jharkhand" for the period December 2018 till November 2022 as part of the second phase in the programme. Two Regional Workshops were organized during these period. Newsletter was published. I thank all the institutions, Rabindrabharati University, Kolkata and Calicut University, Kerala along with the sponsors in these programmes for making these programmes successful.

For the XVI National Conference 2020, the Association approached several organizations and donors. It is my duty to thankfully acknowledge the monetary contribution from Ford Foundation, Oak Foundation, Henrich Bowl Foundation, Women Fund Asia, and many others which approximately contribute to INR 85,00,000. Funds also came from allotting stalls and registration to the conference.

Income tax return was filed for Assessment Years 2018/19 and 2019/20. ITRV was verified for Assessment Year 2018/19. For the year 2019/20 this is yet to be verified.

Sincere thanks go to Auditor Suri Malhotra and Associates for their professional support, guidance and advice. Thanks to IAWS Secretariat for maintaining the day to day expenditure in running of the activities of the Association.

**M/s.Suri Malhotra & Associates,
Chartered Accountants**

Annexure -A

Accounting Policies and Notes forming part Of the Accounts

1. The previous year figures has been recasted, so as to make them comparable with the figures of the current year.
2. Grants received for specific purpose are utilized as per the terms and conditions of such grants and any amount remaining unutilized at the end of the accounting period is carried over for meeting expenditure in subsequent years .
- (3) An amount of Premium has been Paid on Bond made with "All Time Securities Pvt.Ltd." of Rs.6,41,000/- out of which 1/5th i.e. Rs.1,28,200/- has been written off to Income And Expenditure account in current year and balance 4/5 share i.e. Rs.5,12,800/-has been Postponed for further writing off in next four Years.
- 4) As per Grant letter of Ford Foundation dated 06/01/2017 the Fund shall be maintained on permanent basis and any appreciation both realize and unrealized in the assets of the fund shall be used only for the purposes set forth in this grant letter accordingly a sum of Rs 10,08,360 is transfer to Ford Foundation Endowment Grant and Rs 447467 has been credited on Interest on Ford Foundation Endowment Grant.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

"Signed in terms of our report of even date"

For SURI MALHOTRA & ASSOCIATES
Chartered Accountants

For Suri Malhotra & Associates

Malhotra Malhotra
Proprietor
VIRENDER KUMAR MALHOTRA
(Proprietor)

Member Ship No 080645
FRN 003492N

For INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES

Meeval

President

-@Tambe

General Secretary

Sharma

Treasurer

Place: New Delhi
Date: 10/09/2018

INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES
BALANCE SHEET AS ON 31ST MARCH, 2018

Figures as on 31.03.2017 (Rs)	LIABILITIES	Figures as on 31.03.2018 (Rs)	Figures as on 31.03.2017 (Rs)	ASSETS	Figures as on 31.03.2018 (Rs)
5,96,121.00	CORPUS AS per last year	6,76,121.00	455.00	COMPUTER AS per last year	185.00
80,000.00	Addition during the year		270.00	Less: Depreciation during the year	108.00
6,76,121.00			185.00	FURNITURE AS per last year	2,526.35
			2,807.35	Less: Depreciation	253.00
			2,526.35	INVESTMENT Fixed Deposits at bank	
3,262.35	ASSETS FUND AS per last year	2,711.35	2,87,19,727.00	Interest Accrued on FD	
551.00	Less: Depreciation during the year	361.00	98,284.00	Interest Accrued on FD	
2,711.35			1,50,00,000.00	SHCIL GOI 8% SAVING BOND 2003	1,62,00,000.00
16,94,286.50	LIFE/INSTITUTIONAL LIFE MEMBERSHIP AS per last year	20,47,036.50		Bank of India perpetual 11.50%	50,00,000.00
3,42,750.00	Addition during the year:			(FCI 9.75%(2030)	50,00,000.00
10,000.00	Life Membership	1,05,500.00		West Bengal State Electricity 10.85%	60,00,000.00
20,47,036.50	Institutional Life Membership	20,050.00		Premium on Bond	5,12,800.00
				Interest Accrued on Bank of India	4,78,904.11
1,07,500.00	CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP AS per last year	1,07,500.00		Interest Accrued on FCI	2,68,726.02
				Interest Accrued on WBSE	19,619.18
3,39,50,000.00	FORD FOUNDATION ENDOWMENT GRANT	3,49,58,360.00	1,62,165.62	Tax Deducted at Sources	
50,000.00	INTEREST ON FORD FOUNDATION ENDOWMENT GRANT	20,410.00			
29,590.00	Less: Expenditure during the year	4,64,667.00			
20,410.00	Add: Interest during the year	4,47,467.00			
70,41,000.00	OAK FOUNDATION GRANT	38,43,163.00		CASH & BANK BALANCES	
31,97,837.00	Less: Expenditure during the year	38,43,163.00		Cash IN Hand	17,270.86
38,43,163.00	PREET RUSTAGI RESEARCH FUND	6,05,250.00		HDFC Bank A/c 3034	
				HDFC Bank A/c 3017	8,627.31
2,52,733.00	CONFERENCE DEVELOPMENT FUND	2,52,733.00		Indian Overseas Bank A/c 15104	5,66,391.94
	Less: Expenditure during the year	2,52,733.00		Indian Overseas Bank A/c 17542	3,86,218.44
				Indian Overseas Bank A/c 2712	23,69,583.12
			13,08,333.90		

For Suri Malhotra & Associates

S. K. Malhotra
Proprietor

CURRENT LIABILITIES						
1,42,964.00	Sundry Creditors for Supplies and Expenses	63,949.00				7,549.00
5,66,410.00	Expenses Payable	17,00,322.28				2,000.00
7,09,374.00			17,64,271.28			
5,00,000.00	PRESIDENTS AWARD FOR BEST IAWWS N C PAPER		4,70,000.00		1,80,000.00	30,000.00
1,07,734.00	Disibility Support Fund		1,07,734.00		Grant Receivable from OAK	17,46,230.00
	INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT					
30,78,673.21	As Per Last Balance Sheet	33,45,274.02				
359.00	Less: Expenditure Transferred during the year	33,45,274.02				
30,78,314.21		3,73,275.80				
2,66,959.81	Add: Excess Of Income Over Expenditure During the Year	37,18,549.82				
33,45,274.02			37,18,549.82			
4,55,62,056.87			4,45,85,932.95	4,55,62,056.87		4,45,85,932.95

Note: Accounting Policies and Notes forming part of the Accounts Refer Annexure - A

For INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES

Place: New Delhi

Date: 10/09/2018

Naval
President

Alankar
General Secretary

Arjun
Treasurer

Auditor's Report
"Sign in terms of our report of even date"
For Suri Malhotra & Associates
Chartered Accountant

Suri Malhotra
VIRENDER KUMAR MALHOTRA
(Proprietor)
Membership no: 80645
FRN 003492N

For Suri Malhotra & Associates

Suri Malhotra
Proprietor

SURI MALHOTRA & ASSOCIATES
Chartered Accountants

INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES
INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31-03-2018

EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT (RS)	INCOME	AMOUNT (RS)
Printing & Stationery	1,367.00	Depreciation Written Back	361.00
Bank Charges	1,955.20	Interest On FD/Bond	23,98,973.00
Depreciation	361.00	Interest on Saving	55,644.00
Ec Meeting	7,941.00	Students membership	2,750.00
Entertainment Expenses	5,627.00	Xv National Conference	18,972.00
Local Travel	1,400.00	Miscellaneous income	9,764.00
Miscellaneous Expenses	90.00		
Office Cost	2,69,662.00		
Professional Fee	3,000.00		
Programme Cost	44,443.00		
Women's studies centre(Seminar)	6,18,770.00		
Audit fee	20,000.00		
Courier charges	2,012.00		
Premium on FD written off: 1/5	1,28,200.00		
Amount Transfer to Ford Endowment Grant	10,08,360.00		
Excess of Income Over Expenditure transfer to balance sheet	3,73,275.80		
	24,86,464.00		24,86,464.00

For INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES

Auditor's Report

"Sign in terms of our report of even date"

For Suri Malhotra & Associates

Chartered Accountant

Harvinder
President

A. Ranbir
General Secretary

Arvind
Treasurer

V. Malhotra
VIRENDER KUMAR MALHOTRA
(Proprietor)

Memberships no: 80645

FRN 003492N

For Suri Malhotra & Associates

V. Malhotra
Proprietor

Place: New Delhi
Date: 10/09/2018

INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES
BALANCE SHEET AS ON 31ST MARCH, 2019

Figures as on 31.03.2018 (Rs)	LIABILITIES	Figures as on 31.03.2019 (Rs)	Figures as on 31.03.2018 (Rs)	ASSETS	Figures as on 31.03.2019 (Rs)
676,121.00	CORPUS AS per last year Addition during the year	676,121.00	185.00 108.00 77.00	COMPUTER AS per last year Less: Depreciation during the year	77.00
676,121.00			2,526.35 253.00 2,273.35	FURNITURE AS per last year Less: Depreciation	2,273.35
2,711.35 361.00 2,350.35	ASSETS FUND AS per last year Less: Depreciation during the year	2,350.35 227.00	5,526,350.00 120,630.00	INVESTMENT Fixed Deposits at bank Interest Accrued on FD	6,901,473.00 140,559.00
2,350.35		2,123.35	16,200,000.00 5,000,000.00 5,000,000.00 6,000,000.00 512,800.00 478,904.11 268,726.02 19,619.18 33,480,049.31	SHCIL GOI 8% SAVING BOND 2003 Bank of India perpetual 11.50% IFCI 9.75%(2030) West Bengal State Electricity 10.85% Premium on Bond Interest Accrued on Bank of India Interest Accrued on IFCI Interest Accrued on WBSE	17,496,000.00 - 5,000,000.00 6,000,000.00 384,600.00 - 313,870.00 424,487.00
2,047,036.50 105,500.00 20,050.00 2,172,586.50	LIFE/INSTITUTIONAL LIFE MEMBERSHIP AS per last year Addition during the year: Life Membership Institutional Life Membership	2,172,586.50 495.00	2,222,086.50	Tax Deducted at Sources	29,618,957.00
107,500.00	CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP AS per last year	107,500.00	247,682.62		204,382.62
34,958,360.00	FORD FOUNDATION ENDOWMENT GRANT	36,810,323.00			
20,410.00 464,667.00 447,467.00	INTEREST ON FORD FOUNDATION ENDOWMENT GRANT Less: Expenditure during the year Add: Interest during the year	3,210.00 1,135,186.10 1,164,829.28			
3,210.00	OAK FOUNDATION GRANT Less: Expenditure during the year Add: Interest during the year	4,870,000.00 49,715.00			
3,843,163.00 3,843,163.00		4,919,715.00		CASH & BANK BALANCES	
605,250.00	PREET RUSTAGI RESEARCH FUND	632,486.00	17,270.86 8,627.31 566,391.94 386,218.44 2,369,583.12 3,348,091.67	Cash in Hand HDFC Bank A/c 3034 HDFC Bank A/c 3017 Indian Overseas Bank A/c 15104 Indian Overseas Bank A/c 17542 Indian Overseas Bank A/c 2712	8,978.86 8,627.31 97,832.09 450,891.44 12,598,193.02
					13,164,522.72



CURRENT LIABILITIES						
63,949.00	Sundry Creditors for Supplies and Expenses	57,358.00				7,549.00
1,700,322.28	Expenses Payable	10,000.00				2,000.00
1,764,271.28		67,358.00				
470,000.00	PRESIDENTS AWARD FOR BEST LAWS N C PAPER		491,150.00	30,000.00	Grant Receivable on account of XV National Conference:	30,000.00
107,734.00	Disability Support Fund		107,734.00	1,746,230.00	Grant Receivable from OAK	
3,345,274.02	INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT	3,718,549.82				
-	As Per Last Balance Sheet	-				
3,345,274.02	Less: Expenditure Transferred during the year	3,718,549.82				
373,275.80	Add: Excess Of Income Over Expenditure During the Year	358,566.84				
3,718,549.82		4,077,116.66	4,077,116.66			
44,585,932.95		50,146,566.69	44,585,932.95			50,146,566.69

Note:Accounting Policies and Notes forming part of the Accounts Refer Annexure -A

For INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES

Place:New Delhi
Date:19/09/2019

Nawal
President

Atamve
General Secretary

Shilpa
Treasurer

Auditor: **Suri Malhotra & Associates**
For Suri Malhotra & Associates
Chartered Accountant
Suri Malhotra
WIRENDER KUMAR MALHOTRA
(Proprietor)
Membership no: 080645
FRN 0034492N
UDIN NO.:19080645MAAAB7117



INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES
INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31-03-2019

EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT (RS)	INCOME	AMOUNT (RS)
Depreciation	227.00	Depreciation Written Back	227.00
Honorarium	25,000.00	Interest On FD/Bond	2,349,107.69
Software maintenance	4,248.00	Interest on Saving	25,941.00
Conveyance	638.00	Students membership	750.00
Office Expenses	72,240.00	Miscellaneous income	173.15
Postage	21,690.00	Interest on Income Tax Refund	1,675.00
Eastern Regional Conference Expenses	12,800.00	Eastern Regional Conference Receipt	12,800.00
Audit fee	20,000.00		
Administrative Expenses	23,301.00		
Amount Transfer to Ford Endowment Grant	1,851,963.00		
Excess of Income Over Expenditure transfer to balance sheet	358,566.84		
	2,390,673.84		2,390,673.84

For INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES

Audit Report
"Sign in terms of our report of even date"
For Suri Malhotra & Associates
Chartered Accountant

Suri Malhotra & Associates
Proprietor

Place: New Delhi
Date: 19/09/2019

Heeral
President

Atanve
General Secretary

Li d post
Treasurer

Virender Kumar Malhotra
VIRENDER KUMAR MALHOTRA
(Proprietor)
Membership no: 080645
FRN 003492N



Accounting Policies and Notes forming part Of the Accounts

1. The previous year figures has been recasted, so as to make them comparable with the figures of the current year.
2. Grants received for specific purpose are utilized as per the terms and conditions of such grants and any amount remaining unutilized at the end of the accounting period is carried over for meeting expenditure in subsequent years .
3. An amount of Premium has been Paid on Bond made with "All Time Securities Pvt.Ltd." of Rs.6,41,000/- out of which 1/5th i.e. Rs.1,28,200/- has been written off to Income And Expenditure account in current year and balance 4/5 share i.e. Rs.5,12,800/-has been Postponed for further writing off in next four Years. In this year another 1/5 share has been adjusted with interest income of FORD and balance 3/5 share i.e. RS 384600 has been postponed in next three year.
4. As per Grant letter of Ford Foundation dated **06/01/2017** the Fund shall be maintained on permanent basis and any appreciation both realize and unrealized in the assets of the fund shall be used only for the purposes set forth in this grant letter accordingly a sum of RS 1851963 is transfer to Ford Foundation Endowment Grant and RS 1164829 has been credited on Interest on Ford Foundation Endowment Grant.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

"Signed in terms of our report of even date"

For **SURI MALHOTRA & ASSOCIATES**
Chartered Accountants


VIRENDER KUMAR MALHOTRA
(Proprietor)
Member Ship No 080645
FRN 003492N

For **INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES**


President


General Secretary


Treasurer

Place: New Delhi
Date: 19/09/2019



Indian Association for Women's Studies

In collaboration with NLU & CWDS

XVI NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN'S STUDIES

28th to 31st January, 2020
National Law University, Delhi-110078

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS



XVI NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN'S STUDIES
National Law University, Delhi
27th to 31st January, 2020

President's Address

Meera Velayudhan
President, IAWS

On behalf of all members of the Executive Committee of the IAWS, I extend a warm welcome to all the delegates at this, the XVI National Conference on Women's Studies. I would also like to thank all our collaborating institutions, in particular our host, the National Law University, Delhi (NLUD) and the Centre For Women's Development Studies, (CWDS), Delhi for their support at all times. In IAWS' 38- year old journey, in this movement of women's studies and in this broad-based platform where women's studies (now located in varied institutional sites) meets lived realities, holding the conference in Delhi is momentous. The focus of the national conference of IAWS is the Constitution, its key principles- an attempt to locate our concerns within the frame of the ongoing and newer constitutional conversations. This is the 70th year of the Constitution with its idea of India rooted in diverse popular movements, intellectual contests and interactions and varied notions of justice, in different regions and moments, in the pre-

independence era. As articulated by a dalit woman member of the Constituent Assembly, Dakshayani, the Constituent Assembly should go beyond framing a Constitution and “give people a new framework for life”, use the opportunity to make untouchability illegal, and ensure “moral safeguard that gives real protection to the underdogs of India” She said,

“To frame such a Constitution is not an easy task because there are many models for us to imitate... but to renew a people on a new foundation requires the synthetic vision of a planner... what we want is not all kinds of safeguards. It is the moral safeguards that give us real protection. What we want is the immediate removal of our social disabilities. Our freedom can be obtained only from Indians and not only from British government.” (CA Debates, 151-152). Constitutional morality as central to a new framework for life and for renewing a people on a new foundation and as real safeguard that gives protection to the marginalized, is what distinguished the Constitution of India from social orders of the colonial and pre-colonial eras. It is this transformative potential of the Constitution that has both facilitated the long struggles for women's rights, engagements with the state for ensuring liberty, equality, non-discrimination and also brought to the fore the violation and lack of constitutionally entrenched rights for women across diverse social groups and in more recent times, an erosion of some of the rights gained through sustained engagements, struggles, resistance and at varied levels.

Today in India when we witness women from all sections and communities in the forefront of protests to ‘save the Constitution’, we recall the women in the Constituent Assembly of India too, although only 15 in number, what was striking about the women are their diverse histories, which point to the rich history and trajectories of women's leadership and activities in pre-independence era, in the freedom struggle in particular. If one picks only the speeches of women in Constituent Assembly, and come to a conclusion, we cannot really be capturing the essence of their interventions. We need to go through the entire session in

which a speech is located and discourse, different political positions, and then to historical background of the same. For example, Dakshayani, in the Cochin Legislative Council, spoke of proportional representation which is a different narrative from reservations. Overall, the interventions by women in the Constituent Assembly was about varied freedoms, non-discrimination, equality, liberty - core principles underlying the Constitution and about citizenship in a new nation.

The women 15 members of the Constituent Assembly were Ammu Swaminathan, Annie Mascarene, Begum Aizaz Rasul, Dakshayani Velayudhan, G Durgabai, Hansa Mehta, Kamla Chaudhry, Leela Ray, Malati Chowdhary, Purnima Banerji, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Renuka Ray, Sarojini Naidu, Sucheta Kripalani, Vijay Lakshmi Pundit. They were variously influenced by Gandhiji, Babsaheb Ambedkar, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, as evident from their speeches, apart from their own specific regional and national politics of the time. They critiqued colonial rule and how women will have opportunities and equal rights under the Constitution. Social issues particularly those concerning marginalized sections were raised such as labour, caste slavery, untouchability, human trafficking, including Devadasi system and control of state over religious instruction in educational institutions, minority rights including discrimination minorities faced in educational institutions, educational planning, protection of children against exploitation, against making the acquisition of property by the state non-justiciable (with reference to zamindari), for de-centralization of powers, against nomination of governors, against centrally administered areas and for placing the draft Constitution before the people through a general election.

Beyond the Constitution, the Central and Provincial governments should conduct campaigns against untouchability as, according to Dakshayani, 'The working of the Constitution will depend upon how people will conduct themselves, not on the actual execution of the law. So, I hope that in course of time there will not be a community known as Untouchables.' Also, supporting the clause to end

forced labour, she said, it would bring about ‘an economic revolution in the fascist social structure existing in India.’ It will enable ‘underdogs to rise up and be in a position to assert their rights and keep up their self-respect and dignity and they too will have a right to enjoy like the upper class and upper caste’ Bhabha Ambedkar had while introducing the Draft Constitution, pointed to the contradiction between the political which upholds principle of non-discrimination while social and economic inequalities persist and perpetuate discrimination and the obligation of the state to ensure dignity, justice to all sections of the people through social and economic rights. Hence, his stress is on the transformative and radical potential of directive principles and its interpretation. Kannabiran (2012-Tools of Justice)) points out that while discrimination could be a shared experience, there could be specificities of histories, location and that we can understand article 15-non discrimination- fully when linked with Article 21- right to Liberty which can present distinct features in the contexts of say persons with disability, Adivasis, Dalits, religious minorities, women, sexual minorities and the conditions of liberty of these sections. This understanding holds special significance for movements, struggles, resistance, engagements of the marginalized and suggests an intersectional reading of articles of the Constitution.

Even as the women in the Constitution Assembly spoke on the debate on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy, while some moving amendments, it was evident that with the transfer of power, the experiences and violence of the Partition had an impact on the Constitution making process. Begum Aizaz Rasul arguing against separate electorate, said, ‘We do not want any special privileges accorded to us as Muslims but we also do not want that any discrimination should be made against us as such. That is why I say that as nationals of this great country, we share the aspirations and the hopes of the people living here hoping at the same time that we be treated in a manner consistent with honour and justice...’ Begum Aizaz also held that proof of loyalty could not be linked with religion. Hence, in today’s context, the Constitution making process, the

debates, from the readings on women members of the Constituent Assembly, we note that negotiating citizenship is an ongoing process, then and now.

IAWS conferences, regional meets, studies have noted that women from working classes, marginalized castes, tribes and communities, sexual minorities, LGBTQ, the elderly and those with disabilities face violent discrimination and oppression as an everyday experience and in newer forms. This conference aims at unravelling the multiple points and axes of these inequalities, prejudices and discrimination, and power relations underlying the same. The conference will also look at how the intersectional systems of inequalities are challenged by counter cultural discourses and varied social movements discussing power, violence, and justice. This, we hope, will lead to newer methodologies of enquiry and a more nuanced understanding of agency.

Today, in the globalising circuit of capital, little attention has been paid to the labour side of the story, both at academic and policy levels. Millions of workers in Asia make a living at different points of this global circuit of capital. This also points to the trajectory of development and labour and the ways in which labour struggles developed, post-1980s in particular, as they did in India. There are few possibilities of the 'traditional industrial working class' emerging while people are forced to access capitalist labour in some form or the other for their survival. This process involves displacement, dispossession and depriving them in various ways of their common resources, whether it is land, forests, skills and knowledge, and with tertiary labour expanding, in particular through women's participation. In this process, the social cost of labour falls on individual workers, as employers do not bear costs of health, unemployment and by bringing in new labour codes and regimes, to make huge profits. Neoliberal sweatshops, are characterised by informalisation of labour, vulnerability, lack of labour security and stable work-based identity, low wages, lack of basic facilities, lack of individual and collective rights. Labour laws or regulations covering workers are limited and workers do

not have the power or institutional tools to protect themselves. This process is also highly gendered. Workers are also fragmented, depriving them of the power and means to protect themselves. Hence worker's struggles are also no longer following the usual model of working class mobilisation. They are emerging more as social movements of the working poor in diverse forms, in neighbourhoods, urban centres—a contrast to the tripartite industrial working class, trade unions (institutionalised labour) and worker-based political parties—looked upon almost as the 'universal' model. The recent amalgamation of 44 central labour laws into four Labour Codes needs intense study and debate.

Degraded and stigmatized labour, discrimination pervading labour markets are taking on newer forms of labour exploitation. Globalization and changing socio-economic realities are driving people, especially women, to labour migration in risky situations. The violence of development accentuate the ongoing processes of displacement, dispossession and alienation of people from their land, resources and livelihoods. The vulnerability of tribals to protect and promote their rights to control and use land and forest is also curtailing their ability to protect their pluralistic cultural identities. In February 2019, a Supreme Court order, instead of considering the mandatory provisions of the Forest Rights Act (FRA), 2006 and its procedures, directed the eviction of about two million people from forest areas spread across 17 states. The bulk of the claims by Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (OTFD) under the FRA 2006, were termed as a 'nebulous category of people not defined by the Constitution'. Six of the nine court cases against FRA claimants were filed in various High Courts were by retired forest officers, one a former zamindar/landlord.

Intersectional analysis has shown that violence does not take place in isolation and that there are intersecting factors such as identities and institutions that lead to gender-based violence. We note how caste, religion and varied forms of patriarchies intersect as witnessed in the recent spate of violence against inter-caste marriages

in south Indian states in particular or how resisting dominant caste sexual harassment had lead to beheading of a Dalit girl, for example. An intersectional approach considers peoples' overlapping identities and allows the unravelling of multiple points and axes of prejudice and oppression that contribute to everyday experience of the marginalized gender. Drawing upon this foundational approach, and drawing from growing studies on intersectionalities, Dalit feminists in India, for example, debated that 'Dalit women speak differently' and framed their struggles as being informed by caste, class and gender and initially terming it as 'triple burden'. Increasingly drawing from such studies, it was evident that intersectionality unravels layers of an individual's identity which was not possible using a single primary marker and as in the case of Shah Bano, her intersecting identity of being a Muslim and a woman was at conflict. Her oppression arose from the intersection of religion and patriarchy, facing opposition from within the community for challenging the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Act, 1937. More recently we are witness to women across religions challenging patriarchal religious orthodoxy, be it the nuns or women calling for entry into temples, or those fighting Genital Mutilation (Khatna) within a religious sect in India. In a context where religion cannot be understood through a single lens and in which identities are complex, IAWS Southern Regional Conference last year in Calicut explored the dynamic relations between gender, religion and other identities as an important dimension of people's constructed lives in general and women's in particular. We looked into theoretical and empirical research on religion and intersectionality and its effects on politics of inclusion and exclusion. In this context, contemporary popular religions and spirituality (urban popular religions, folk religions etc) in the context of multiple modernities, needs to be explored in more in depth.

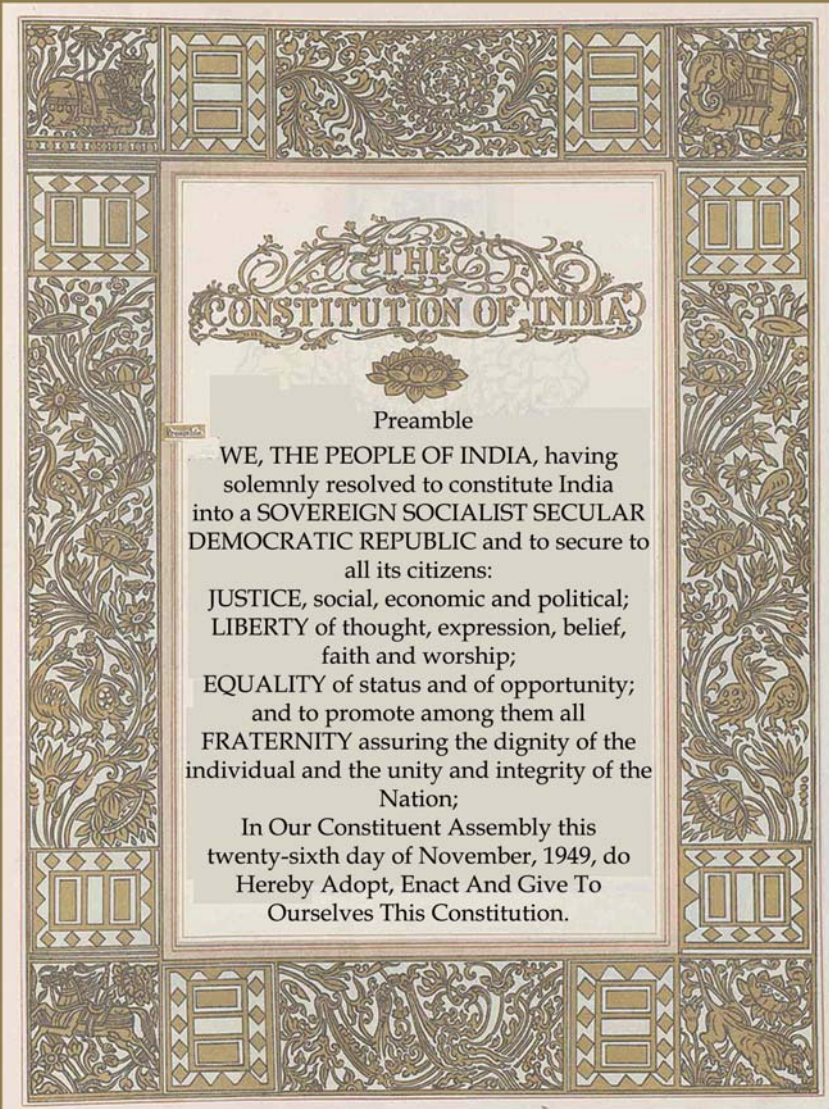
Women's movements and varied forms of engagements focusing on constitutional rights, often joining other movements/platforms for justice and equality, have resulted in both shaping and enacting several laws and policy changes, and in the process have expanded the concept of justice. The enactment of laws and the

widening scope of rights and claims by the women's movement and other democratic assertions have taken the shape of creative engagement with the Constitution and constitutional morality as in the case of Justice Verma Commission Report and Nirbhaya. These gains are being challenged and hence need to be protected and the scope of justice expanded. In recent years, attempts to interpret the constitutional principles and to assert rights have brought to the fore, the discrimination and lack of citizenship rights of diverse sections, from sexual minorities, LGBTIQ to sewers and manual scavengers, focusing on issues ranging from entry in religious shrines, adultery, euthanasia, inter-faith, inter-caste marriages, degraded stigmatized labour, to self-identity and citizenship.

More than at any time since independence, the need to build an environment where freedom to think, express, dissent are being widely articulated in different forms, with visible and pronounced voices of diverse section of women, youth in particular. Social movements of marginalized castes and communities for right to access public spaces and for education played a significant role in the beginning of the 20th century for the demand for universalization of education. This along with campaigns by women's organizations in the pre-independence years. However, the incorporation of education as a justiciable Fundamental Right in Article 21-A of the Constitution (86th Amendment Act) 2002 entitled free and compulsory education for children aged 6 to 14 and with the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act , 2009, which is the law envisaged under Article 21-A. Since then, there has been a retreat in the right to education , with an aggressive economist discourse of cost benefits and 'outcomes' (Rampal,2018). New hierarchies and divisions are being crafted of 'knowledge' for some and 'skills' for the rest, dismissing the goal of equality and equity for children and youth. The dynamism, idealism, agency of the youth of the National Literacy Campaigns of the 1990s, the Kala jathas, Bal Kala jathas, Bal Melas, conducted by district administration with Bharat Gyan Vigyan Samiti (BGVS) not only led to 'a circle of learning' led by youth but also skilled them for community actions, to

discover empathy and to act and feel for the other who may be from very different social background. Recent findings suggest that school systems are replacing democratic citizenship education with a 'curriculum of fear' through creation of 'vigilant' citizens with ideas of national security and linked patriotism. The Draft National Education Policy 2019, or NEP needs greater scrutiny and any hasty implementation could reverse the painstaking efforts to democratize the context and contents of education (Roy, 2019). NEP calls for 'heavy promotion' of Indian and local traditions, Indian languages, analysis of 'uplifting literature' or 'upliftment of underrepresented groups (URGs) and special education zones for them. What is not key is the Constitution and 'the community' appearing to take its place. Women's Studies, among the most exciting and challenging inter-disciplinary fields are among the omissions in the draft (Roy, 2019). These combined with cuts in scholarships, particularly pre-matric scholarships for Dalits and Tribals, educational loans by banks replacing scholarships, closure of university centres on social exclusion by ending funding, with students being transferred to other departments and teaching faculty losing jobs, etc are part of the reversal processes.

By thinking along with the Constitution, this conference is an attempt to collectively deliberate, listen, share, analyze, by drawing also from the rich and growing data bases and lived experiences of women, from the learnings of IAWS regional conferences in the past two years in particular, and on the above cited concerns, the IAWS hopes to achieve more clarity on how to move forward and address the challenges facing all of us.



Indian Association for Women's Studies

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XVI National Conference

Book of Abstracts

Sub Themes and Special Session on Jharkhand

National Law University, Delhi
January 27 to 31, 2020

Prepared by

Dr Meera Velayudhan

Book of Abstracts

Sub Themes and Special Session on Jharkhand

Indian Association for Women's Studies

XVI National Conference

National Law University, Delhi

January 27 to 31, 2020

Contents

Sub-Themes/ Special Session and Coordinators.....	iv
1 Displacement, Dispossession, Alienation and the Constitutional Framework (Land, resources, livelihood)	2
2 Identities and Citizenship.....	24
3 Women, Science and Scientific Temper—Exploring Progressive Alternatives	58
4 Migration, Labour and Constitutional Rights	68
5 Caste and Constitution	88
6 Normalization of Violence and Subversion of Constitutional Values	106
7 New Media and Inequalities: Surveillance, Regulation and Resistance	142
8 Citizens/People, Laws and Right to Life	172
9 Women and Education	196
10 Women and Employment.....	228
11 Contested Contours of Cultures/ Cultural Texts	260
12 Special Session on Jharkhand	290

Sub-Themes/ Special Session and Coordinators

Sub Theme/ Session	Coordinator(s)
1 Displacement, Dispossession, Alienation and the Constitutional framework (Land, resources, livelihood)	Soma Kishore Parthasarathy, Smita Gupta
2 Identities and Citizenship	Anupama Roy, Soibam Haripriya
3 Women, Science and Scientific Temper: Exploring Progressive Alternatives	Tejal Kanitkar, Aardra Surendran
4 Migration, Labour and Constitutional Rights	Sreelekha Nair, Ashmita Sharma
5 Caste and the Constitution	Bobby Kunhu, Sujatha Surepally
6 Normalization of violence & subversion of Constitutional Values	Bindu K C, Saumya Uma
7 New Media and Inequalities: Surveillance, Regulation and Resistance	Pamela Philipose, Sheeba K.M
8 Citizens/People, Laws and Right to Life	Sarojini N, Sneha Gole
9 Women and education	N.A.Arivukkarasi, Sona Mitra
10 Women and Employment	Sona Mitra, N.A.Arivukkarasi
11 Contested Contours of Cultures/ Cultural texts	Deepa Sreenivas, Sandali Thakur
12 Special Session on Jharkhand	Mamta Kumari

1 Displacement, Dispossession, Alienation and the Constitutional Framework (Land, resources, livelihood)

1.1 Self Help Group and the Interfaces in Process of Capacity Building Among Tribal Women: Study of National Rural Livelihood Mission (Ajeevika Project) in Jharkhand

Aishwarya Raj

The paper aims to critically look at the issue surrounding Policies and program on women and development in the light of National rural livelihood mission policy project intervention in the state of Jharkhand as JSLPS (Jharkhand State Livelihood Promotion Society) that aims at mobilizing women into institutional organizational space of Self Help Group (SHG) thereby addressing their socio economic and political aspects of empowerment.

In this context the research paper critically explores the “ process of capacity building” amongst tribal women who are mobilized into SHG collective .The research paper aims to understand tribal women development context by critically analyzing the SHG policy initiative by engaging in the critical discourse of unraveling and deconstructing statist discourse of development policies from the point of views of the contextual collective aspirations and needs asserted by the tribal women while critically engaging in coherent aspects of the issues surrounding financial , livelihood , social , cultural and political participation of the tribal women *collective* .

The paper therefore explores the contextual issues surrounding land alienation and displacement, issues surrounding restricted accessibility to forest resources , implementation difficulties with respect to tribal related constitutional acts and rights thus in the context of these issues the research paper critically explores the effectiveness of policy intervention in addressing needs and concerns of tribal women and whether the process of capacity building through mobilization of tribal women into institutional organizational space of SHG is itself a limitation to the contextual tribal women needs and concerns .

The paper aims to explore the impact of patriarchy on tribal cultural realm and how it impacts the engagement / participation of tribal women within the SHG collective. The context of the tribal women remains crucial because of their effective participation as a workforce. With respect to participation of women in the economic realm based on NSS data (Ghosh,2008) shows that tribal women significantly participates in economic activities ,but contrary to such work participation rate as high as 43% of tribal women belong to low expenditure class and lower expenditure capability lowers the economic empowerment of tribal women compared to men.

Depletion of tribal traditional resource base have adversely impacted the tribal community in general and women in particular. (Fernandes & Menon, 1987). As a result of the deterioration in the natural traditional sources of livelihood and lack of access to financial facility tribes in the rural region at large facing the livelihood related problems ,tribal women consequently seek refuge in indirect forceful migration in search for better livelihood and survival (Tripathy, 2008).

The broader objectives and questions which the research paper broadly focuses at are:

- To explore the contextual factors that results the tribal to be the part of SHGs.
- To explore the process of participation of tribal women within the Self-Help Group.
- Process of capacity building to work around the livelihood opportunities.

Within this objective the *impact of post policy intervention* on the livelihood opportunities in the process of capacity building is explored at the level of whether and how effective is the policy intervention in form of SHG in addressing accesses to resource constraints amongst tribal women at the level of a) Land rights and agricultural distress b) implementation hurdles in forest rights act in light of accessing and processing of the NTFP .

The paper explores the effectiveness of NRLM policy in the context of its convergence program with decentralized local resource governance program initiative with respect to which the objective aims to critically explore the political empowerment of the tribal women in the light of assertion of issues, participation and awareness of the tribal women SHG with respect to PESA act ,traditional governance ,Joint Forest Management (JFM).

1.2 The Impact of Land Acquisition on Landless Agricultural Worker Women in Madhopur, Madhya Pradesh

Akriti Shrivastava

The acquisition of land and related dispossession has been often, in law as well as in academic research, seen as affecting those who own that land—whether privately or as customary rights. However, the owners of that land are a smaller section of all people affected by this dispossession. Land may be, especially in rural parts of India, the basis/source of sustenance and livelihood for a large section of people, who may not in fact own it. And this ownership of land is a function of both caste and gender—historically land has been concentrated in the hands of upper castes and men within this Brahminical patriarchal setup. Thus, with the emphasis that law and academic exploration has put on dispossession of land, the question of those who have been historically restricted from any form of property ownership to begin with, gets sidelined.

This paper is an attempt to document the impact of land acquisition by state on women in non-landowning families. It tries to understand the immediacy of impact, the urgent need for state response, and the complete lack thereof. The data presented in this paper is part of a larger research project undertaken by this researcher in Madhopur village of Dhar district in Madhya Pradesh collected through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

Madhopur is unique in its circumstance, as the village's farmland has been acquired (and large tracts fenced off), however, its homestead land is still not taken into possession by the state. Thus, the village survives within a humongous project area of the NATRAX auto-testing track, a project by the Central Ministry of Heavy Industries. Even as the project has become operational, and construction of more infrastructure goes on, the village also continues to exist within it, albeit in isolation. This has also led to peculiar circumstances—where the landless have not migrated elsewhere, but their traditional livelihood as agricultural labourers, also does not exist anymore. The landed farmers have received at least parts of the entitled compensation for their agricultural land, but agricultural workers are left without employment, without compensation, and without the ability to migrate elsewhere.

This has meant that even as men in these households have looked for opportunities elsewhere, women's condition has drastically been affected, with restricted mobility. As women struggle to find paid work, it drastically impacts the household income, along with women's status within the family. With the village literally being fenced off, there is near total restriction in access to common land and "forest" area, which was used for collection of animal dung, firewood and water. This has meant more labour and monetary costs incurred for procuring these resources. Access to resources is also governed by the caste relations, where, yet again, privatisation has restricted access for lower caste households.

1.3 Dispossession of Land among Tribes in Jharkhand: Issues and Challenges

Amit Kumar Venkateshwar

This paper discusses that have led to the dispossession of tribe's land in Jharkhand, the legal provisions meant to address this problem and the existing realities on the ground. Land and forests are two basic resources of the tribal life support system. In the non-tribal societies, land may be treated as a mere commodity, much like cash, which may change hands. The concept of land among tribal societies is different. In a democratic country, their citizens trust most upon the state and the public institution for their betterment. Especially, for the people from the backward communities and regions, state is their only hope. The state also tries to integrate the backward regions into the mainstream with the help of their institutional set ups like Public Sector Enterprises (PSEs) and democratic institutions etc. Consequently, not only the status of backward regions gets improved but the growth and development of the country also intensified. But the ground reality is very different. The condition of the country has improved, in terms of power generation, self-sufficiency in the extraction of mineral resources, sophisticated technological advancement, increased irrigation potential, urbanization, availability of drinking water, health and education have improved, but the people who reside in the backward regions mainly in hilly tracts and forest dwellers did not enjoy the fruits of the aforesaid development.

So, the pattern of development in these areas (tribal) has not been in the best interest of the tribal communities. Policies of states which have been formed and implemented, for the sake of nation building, have led to the development of underdevelopment. Process of land's dispossession has increased. The segments of population which is being dispossessed from their resources and who are getting benefits by these projects are different and policies of states having contrary character. Because, there are several mismatches in the words and deeds of the state. Despite of several Rules, Constitutional Provisions, Laws, and Acts to protect the tribe's life and livelihood the plight and poor conditions of tribes is not being countered properly by the state. State has its own legislative, executive, judicial machinery and full of resources but still failure to resolve several issues related to tribal communities. In Jharkhand, the 'Chottanagpur Tenancy Act' (1908) and the 'Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act' (1949) are being tampered, Restoration of Tribal Land is being neglected, implementation of the 'Panchayat Extension to Schedule Areas' (1996) and the 'Forest Rights Act' (2006) are not appropriate, not implementing the provisions of 'Samata Judgement' by the state is very common. Exploitation of their natural resources continued unabatedly. The continued dispossession has not only intensified their poverty but also threatened their identity in their homelands. The long-term impact of dispossession has shown primarily among rural tribes in Jharkhand and reflected in their occupational structure.

1.4 Grazing Rights and the Struggle of Commons in Villages: Cases from Rajasthan and Karnataka

Amrita Ghatak and Jharna Pathak

The verdict on pastureland by the honourable Supreme Court in 2011 has reinforced the age-old discussion on 'commons' with respect to the conflicts and grazing rights in management of pastureland as Common Property Resources (CPRs henceforth) in India. It is often argued that the decentralised collective management of CPRs by their users play role in 'overrating' the 'tragedy of commons' (Berkes, 1989; Wade, 1989; Jodha, 1986; Chopra et al. 1989; Ostrom, 1990, 1999). The earlier studies suggest that local institutional arrangements

including customs and social conventions designed to induce cooperative solutions can overcome the collective action problem and help achieve efficiency in the use of such resources particularly in developing countries (Gibbs and Bromley, 1989; Ostrom, 1990). It is important here to note that Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons' often results mainly from institutional failure to control access to resources, and to make and enforce internal decision for collective use within villages. The Institutional failure could be due to both internal and/or external reasons (Dove, 1993).

The literature also suggests that the participatory resource management often suffers from the obstacles emanating from two key alleyways: a) institutional arrangements leading to further marginalisation of certain groups in the society and in this trajectory the voice of women is further diluted, and b) the institutions are often devised in such a way that the cumbersome legal and policy frameworks make it difficult for community to develop the capacity for self-management (Adrian and Lemon, 2001). Therefore, the policy aiming toward successful participatory management of commons requires understanding so as to facilitate local agency wherein policies and legal frameworks are more receptive to local negotiation.

Given this backdrop, this paper discusses the struggle of commons and its bearing with the equity issues in managing and accessing the pastureland in villages of Rajasthan and Karnataka in India. While its substantive focus is on the issues and challenges that the commons faces in those two regions, the paper also explores the informal institutional functioning through which the voice of marginalised section particularly women is diluted despite having legal and political mandates of reservation in ensuring their representations in different committees within the village.

Using information collected through in-depth interviews, case studies and focus group discussions (FGDs henceforth) conducted in 2019 in at least 20 villages belonging to Ajmer district in Rajasthan and Kolar district in Karnataka the article addresses the negotiations between democratic politics within the larger system of governance, which is compatible with both privatisation and centralisation as conserving strategies. In line with a previous study (Blair, 1996) this paper also observes that the local control in the present democracy is complex 'for where governmental units are the relevant actors, there tends to be more interest in consuming than in conserving or preserving resources at the local level'.

This paper assesses various typologies of benefits and aspects of benefit sharing in governing CPRs and implications thereof. The analysis is based on the argument that community would be able to manage their resources under conditions that provide incentives for their participation, mechanisms for their power sharing as well as building trust among varied caste and class groups. Collaborative governance in CPRs is found demonstrate the potential for a decentralised system of governance but emphasises 'political will' to support or discourage these arrangements. The findings of this study contribute to the growing literature on collaborative governance of CPR in India and elsewhere.

1.5 Will, Deeds and Women

Dayaana K

It is high time that every testator should realize the very important fact that making a Will is a strong tool in their hands to absolutely eradicate the disparity ,disproportion and discrimination faced by women in our society due to the imbalanced and disproportionate personal laws pertaining to succession. This study is an endeavor by the researcher to depict the realities faced by women disinherited from the property by the act of testators prevailing in communities like Hindu, Christian and Muslim in Kerala.

1.6 The Value of Land – Land Acquisition, Alienation and Resistance

Deeksha Sharma

Envisioning of emancipation is incomplete without documenting the resistance of people against oppressive power structures of the society. The introduction of colonial laws altered the meaning of justice, political representation of tribal communities and social fabric of Indian society. The enactment of Forests Acts 1878 sought to secure state control over forest land and produce. Further, the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 enabled the state to acquire land even without the consent of its inhabitants in the name of 'public purpose'. These major legal interventions introduced during colonial rule caused a rupture in the lives of tribal communities who have inhabited forest land for generations. In addition to this, The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 (also Land Acquisition Act, 2013) increased the power of the state to transfer acquired land to private sector. It made land acquisition smoother for the state with the listing of procedures, rules to offer fair compensations, rehabilitation and resettlement to the affected persons, which were poorly implemented in various regions of India. The forceful takeover of land rendered tribals as encroachers of their own ancestral forest lands which had been cultivated by them from time immemorial.

The current process of land acquisition strengthens the authority of the state, which is secured through violation of constitutionally recognised rights of people. The contemporary struggles of tribal communities against state violence unleashed in the name of development, calls for scholarly attention in order to critically understand the narrow definition of 'public purpose'; gendered experience of dispossession, displacement; and the resistance of tribal women against state violence. The struggle for reclaiming one's land from acquisition of the state in itself highlights the attempt by displaced people to assert their constitutional rights and preserve their local histories and knowledge practices. Further, the discourse on development (pertaining to Land Acquisition Act) fails to account the gendered experience of displacement, the invisibility of women's labour; and relegates women into reproductive roles rather than highlighting their contribution to the agrarian economy. The representation of women in such discourse has focused on portraying them as passive recipients of state led privatisation of land. It lacks the documentation of women as agential subjects resisting state sponsored private acquisition of their source of livelihood i.e. land. In the several regions of eastern India, states like West Bengal, Jharkhand and Orissa, the resistance to part with the land has led to great amount of struggles by tribal communities. In order to understand the issues mentioned above, the present study will focus on one of the most significant struggles of contemporary times against land grabs, as witnessed in Jagatsinghpur district of Odisha against POSCO, the world's fourth largest steelmaker which partnered with the state of Odisha, to set up a 12-million-tonne-capacity steel project in the district. The government aided acquisition of coastal land met with non-violent resistance from the villagers under the banner of POSCO Pratirodh Sangram Samiti. The company's withdrawal of the project was seen as a victory however the state still refuses to return the acquired land and plans to give it to other firms in the future.

Thus, the present analysis shall focus on how the process of land acquisition violates constitutional principles and the rights of tribal communities. The attempt will be to critically examine the definition of public purpose in the colonial and amended land acquisition acts of 1894 and 2013, in order to understand who constitute the 'public'? Or does the concept in itself calls for a feminist analysis of the 'public'? Further, it will attempt to emphasis the gendered impact of displacement and dispossession on tribal women which not only restricted their access to land resources but increased chances of poverty, unemployment and vulnerability to state violence. The attempt shall be to look at the role of women as agential subjects

participating in a resistance against private ownership of land used by tribal communities of Odisha. The purpose would be to read the resistance of tribal communities as their assertion of constitutional rights against the oppressive state and land acquisition policies.

1.7 Relocation of Adivasis from Protected Areas in Kerala since Forest Rights Act (FRA) 2006– A Case of Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary

Divya Kalathingal

Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary was established in 1973 and occupies an area of 344.44 Sq.Km. It distributes in four forest ranges named Muthanga, Kurichyad, Tholpetty and Sulthan Bathery. As followed to the National Tiger Conservation Authority (NTCA) notification (format for preparation of village relocation plan from core/ critical tiger habitats 2008), Kerala Forest Research Institute (KFRI) has done a study in the wildlife sanctuary on relocation. According to that report, there are 110 settlements comprising of 2613 households are to be relocated from the WWLS. The irony of this process is that the area has neither notified as critical wildlife habitat under the forest rights act nor a core area under tiger reserve.

Out of the 14 proposed areas of relocation, forest department has started intervening in nine areas and relocation of four areas have completely finished. The relocation of the rest of the five settlements are in the phase 1 is in progress. Individual rights have been recognized in the four relocated areas, but, no attempts have been made to initiate the process of Community Rights (CR), Community Forest Rights (CFR) and Habitat Right (PVTG) in the entire 14 settlements. The objective of this paper is to understand the process of relocation and the violations of FRA involved in it. The study also shows that the consent was manufactured based on partial communication and misinformed facts. This paper fundamentally challenges the undemocratic process in the entire process of relocation. Methodology adopted for this paper is ethnography.

1.8 Climate Change, Tribal Women and Livelihoods: A Study of Nilgiri Block in Balasore, Odisha

Geetanjali Dash

Tribes are social divisions in a traditional society, consisting of families or communities linked by social, economic, religious or blood ties with common culture and dialect typically having a recognized leader. They constitute 8.6% of India's total population. Approximately 563 communities have been recognized by Government of India and some are yet to be identified. Odisha has a large number of tribes, as many as 62 numbers, out of which 8 are declared as primitive tribal groups. They constitute 22.85% of the population which is a significant part of the total number. Nilgiri in Balasore district there are 46,978 tribals which comes under schedule five of the constitution. They constitute 35.5% of the total population of the block area. The female literacy in this area is 54.96% as compared to 68.32% among the male population.

Though tribals are an integral part of the social fabric, they still are a dispossessed group of people in the society. Women suffer more as a vulnerable group. They suffer more because of social inequalities, reinforced by power dynamics. Climate change is a major problem affecting the lives of forest dwellers, especially women as they are more dependent on forest resources for building an alternative source of livelihood in case of loss of agriculture. Erratic rainfall, low agricultural output, forest degradation affect the livelihood patterns of these tribals vitiated by migration and displacement of male members in the family as a push factor. Women

suffer more in the villages as left behind losing their traditional livelihood. The problem is more acute since they don't possess any land in their name .Forest Rights Act has not benefited them. They also don't have any access to training programmes of the Government being implemented from time to time because of lack of awareness and other forms of inequalities. The paper discusses the implementation of PESA Act in the study area and various livelihood options available to women and analysed to what extent women in this area have adapted to the climate change.It has also tried to explore the conditions reinforcing gender inequalities in a **situation** of climate change and adaptation as a response to it.

1.9 Gendered Impacts of Land Sale: Rural Women's Views in Western Maharashtra

Girija Godbole

Land is a productive resource that facilitates exchanges in cash or kind. In rural India land continues to be a symbol of status, dignity and power and plays a significant role in shaping social and cultural identities. The contemporary phenomenon of increasing land sales across rural India has impacted social context within which land is held, alienated, inherited and transferred. Drawing upon empirical data from Pune district in Maharashtra, India this paper focuses on perspectives of rural women who often lack voice in land related matters in the Indian context. Discussing the drivers and mechanisms of land sale, the paper reveals the gendered nature of land brokering with land dealings being dominated mostly by men as social norms governing 'respectability' and 'appropriate' behaviour discourage rural women from taking up active and visible roles in relation to land related matters. The paper also explores the perceived impacts of land sale on the physical, social and economic landscape of a rural society with a focus on women's perspectives.

1.10 Paradox of Co-Existing Backwardness and Industrialization in Tea Districts of West Bengal

Kingshuk Sarkar and Amrita Ghatak

In two districts of West Bengal that is in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri tea cultivation was introduced by the British in the mid nineteenth century. Conditions at these two districts, along with large parts of Assam, were favourable for tea cultivation. Availability of labour was a problem which was solved through forced family migration of labour from areas like the Chotanagpur plateau. These workers are mostly tribal and belong to the most marginalized section of the population. They are still considered outsiders with very little interactions with mainstream Bengali population even after residing there for close to two hundred years. There lies sharp demarcation between tea and non-tea population.

Tea areas in these two districts are predominantly rural in character with some small towns like clusters thrown in between. But what is significant to note that these areas are very backward even now. On the other hand, tea industry has flourished over the years notwithstanding occasional downturns which are part of the usual business cycle fluctuations. Tea today is one of the prime foreign exchange earning industry. These two districts in West Bengal produce about 25% of the total domestic production. Newer areas are being added to tea cultivation. Production, area under tea, yield, labour productivity all are showing increasing trend (with usual business-cycle fluctuations). But only thing constant is standard of people living in and around areas of these two growing districts. They hardly consume any industrial good and provision of education and health facilities are grossly inadequate. Most tea estates function like enclave economy with very little interaction with outside world. Wages prevailing

in these two districts are even less than statutory minimum wages for agricultural labourers. Even government is reluctant to provide welfare and infrastructure in these areas since tea lands are leased out to planters and these areas are treated as private lands and generally kept out of the purview of general district welfare programme(s). These areas were brought under Panchayet in the year 1999 but that did not led to any significant change in the absence of concrete guidelines about how Panchayet would function in areas leased out to planters for tea cultivation and manufacturing.

Conditions as prevailing presently suggest that even the basic facilities like education, sanitation, health, recreation are missing. In case of education most of the tea growing areas only have primary schools and secondary schools are located too far away for the majority of the workers to access. Even primary schools are overcrowded and lack basic minimum facilities. Primary education is further hindered because of language issue since tribal population have mother tongue other than Bengali. For majority of the people sanitation is an alien word. Most of them still defecate out in the open. Quality of drinking water is very poor as most of people draw water from open wells exposing them to all kinds of water-borne diseases. Health facilities normally imply whatever the garden hospital/dispensaries are providing which are even at the best of times grossly ill-equipped to say the least. One may argue that situations prevailing in most parts of rural areas are not significantly different. But which makes this situation somewhat unique is that even industrial penetration of last 150 years did not make much difference. Here lies a dichotomy which needs to be examined.

It's a case where economic growth does not lead to development in a context where development is defined as a mechanism which provides for realization of human potentials. To realize this potential for large number of people both planters and State should reorient policies. Profits need to be reinvested and welfare of the workers should not be neglected. State needs to play an active role. So far it has relied heavily on the trickle-down effect of industrialization and was very lenient in enforcing legislative provisions. This needs reorientation towards more efforts in creating infrastructure and intense administration with improvement in the delivery system with an integrated holistic development approach at the earliest.

1.11 Mapping Violence in the Lives of *Adivasi* Women: A Study from Jharkhand

Kriti Sharma

This paper attempts to map habitations of violence in the lives of *adivasi* women of Jharkhand who are living with power structures within the family system and the society and are further entrapped in gender hegemonies that are part of larger shifts in the political economy. Through sharing life experiences of *adivasi* women in the urban and rural landscape of Ranchi, a Schedule V district under the Indian Constitution; the author aims to present their socio-legal realities along with an analysis on the enforcement of legal machinery in removing or tightening the existing disparities.

‘For indigenous women, gender-based violence is shaped not only by gender discrimination within indigenous and non-indigenous arenas but by a context of ongoing colonisation, militarism, racism and social exclusion; and poverty-inducing economic and “development” policies’ (FIMI Report 2006: 6). Active negation of the political, economic, social and cultural rights expounded under United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007 has been most pronounced for the Scheduled Tribes situated in Jharkhand. Various scholars have engaged with their colonial and neo-colonial exploitation and this study is a limited attempt to capture the present burdens of the tribal women situated here.

Annual Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Indigenous concerns (2015), a first on indigenous women acknowledges that hitherto specific situation of tribal women has been neglected in policy and on the ground. This is further exacerbated by the fact that in India state budgets and policies deploy gender or identity-based categories leaving out operation of intersectionality of vulnerabilities as tribal women. The legal machinery for women rights is also at nascent stage with the State Commission for Women (SCW) established in 2005; Women Police Stations launched in 2008; and the legal counseling at the women police station introduced in 2010 via SCW order. The state initiatives continue to be limited to the cities with little penetration beyond.

With this background, the fieldwork has been conducted in the city of Ranchi where the legal machinery is based. This was particularly suitable for interactions with activists, lawyers, political representatives, state officials and women police officers. Detailed discussions and sharing of case studies by them ensured in an in-depth understanding of prevalent attitudes and challenges faced in the administration of justice in cases of violence upon *adivasi* women. Daily functioning of Mahila Thana, Ranchi, the nodal police office for crime against women, and their legal counseling unit was observed. Interviews were also conducted in Chatwal - a predominantly Uraon village (48.31% tribal population) in Mandar Tehsil, situated around 50 kilometres from the capital. This place was suitable for focused group discussions with the Women's Self-Help Groups who are actively pursuing social and legal avenues to address gender discrimination present in the village. Though discussions, both structured and unstructured, were also held with wider village communities of Munda, Ho and Uraon- both women and men, who reside in the neighbourhood villages within the district.

Based on this, the paper attempts to lay down their concerns in five parts. Firstly, it highlights the neo-liberal aggression which induces land displacement and its negative consequences on the *adivasi* women. It traces the major displacement projects and establishes critical nexus between deprivation of collective rights and violence on women. Second part deals with violence in the name of tradition – i.e. witchcraft and recent cases which have emerged from the region. It traces the legal developments and highlights the paucity of legal avenues for the indigenous women to seek redressal. Thirdly, the paper addresses the prevalent societal issues – domestic and community-based violence which emerged from the interviews and observations at the police stations. In particular, the complicated history and controversy on the land inheritance laws deserves attention. The fourth part deals with burden of migration, child labour and trafficking of young girls which is alarmingly common in this district. Lastly, the paper deals with the health and reproductive rights and the dire situation of the *Adivasi* women located here.

1.12 Land Ownership Pattern and Gendered Space in Mizoram

Lalneihzovi

The Lushai Hills Autonomous District Council and Pawi-Lakher Regional Council were created under the Six Schedule to the Constitution of India in 1952 and in 1953 respectively. The Lushai Hill District Council was changed to Mizo District Council and elevated to the status of Union Territory of Mizoram in January 1972. Finally, it attained its statehood in 1987. The land ownership pattern in Mizoram is different from other states of the Indian Union as the land holders themselves managed and looked after their land.

The land system in the state can broadly be categorised into two types, namely, community land and revenue land. Under the community land there are several land holding patterns, such as jhum land, community forest, grazing land. The revenue land is allotted mainly for two purposes, namely, residential and agriculture land. The minimum and maximum

limit of land holding is regulated by the Mizoram Land and Revenue Act, 1956. When land allotment is made, it is under the customary law, usually allotted in the name of the head of the family, that is, the husband's name except in the women headed household. Since Mizo is a patrilineal society, women do not have right to inherit property including landed/immovable property among others.

Therefore, feminist movement has taken its own course and finally change in inheritance law for women has been legislated by the Mizoram State Legislative Assembly. This paper will attempt to trace the customary practices of land holding system in Mizoram. It will try to find out the problems and give suggestions to make land holding system a gender friendly system with a proper methodological support.

1.13 Impact of Development on Katkari Women in Raigad: Marginalisation of a Community on the Doorsteps of Urbanisation.

Madhura Gurav

Located in the vicinity of the metropolitan Mumbai city, Pen is a taluka area in Raigad district that has seen steadfast development over the last few decades. On the periphery of the Mumbai-Goa highway passing through the Pen city, many villages still exist, that have not been displaced by the rapid industrialization in the area. On the margins of these villages, the mountainous terrain, are the dwellings of the Katkari community. Katkari is a tribal community, categorised as a Schedule Tribe, belonging mostly to the state of Maharashtra. They have been presently classified as PVTG (Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group).

The Katkaris have always been dependent on forest for their livelihood. With the large scale of deforestation activities carried out in the interest of economic and infrastructural progress, the sustenance of this tribe comes under threat. On this background, the new Forest Right Act of 2006, that grants rights to the indigenous community whose home the forest is seemed like a boon after decades of struggle for survival. It recognised the rights of the forest dwellers and aimed to protect their livelihood as well as the ecological balance. However, in practice, there are many legislative impediments to its implementation. The claims of many adivasis (including women) under this Act is rejected by the State and the original inhabitants become the encroachers.

Furthermore, the tribal women as a category is never given much thought when it comes to formulating new policies or coming up with frameworks for the betterment of the community. On these lines, the labour of Katkari woman is further invisibilised. The crucial role of the Katkari women in survival of their families is completely ignored. It is the women who collect forest produce throughout the year, for their own use as well as for selling. They forage and also cultivate vegetables during the monsoon season, which is then sold at the market places in the new townships, at the periphery of which they reside. Owing to deforestation, all these activities are greatly affected, characterised by less returns on the one hand and increased efforts on the other.

Agricultural activities have taken a backseat, owing to deforestation as well as not having claims on forest land. It is a much known fact now that the FRA 2006, which sought to protect their livelihood, further marginalises them. Since their claims are rejected, the very Act that is supposed to empower them dispossess them. Earlier, the Katkaris were able to sustain based on cultivation of their staple food (rice and nachni) and other supplementary activities like fishing, hunting, etc. However, the present state of Katkaris is of destitution and everyday battle for survival. It is clear that the rapid industrialization and urbanisation is directly responsible for the plight of the Katkari community, especially the women. As a result, the Katkaris are forced to go into bonded labour and such other exploitative practices.

We want to look at this phenomenon, specifically the lack of availability of work for women and how they negotiate with the society to obtain sustenance for themselves and their families. How are the alternative options limiting for women owing to their gender? What is the effect of loss of the only means of livelihood that was available to them and how they are adapting in the face of this outright exclusion?

1.14 Land Acquisition, Displacement and Livelihood Impacts: A Study in the State of Odisha

Maheswata Das

Development induced displacement has become a burning issue in the era of globalization/neo-liberalization. With the aim of becoming a modernized country the state is promoting investment of MNCs on project plans such as dams, industries, roads, mines, and power plants on the land of the indigenous people which is the only means of their sustenance. Since ancient time development-induced displacement has existed but it has become a major problem with colonialism and became intensified with post-independence planned development. Globalisation involves a greater attack on land that is the sustenance of most rural communities (Fernandes, 2007). These development projects have made irreversible changes in land use and in the lives of millions of its dependants. The people affected by the projects were deprived of their livelihood without any security of physical relocation and settlement. This study focuses on people uprooted by development projects. In the light of this discussion this study also proposed to examine land acquisition induced displacement and the underlying issues relating to property rights, livelihood. The objective of this study is to understand displacement as a process, from the perspective of the affected people. To understand the role of the state in resettling the displaced with regard to the policies exist and the implementation to it. To understand what are the effects of displacement on the social cost (livelihood) of the indigenous people. The study envisages a case study design which would facilitate a detailed understanding of the process of displacement. The area chosen for the study is Jagatsinghpur (Industrial district of Odisha).

1.15 Indirect Displacement of Resource-Dependent People: A Case Study of Periyar Industrial Pollution

Mary Lydia K

Development discourses rarely address the role of resource-dependent people in development who derive their sustenance from natural resources like water bodies (such as rivers and sea) and biodiversity. Generally, the category of resource-dependent people includes fisher folk, fish traders, agricultural workers, peasants, rural women, Dalits and other weaker sections of our society. Their role in production and sustenance of the socio-economic sphere of developing country like India is crucial but neglected, usually or consciously as a continuation of historical injustice. However, this aspect was ignored during the course of industrialization, particularly in the era of neoliberal globalism. The destruction of natural ecosystems for the sake of industry and development is rampant, displacing resource-dependent people on a considerable scale. Due to the largely unorganized nature of this category of people, displacement is made invisible. The researcher proposes to problematize this phenomenon in the context of the indirect displacement of resource-dependent people due to industrial pollution in the Periyar river. The researcher intends to focus on Kadamakkudi

and Varapuzha Panchayats as the study area. It is located in the Northern part of Ernakulam district of Kerala state.

River Periyar is the longest river in Kerala and is considered to be an ecological and cultural life line of the state. It is closely allied with the flow of civilization in the region, affecting the growth of economy, culture, trade and commerce of the human societies on its path. Periyar plays a major role in shaping the economic activities of Kerala. It is a pivotal resource for power generation, domestic water supply, irrigation, tourism, industrial production, fisheries, and collection of various inorganic resources.

The universal nature of the ecosystem services of backwaters is observed by K T Thomas in his study 'Economic and Social Issues of Biodiversity Loss in Cochin Backwaters' (2001): 'The major ecosystem services are atmospheric gas regulation, climate regulation, disturbance regulation, water regulation, water supply, erosion control and sediment retention, soil formation, nutrient cycle, water transport, pollination, biological control, refugia (habitats several species), food production, raw materials, genetic resources, recreation and cultural.'

There are several stakeholders in matters relating to the Cochin backwaters. They consist of traditionally resource-dependent people as well as modern stakeholders. The latter include the Cochin port, investors in tourism, the navy, inland navigation companies, etc. The resource-dependent people are largely indigenous people whose livelihoods derive direct sustenance from the ecosystem, i.e. fishing, agriculture, aquaculture, shell fishing, coir industry and so on (Thomas 2001). Local communities sustained by natural resources, particularly agriculturists and farmers, produce a considerable amount of surplus.

Industrialization was launched in Kerala by the erstwhile Travancore state which adopted the European model of development to modernize the region. It was an approach which targeted for exploitation, from the very outset, the water resources of the Periyar river. Thus the industrial pollution of Periyar commenced during this period. Large quantities of effluents and pollutants, degrade the ecosystem of the Periyar (Joseph 2004); The pollution of the Periyar river damaged and depleted the rich variety of flora and fauna that existed in this vast area, thereby reducing the productivity of its river, estuary, brackish water and pokkali field ecosystems (Asha et al 2014). Industrial pollution has affected the livelihood of thousands of fisher folk, including inland fishermen, and fishermen who use Chinese nets and Pokkali fields, among others (Florence 2012). There is a steady decrease in the number of cultivators, agricultural workers, and lime shell producers in Kanayannur Taluk comprising Kadamakkudy Panchayath (census data 1971–91). Further, the development of infrastructure and massive investment schemes like container terminals, resorts, trade centres etc. on the coast of the Cochin backwaters reduces the harbor mouth, and degrades mangrove and wetland areas, increasing the havoc to the livelihoods of resource-dependent people. In this background, the researcher intends to conceptualize the political economy of the indirect displacement of these resource-dependent communities.

1.16 Women Farmers not Owners: Land Reforms and Women Land Rights in India

Nesar Ahmad and Keerti

Agriculture remains the main stay of the Indian economy. Agriculture's share remains more than 15% in the Indian economy. According to the Census 2011, the percentage of the total workers involved in agriculture (both as cultivators and agriculture labour) is 54.9% of the total working population. This percentage has declined only marginally from 58.2% in the last Census conducted in 2001. A majority of those employed in agriculture are women. However, women do not own and control the agricultural land. For example in India, ratio of women among the agricultural land holders in only 13% as per FAO data.

Though there remains high level of inequality in the land ownership in the country and large population of farmers are landless farm workers and small and marginal farmers. Not only this, large number of farmers have become landless agricultural workers in recent years. The percentage of cultivators in the country declined from 31.7% in 2001 to 24.9% in 2011, whereas the percentage of the agriculture labour increased from 26.5% to 30% in this period. This has happened despite of the land reform policies and various ceiling and tenancy acts which promise to redistribute the land among the landless farmers and tenants. One reason for farmers losing their land is rapid urbanization and land acquisition for development projects.

Intrinsic to the question of women's land rights is the perspective of common property rights/ rights over commons including rights over forest land, grazing land (water bodies, etc.). It is not only about individual ownership. Women of tribal and forest dweller communities have accessed commons and forest land as they have been collectively owned by the village community. However, in recent decades, the concept of collective ownership has eroded, due to changing policy emphasis and faulty operationalization of policies like the Forest Rights Act.

The importance of women's ownership of land can hardly be overstated. According to UN-Women, "Ownership of land and property empowers women and provides income and security. Without resources such as land, women have limited say in household decision-making, and no recourse to the assets during crises". The one of the targets under Sustainable Development Goals 5 (Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls) is: Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws.

Though there has been some progressive legislative changes in the country like amendment in the Hindu Succession Act, the land reforms in country has largely not been very conducive and supportive to the women land rights. Union government also passed the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 which to provide fair compensation and rehabilitation and resettlement to the displaced population. This paper tries to takes an overview of the various land reforms polices and legislations and their implementation through the lens of women land rights and tries to understand why women farmers still waiting to be the land owners.

1.17 Development Induced Displacement: A Gender Analysis of Vallarpadam Transshipment Project, Ernakulam, Kerala

Nevin Sulthan S.N

The paper is an attempt to examine how the existing unequal gender relations within the family, in the community and with the state vicissitudes through the experiences of displacement and dispossession in the context of displacement in Vallarpadam Transshipment project, Ernakulam, Kerala. The study tries to capture the experiences of women in the process of displacement, social movement and resettlement. In the study gendered experiences of displacement process unwrap through the perceptions and experiences of various actors. The enquiry is also is to understand the role of state policies in transferring gender relations, to sustain and reproduce or even to elevate the same.

The conceptual inferences to understand the gendered relations in the displacement process, Gender relations framework of Naila Kabeer has been referred. Paper is based on a qualitative enquiry through primary as well as secondary sources through semi structured interviews. Study begins by setting the context of the community to unpack existing gender relations and power structures. Later evolves through the displacement, resistance and post

displacement familiarities and discernments of the men and women of the displaced households, leaders of the resistance movements of Vallarpadam displacement, local political representatives and government officials. The varied perception of different actors enables to understand the complex gender dynamics which surpass households to communities and state. Later the study proceeds to look into various land acquisition acts, stressing on the act of 1894 and 2013 through a gendered lens. Acts have been looked through Naila Kabeer's social relations framework of state policies, which hold that Macro level changes can induce micro level transformations; the change in policies can alter the gender relations through redistribution of resources.

With a similar socio-economic profile of the displaced households, the gender power relations are produced, sustained and reproduced through the institutions of family, marriage and religion. Subsistence labour is continued to remain as the major responsibility of young women in the family and not considered to have any fecund value. Any share of labour of carried out men as their bounteousness to the women. Spatial Mobility of women is restricted. They have relatively lesser access and control over both financial and physical resources, very little stake on household decisions and of their own reproductive decisions and sexuality.

Women confronted gendered experiences, which emerged from existing gender relations throughout the process. Women's familiarities often went unrecognized. There is a systematic attempt through various actors to invisibilize and to undermine the roles and experiences of women in displacement, resistance and resettlement. The existing structures and the limitations in the policies inflict quadruple impact in the lives of women.

There is an adverse predisposition on Gender based research as well as gender dimension of development among personals in the academic spaces, Government officials and political representatives which essentially induce gender neutrality in the formulation and execution of developmental policies. Despite having provisions of social impact assessment and provision of rehabilitation, the land acquisition act of 2013 does not acknowledge the impact and gendered need of women in the process of displacement. Paper suggests the need of a policy framework with engendered social impact assessment and redistribution of resources to diminish the adverse impact or rather to alter and transform power relations.

1.18 Nature, space, and Bureaucracy in Modern India: An analysis of Forest Rights Act

Nisha Subramanian

The advent of British colonial rule in India marked, for the first time, the state's monopoly over forests resulting in the marginalisation of the forest dwelling communities. This transformation of perception of nature as natural resources, as a result of its contribution to the political economy, was adopted by the post-colonial Indian state leaving these communities more vulnerable than ever (Scott, 1998). The tools the Indian state has utilised to codify forest spaces and the people in them often takes violent forms to deny forest dwelling communities access to forests that are of great economic and cultural significance to them.

Forest Rights Act of 2006 (FRA) aims to give property rights to forest dwellers who have traditionally depended on forest resources for their lives and livelihoods. This transition from a natural right to a legal right granted by the modern state has two challenges. Firstly, community forest rights (CFR), which gives the forest dwellers access to the forest, had achieved only 3% of the potential as of 2016. Additionally, FRA imposes restrictions on the area that can be manoeuvred by forest dwellers. Secondly, filing for claims is arduous and the bureaucratic process of verification is rigorous and is often not followed. This leads to arbitrary acceptance/rejection of claims which has serious implications for forest dwellers.

An interpretative analysis of the data gathered from Nilambur Taluk in Kerala using qualitative methods, in the context of James Scott's theory of a high modernist state will be conducted to understand the ways in which the state simplifies spaces for exploitation. The structural violence of the bureaucracy as theorised by Akhil Gupta will also be explored in the implementation of FRA. In this paper, I argue that due to high rates of rejection of CFR, the state tries to maximise legibility of the forest space with minimum loss of control over natural resources. I also argue that FRA has had little impact due to the inherent violence in the bureaucratic and process, and due to the larger policy ecosystem created by this state machinery.

1.19 Where are the Women: Analysis of Supreme Court Cases on Land Acquisition

Nupur

There are three significant milestones when it comes to laws related to land acquisition. The first milestone is the Constitutional assembly debate on the nature of property followed by a long process of Constitutional amendments and Cases in the Supreme Court till the removal of right to property as a fundamental right. The second milestone is the Land Acquisition Act of 1894. The third milestone is the LARR 2013 subsequently changed in 2015. While the 2013 Act substantially changed the provisions of 1894 Act to ensure rights of the people whose land was being acquired, the 2015 changed took away some of these beneficial provisions.

The initial debate on the right to property did not have any reference to how property, more specifically land-is related with women. How the ownership of land or absence of ownership can be meaningful for women, how land serves a different purpose for women, beyond its commercial value, how the emotional connect that women have with land is different, how needs of women whose land is being acquired post acquisition are different are some of the aspects that were totally ignored. There is enough that has been said about the absence of focus on how land acquisition impacts women in the context of the LARR 2013. Some of the aspects that were found problematic in the context of women were

While men would see value in monetary compensation in lieu of the land being acquired, women would want a property in exchange as land serves different purpose in their lives. The Act as well as the practice does not essentially guarantee this. The security and bargaining ability that women have because of land acquisition will be a direct sacrifice in land acquisition proceedings. Since women may not have ownership of the land they till, they will not be adequately compensated. The provisions related to non land owning stake holders are designed in a manner that they may exclude women. The non recognition of women's work will adversely impact their entitlements.

There is not much literature that analyses the response of the Supreme Court on land acquisition from women's perspective. A cursory glance on the cases decided in the year 2018-2019 shows that a majority of them are actually under the 1894 enactment with very few under the 2013 Act. However, assuming that the response of the judiciary to various claims would not significantly vary based on the specific legislation it was filed under, there is value in first understanding the trends of the issues being raised and the judicial response by it self. The following aspects will be studied with respect to about 100 cases decided by the Supreme Court in the last one year ho are the parties who are raising these issues –individuals/ gram sabhas/ social organisations/any other

The paper will address the following questions:

- What are the kind of issues being raised before the Court ..substantive/procedural/ community centric/individual benefits
- What is the approach of the Supreme Court in responding to these cases

- To what extent are women's needs being raised in the cases and if they are being raised, how is the supreme court responding to them
- Would the women have benefitted in any manner had the same case been filed after the passing of the 2013 Act

1.20 Marginalised Women in Urban, Peri-urban and Rural areas: A Case study of Pune in Maharashtra and Shimla in Himachal Pradesh

Richa Minocha

The study will look at how land acquisition and neo liberal policies have impacted women in both Pune and Shimla districts in Maharashtra and Himachal Pradesh respectively. In Pune much land in rural urban peripheries is being appropriated for industry, resorts and/or real estate. Also, sustainable grain based agriculture has been replaced by either commercial agriculture or in some parts by perishable vegetable cultivation in order to cater to an ever growing urban conglomerate. Hence Pune is now impacted by galloping real estate and prices, new high wage middle class on one hand and on the other informal settlements which are permanent and inevitable, as also highly vulnerable to climate impacts. The impacts are not gender neutral. The changes have displaced women from agriculture-based livelihoods, many of the communities who had settled in these peri-urban areas and were practicing agriculture belonged to low caste communities. These women hence are twice marginalized. On the other hand, bourgeoning real estate has led to new kind of jobs for women including housekeeping, domestic workers. Gendered contexts enter these vocations and keep them under paid, while increasing the onus on women for maintaining/supplementing household incomes.

In Himachal Pradesh, a number of hydro power projects are coming up in the river basins where agricultural/ecological based cultures and communities have been flourishing in the valleys over centuries. These projects are leading to marginalization, loss of livelihoods and are also leading to flooding and landslides. Forced migration results from development projects such as mining and hydro power. The study recommends that public policy should ensure that mining and hydro power does not come up where there is flourishing agriculture and scope for developing it further. The transfer of technology to new social contexts, land acquisition for development projects have resulted in women losing their customary rights to land and their exclusion from agriculture. Also research reveals that the districts where development projects are on an increase, there is a decline in the juvenile sex ratio. Simla, Mandi and Kinnaur are examples. Also women have lost agricultural livelihoods and got no compensation. Women's difficulties in getting fuel, fodder, water have increased and they have lost earnings from forest, agriculture, common property and non-farm activities. With ecological changes, traditional food sources are impacted and there is loss of access to resources necessary for mutual sustainability.

In Simla city, which is known as the queen of the hills, surrounding hills and forests constitute an integrated ecosystem. Quality of life in the hills has perceptibly deteriorated because of environmental degradation. Urbanisation model and its destruction of biosphere, de-forestation and cleanliness has impacted communities, specially migrant communities adversely, with women bearing the brunt. The research paper will look at these and many other aspects. In the light of the Constitution, the right to life essential entails right to livelihood and right to food security. The quality of life is further threatened by impending disaster in the wake of haphazard construction. Disasters have always impacted women more adversely than men; on the other hand women with their knowledge bases are the force to reckon with in averting disaster. Policy needs to do better by women and good governance requires refraining from policies that further marginalise women.

1.21 How Inclusive is Inclusive Governance? A Case Study of Women Participation in Governance of Forest Resources of Uttarakhand

Rukmani

The history of resource conflict coincides with the evolution of human societies with differential claims on access and control over resources. Potential and dormant conflicts are always inherent features of resource management (Narayanan, 2008:15). The governance challenge regarding resource use is to balance the need for economic growth with the demands and aspirations of the differentiated social structure, future generations and the environment.

According to a study done by World Bank in 1999, more than 80 per cent of all developing countries and countries with economies in transition are experimenting with some form of decentralization or inclusive governance so that they can balance the need for economic growth with the goal of sustainable development and achieve the objectives of efficiency, equity and democracy by bringing government closer to people, increasing local participation and accountability of government. The trends of decentralization have profound impact even on the resources which are profoundly local and global at the same time. In fact, decentralized governance has become a crucial issue in sustainable management because the quality of governance determines the fate of resources in all aspects- economic, social and ecological.

The one-third reservation of seats for women in the local bodies, along with reservation of seats for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in proportion to their regional population was the revolutionary provision of the Seventy-third Constitutional Amendment Act in India. But women's participation in formal structures of governance, whether in formal political institutions or other institutions for policy making and implementation, has remained inadequate. The entry and presence of a few women in these structures became a mere symbol of their presence giving the illusion that women are able to enter all spheres of life without any problem. In this paper, through the selected case studies of the local level institutions such as Van Panchayats and Joint Forest Management Committees of Almora, Kumaon Division, Uttarakhand, an attempt has been made to analyze the institutions of governance at the grass root level and how the functioning of these grass root institutions get influenced by the presence of women as a head of the institution. It will also examine the manner in which these arrangements affect collective outcomes in terms of efficiency and equity. The study of Van Panchayats has illustrated questions of overarching bureaucratic influence and 'the politics of presence' remain pertinent if decentralization has to achieve its radical potential.

1.22 Woman's Ownership in their Ancestral Property: SocioLegal Study of inheritances laws in Rural Haryana

Shalu Yadav and Narendra

As per Census-2011, there are about half portion of population comprised by women in India. In India, there are about of 70-75% of the workforce engaged in agriculture activities hold by women, but their ownership upon land is very low. A persistence inequality based on gender restricted women for seeking share in their ancestral property. In India, constitution has provided rights to the Women coparceners for equal share in their ancestral property, as male coparceners have. But there are prevailing social factors which created a hindrance for legal access of their ancestral property (special agricultural land in rural areas). In the context of Haryana, land has a social significance more than the economic value. People prestige has been defined through the scale of land holding in the rural locality. More holding of land means more social prestige in the society and higher status among the community. In such manner

land acts as status symbol in rural areas. Women get alienated from the land ownership just after the marriage takes place. After marriage she had no control over land and its regarding matters. A woman can have 'documental-ownership' in a property which purchase from market. There are certain economic benefits provided through legal provision to woman as an owner. This paper will interpret the various social and economic factors which cause of developing 'inability of women' for seeking their portion of property (dwelling house/land) from their parental family. This study will interpret the various cases of women dwellers and their experiences towards the ownership of ancestral property. This study is based on the primary data collection and as well as the secondary source of information like newspaper report, statistical report and various surveys etc.

1.23 Experience and Knowledge: The Women leaders of *Muthanga* and *Chengara* as Challenges to Gendered Epistemologies

Srividya S

The Muthanga and the Chengara land struggles in Kerala were unprecedented in the way in which the tribal communities questioned the much-acclaimed Kerala Model of Development which was flaunted all over the country and the world. These struggles also marked the paradigm shift in the Dalit and Adivasi fight for claiming self-respect through a change from thrust on government-oriented welfare schemes to the just demand for a sizeable, cultivable land for ensuring livelihood for every Adivasi. This paper attempts to look at the emergence and transformation of two subaltern, rebel, women leaders of Kerala, C. K. Janu and Selena Prakkanam against the historical context of subjugation and their growth through the Muthanga and Chengara land struggles. In the course of this act, they go through different stages of subjection from within and without, are exposed to the violence of critical judgements from the majoritarian social norms and are constantly vulnerable to forces which defeat the purpose of the counter revolution. It also discusses their role in relation to the other people within their community involved in the struggle for claiming productive land for the communities they led. From being 'docile' bodies in control of certain political forces, they have, through years of relentless revolt against the conditioning of the society, emerged in the direction of being women who have challenged the gendered male prerogative in the production of knowledge structures as against experience in their pursuit of a dignified living. Their presence in the political visual field of Kerala, rises up every now and then, as a mote in the eyes of the governmental regimes which suppress the uprising with an iron hand, as these women representatives strive to demystify the myths associated with the Dalit and Adivasi cause, foreground instances of the past resistance and build a knowledge base in their authentic, Dalit and Adivasi histories.

1.24 Livelihood Changes and Work Burden of Tribal Women: A Study on the Impact of Development Programs on the Socio-Economic Condition of Irula Tribal Women in Kerala

Suchithra Lal

Environmental degradation and land alienation are the significant factors of livelihood deprivation among tribes in Kerala. The paper trying to raise the role of welfare programs on the livelihood degradation of Irula tribal women along with the two other factors in Attappady region of Kerala. The findings suggest that land alienation and environment degradation cause for the degradation in the livelihood sources for tribal women. This leads them to depend on

various development programs implemented by the government such as MGNREGS and Self Help Groups like Kudumbasree. Which leads to increase their work burden and the decrease in the utilization of land and forest. The collection of forest products, pastoralism and shifting cultivation were the livelihood option for tribal women in Attappady. These kinds of livelihood are no longer available to them due to the intervention of migrant settlers and the intervention of development programs by the government to them. The study argues that the loss of their traditional livelihoods has made them dependent on the state which leads them to remain in poverty and low socio economic status.

1.25 Challenges Faced By Women Involved In Traditional Crafts In Goa.

Suchitra Velip

Goa is considered one of the most developed state in India. Bamboo craft is one of the oldest forms of traditional crafts in Goa. The people who are involved in making these crafts are also women belonging to SC and ST community from rural villages of Goa. Traditional craft made by the tribal people are important in local Goan Culture in performing religious, rituals and in festivals. The raw materials for crafts production are from nature. Today, the tastes and preferences of new generations are changing and also the people who are involved in making traditional crafts are very few. There are no studies which are done specially to study craftswomen. The study is based on the people involved in traditional crafts especially women in rural parts of Goa. The paper tries to study the role of women in traditional craft making, the significance of traditional crafts in local culture and the challenges faced by women in sustaining their livelihood. The study was conducted using snowball sampling method. The study findings showed that women did not get the raw materials easily in the forest due to mining, deforestation, forest laws etc. They imported the raw materials from neighbouring states and that there is no financial support from the government to support the traditional craftswoman.

1.26 The Guiding Principles: Its Importance and Applicability for the Protection of Rights of Internally Displaced Women of Assam

Sumana Das

The phenomenon of Internally Displaced People (IDP) has been widely described by international observers as one of the most pressing humanitarian challenges of our times. Several statistical facts indicate that the problem is extensive and growing more widespread. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2002), there are about 50 million uprooted people around the world, including both refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Nearly 80 per cent of them are women and children while women and girls account for almost 50 per cent of the displaced population.

Since independence India has continuously experienced outbreaks of armed conflict and problems of internal security. Armed conflict and ethnically based inter community strife has led to widespread population displacement in Jammu and Kashmir, Gujarat and in some states of North East. Various states of Northeast India have been experiencing the problem of population displacement caused by conflict over territory, identity, and economic and political control among various ethnic groups. Amongst all, largest population displacement has been faced by Assam. When one talks of IDPs in Assam today, one mostly refers to thousands of displaced population in western part of Assam, specially the areas like Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon and Goalpara. The violent ethnic riots between the majority Bodos and Santhals in Assam's

Bodo heartland of Kokrajhar and its adjoining areas displaces more than 300 thousand people since 1993. For long years these displaced people are living in so called relief camps. Though relief policies are executed in some places but that too very slow and insufficient.

Women have always been of great concern in displacement. But it is seen that in policy making stage their problems are often ignored and they, especially, women are excluded from consultation and decision-making process during displaced situation as well as for rehabilitation packages. Women's interests are systematically ignored in resettlement processes because transactions are invariably undertaken with the male members. Consequently, compensation packages ignore women and women's need around water, fuel and fodder. However, there has been growing acknowledgment that women have been disadvantaged during the processes of displacement. Even though women and children are the majority of the displaced in conflict situations, their needs and concerns are usually ignored during planning and implementing humanitarian aid.

International Community has taken number of steps to raise the level of awareness about the plight of IDPs and to address their needs. One such promising initiative in this regard is a body of Principles entitled "Guiding Principles". Guiding Principles, compilation of 30 principles, identify the rights and facilities that can prevent arbitrary displacement and address the needs of the IDPs in terms of protection, assistance and solutions. Though these principles are not a draft declaration on the rights of IDPs, but they reflect and are consistent with international human rights law and international humanitarian law. This paper explores the nature of IDPs of western Assam and how this Guiding Principles are applicable to their situation. It also will try to evaluate the IDP women's right to relief and rehabilitation on the basis of guiding principles.

1.27 Development Induced Displacement and Voices of Women from Odisha

Urmimala Das

Development induced displacement is not only impoverishing but is unjust, in Rawls terms, it can create new inequalities by depriving people not only of income and wealth but also of social goods in two other categories: liberty and opportunity, and social bases of respect (John Rawls :1971). Annually, the lives and livelihood of nearly ten million people across the globe are affected by forced displacement due to infrastructure projects such as dams, mines, factories and roads and emerging research shows that this number is likely to increase, rather than decrease. Forced displacement can lead to new social and economic benefits in some cases. Largely, however, it is a traumatic event that leads to a decline in the standard of living and a diminished sense of wellbeing for those displaced.

Odisha is a resource rich state endowed with minerals, forest, water and marine resources. Government has acquired hundreds of villages under the doctrine of "Eminent Domain" for Greater Good in the name of "development" as a result of which, millions of people have become displaced from their homes (UN Report: 2008). This also led to large scale displacement of people among whom the disadvantaged tribal, dalit and OBC constitute a major segment i. e, 40% (Pandey, B:1998). People have protested the doctrine of eminent domain to protect their land, shelter and livelihood. In this paper a striving has been made to analyse the debates and demands around which women's activism has surfaced. Collective actions of women against development induced displacement in Odisha have been able to raise the very important questions of the oppressed section of the society, their rights to life and livelihood.

Collective actions of women against development induced displacement in Odisha have been able to raise the very important questions of the oppressed section of the society, their

rights to life and livelihood with a gender perspective. First phase of movement in Odisha deals the displacement of BALCO and Baliapala, which narrates women's protest against the domination of the state before the onset of globalization; whereas Gopalpur, Kashipur, Kalinganagar, Vedanta and Posco movements have questioned the ethics of development projects and policies. Analysed through the various dimensions of power of state, multinationals, corporate sector and above all the agenda of globalization in connection with each other, and hence any feminist critique of development will have an integrative approach. This contribution to the feminist debates about development brings together various dimensions, including the environment, economics, the productive model, colonialism and patriarchy.

Due to displacement, women have lost their natural and social support system along with the identity they derived out of it and turned to incognito. Source of sustaining livelihood and cultural entity have emerged as the nonnegotiable issues between state and displaced women. Though the sensitivity of women to preserve and nurture the nature is an extension of women's similar essentialistic and reproductive activities; but from the Marxist feminist perspective, women's consciousness around economic issues as direct producer gains more importance in these movements.

The economic and environmental issues were more intimate and problematic for women than men while viewing the gift of nature in terms of sustaining source of livelihood, fodder, fuel, medicine, water, shelter, beauty, security etc. Women not only understood this sustaining character of nature's gift but also experienced, lived, shared, preserved & nurtured it along with their own lifestyle as a limbo of biodiversity species. Due to displacement, women have lost their natural and social support system along with the identity they derived out of it. When people are uprooted because their land is wanted for economic reasons usually associated with visions of national development, their multiple identities tend to disappear: they become ungendered, uprooted, and are dealt with as undifferentiated families or households (Colson :1999:25). Source of sustaining livelihood and cultural entity have emerged as the nonnegotiable issues between state and displaced women. In these movements from the voices of women, one can locate two forms of feminist consciousness, one is linked to the economic issues of Marxist feminism and the other may be interpreted as eco-feminist issues.

2 Identities and Citizenship

2.1 Proving ‘Indianness’ as a Woman in 2019 – A (Missing) Paper Trail

Kusumika Ghosh

Since 2018, people in Assam have been scurrying to get their identification documents in order, with an urgency that is now spilling over to its neighbouring state of West Bengal. The reason behind this drive is to enlist themselves in the National Register of Citizens (NRC) and prove to the patriarchal Indian state that they are its ‘authentic subjects’. Overlooking India’s gender realities in such an exercise is responsible for creating further imbalances and intersectional disadvantages. The NRC requires paper proof in forms of ‘legacy’ and ‘linkage’ documents, while glossing over the changing nature of women’s identity given the patrilineal and patriarchal society. The Register demands, among others:

- birth certificates where more than half of total childbirths happen at home and without a medical supervisor;
- school leaving certificates where dropout rates are disproportionately high among girls;
- land ownership and tenancy documents where women exercise feeble rights over inheritance, and
- ‘linkage documents’ that are prone to mismatch because married women drop their maiden surname to adopt their husbands’.

The criteria for proving citizenship to the Indian state in 2019 demonstrates negligence of ground realities in the society. With low literacy rates (even lower among women), the panic triggered by updating the NRC is already wrecking havoc – West Bengal has recorded suicides caused by premonition about the Register being brought to it next. Assam is building its detention camp in Goalpara while employing labourers (several among whom are women) who have found no space in the NRC and might be put in the camp themselves.

Women experience conflict in a different way from men, and hence need to be specifically accounted for in every attempt to disturb the status quo. This paper will record the gendered nature of ‘nationalist’ state-making and its subsequent exclusion in contemporary India, and hopes to serve as a point of reference for the need to acknowledge intersectionalities in the politics of citizenship.

2.2 Marginalising the Marginalised: Women and NRC in Assam

Sabrina Iqbal Sircar

Identity and citizenship have been crucial aspects to modern states and the people living in them. These aspects are of utmost importance to those people who have to face the challenge of contested identities and have to prove their citizenship to avoid statelessness. As asserted by a few, the non-citizen is the new ‘other’. Whether it is political decrees, to political discourse or academic research, the non-citizen is now a subject of *du jour*. Further dilemma however arises when these potentially stateless people or non-citizens are women or of the third gender. The onus of proving their citizenships as well as the trauma and harassment that the already marginalised women have to go through to retain their tag of citizens can be a harrowing one.

The exclusion of the women from the recently concluded (and rejected) process of NRC in Assam has been one such development. The problem arose after the culmination in the shift of the idea of citizenship, where it has evolved to become a monopoly of the state. Statelessness

is problem of the current times, in that again the idea of a state controlled and dictated citizenship only reduces the credibility of the individual as a (potential) citizen and accentuates the problem of statelessness.

The Marxist critique of liberal citizenship may be drawn in here wherein he argues that democratic rights are actually narrow and partial, and that the apparent democratic rights do not affect economic inequality; according to Marx the idea of a democratic citizenship was to hide the economic and class division beneath a veil of equality. Thus, when the claim of citizenship of the already marginalised is questioned the dilemma deepens. A person who is already economically disadvantaged, with minimum rights or awareness of rights, and when that person is a woman, the intersection of so many paradoxes baffles her and she is most likely to be taken aback by such a confrontation. The Muslim women in rural and suburban Assam are not really empowered. Hence, when their identities are thrown into open question, these women would hardly know what to do. How these women identify themselves, and how the state approaches the idea of citizenship for such women are the critical questions in this context. This paper will thus try to investigate how and why so many women have been left out of the NRC list in Assam and tentative understandings of the problems will be sought under theories of citizenship, feminism and multiculturalism, to gain a holistic perspective on the problem.

2.3 Newer Challenges for the Constitution of India in Defining the Crucial Identity of ‘Citizenship’: A Case from the Contemporary Discourse on NRC in West Bengal

Nilanjana Gupta and Ahana Ganguly

The indices of human rights legitimacy within a specifically state-defined space are designated as Citizenship. Constitutional frameworks have played, or at least are expected to play the key role in devising this complex act of drawing margins alongside the closely related phenomena like aliens, denizens, citizen and so on. The Indian state in particular has undertaken a long journey in the post-partition era to fine-tune the nation’s concept of citizenry and has systematically compromised on its earlier premises (1955,1986,2003) of ‘citizenship’ to respond to the changing political realities and sustainable power equations (Roy,2010).The present moment of Indian polity is going through some elementary changes in its foundational ideas behind the conceptualization of identities like those of caste, class, creed, race or sex which constitute the bedrock of Citizenship. These changes are being cordoned by the intensification of Hindutva ideology as the dominant political discourse directly led by the state under RSS-BJP patronage. The paper tries to contextualize this political juncture and endeavors to theorize the newer challenges faced by the constitution of India encountering a significant paradigm shift in the basic conceptualization of the identity of ‘citizenship’ by several amendments in the Citizenship Act (1955) and various transformations in the stipulation of National Register of Citizenship (NRC) proceedings. This paper also focuses on the deficit of inclusivity of identities like gender and caste in the mainstream citizenship discourse in India. The paper argues that Citizenship can never be understood without a theorization of the function of identities on citizenship and that too with a dynamic approach (Walby, 1994) by revisiting Marshall (Marshall, 1950).

West Bengal is taken as a special case to study this newly developed complexity around the legitimacy of being an Indian. A large number of people from the state are suffering from a severe threat of alienation from belonging to India at this moment. It is important to note that West Bengal also has a significant partition history that resulted in a prominent vulnerability to the ‘nationality’ of millions of women and schedule caste population. Moreover, the last four months have witnessed suicides of 14 people who “fear” losing citizenship. They are mostly from lower caste Hindu and Muslim minority communities and include 9 women from

challenging backgrounds. Most interestingly, there is no official declaration of terms & conditions of citizenship cancellation or criteria on foreign tribunal proceedings for West Bengal in particular, unlike Assam. Yet, the Electoral Verification Program is being done with high priority on an emergency basis by the residents of urban Bengal in one hand and a unnatural promptness in collecting again documental evidences of living in Bengal since 1971 (even though the year is being debated) on the other, has become a prominent phenomena now. This peculiar situation of the state grabs the attention of this paper. Additionally, the paper considers the identities of caste and gender as these have proved to be the newly emerging determinant of West Bengal's politics since atrocities based on such marginalized identities have drastically increased in the recent time-frame.

The paper attempts for a quantitative data analysis from the very recent newspaper reports on the political campaigns of BJP-led camps around NRC, its impact on citizens of the state in terms of reports registering suicides, prolonged queues in front of government offices, sudden increase in correcting/verifying documents as identity proofs etc. The perspectives of the state subjects on citizenship have also been recorded by a limited scale survey among 100 people comprising mostly women from lower caste backgrounds. Additionally, five case studies will serve as an example of qualitative approach of investigation following the ideology of feminist methodology. These are conducted among five lower caste women workers who are abandoned by their families/in-laws.

In its concluding part, contextualizing the theory of rumor transmission (Buckner, 1965), the paper tries to theorize the control of the state over its citizens by the changing patterns of rhetoric on the crucial identity of citizenship that leads to the vulnerability of all the basic human rights through organized 'Rumor'-based threats. Thus the paper captures the organic connectivity between identity and the conceptual framework of Indian constitution and how a patriarchal and Brahmanical order of state-system led by the Hindutva ideology puts the margins of public and private at risk.

2.4 Transgender of Assam, India: Undocumented 'citizens' in National Register of Citizens

Chetna Sharma

This paper presents the case of transgender of Assam who despite being citizens are undocumented in the National Register of Citizens because of fractured identity and adopted gender, and face the risk of being declared illegal immigrants. Building on existing scholarship and field work in Assam, an argument is developed that proves, the document focused procedure of determining categories fix questions of legitimacy with reference to dominant understanding of society rooted in heteronormativity. State created labelling, document centred procedures excludes sexual minorities from different aspects of citizenship. The article also focus on disappointment and silence of the community when the institutional structure ignore their demand, acknowledging preference to issues of national importance. Transgender is a complex and contested term, the term Trans refers to people whose internal sense of their gender differs from the sex assigned at birth that includes pre-operative, post-operative, and non-operative identities. Acknowledging the difficulties with the term 'transgender' I focus instead on the issues subscribed to by people with a range of aspirations, identities, experiences and affiliations. In this article the term 'transgender' is used to imply the experience of having transformed one's birth sex designation and rejecting binary gender classification. The fieldwork for this article was conducted in three areas of Guwahati Maligaon colony, Gandhi basti, and lal matti among hijras, better known as India's "third sex" (Nanda, 1999) or "eunuch-transvestites" (Vyas and Shingala, 1987). (Reddy 2003, p.163)

India's north east state Assam had a long history dating back to colonial period of having foreigners and outsiders settling within its borders, resulting in a contentious discourse regarding their place in Assamese society and politics. Thus the state initiated an exercise under supervision of the Supreme Court to update six and a half decade old National Register of Citizens to weed out illegal immigrants. To establish oneself as "legitimate" resident it was important to have ancestral legacy which could be established through pre 1971 documents. Citizenship claims accepted by way of legacy linkage of pre 1971 documents was a challenge for transgender who were either abandoned at the time of birth or disowned by their families later for their apperceive 'non- confirming' conduct as per social norms. While the process of establishing citizenship through ancestry could never be inclusive of people outside the criterion of heterosexual family system, incompatibility of gender identity as evident in identity documents and their chosen name was another impediment in the process of documentation of identity. The uniform procedure formulated with reference to heteronormative understanding of society excluded miniscule minority for not conforming to established norms that led to anxieties for identity being in question, fear of persecution, and threat of detention. After the publication of final list on August 31, 2019 approximately two million people failed to prove their legitimate status as citizen including approximately 20,000 transgender. Though in the narrative dominated by illegal immigration from Bangladesh the concerns and struggle of nearly 20,000 transgender remained oblivion for attention.

The paper begins with a concise discussion on trajectory of citizenship before proceeding to explore transgender citizenship and place of sexuality in it. The main premise of this article is to argue that through the rhetoric of gender equality and recognizing choice about Sexual Orientation State make certain policies largely based on 'add and stir' approach, yet, the practices and norms remain rooted in the patriarchal and heteronormative structure. Thus in the terrain of heteronormative discourse there remain those who struggle to establish their identity and are finally deserted from both formal and substantive citizenship rights.

The second section of this paper discuss the questions about the permissibility to the boundaries of citizenship and the role of documents to highlight the complexities associated with transgender. Most transgender are undocumented with their chosen identity but exist for state and its documents centred procedure with their birth identity that they have relinquished thus restricting their formal and substantive rights. Discussing the citizenship provisions in India it discuss complexities in Assam and concerns of transgender with respect to preparation of National Register of Citizens.

2.5 Lesser Citizens: Gender and the National Register of Citizens (NRC).

Manashi Misra

The recently updated National Register of Citizens (NRC) in Assam singularly depends on the family tree verification or legacy data to recognize the citizenship claim of an individual. In this method, the *jus sanguinis* (blood based descent) principle of citizenship receives overriding preference to the *jus solis* (birth) principle. The NRC accepts citizenship claims only on the basis of documentary evidence, hence those not in possession of the requisite papers immediately fall out of the ambit of citizenship. The consequence of such fall out may not automatically be denial of citizenship, but the dispossessed will certainly be sent to detention centres. The fault lines of the document verification in the NRC implementation process, discriminatory and apathetic attitude of the administration and violation of human rights in the detention centres have received widespread scholarly attention. However, specific problems and discrimination faced by women in the rural and *char* areas have remained largely uninvestigated. This paper argues that the legacy data method adopted by the NRC is a form

of ‘biopower’ that seeks to construct a ‘racial other’ in the form of non-citizens. The excessive emphasis on family lineage documents is inherently discriminatory against women for its construction of the citizen as masculine, heterosexual and patrilineal. We argue that by systematically moving away from the *jus solis* principle, the NRC seeks to universalize the norms of the heteronormative, patrilineal and patriarchal family. The predicament of the transgender community during the implementation of the NRC conveys this message. Other pertinent questions in this regard are: what would happen to those children who were born in the country but whose parents are now excluded from the NRC and can potentially be stripped of citizenship? Which nation would the children born in detention centres belong to?

While the updating of the NRC was going on, the highest Court of the land often acted as both the executive (in terms of directing the updating of the NRC) and judiciary (it also reviewed the process of updating). In this paper, we argue that such conflation of power is problematic from two perspectives- first, for the disregard shown to the constitutional separation of power, and secondly, for the adverse consequences of such conflation on the constitutional rights of an individual. As the Court itself was the monitoring authority, those excluded from the NRC were denied the right to approach it for rectification of their plight. It is obvious that rural and *char* women with their abysmal literacy rate would be the worst affected by such executive decisions of the Court. Moreover, its insistence on sealed cover and confidentiality while submitting reports effectively meant there was no mechanism by which an individual could challenge such reports and appeal for judicial intervention. The immediate fate of those who failed to furnish the requisite documentary evidence was detention centres. These are effectively ‘prisons within prisons’ and many have questioned the inhuman conditions of such centres. This paper attempts to explore the specific problems of female detainees in these centres. Foreigners’ Tribunals are the only authority that can take a decision on the citizenship status of a detainee. Often this can be a painfully long legal process. Given the often-prohibitive cost of pursuing legal cases in the country, it is unlikely that families would invest their meagre resources on women. Single woman detainees with no male relative to pursue their legal battle are likely to languish longer in detention centres. Another often overlooked factor in the whole NRC debate is ‘administrative errors’ which have so far led many people into detention centres even with sufficient documentary evidence of citizenship. The illiterate and semiliterate rural women are unlikely to spot such errors and hence worse affected.

We argue that the transformation from the more inclusive *jus solis* to *jus sanguinis* principle in determining citizenship in the NRC indicates a gradual shift towards ethnonationalism. This was evident in the arbitrary creation of a separate category of ‘indigenous Assamese’ and greater leniency shown towards their claims of citizenship. This category is problematic because the definition of who is an Assamese in accordance with clause 6 of the Assam Accord remains inconclusive. Secondly, ethnonationalism often works by swiftly curbing women’s mobility and freedom. When viewed in the context of the controversial Citizenship Amendment Bill, ethnonationalism presumes a communal angle which again is detrimental to women’s liberty and rights.

2.6 Transgender community in Assam: A study on the exclusion of the transgender community living in Kamrup Metro District from the final list of NRC

Aviskha Barauh

NRC has played a vital role in the state of Assam. People on one hand were fighting for their rights as Indian citizens and on the other hand the transgender community in Assam was fighting for their gender identity. NRC for Indian citizens in Assam was created first in 1951.

The reason behind the NRC was to identify Indian citizens in Assam amid the migration from Bangladesh. The process to update and the register began after a Supreme Court order in 2013, with the state's nearly 33 million people having to prove that they were Indian nationals prior to March 24, 1971. According to an interview given by Swati Bidhan Baruah, first transgender advocate of Assam also the founder of the All Assam Transgender Association, the updated final NRC was released on August 31 2019, with over 1.9 million applicants failing to make it to the list out of which about 2000 transgender were excluded from the list as their sex didn't match with their birth certificate and other documents submitted during the verification. There are about 20,000 transgender in Assam who applied for NRC. There were three options for gender; male female and others, they applied in the 'other' option but were left out from the NRC as their birth certificate has female or male as their gender. Swati Bibhan Baruah, argues that the transgender community of Assam are Indian and they have all the right to stay in Assam. The NRC officials assured that there will be special criteria especially for the transgender community but that didn't happen, most of the transgender were left out from the draft NRC. The objective of my research is to understand the struggle for the 'identity' of the transgender community living in Kamrup Metro District, Assam and the consequences of the exclusion in the NRC final list. The research critically analysis the struggle and exclusion of the transgender community from the final NRC list in Assam. The negligence of the government towards an entire community due to their gender identity needs to be highlighted. This research gives us an insight into the life of the transgender community in Assam, the struggle for their identity as the Queer and the struggle towards the citizens of the country.

2.7 Understanding the Gender Question of Citizenship through the Experience of Char Women in National Register of Citizens (NRC) in Assam

Abdul Kalam Azad

The bed of the great river Brahmaputra, for a length of 720 KM dotted with innumerable river Islands, locally known as *Char*. Historically, these natural habitats of the river flood plains got gradually converted into areas of human habitation during the colonial period, when the British administrators induced large number of peasants from the densely populated districts of erstwhile Bengal to migrate and settle in Assam in the name of revenue generation. British brought the present Char dwellers to Assam to "grow more food" taking advantage of 'flood retreat agriculture'.

Today there are more than 2200 char villages spread over 14 districts in Assam with 4.6 percent of its land while bearing the population share of over 9 percent of the state. Char areas affected by perennial flood and erosion is one of the most under-development region in Assam with 68% people living under below poverty line (BPL) and over 80 percent illiteracy which are far behind the state and national average. As per the 2011 census data, female literacy rate is pathetically low; in some cases it's as low as 2 percent. Assam Human Development Report (2014) reveals that the Mean Year of Schooling (MYS) in char areas of Assam is 4.76 years which is the lowest among all marginalized communities in Assam and much lower than the figure for Assam or India

The char community is a peasant community with many feudal legacies and patriarchy is still running high. The practices like child marriage, wife beating, dowry etc are very much in practice. Lack of motivation for education of girl child and a geographical isolation that makes patriarchy more entrenched. A study conducted by Manoj Goswami says that in char areas the mean age at marriage remains low 17.1 years. NFHS 4 data reveals that in char dominated districts of Assam nearly half of the women get married before the age of 18. Our own study also revealed similar state of affairs. (I was part of two research studies

commissioned by Jhai Foundation, one in association with All India Disaster Mitigation Institute, funded by UNICEF).

Apart from all these in-house issues and challenges, char women is plagued with the burden of being doubtful citizen or illegal immigrant from Bangladesh. In Assam there are nearly half a million people who are tagged as doubtful voter or suspected foreign national (D Voter and Reference Case accused). Available data shows that more than half of them are women, nearly 500 of them are languishing in Nazi concentration camp styled detention centers, in some cases for nearly a decade. Most of those women doubtful voters/citizen belong to the *char-chapori* areas of Assam.

Starting from 2015 government started the process of updating the National Register of Citizen to identify the illegal immigrant. In the NRC process 29 lacs married women (Large amount of them are speculated to be from *char* areas of Assam) submitted certificate issued by Gaon Panchayat (73rd Amendment of Indian Constitution made Panchayat a constitutional body) to prove their linkage with their parents/grandparents (Legacy holder), since they don't have any acceptable educational documents (at least board level) or voter id from their parents address, because most of them got married off before the age of registering as voter or before getting any educational document.

The issue became prominent when Gauhati High Court declined to accept Panchayat certificate as a public documents. Though later Supreme Court nullified the high court order but those 29 lacs women are still in vulnerability since SC gave order to strict scrutinisation and bestowed the responsibility on bureaucrats. Since majority of these women belongs to a community which is socially and politically constructed as 'others' and such biasness has penetrated bureaucracy and favored by political powers. The then coordinator of NRC Mr. Prateek Hajela informed the media that mere genuineness of the document would not be enough to get into the NRC. His team had also verified the 'content' of document which includes spelling mistake, age discrepancy etc. There are allegations that in many cases the concerned officials are not accept Panchayat certificate during verification process and asked for additional documents which they don't have.

In these circumstances, a large number of Panchayat documents were not accepted and large numbers of women are left out of the crucial register, which has made them vulnerable to face a number of challenges including the risk of losing Indian citizenship and land in detention center for indefinite time.

This paper would endeavor to understand the underlying factors of rampant child marriage and the connections of poor material conditions of women with their current vulnerability of citizenship contestation and how the politics of 'othering' the char women in NRC contributing to a humanitarian catastrophe.

2.8 Navigating Identities and Tracing Ethno-Racism in the Age of the NRC: A Personal History

Rizowana Hussaini

As an independent researcher, it has been an ambition of mine to break down the walls of the alienating language of literature by incorporating human elements in the topics I choose to write about. It is the reason why I decided to explore the issues of identity through connecting to my story as an ethnically ambiguous Muslim woman growing up in a world where I was met with casual Islamophoba and discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity. By positing myself as a primary source, I explore how the current NRC process did not develop in a vacuum but was a result of the way minds and ideas were shaped by the general public through the 90s. As a

result, my present reality has become as that of a Muslim Woman Who Writes Back, now that I am equipped with an education and vocabulary to finally name my growing pains.

The day after the final list of the NRC was published, I recounted the incidents that occurred in my life and produced the following extract:

“The fact that no mainstream activist is talking about what’s going on in Assam is yet another example of how selective we can get, even with our activism. All of yesterday was about the final list of the NRC and there are groups who are jubilant that this has happened. Meanwhile, there are groups of people committing mass suicides because they cannot bear the trauma of being rendered stateless after having lived here for generations. Assam is going through an atrocity, Genocide Watch has sounded an alarm for my state, and detention camps are being set up as you read this.

“Being ethnically ambiguous, I was raised by my parents to be quiet, to not talk back, to learn “pure Assamese” instead of the dialects my parents speak (both vastly different from the other - although I have failed to do so in all three). And as I grew up, I saw a unique brand of Islamophobia. What we are witnessing today isn’t an accident of the government. The people have been brought up with Islamophobia and xenophobia for far too long.

“Flashback to high school. I am attending a friend’s birthday party, who has moved to another school for elites, and am mingling with her new friends. Suddenly, one of them speaks up about the lack of buses in our city and instead of looking at the main issues behind this (infrastructure, public funds misused, improper planning of transport system), he straightaway blames “those bloody Bangladeshis” and how he, as a citizen, can’t even sit in buses. Today, this same person is a state civil servant and, therefore, part of executing what’s happening right now.

“Flashback number two. There is a scandal at high school regarding gossip and I am made the scapegoat because I’m the quietest one in the friend group. I receive a text message, “You ugly Bangladeshi!”

“Flashback number three. A junior boy in the school bus is complaining about Bangladeshis. His friend shushes him and points to me. The first guy says, “Why should I shut up? You’re not an immigrant, are you?” I am expected to laugh along and participate.

“There are still some who would ask me, “How does any of this matter? You’re a ‘proven’ citizen. Why would you side with Bangladeshis instead of your own countrymen? They are illegal. They deserve it.” Do they? Without giving in to the temptation of delving into the existential question of how we could all have been born as immigrants too and it’s just an accident that we’re not, I would like to, finally, speak now.

“No, I may not be an immigrant. But this discourse has always made me uncomfortable. Because it’s dehumanising. Because the same people who are fed up with immigrants do not hesitate in using them as cheap labour for work no else would do. Our state’s economy isn’t the greatest, but it has been what it has been so far because of their exploitation.

“I am not an immigrant for you until it no longer suits the convenience of your narrative. It’s the favourite attack against any Muslim living in Assam. It’s the word one deploys with satisfaction as one blurts out why some people are more deserving of accessing human rights than others. It’s the spark in conversations every time a crime is reported and the perpetrators turn out to be Muslim. Empathy has taken a dive and instead all we have is an extremely polarised public who is too tied with an irrational fear for anyone who is not like them and perceives an invisible threat touted by shady propaganda-fueled reports. How long will it be before this narrative is exhausted and constitutional protections are further violated for the rest of the people?”

I look at such questions and more, at the existential trappings of Muslim communities like the *deshis* and *Miyas* of Assam, living through a time when the State has forsaken them. Through my story, I want to assert that we, the minority Muslim community, are not a passive

receptacle for others to study and fill with their interpretations. We are our own entities with our own stories and it is time you listened as we reclaim the narrative.

2.9 Understanding Identity construction through Conflict and Education

Madiha Khan

The Valley of Kashmir has witnessed conflict and human rights violation for more than three decades now. On account of being a conflict zone, the unrest in the Valley has taken a toll on physical property and the lives of the residents. While impact in terms of loss of lives and physical assets is an important and widely discussed aspect of the conflict-ridden lives of residents of Kashmir, there is another dimension that has been spoken of less. The continuous state of conflict that the civilians are exposed to, has long term and enduring impacts on the lives of its residents. In particular, the youth, which is at an impressionable age and in constant interaction with violence, can form deeply rooted notions of living in a conflict-ridden state where violence and fear make up his/her immediate reality.

While conflict plays a crucial role in forming the identity of living in a conflict-ridden state and being a resident of such circumstances on a daily basis, education and the process of schooling play an important role in contributing to identity formation as well. The large-scale militarization in Kashmir has had an impact on children's access to education. Further, schools as a formal institution inculcate certain values and codes of conduct in a child from a very young age. Punishments and codifications of formal rules form deep rooted imprint on the child, his/her sense of being, self-confidence, insecurities, and an overall sense of identity.

In Kashmir, schooling and conflict meet, the latter impacting the former. The youth of Kashmir which comprises more than half of the population is often portrayed as stone pelting, angry and unstable youngsters. The image of the Kashmiri youth as constantly volatile and angry prevents an exploration of the other side of the Kashmiri youth's story comprising the cause and effects of conflict on them, their aspirations or believe and their goals. Their opinion and critical analysis on the Kashmir issue is, their decision to pursue higher studies choose to see beyond the conflict in the Valley is deserves more focused research. Basing the study on indepth interviews with Kashmiri students belonging to different class and educational backgrounds (all girls/all boys/co-ed schools) who experienced education both within and outside Kashmir. This paper aims to explore the impact of conflict on the youth and the role of schools in such conflict-ridden spaces in formation of the child's identity.

2.10 Rethinking Partition (1947) and the Myth of Gendered Empowerment in Bengal: Exploring the Linkages with Caste, Labour, and Region

Ekata Bakshi

The feminist rewriting of the Partition in Bengal, despite internal contestations, claimed it as a watershed moment for women's empowerment. The aftermath of the Partition, it was understood, strengthened the existing relationship between women and formal education while providing for a new found legitimacy to women's presence in paid labour. The assumed homogeneity of the category- 'women', however, glossed over the differences produced by regional and caste locations which more often than not were overlapping. Taking a cue from Dalit narratives of the Partition, this paper then seeks to understand refugee-hood and rehabilitation at the intersections of gender and caste but in a non-metropolitan space i.e. Asansol.

By juxtaposing dominant narratives, official documents with ethnographic methods, I argue for a divergent understanding of rehabilitation and integration among the refugees in Asansol. After being rehabilitated to Asansol, the male refugees mostly joined the informal economy, where they remained highly exploited and socio-economically marginal; but whenever they were able to enter formal employment, their role as blue collar labourers gave them and their families limited financial stability and even some socio-economic mobility. This came to be undone by the large scale industrial closure and general economic down turn of the city under neoliberal conditions, increasing their dependence on the poorly paid informal sector.

Their rural background, the lack of social and educational capital, the existing injunctions against women joining blue collar work, and concerns about physical safety in the alien, hostile space, on the other hand, forced the women of these families to remain restricted to the domestic space. Their labour being key to sustaining these families, the burden of domestic work was significant deterrent for them to join work outside home. They, then, took up under-paid, home-based work to supplement the family income, especially with the rising prices, since globalization. When faced with familial exigencies, the lack of educational and social capital and existing conventions regarding women's work, forced them to take up work that was extremely poorly paid and often stigmatised – such as that of unskilled care workers, domestic helps, and so on. The relatively high cost of education, coupled with the lower prospects offered by the education received in government sponsored schools, meant little importance was given to education even in the subsequent generations of women. They had to perform a significant share of work at home with their parents leading to reduced educational outcomes even when they went to schools. A pervasive sense of insecurity and poverty also led to women being married off early. The cycle of vulnerability, thus, came to be repeated over generations, inhibiting the possibility of physical and socio economic mobility, except for in marriage. Moreover, industrial closure and the shifting of the male workforce towards informality, together with the ever looming threat of sexual harassment in such sectors, has meant a kind of 'masculinization' of the lower rungs of the informal economy, excluding lower/outcaste women from slightly better paid work even in the informal sector. Thus, the lower caste refugees of this region especially women have at best remained at the marginal citizens, socio-economically, with the multiple marginalities of caste, gender and region reinforcing each other. They have not, in a manner akin to the upper caste refugees, been able to overcome the consequences of Partition and become integrated as successful citizens; in a context where degree of citizenship is increasingly defined as inversely proportional to one's economic dependence on the government. Further, their limited access to social and economic rights of citizenship, have been continuously threatened by questions of legality and documentation.

2.11 Citizenship and Political Emotions: Concept, Practice, and Performance of Belonging

Jigyasa Sogarwal

History of citizenship is one of shifting conceptions. The meaning of a citizen from one in ancient Rome to that in present day Delhi has undergone tremendous change. Yet what has kept the idea intact and going is the legal status of a citizen, an abstract and seemingly passive juridical connection with the state. Whereby citizen is in its most basic a legal identity. However, the untiring work on the subject has alluded to another more substantial dimension of citizenship which imagines it to be an active status, one that involves both the practices and performance of citizenship consisting of factors such as identity, memory, feeling and emotion.

That mere belonging is not enough, it is the feeling of belonging that makes for the category of the citizen. This paper seeks to build on this concept of the politics of belonging, going beyond the legal status of a citizen. What happens to the practises and performance of citizenship when it is coloured with emotions. What does being devoid of emotional unity within a nation do to those who are excluded of it? Is it possible to be an emotional citizen without actually being formal citizen? Take for example the emotional acceptability towards migrants from neighbouring countries belonging to Hindu, Sikh and Jain faiths based on the new citizenship amendment draft law pending in the parliament. And by the same logic is it possible to be a formal citizen without being an emotional citizen? For example the unwanted excluded and recipients of national hate. What are the forms of inclusion and exclusion whereby a formal legal citizen may or may not be an emotional citizens? Or perhaps there is no exclusion from national emotions. Perhaps some emotions such as hate, disgust, shame and anger are directed towards some citizens as opposed to pride, compassion and love for others. Perhaps emotions are all part of one milieu and some are made deserving of one over the other? So what happens to the concept of citizenship in a liberal democracy when emotions are claimed, subverted and reaffirmed? How and to what extent then do boundaries of citizenship (both formal as well as emotional) pushed outwards (inwards)? And what implications does that have for idea of a good life?

It will not be wrong to suggest that emotions have not been considered seriously to be at the heart of politics for long. In this sense, the category of 'Political emotions' is a fairly new way of looking at politics of our times. At best the reason oriented political theory has understood emotions to play a partial role of exciting motivation. This is to say that decisions within democratic polities which include a host of concerns including public policy, voter choices, legal and juridical frameworks etc are all indeed based on what we know as reason and at maximum the emotive aspect of it is associated with actions. The trouble is that institutions of public good, the state and its apparatuses which are otherwise considered neutral or empty of emotions are in fact spaces of deep emotional engagements, ruptures and collaborations. Emotions act as both fissures and plasters. Emotions of all kinds namely pride, shame, hurt, anger, betrayal, love et cetera are played out in the everydayness of politics of belonging and politics of citizenship. They seep in through cracks left open by liberal theory and the institutions that are based on it.

At the heart of Liberal democracies lies the idea of a right bearing rational individual. This individual is equal to every other individual who forms part of a democracy (at least in theory, if not in practice). As a right bearing citizen, each person is an embodiment of basic human dignity and fullness of life. However the content of these democracies and the processes of it as such, have thrown up questions of inequality, marginalisation and injustice. The marginalisation of some at the cost of others forms the basis of formation of a collective. The formation of a collective is based on formation (strengthening) of an identity. This process of otherisation (to distinguish the self from others outside of it) and marginalisation (of self from others in the group) uses emotions and sentiments to concretise and burry deep into the minds of people the causes for their own marginalisation. Emotions however are also available with those marginalised to motivate, mobilise and even retaliate against the wrong done onto them. Sometimes these emotions erupt not as a consequence of a well thought out response but more as a weapon of last resort. The politics of will and courage sets the canvas otherwise dominated by shame and deceit. And these different colours disturb the monolithic paintings of the dominant groups. The hitherto sanitised narratives become diluted with very many other narratives that may not always fit the axis of power.

Hence, the politics and practices of citizenship of our times have thrown up questions that no longer can be answered without alluding to emotions. Political emotions are part of everyday-ness of power, one that the available forms of liberal thought which has emerged as

the dominant mode of organising human values fails to encapsulates. In choosing to overlook the affectual human, that is the emotional ‘you’ over the cerebral ‘you’, a deep dissonance being caused. In fact, the route to a good citizenship is located in our capacity to feel more rather than less.

2.12 Law-Making Violence and Muslim Dispossession in Bombay (1947-1954)

Geeta Thatra

Bombay is not immediately associated with the partition of the Indian subcontinent. It was at a distance from the carnage that occurred in 1947, yet affected by partition-related violence and chaos, influx and flight. This paper shifts its gaze from the ‘high politics’ examining the genesis of partition and the multiple ‘meanings’ of the event. It pursues a recent trend in Partition Studies to explore the partition’s impact on the regional histories of South Asia, and the question of Muslim citizenship in India.

The process of Hindu and Sikh refugee rehabilitation was intertwined with the history of Muslim dispossession in India. As the newly formed nation-states accepted the massive and irreversible ‘exchange of population’ across the western border, the transfer of ‘Muslim evacuee property’—that blanket, undifferentiated category—to incoming refugees became the cornerstone of official Indian policy for rehabilitation. The Administration of Evacuee Property Act, 1950 was applicable throughout India, including the regions that had not witnessed ‘partition violence’. This law not only encompassed a wider geographical area but also varied economic interests. The present scholarly attention, however, remains biased towards the divided provinces (Punjab and Bengal), and the capitals of the other nation-states (Delhi and Karachi). By focusing on the promulgation of the Bombay Evacuees’ (Administration of Property) Act, 1949, this paper shows how the postcolonial state produced ‘evacuees’ despite no reported ‘mass exodus’ of Muslims from Bombay. Focusing on the implications of this law upon Bombay Muslims, this paper provides, not an additional but, an alternative or revisionist perspective.

The question of evacuee property was one of the most contentious negotiations between India and Pakistan. *The Story of Rehabilitation*, the official ‘truth’ produced by the Government of India, attributes the failure of inter-governmental negotiations on evacuee property squarely on Pakistan. The Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation published this account in 1967 and sought to legitimise the Indian state’s intervention on behalf of Hindu and Sikh refugees. Scholars have challenged this master narrative and shown the differentiated experiences of ‘refugees’ and their encounters with the postcolonial Indian state. This paper probes the plot on ‘evacuees’ from the perspective of Bombay Muslims.

By reading the official Indian archive against the grain, this paper discusses the differences between the central and provincial laws, which led to *constitutionalising* expropriation to leverage India’s position vis-à-vis Pakistan. In the protracted negotiations, law-makers and the bureaucracy amplified the refugees’ demands for retaliation against Pakistan by displacing the blame on to the ‘other’ (both Indian Muslims and Pakistan). In this process, the Indian state glossed over its failure to protect its ‘minorities’ and secure their citizenship rights. Drawing on Walter Benjamin’s *Critique of Violence*, this paper reflects on the inextricable relation between the making of evacuee property law and state violence against minorities.

2.13 Muslim Women and the State: Fact-Finding Forays and Article 15

Aparna Bandyopadhyay

The proposed paper will interrogate Article 15 of the Indian Constitution and show how this constitutional guarantee of equality irrespective of gender, caste, religion, etc, unrealized in practice, has triggered a series of fact finding missions with regard to Muslim women on the initiative of both government and non-governmental organizations. The 'Towards Equality' Report of 1974 for the first time revealed that this constitutional principle has eluded large sections of Indian women including Muslim women, and the report for the first time drew attention to the abysmal conditions of their social existence. The 'Towards Equality' Report has been followed by a series of fact-finding projects that have sought to chronicle the deprivation and denial dogging the lives of Muslim women, subjected, as they are, to the dual oppressions of patriarchy and community. Recently, Amartya Sen's Pratichi Institute and Association SNAP have collaboratively conducted a survey on Muslims in West Bengal, with shocking revelations about the condition of Muslim women in the state. These fact-hunting forays into the lived reality of the lives of Indian Muslim women evidently stem from a tacit acknowledgement that knowledge is necessary for the government to formulate policies for the betterment of Muslim women and thus recuperate the validity of article 15 which is defied and violated in everyday practice. It is another thing, however, that the revelations of these investigative schemes fail to make a dent in existing policies and the baseline realities of Muslim women's existence. The proposed paper will unravel the power politics implicit in such knowledge-creating endeavours and examine their implications for Muslim women.

2.14 Constitutional Principles in 21st Century India: Visions for Emancipation

Rashmi Gopi

In a globalized world any understanding of citizenship is layered with multiple power relations of class, caste, race, ability, gender and sexuality. Issues of citizenship are today contested at both external and internal boundaries of a nation-state. Persons with different identities find that substantive realisation of citizenship rights is a highly complex exercise. The concept of citizenship is predominantly celebrated in liberal democracies as a symbol of equality and yet in practice it is one of the exclusionary tools of the very same democratic structures. Citizenship is a privilege and a prize that needs to be earned. In defining citizenship, some values like individual autonomy, modernity and rationality are privileged over community dependence, traditions and sentimentality. Those persons who fail to fit into these categories face the challenge of being excluded as citizens. In this scenario, the Constitution of India, which is both a legal and moral document, began its journey as a significant shaper of political subjectivities and realities. The makers of Constitution were wise enough to understand that the 'moral' content of the society changes with socio-economic and political context. Therefore, they made Constitution of India amenable to amendments. However, the enthusiasm and energy to see the Constitution as a tool for sustaining, strengthening and shaping morality of society based on values of equality, liberty and solidarity waned soon in post- independence India. Still everything is not lost in seeing Constitution as a last signpost of guiding Indian society. When Ambedkar, while emphasizing on the significance of constitutional morality to his colleagues in the Constituent Assembly, made it clear that the most important goal of constitutional morality was to avoid revolution, to turn to constitutional methods for the resolution of claims. Ambedkar knew that in a society which itself lacks democratic essence, a democratic political set up can sustain only by curtailing revolutions. Those pushed to periphery in power structures should also have faith in bringing positive

change in society through peaceful constitutional means. A large section of the people of India having faith on the view expressed by Ambedkar, in contrast have not legitimized the call for violent social transformation even after seven decades of independence. Even today the adherence to constitutional morality is seen as a virtue of good citizen. These commitments to constitutional morality ensures three things, namely, (a) check state power, (b) check majority tyranny and (c) control the destabilizing swings generated by popular passion. Thus constitutional morality envisions a society wherein it prevents people in power from misusing power and also it empowers those who have been deprived of power to achieve collective good through decision making. It is therefore representing continuous processes through which conflicting or diverse interests are accommodated and cooperative actions are taken.

In this paper ways in which construction of citizenship take place within campuses of India have been explored. Higher education institutions play an important role in shaping citizenship as this is the site wherein individuals take first steps into adulthood and citizenship per se. In this paper the concept of citizenship is seen both as a process and product wherein physical, psychological, sexual, economic and cultural parameters are set to define who qualifies as a citizen. In this process more often public morality takes over constitutional morality. The biasness and privileges are displayed not only by individuals but at the institutional level. Increasingly as the impact of reservation policies, campus areas are becoming sites of diversities. Thus, throwing new challenges for inclusiveness at individual and institutional levels. The conventional understanding of entitlement, merit and honour are being questioned.

This paper will highlight how the process and product of citizenship is constructed in campus areas in India through four major themes, namely, consumerism, heteronormativity, caste and religion. This paper would be tracing these trajectories for the last twenty five years since liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation became an integral part of Indian economy and society at large. It is a qualitative research work based on both primary and secondary sources.

2.15 Bhangi/ Harijan/ Valmiki/ Safai Karmchari? – Claiming and Assertion of Identity

Deepa Tak

Caste system in India plays a central role in creating social stratification, which divide society into hierarchical social groups, on the basis of the principle of purity and pollution this system is maintained through coercion and consent. Inequality is at the core of the caste system. (Chakravorty 2003). The assignment of rights is determined by birth, caste often dictates the type of occupation a person can pursue and the social interactions that he/ she may have.

Caste system is not just a division of labour but also division of laborers'—it is a hierarchy in which the divisions of laborers' are graded one above the other. The system is maintained through the rigid enforcement of social ostracism (a system of social and economic penalties) in case of any deviations. Inequality is at the core of the caste system. Dalit are the ones who are continuously facing marginalization and exploitation from the society.

In the past few decades Dalits are resisting this indignity, challenging “ascribed” status and constructing their own identity. Recent scholarship on dalit communities has underlined that the identity formation process among them. In this context paper will try to see how dalit community construct their identity (globalization and rising Hindutva politics) by focusing on Bhangi? How we can see this identity formation in the present juncture where religion, economic status, culture labour and state policies (Swachh Bharat Abhiyan) play important role in the construction process.

How and why are Dalits asserting new identity by creating new narratives, which will give them sense of self and dignity to challenge the hegemony of dominant ideology. (Narayan 2005) Hence the local perspective from the community will help us to grasp the historical process of identity formulations.

2.16 Tight -Rope Walk: Case of Women's Entry in Sabarimala Temple

Anshu

It is well established that caste system is powered by specific forms of subjugation of women within castes and between castes – which pose enormous difficulties and disabilities thus leading to public humiliation of women. B.R. Ambedkar in his classic 1917 essay 'Castes in India' opens up this gendered basis of the caste system. Ambedkar theorised on the systemic, routine and reinforced humiliation of women (of all castes) as the fulcrum on which the perpetuation and reinforcement of the caste system itself rests, citing specifically the examples of Sati, enforced widowhood and child-marriage of girls.

The guardians of Lord Ayyappa in Sabarimala took this a step further and barred entry of women altogether (Kannabiran, 2018). It is believed that, for most of history, women between the ages of 10 and 50 haven't been allowed inside Kerala's massively famous Sabarimala temple. From admitting women with age proofs and the state employing police personnel to keep women out of the temple, the clear shades of discrimination colouring the fiasco eventually sparked a national debate. One that is made difficult for this country not only because of its inability and lack of desire to move away from patriarchal believes that shackle women and hold them back from all aspects of public life, but by pitting the rights of women, in the flesh, against that of a deity, a man carved in stone. For a country that is deeply and largely religious and places inordinate amounts of importance in culture, tradition, and religious beliefs, acknowledging the rights of real women over a deity's is absurdly, but unsurprisingly proving to be incredibly difficult. Most people in favour of keeping women out of the temple insist this is not a gendered issue and fiercely fight the claim that women are disallowed from entering the temple because of taboos and the ritual impurity associated with menstruation. They believe the roots of the practice aren't in patriarchy, but in legend, which ironically, once again, is patriarchal. It is said that the deity that resides there is celibate, meditating – now for centuries – for the well-being of those who worship him and don't want him to be distracted from his penance by the presence of women, especially when he has promised himself to Malikapurathamma – another deity residing in the temple – the year no new worshippers visit him. It is said women aren't allowed in the temple out of empathy for Malikapurathamma and also so as to not be a distraction to the deity and allow him to remain celibate. This claim isn't only severely patriarchal, but isn't the only reason women are banned from the temple's premises. The ritual impurity associated with menstruating women is really the basis for disallowing them entry.

Most arguments for keeping women out of the temple's premises are baseless, considering that women's entry to the temple was only legally restricted after a 1991 Kerala High Court ruling. The arbitrary ages of 10 and 50 were decided by the court, and the court's motivation was to keep impure menstruating women out of the holy premises of the temple. Although the practice was in place before the ruling, there is no evidence yet to suggest that the practice existed before 1950s. On 28 September 2018, the Supreme Court lifted the ban on women's entry (between the ages of 10 and 50) to Sabarimala Ayyappa Temple in Kerala. Women's entry was banned in 1991 by the Kerala High Court (*S Mahendran v The Secretary, Travancore* 1991). The petitioners approached the apex court in 2006 on the basis of constitutional rights to lift the ban at Sabarimala. Five members of the Supreme Court's

constitutional bench underlined the equal right of women in the temple by a majority verdict. It invited a huge amount of discontent, protest, violence and mobilisation in Kerala (Roopesh, 2018).

Through this case this paper attempts to look at the tension between cultural pluralism, citizenship and gender justice and also seek solution for the same. As Carol Gould (1988) argues that the right of participation in decision making in social, economic, cultural and political life should be included in the nexus of basic rights, a synthesis of rights and participatory approaches to citizenship, linked through the notion of human agency can serve as the basis for a feminist theory of citizenship. It offers the concept of differentiated universalism as an attempt to reconcile the universalism which lies at the heart of citizenship with the demands of a politics of difference.

2.17 Communal Violence, Mob ‘Justice’, and Legislation: A Sociological Study of the Manipur Protection from Mob Violence Ordinance, 2018

Rubani Yumkhaibam

In Manipur, mob violence often unfolds in the very problematic and promises of ‘mob justice’. In the conflict-borne Manipuri society wherein the civil society collectives mushroom, the line between crime and punishment is veiled by various moral and political vigilantes. Women, petty thieves, and sometimes innocent people are humiliated and punished and even killed in the name of morality and justice. The mounting socio-political gloom of the region and communities divided along the religious and ‘ethnic’ grounds provide a rich ground for common people to take laws in their hands in the name of ‘justice’. Such kind of civil liberty is poised against the ‘democratic government’ of the land that often manipulates the philosophy of governance and the sentiment of the voters for polling entropy. Manipur is a deeply divided society along various lines – religion, identity, economics, political parties, etc., alongside the failure of the successive government to handle justice. In these circumstances, can a mob deliver justice? Can legislation counter mob in a divided society? The question leads us to a plethora of ethical conundrums – democracy, freedom, law, duties of civil societies, etc., are some of the ideas and praxis that are mired in the present system. In the larger picture, mob violence is not new to the South Asian society today; more critically mob lynching is becoming a regular feature of communal clashes and the difficult voyage of the Indian democracy. While hostile communities or an exacerbated crowd stands as a spectator to the gore and incitement of the unfolding violence, it is not unusual for the government to pander to the populist sentiment. In this trajectory, the proposed paper seeks to explore the dynamic of legislation, concerns of communal politics, and the violent culture of mob ‘justice’ in Manipur, with special reference to the Manipur Protection from Mob Violence Ordinance, 2018.

The Manipur Protection from Mob Violence Ordinance was passed by the Manipur Assembly in 2018, in the aftermath of the lynching of a Muslim youth by an angry mob, although there has been a trail of mob violence in Manipur since years, and the Ordinance addresses this violent trend. The unfortunate incident was polarised between two different readings, first an instance of mob violence, and second a communal act involving the Muslim and Meitei communities of Manipur. While the culture of mob trial is a larger context of everyday violence in the Manipuri society, isolated instances of orchestrated communal violence cannot be veiled by the transparent shroud of the ‘mob justice’. A negative trend in history writing is exemplified by the media that couch such violent acts in terms of the evils of ‘mob violence’ thereby diluting the communal tone. One has to see the Machiavellian line between the gore of the traditional system of punishment (the mob trial) and the effort of various stakeholders including the government in playing communal politics. There is a need

for a cautious ‘de-linking’ of such a line if the legislation of crime and punishment has to work. Even as the Ordinance has clearly defined violence and lynching in multiple terms – gender, religion, ethnicity, etc., will such a codification work amidst the virulent communal politics in Manipur? Moreover, reading instances of hate violence in the language of mob violence (the Ordinance reads ‘mob’ as a gathering involving two or more people) reduces the nature of the crime and severity of the lives lost. However, the unaccounted versions of such instances from everyday life tell a different story of manipulation, fear, and overwriting of such events. Will the Ordinance deliver justice and fair play not just along the line of communal issues but also the mounting incidences of mob violence in Manipur? Will the terms of the Ordinance able to address the core issues of communal killings and violence that will not be recognised as ‘mob violence’? What must be legislated for addressing the violent communal polarisation in the 21st century Manipur? These are a few questions the proposed paper attempts to examine in the contexts of community, violence and democratic state of Manipur.

2.18 Negotiations with customary laws in the context of Tangkhul Naga women in Manipur.

Dim Lumri Jajo

In Naga society, customary laws have precedence over constitutional rights. Article 371 A of the Constitution provides special provision to the state of Nagaland to frame their own laws in matters regarding: religious or social practices of the Nagas, customary law and procedure, ownership and transfer of land and its resources. In the national imagination, constitutional rights of every citizen is given importance. Citizens are granted individual and legal rights, have equal status and duties. In the context of the Nagas, rights are based on collective and community identity, further entrenched by the Naga self-determination movement. In envisaging a united Nagaland, citizenship is assured with a part in the common culture and social heritage. Citizenship is based on the identity of being a member of the community, where one dominant Naga identity is created and individual rights are limited. In order to remain a sovereign community, internal restrictions are imposed to preserve the community and its ways of life through customary laws.

Customary laws are the basis of governance in a traditional institution, headed by the village chief and the ministry of councils who are the clan representatives. Modern structures of governance are integrated and coexist with traditional bodies. Traditional beliefs and values of males representing the clan still persists and in the process, women’s political agency is curtailed. The structure of traditional institutions itself presents barriers for women’s representation and participation. The structure also influences the practices and belief systems of the community which additionally creates ideological barriers for women. There is more acceptance of women’s participation in decision making bodies at the state level than at the traditional governing bodies. Certain provisions have been introduced for women’s participation and representation in traditional governing bodies creating shifts in people’s attitudes, perceptions and practices.

The paper is based on an ethnographic study conducted in Ukhrul, Manipur incorporating narratives of women and elders of the community. It studies women’s perspectives and interpretation of customary laws while challenging it. It explores how and where women are presenting their voices while negotiating between their community and identity vis-a-vis customary laws and explore the spaces that exists for women. Naga customary law is not homogenous. It differs across tribes and villages and although similar in various aspects, does not exist as a singular body of law. Tangkhul Nagas are geographically located in the state of Manipur and as a result, controversies thrive regarding their tribal identity

and location. Article 371 A of the Constitution which gives special provision to the Nagas is applicable only in the state of Nagaland. Article 371C of the Constitution gives a provision to protect, safeguard and promote the interest of the tribes residing in the Hill areas of Manipur. In locating the context of customary laws beyond the state of Nagaland and Article 371 A, it tries to study the implications of Tangkhuls' tribal identity as Nagas, their customary laws and their geographical location.

Women's experiences and agency includes their indirect participation, contestations and everyday negotiations with the established power structure. Redefining of political spaces and emergence of spaces in other spheres where women are participating in decision making. Such spaces includes churches, Ava market (women vendors), phanits (festivals) and other civil society bodies where women are negotiating and pushing their agendas, making decisions and having some form of agency.

The paper seeks to explore how the principle of self-determination applies to Naga women, whose identity, rights and participation is limited to the collective identity and cultural norms upon which Naga way of life is formed. Naga women are moving beyond their cultural and socially sanctioned role of peace makers through motherhood politics to assertions regarding their political agency and individual rights in the public sphere, both modern and traditional. It presents women's articulation of their agency while facing marginalization. The politics of marginalization not only deals with the Nagas self-determination movement and the larger context of Nagas in the Indian State but also within the Naga community itself. In asserting for a more inclusive governance, Naga women are addressing the inequalities that exists in society. They are calling for the reinterpretation of rights and customary laws, the identity of who a Naga is and negotiating for a more inclusive Naga society.

2.19 Surviving in Their Worlds: Interrogating Caste, Gender and Citizenship

Anandita Pan

Citizenship as dictated by the Constitution of India has been a matter of immense debate and dissent since its first drafting. The Constitutional ideas of who a citizen is and what constitutes citizenship in India have been challenged through the lenses of caste, gender and religion. The subject of Constitution and citizenship recently gained renewed attention with the Indian government's imposition of National Registers of Citizens (NRC) in Assam and its proposition of implementing it in each state. This policy has come under fire for implementing religious segregation and waste of time and money. The NRC aims to identify illegal immigrants and deport or keep them in isolation. In actuality, however, this move is also seen as catering to a unified 'Indian' (and Hindu) identity.

The relationship between Constitution and citizenship takes an interesting turn at the intersections of caste, gender and the identity as a refugee. This paper sets its premise specifically on the Bengal partition to explore this intersection in depth. The Bengal partition is tarnished by bloodied histories of Morichjhapi, economic exclusion and struggle for survival. This strategic segregation was not only directed to resolve the 'refugee problem', it also absorbed within itself the brahmanical hierarchisation through caste. The detailed studies on the Morichjhapi massacre bear evidence to the mainstream erasure of caste genocide (Sen 2015, Mallick 1999). The newly emerging scholarship on partition in Bengal and writings by Bengali dalit writers have contributed immensely in bringing out the complex interrelation between caste and citizenship.

While the status as a Bangladeshi dalit refugee in West Bengal in India brought into focus the pervasion of the caste system that the politically aware Bengali community has tried so hard to hide and negate, it is futile to assume that even as Bangladeshi dalit refugees, their

experiences are similar. Herein the issue of gender as a category intersectional with caste becomes important. This paper focuses on Bengali dalit women's autobiographical writings to explore how the lens of gender can provide new insight into caste and citizenship. Using feminist intersectionality as the methodology, this paper aims to grapple with the following questions: What did Bangladeshi dalit women experience in post-partition West Bengal? How does their identity as 'dalit women refugees' intervene and transform the ways we understand caste and citizenship in post-partition Bengal? What is a gendered understanding of caste? How do Bengali dalit women's autobiographical narratives interact with and challenge the thematic and stylistic conventions of the genre, autobiography? How does the regional specificity of Bengal contribute to the larger discursive frames of Dalit politics and Dalit feminism? At the time when Dalit feminist movements across India have started to engage with the complexities of caste and gender vis-à-vis religion, community, class and environment, Bengali dalit women's writings can provide a different and new layer of understanding through an intersectional perspective and an unconventional counter-narrative.

2.20 Citizenship Through Sanitation Rights: Field Work Reflections

Poonam S Argade

This paper explores strands within critical approaches to citizenship that would be useful to think through the case of sanitation justice in the urban Indian context. I consider findings from preliminary doctoral field work from two different sites- first is an informal settlement, studying access to sanitation, water and hygiene facilities and second, based on participation in discussions around flood issues and the disaster relief efforts after rains from 2017-19. A part of preliminary field work with women in informal settlements (or so-called 'slums') in Mira Bhayander to the north of Mumbai, was aimed at understanding their sanitation practices, related environmental problems and impacts on women's health. The second part involved examining activist discussions in the aftermath of extensive flooding and rains in the region, starting from public forum on the problems in 2018. Here I got introduced to vibrant activists' discussions on relationships of flooding problems with other issues such as environmental degradation, congestion, destruction of wetlands and excessive concretization of Mumbai's satellite suburbs, encompassing the broader topics of environment and development. These two distinct sites of ethnographic field work present multiple points of entries to understand the meanings of sanitation and its related environmental issues from diverse perspectives.

Access to water, sanitation and hygiene facilities has been co-constitutively shaped by histories of class, caste, gender, sexuality, disability, migration, etc. (Chaplin, 2017). Emerging critical perspectives on citizenship politics capture the structural violence that comes into play in people's struggles for survival. For instance, Anand (2017) shows how communities settling 'illegally' in Mumbai gain access to basic facilities of water among other essential facilities earning a graduated citizenship over a period of years. Anand (2017) further described 'hydraulic citizenship' as an iterative process, multidimensional, unstable, that was tied to socio technical realities of infrastructures and that infrastructural materialities in turn, substantiated citizenship through extensions of services to hitherto excluded groups. He describes this hydraulic citizenship as leaky, embedded in political relations that encompass human-material relationships. Thinking about sanitation and hygiene infrastructures, toilets, drains, sewers, waste disposal and hygiene facilities, there is further scope to understand citizenship politics formulated through sanitation infrastructures. Historically, sanitation and hygiene infrastructures in cities was shaped through colonial state practices, thus configuring the subjects of liberal governance and already excluding certain groups (Chaplin, 2011;

McFarlane, 2008) . In postcolonial times, caste continues to influence notions of hygiene and purity (Kaviraj, 1996), influencing what and who is considered dirty or pollute-able (NACDOR & Edwin, 2015; Rodrigues, 2009; Rowena, 2012) and shaping sanitation practices and governance in the contemporary (Lee, 2017; O'Reilly, Dhanju, & Louis, 2017; Ramaswamy, 2005). Thus, any understanding of sanitation justice in the present, needs to account for intersecting histories of caste, class, indigeneity, gender and post/colonialisms rooted in a regional context.

Keeping in mind that climate change and environmental degradation disproportionately affect historically marginalized communities, vulnerable migrants and the poor (Adam, Mehta, & Srivastava, 2018), the need to examine citizenship politics for different groups of citizens becomes even more urgent. This paper reflects on the questions- how do we begin to think through the vast gap between the constitutional right to water, sanitation and a dignified life, and the realities of everyday suffering, citizenship and state formative practices, that shape peoples' survival tied to their access to basic facilities for water, sanitation and hygiene? And following this, what methodological perspectives and theoretical priorities would help bridge these gaps and advance the move towards substantive justice, particularly given the worsening impacts of environmental degradation and climate change?

2.21 Women negotiating political power at critical junctures: a comparative study of women's roles in constitution drafting in India and South Africa

Nilá Mohanan

One of the crucial questions that feminist scholarship in the discipline of comparative politics has been looking at globally is the extent to which women have played a role in the drafting of constitutions in newly independent and transitional democracies and thereby, in shaping their political histories. Feminist Institutionalists view this as a 'critical juncture' that offers a unique opportunity for women who are organized and mobilized around the cause of their increased political participation, to renegotiate the terms of political discourse and to regender national institutions that regulate the nature of women's access to political power and agenda-setting. This paper argues that constitution drafting and re-engineering are decisive transitional moments from an institutionalist perspective when the descriptive representation of women could be translated very effectively into the substantive representation of women as equal citizens, provided women are able to intervene as an interest group for promoting the cause of women's effective political participation.

I will be making a comparative analysis of South Africa and India in order to draw out the factors that impinge on the nature and extent of women's involvement, both direct and indirect, in the constitution drafting process that significantly sets the tone and tenor of women's subsequent engagements with politics. The case of South Africa is particularly interesting as one of the only post-transition democracies where women organized as women representing gender interests were able to negotiate effectively and gain access to political power. A highlight of this process of negotiation with the political mainstream was the fact that despite the constitution drafting process happening in the immediate post-apartheid scenario, women were able to overcome the historical and racial divides that had hitherto separated them and join hands across parties to prioritize the agenda of political inclusion of women in the new democracy and formed the Women's National Coalition (WNC) in 1992, which played a very decisive and crucial role in the drafting of the Constitution. Consequently, gender equality came to be incorporated as a founding principle of the post-apartheid South African state and women gained unprecedented representation in the Parliament. The leap in the descriptive representation of women also translated into marked substantive representation of women, with

several gender equality oriented legislations being passed in the first five years of the new Parliament, in areas like reproductive choice, status in customary marriage, protection against domestic violence, protection at the workplace and so on.

In contrast, women's participation in the Constituent Assembly of India was predominantly in their role as nationalist women who were guided by Gandhian ideals and who had been active in the struggle for independence from British colonial rule. There were only 15 women members in the Constituent Assembly that came to have 299 members post-Partition and there was no woman member on the Drafting Committee that had the most direct and influential role in the finalization of the Constitution of independent India. A reading of the speeches made by women members reveals that they opposed the idea of reservations or separate electorates for women and minority groups as introduced earlier through the Government of India Act, 1935, because they felt it would be contrary to the spirit of an India to be built upon the foundations of a unified national identity. This was a continuation of the position held by the All India Women's Conference, the most visible women's organization of the time. The topics dealt with by the women members included Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy, education, untouchability, protection of children, representation of religious minorities and so on; there appears to have been no advocacy of rights for women as a distinct group, as the expectation seems to have been that if women could find representation in the Constituent Assembly, they would definitely be given ample opportunities to enter political life through elections in an independent India. This was to be belied in the years to come, as women have been grossly under-represented in the national and state legislatures post-independence. Thus, while the presence of the women members in the Constituent Assembly was important in terms of symbolic representation, its impact on the substantive representation of women as equal citizens in the new political order is questionable.

2.22 Vulnerability of Street – Based Living: A Feminist Inquiry of Women Beggars and Homeless Women

Pournima Arvel

My paper is drawn from my M.A and M.Phil research. My research sites were two areas, in South Mumbai and a custody home respectively. The research is centred around the question: What is the common understanding of beggary for us? Everyday people who are staying, sleeping on the street, sometime outside a temple and standing at signals – these are beggars. But living on the street, and asking for alms – are they not different categories? As per the Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act 1959 women who are living on the street and do any activity on street is against the law and is a crime.

On one hand, there is an absence of state accountability for safety of women who live on the street, homeless women who engage in the practice of begging. How do those women engage in negotiations with male patriarchy in public spaces, in their lives and how do they negotiate with the state? Women on the streets live with men but those men are not support systems of the family; these women are the breadwinner of the family but that man per se only provide safety on street for women. This is because of failure of the state that has no plan for women safety on street, for homeless and begging women.

Homeless and beggar women are negotiating with state in the rainy period by living in custody home. They lose their agency at beggars' home but still they are navigated. The homeless and begging women are neglected from the safety policy of government. State have no empowerment and welfare plan for women and their children. As per the government data they provided schemes for pregnant women; there are lots of gaps for implementation but here women are not concerned and they manage their child rearing as a homeless community. As

per the gender justice idea is each women mother have access to policy which is on maternity benefits but here is no any policy have. So how women are managing maternal and natal help from government? And another is disability navigation for women with live in disability on street therefore state have no taken accountability. They have no alternative livelihoods if women can do their disable body is able for an operation then she can't access begging

2.23 Self Help Groups as the “schools” of Citizen Democracy – reflections on fieldwork with Mahila Vikas Mandal, Jharkhand

Deepanshu Kundu

Participatory development – the inclusion of people acting through voluntary associations like NGOs in the formulation and implementation of development projects – emerged as an alternative to top-down, bureaucratic, state led development around the 1980's. The shift in emphasis from the post-war state led development model to participatory development was precipitated by several factors – the failure of the developmental state to significantly alleviate poverty, the increasing use of dialogical methods of communication by researchers and activists working with the rural poor, and Sen's conceptualisation of freedom as the primary means and end of development. Together, these paved the way for the 'rights and entitlements agenda' that has politicised development by arguing for the right of citizens to participate in and enforce accountability on the institutions that affect their lives. The participatory development model transformed the way in which governments and NGO's engage with disadvantaged groups. Whereas previously they were regarded as 'victims in need of rehabilitation and rescue', under the new paradigm, governmental and non governmental agencies relate to them as 'agents with claims'.

In my paper, I will explore the narratives of women SHG members who have found meaning and purpose through their involvement with the women's collective – Mahila Vikas Mandal. My fieldwork with SHG members in Raidih was meant to understand the ways in which women understood their participation in a collective and its impact on how they interacted with patriarchal authority within their societies and political authority in the public sphere. The stated goal of Pradan is to bring together 'development professionals' and members from the community in a synergic manner in order to enhance the livelihood capabilities of the poor by giving them access to sustainable income earning opportunities. Aside from that, It also works as an intermediary between the state and local communities, organising and assisting individuals to access employment opportunities and funds they are entitled to under government schemes like NRLM and MNREGA. From 2002 onwards, it set up SHGs to make the federation – Mahila Vikas Mandal, a collection of all the SHGs in the district, financially and organisationally self sufficient. Pradan's work with SHGs is theoretically significant because it goes beyond the creation and sustenance of SHGs to the cultivation of a practice of informed citizenship among the community by raising awareness their rights and entitlements and by providing gender sensitisation workshops for women to equip them to question the socially constructed, systemic subordination of women. It was found that the financial success of SHGs could not be arrived at in a vacuum. It demanded a constant engagement with a highly patriarchal community and an unresponsive government machinery. Outside of the discipline required to function in a financial cooperative, local women leaders have been provided with specialised workshops and training programmes to equip them to navigate entrenched power differentials within their homes, their communities and in governmental spaces.

My paper will summarize the various narratives that arise out of the interaction between Women (constructed as historical subjects of change by the prevailing development dogma), NGOs and the state. Many women spoke about a new sense of ambition and purpose, beyond

their social roles of child rearing and household chores. There has also been a shift in the way they perceived of themselves and their relationship with the state. A sense of solidarity was palpable, both in relation to social issues like domestic abuse and alcoholism and with regard to negotiations with the local state machinery. Of particular interest to me was to understand the ways in which women understand empowerment – the stated end-goal of such development interventions – and how they see their interactions with each other and with the NGO/state machinery. I will argue that, by design or by accident, SHGs have emerged as spaces where a novel practice of informed citizenship is being cultivated. I argue that if the exercise of agency on the part of women can be sustained and replicated, it has the potential to revolutionize the way state-society relations are structured across India.

2.24 Women's Participation in local self-governance: A study in the village of Mahatha, Bihar

Harshita Jha

More than four decades after independence, 73rd Amendment was made to the Indian constitution in the year 1993. It claimed to be the real democratic political instrument assuring to take along the citizens into dynamic political participation through local self-governance. Participation of woman in this democratic establishment of local self-governance that is Gram Panchayat becomes essential in a country where women are not acknowledged as citizens yet.

The paper intends to study women's participation in local self-governance with focus on women as citizens and not political leaders or contestants. It also attempts to discuss about possible intervention that could be a way forward in order to address the concerns regarding women's political participation in local self-governance as active citizens.

The question that is being raised in the paper is how the democratic decentralisation have played out for women as citizens in a society where political participation of women continues to be abysmally low. It attempts to understand the experience of women's participation in local self-governance by embedding the study in the larger social economic and cultural settings. It unravels women's political behaviours from their own perspective. This it does by understanding the socio-economic condition of women, their awareness of the functions of Gram Panchayat, their experience of participating in Gram Sabha as a citizen as well as their understanding of the role and responsibilities of an elected representative. It also delves into the issues and concerns women raise through such participation and the factors that encourages or discourages their participation.

The paper is based on a study that was undertaken in the village of Mahatha in the Madhubani district of Bihar. The study employs a mixed methodology, drawing from both qualitative and quantitative methods comprising of a survey using an interview schedule and focus group discussions using a FGD guide. The study engages with fifty respondents belonging to varied socio-economic strata.

The paper argues that there is a correlation between the socio-economic background and their political participation as well as awareness as citizens. Caste identity plays an important role in determining women's participation. It points out that Women as contrary to the popular notion do have knowledge about the functioning of the Gram Panchayat, the roles and responsibilities of the elected representatives, and the various schemes and programs that is implemented through the Gram Panchayat. It brings forth the varied perception of women belonging to diverse socio-economic background on their participation in local self-governance as citizens. It reveals how the patriarchal values, which have placed women in a secondary position in the society, still hold them captive and restrict their access to public spaces which becomes a major hindrance for their active role as a citizen. It points out that the questions that

a woman raises as a citizen in a constitutional platform is also related to their assigned gender role.

The paper suggests that the constitutional provisions of democratic decentralisation could not succeed to transform the realities of women in an unequal patriarchal society and are continued to be treated as second class citizens. It proposes PRI-CBO Convergence project steered by Kudumbashree NRO as an existing intervention that is grounded on the idea that institutions of poor such as Community Based Organisations (CBO) and Panchayati Raj Institutions should work together for strengthening public's participation in local governance with an emphasis on women's participation. The the tools and activities that is employed as part of the project to enhance the participation of women in local governance as active citizens will be discussed in the paper.

2.25 Women, Resistance and Legitimacy in Democratic State

Shanthalembi Lisham

The present paper is a part of a study on the *Political Struggle of Women in Manipur*. It explores the lived experience of women in two contexts, one associated with an organisation working with extrajudicial killings, Execution Victim Families' Association Manipur (EEVFAM) and the other associated with *Ima Keithel* (Mothers' Market) in Manipur. The families associated with EEVFAM are largely families of widows and orphans. The association is headed by widow survivors of gun violence under the aegis of Human Rights Alert. The association had approached the Supreme Court for instances of extrajudicial execution numbering 1582 cases of violation of human rights.

The other context in the study is that of the conflict between the license holder and street vendors without license in the Ima Keithel premise. This context throws up certain aspect of conflict between the legacy of the customary practice and the control of the market by the Imphal Municipal Corporation of the state. The lived experiences of the women in these struggles illuminate the areas of the legitimate function of the state and its challenges vis-à-vis the significance of the legacy and how it is practiced in present time. Both these sites furnish with instances to examine their historicity and the contemporaneity. Further, these contexts throws up the connections to understand constitutionalism to further engage with the idea for transformative path; issues contouring the contestation and promises uphold by our constitution; to understand the dynamicity of the institutions constitutionally in relation with the collective memory. The study adopts decolonial feminism approach to understand this context and also to understand the uniqueness of the women's question in Manipur in the crucial issues as discussed above. The study employs a combination of case study and retrospective study using narrative and content analysis of text. The women narrated their experiences, which encompass their life stories and lived experiences. They narrated their experiences using a reflective analysis of their contexts where they began their association with the organisation; how the situations have evolved over the years; how they understand and relate with the contemporaneity. Understanding these contexts and the dynamicity of the experiences of my partners in this study perhaps, may put forward some understanding of citizenship in the context of the historico-political trajectory of Manipur in post-colonial period.

2.26 Contextualizing Hindu Code Bill in Citizenship Rights Discourse: An Analysis through Intersectionality Perspective

Komal Rajak

This paper discusses the intersectionality of caste and gender as an obstacle, for women, in accessing citizenship rights in hierarchical power relations. This discussion would be grounded into the Hindu Code Bill debate since it is conceived with an idea of democratization of the concept of citizenship through granting women rights of their ownself. To be more precise, how the Hindu Code Bill contributes into citizenship discourse, from women's perspective? As far Indian women's case is concerned, women are denied from property rights since ancient period. Denial of the right to inherit ancestral property constricts women's capability of accessing her citizenship rights, and goes against the principle of gender egalitarianism which has conserved in the Constitution wherein Ambedkar laid down the foundations of social justice and without gender equality social justice cannot be achieved. From this egalitarian perspective, women's inheritance right is the subject of much scrutiny and investigation. To understand it, the dichotomy of tradition and modernity would be interrogated in this attempt.

The Hindu Code Bill debates dwells upon the normative values of equality in terms of women as an individual and politically equal citizen as men. This bill has shaped the debates around the practices like compulsory endogamy, absence of women's absolute right to property, indissolubility of marriage for women etc. which replicate the Brahmanical patriarchy. Dr. Ambedkar restructured the hindu code bill with the liberal values of liberty, equality, fraternity and the dignity. The seamless entanglement of overture of the women's absolute share in property, purge of caste restrictions in matters of marriage and adoption, elimination of the polygamy and overture of monogamy would restore these values of social democracy. As a consequence, this bill was to democratizing the phenomenon of women's property rights in India and hence citizenship rights, since evidences show that the women who do not own any assets are subject to threats of violence and other inequalities within the household and unable to get access to citizenship rights freely.

2.27 Centering Privacy and Respectability: Revisiting Johar with Cautious Eyes

Poonam Kakoti Borah

As the demand for decriminalisation of consensual same-sex relationships moved through the hallways of the Indian judiciary, a visible discursive change has occurred. In September 2018 when the Supreme Court of India delivered the Johar judgment, it marked the end of a 158 year old colonial provision. Johar was celebrated as 'freedom's second coming'. Yet as the months have passed by, questions still remain on how much can be gained through the recognition of formal equality alone. The present paper attempts to place the creation of a 'sexual subject' evoking the language of 'citizenship' from 1994 (when the first petition was filed by Aids Bhedbhav Virodhi Andolan) to 2018 (when the Johar judgment was delivered). While doing so, the paper would use the arguments that have been made by the supporters of decriminalisation as well as those opposed to it. The paper argues that there has been decisive shift in how judiciary has imagined the 'sexual subject' across these years: from being an invisible abstract harmed party to a tangible victim. Though this has been a remarkable success which has enabled the use of the language of 'equal moral citizenship' in front of a deeply heteronormative public, yet the framework of 'privacy' and 'respectability' that gains ascendancy in the individual petitions filed after the Koushal Judgment is troublesome. By

looking into the relevant legal documents, the paper attempts at revealing the ‘dominant idioms’ that emerged from the struggle against IPC S377 in India, in order to assert that though a space had emerged to imagine a radical future of citizenship through the LGBTQ movement, it was foreclosed the moment when privacy claims were over emphasised to the steady exclusion of freedom of expression.

2.28 Law, Legal Aid and Fair Trials: Women Under-Trials Engaging with Criminal Justice System

Monica Sakhrani and Jeevika Shiv

The management of prisons falls under the purview of the State government, as per the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India. In every state, the prison administrative machinery works under the chief of prisons and . Indian prisons face three long-standing structural constraints: overcrowding, with 68 percent of the prisoners being under trials and . ; understaffing and underfunding. In independent India, the Committee on JailReforms led by Justice AN Mulla recommended uniform, nationwide collection of prison statistics in 1983. The NCRB took up this endeavour and, in 1996, published the first Prison Statistics India, for 1995. Thereafter, the statistics were published without interruption until 2015.

After a delay and several changes the 2016 report was released earlier in the year in April 2019 and the latest report of 2017 prison statistics released recently in October 2019. It shows that Women inmates are 4.18 percent of the total prison population but doesn’t give the caste and class categorisation of any undertrial. The data of both NCRB and Prison statistics show the lack of access to legal aid by women prisoners due to multilayered system barriers and the paper aims to analyse the two statistics along with field level reality from two prisons in Maharashtra.

The authors work at Project 39 A, National Law University, Delhi (NLU) at the newly instituted Fair Trial Fellowship (FTF) Program under Project 39-A. The Programme seeks to support empanelled legal aid lawyers under the DLSA in their efforts to provide legal representation to undertrials in Pune (Yerwada) and Nagpur Central Prisons. With an aim of providing quality legal representation to undertrial prisoners and handhold the inmates through the legal proceedings by strengthening state mechanisms to reach out to the most marginalised, specifically ensuring access to women undertrials and work to support the District Legal Services Authority to strengthen mechanisms for providing free legal aid to persons in custody. The work for the first one year shows that only 3 percent of prisoners approaching the DLSA through this mechanism have incomes over two lakhs an year and more that 50 percent are illiterate.

The paper aims to look at the two prison with a comprehensive overview of women undertrials and there interface with the constitutional provision of legal aid provided under Article 39A and the gendered nature of reach access and interface through the system. The paper will look at a comprehensive sample set of women prisoners and their interface with social workers and Legal aid lawyers in accessing legal aid.

The study done of women undertrials in Pune and Nagpur along with case studies on accessing the criminal justice system aim to provide an overview of both the working mechanisms of legal aid , where women slip through the gap and the system barriers and prejudices which further deter women from accessing legal aid as undertrials. The key questions we are exploring include:

- Is access to legal aid gendered?
- Trends in crime, criminal justice, prisons and legal aid as per the states own analysis

- Are there certain women whose interface with the criminal justice system after being accused of a crime is further inhibited by their identity and socio economic situation
- State mechanisms and their role in reaching out to women in accessing legal aid
- The lived experience of women undertrials accessing legal aid and the systemic barriers to the same
- Does all of the above redefine how the state understands citizens and institutions in the current age

We hope to be able to bring together practice, action research and jurisprudence to reflect on the above.

2.29 Women Journalists in ‘Small’ Cities: Context Madhya Pradesh

Ranu Tomar

How do we understand the city? The dwellers of a particular city are the best resource to know more about a city. Certeau (1984) writes that ordinary practitioners of the city make use of city spaces that cannot be seen. He writes that “their knowledge of them is as blind as that of lovers in each other’s arms” (p. 93). This paper explores the experiences of women journalists in four different cities of Madhya Pradesh: Bhopal, Indore, Jabalpur and Gwalior, in an attempt to engage with feminist understanding of cities and outline critical debates on gender and space. This study employs feminist research methodology using in-depth interviews of women journalists working in Hindi print journalism in these four cities. As Phadke (2005) writes, “Life in a city has often been described as filled with ambiguity, replete with a sense of possible threat and the inevitable negotiation of risk” (p. 43). Thus, the presence of women journalists in a city and their interaction with city spaces and surroundings are significant aspects of their experience which have been critically discussed in this paper. This paper is an entry point to understand ‘city’ and cities of Madhya Pradesh too in academic manner. It also describes that as a researcher knowing cities from an insider and outsider perspective has been a dialogic-process towards understanding Hindi print media, gender, identity and geography in regions of Madhya Pradesh.

Women journalists have certain fears and perceptions about the city they live in. They go out for reporting in the city, travel to different places for their work, often with a sense of insecurity. Even everyday life as a journalist brings challenges for them in ensuring their safety as they move about 'at their own risk' in public spaces. The spatial context is not just about space but more about socio-cultural process of making and remaking of the cities and its dwellers. Lefebvre (1991) writes, “Social space is a social product” (p. 26). He also posits that “the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power” (p. 26). Discussing space from a social perspective, Massey (1994) critically brings out that “construction of place is articulated consideration of patriarchal relations” (p. 181).

This paper tries to capture urban experiences of women journalists in order to examine their relationship with their city. It attempts to understand experiences of Hindi women journalists of being in city spaces, and how they negotiate their right to city, belongingness and identity as an individual and as a journalist too.

2.30 The process of dis-identification while forming a Structure Nation: A Study of Enclaves

Paromita Ghosh

The structural infirmity created by political and national divide has made several individual residing in India as unclaimed-Stateless, among them the people living on the Enclaves has been in a situation of being unidentified since ages through several National processes.

In the popular folktale's Enclaves or the fragments of land, were created while rulers were playing Chess. The Maharaja of Cooch Behar and the Foujdar of Rangpur made a deal with each other's village while playing and thereafter these pieces of land remained in the scattered portion of lands encircled around another territory. However, the problem of being encircled by other villages did not much become an issue until Partition and Radcliffe Line drawn, unknowingly creating the situation of crisis in the realm of Citizenship Right. The enclaves that belonged to Cooch Behar (India) was surrounded by East Pakistan and enclaves of Rangpur (East Pakistan) were surrounded by India. The question of instability of individuals residing in these enclaves started magnifying after Partition and in 1952 enabling passport and VISA between Bangladesh and India complexed the situation of inhabitants: questioning their identity crisis, Secondly, the exclusion began with these lands not being identified in State, Thirdly, denial of State's basic benefits, and Fourthly, the continuous struggle for belongingness in everyday cater to the restricting in mobility and accessibility. With no voting rights, State Welfare policies the people living here were just nominal citizens. The passage to move between the enclave and mainland crossed other nation and thus illegality and mishandling of border security forces was an add on difficulty that arose. During these happenings, inhabitants protesting for rights and welfare, the long drawn Land Border Agreement under the 199th Amendment of the Constitution was finally passed in 2015 under BJP's rule, leading to exchanging 111 Bangladeshi enclaves with 51 Indian enclaves, this swapping was enclaves was aimed at provisioning better lives to the enclave inhabitants' with the voting right and bringing in development of the place. There has also been the opening of corridors in between the enclaves and main land was made porous legally for easy movement of people across. While things were still rolling around the process of being part of State or Statelessness and daily struggles of livelihood in enclaves, the ruling Government initiated to bring in National Register of Citizen in 2019, a process to identify individuals as citizen of India. These inhabitants who have been living in a structureless society since Partition where documentation to prove their citizenship is almost rare this procedure of NRC would further be more crucial. The process of living in Statelessness, created a fluid space, a space of their own that couldn't be identified by any strict structures of State but has altered with time with shifting demands, space of freedom, space of negotiation and different way of living beyond, this kind of porosity borne in enclave areas over time had in some way created its own ownership in their grievous position but this process of monitoring the individuals through NRC would be beyond the imagination of hostility, leading to deportation of this unclaimed spaces and inhabitants away and to finish the undone work of Partition by purifying India from illegal infiltration, crimes, as well communal cleansing.

This paper thus, seeks to link the understanding of the lives of inhabitants in enclaves beyond the State narratives and understand their lives revolving around security issues, livelihood issues and life risks as well negotiating with it everyday to create their own space. Through a historical journey to understand the meaning and lives in Enclaves and linking with the current process of proving Identity through NRC to show how the complex situation would form or deform the identity of these Enclave inhabitants.

2.31 Exploring ‘sexual citizenship’ through self-life-narratives by women with physical disabilities in India

Bhanu Priya Gupta

Disability life writing is a new phenomenon in India that is yet to gain significance in literary studies. The emergence of self-life-narratives of women with disabilities in print and digital media forms point to major discursive shifts in: a) the disability movement from a charity-based and medicalized approach to a rights-based social model, particularly marked by the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995; b) the assertion of disabled women’s identity in the disability movements and women’s movements in India; c) marking the inadequacy of singular identity movements in encompassing the complexity of human subjectivity; and, hence, d) the need for cross-movement dialogues. The multiply marginalized subject(s) is questioning the very landscape of contemporary social movements by marking their internal hegemonies and exclusionary politics.

Simultaneously, with digitization of media, we are produced as supposedly rightful consumers of the capitalist digital economy whether or not one may have the basic rights to life and dignity (for instance, digital accessibility vs physical accessibility). However, this access to a new social space (the digital space) is giving way to articulation of complex experiences and perspectives in self-life-narratives by people with disabilities. This paper looks at one such kind of articulation: of sexuality in self-life-narratives (in print and digital media) of women with physical disabilities in urban India. I take published narratives of three contemporary writer-activists, ie., Malini Chib, Nidhi Goyal and Virali Modi. The narratives demonstrate how questions of social inclusion, accessibility, autonomy and sexuality are interconnected.

I argue that, as they write their life narratives from a rights-based perspective, they expand the very idea of sexual rights and sexual citizenship as beyond the legal by situating them within the socio-cultural, in a way that is useful for contemporary social movements.

2.32 Making Meaning of ‘The Citizen’: Narratives and Self-descriptions of ‘The Poor’ in Kathputli Colony, Delhi

Shruti Dubey

This paper attempts to understand the relationship of the concept of citizenship with that of the urban poor. The definitions of citizenship have moved from merely being a question of belonging and membership of a political community based on the juridical contract between rights bearing individuals and the state, to being a process, a momentum concept, a scale with citizens and aliens being on opposite ends, a strategy of governing processes of social change and ‘a product of self and social discipline’. The question of who is a citizen, therefore, remains far from settled. It can be argued that the figure of ‘the citizen’ is produced in the discourses of various governmental actors. What happens to this figure when one is discussing the poor living in ‘informal’ settlements? To what extent are the poor legitimate, rights bearing citizens? What are the different discourses of the state and civil society actors about the poor residing in slums in the case of metropolitan capital of Delhi? How do the poor respond to these discourses about them? How do they engage with these constructions in order to carry on their politics in the precarious context of spatial restructuring in metropolitan cities? The paper attempts to answer these questions by looking at the case of a 58 year old *jhuggi-jhopri* cluster Kathputli colony,

near Shadipur Depot which is the first case of in-situ rehabilitation in Delhi that is being carried on by a private developer.

The paper would be divided into three sections. The first section theoretically analyzes the concept of citizenship to understand how it delineates the boundaries of exclusion and inclusion. Who is the individual who is worthy of becoming a citizen? What are his/her attributes? Do the poor fit the category of citizen? If not, what is it that prevents them from becoming normative, rights bearing citizen? The second section looks at the larger discourses and constructions about the poor and slums in the context of the spatial restructuring that happened in Delhi in the preparation of the Commonwealth Games in 2010 and thereafter. It endeavors to carry on discourse analysis to reach an understanding of the citizen of contemporary Delhi at the level of the city generally and at the level of Kathputli colony, specifically. Since the residents of Kathputli colony are not merely objects of constructions by various discourses but subjects in their own right, the last section brings out their self-descriptions and narratives to show how they contest or endorse the prevailing constructions to make a claim on the city and its resources. Can an analysis of the self-descriptions open a possibility of arriving at more inclusive definitions of citizenship?

2.33 Queer women and Sexual citizenship in India: A study of queer persons assigned gender female at birth

Sakshi Rai and Sachin Sourabh

The aspirational notion of citizenship has historically assumed an abstract, disembodied 'self' that interacts with the State through its participation in the public sphere. This understanding has for long obscured the exclusionary and gendered frameworks under which masculine heteronormativity is privileged over every other form of community membership. The familial logic of citizenship, exemplified in its post-Beveridge and postcolonial versions, all the more amounted to the construction of the 'private' through various legal and institutional apparatuses of the State. For a long time, the issues of violence within families, of bodily autonomy and its needs and pleasures were systematically pushed to the peripheries of political discourses and movements. But, from the late 1980s, with liberalisation of the media, rise of AIDS awareness programs and massive influx of international funding, a self-identifiable collective movement around sexual identities began to take shape in India. With the help of emerging Queer movements, sex and sexuality were becoming legitimate issues of 'public concern' and not just matters restricted to medical and legal spheres. This paper argues however, that the mainstream Queer movement in India has far from been inclusive of the lived realities of gender and has, in fact, contributed to the invisibilization of 'queer women' in the citizenship discourse. For categorical convenience, 'Queer women' includes Queer persons assigned gender female at birth. This is to highlight the particular concerns and politics of queer women which extend far beyond those taken up in the activism centered on the language of AIDS, Section 377 of the IPC and privacy. This paper will attempt to throw light upon those particularities and explore what is understood as 'sexual citizenship' with the help of existing literature and fieldwork with Queer women in New Delhi. Here, sexual citizenship refers to both a concept, and a method to politicize the 'intimate' and challenge the deep rooted heterosexist underpinnings of citizenship. Furthermore, it concerns sexuality as a determining factor in the allocation of the conventional triad of civil, political and social rights associated with citizenship. With the case of queer women, this paper will seek to understand the ways in which certain invisible categories make space for themselves in mainstream politics and what citizenship means to them.

2.34 Contesting Moral Public and Immoral Women - An Exploration of the evolving idea of Constitutional Morality

Aparna Eswaran and Hameeda C.K.

The roots of the idea of constitutional morality in India lies in the thought and writings of Dr B.R Ambedkar, who was ever aware of the inequalities beset in a newly independent India. Invoking the danger of the ‘tyranny of the majority’, he reminded the architects of the new India that while the ‘constitution was only the skeleton’, the successful working of democracy in India would depend on the existence of ‘constitutional morality’. Ambedkar very astutely coined the idea of constitutional morality, drawing on the observations of the classicist historian of Athenian democracy, George Grote, to tackle the problem of sustaining democracy in a society beset with inequalities of caste, class and gender. He reminded us of the dangers of a democracy which is built on a political majority which is actually a communal majority in disguise; and the warning rings true in its harshest tones in the contemporary political scenario of India in which the opinions and morality of the Hindu right wing is falsely touted as the consciousness of the nation. This paper is interested in exploring how in the context of increasing instances of public morality dictating lives of women, how the idea of constitutional morality as evolved within Indian judiciary and in public debates is useful in tackling concerns dealing with gender identity, especially regarding the question of faith and religion.

In contemporary history of India, the first instance where constitutional morality was emphasized by the judiciary was in the path breaking Delhi high court judgment on *Naz Foundation v NCT of Delhi* which decriminalized homosexuality as well as evolved a language of the right to intimacy within the idea of constitutional morality to address the issue. Subsequently the year 2018 saw the Supreme court invoke the idea of constitutional morality in many relevant cases ranging from the judgment on Right to privacy in the Aadhar case to its judgments on adultery, Triple Talaq, sexual orientation and on the right of entry of women in Sabarimala temple in Kerala. In this paper we will take two instances which placed women’s rights in the intersection of understandings of faith, public morality and fundamental rights within Kerala to further explore the evolving notion of constitutional morality as well as its potential to tackle the majoritarian public morality of the Kerala society. The first case is the Hadiya Case which deals with the willing conversion of an adult woman into Islam and her marriage to a Muslim Man. The paper will examine in detail the Kerala high court judgment in which the State assumed the role of the guardian of Hadiya set against the background of the islamophobic discourse of Love jihad in Kerala. The paper will argue how the subsequent Supreme Court judgment that overruled the Kerala High Court judgment contributes to the evolution of the idea of constitutional morality. The second case this paper will examine is the 2018 Supreme Court judgment which ruled that the ban on entry of women of ‘menstruating years’ from entry into Sabarimala is *ultra vires* the constitution, and explicitly invoked the term constitutional morality in doing so. The paper is interested in looking how the women and the subalterns of Kerala, especially the Dalits and the Adivasis, used Supreme Court’s invocation of the term to articulate a different mode of citizenship and a different interpretation of contemporary usage of the history of *Navodhanam* (renaissance based on caste reformation in Kerala). In both these cases the debates in the public sphere of Kerala betrays its misogynist and paternalistic tendencies in dealing with women as a citizen which it sees as being at odds with its understandings of morality.

Hence the paper will be structured into three sections; The first section will look at the academic engagement with Ambedkar’s idea of constitutional morality drawing mainly on his speeches in Constituent Assembly. The second section will succinctly summarize the case law usage of the term of constitutional morality to try and understand better the evolution of the

components of this vague term. The third and main section of the paper will look at the category of the outsiders of religion- the converted Muslim woman (in the Hadiya case) and the non-bhakta woman (in the Sabarimala case) and the potentials and limits of the idea of constitutional morality in ensuring their rights.

2.35 Identity and Citizenship at Crossroads

Purna Mishra

In the simplest of terms if citizenship is the right to have rights, then the changes in the nature of citizenship are also changing how one can access and perceive those rights. And Aadhar has been the cornerstone of changing the nature of citizenship and identity in India, which intrinsically implicates Aadhar and grants it a precarious location in the relationship these two concepts share. By incorporating digital identification features and a national database, aadhar had paved the way to 'digitalise' citizenship. Debates around Aadhar would seem to run out of options and arguments but its repercussions on the practice of citizenship - and in consequence, identity - loom larger than before. The approach of state surveillance and state identification that also stand behind aadhar can be seen in multiple actions by the current government vis-a-vis the National Register of Citizens and Transgenders' Rights Bill that is on its way to become a law. Times when the state has taken upon the task to 'identify its people' at its whims and further push away the marginalised, citizenship and identity become complicated and intertwined than ever before. People's identities are being threatened at the pretence of stripping them off their citizenship. For individuals and groups of people who exist on the boundaries of marginality and vulnerability, the only way for them to exercise and perform their citizenship translates into availing any or some of the rights and social security benefits they are entitled to. This availment might or might not lead to reclamation of existing identities or even a change in them, which then poses a question with respect to the relationship between citizenship and identity.

This paper seeks to trace the changing contours of citizenship and in turn, identity through citizenship in India. By looking at the challenges people face because of the availability and unavailability of Aadhar, it tries to explore the existing and potential danger digital citizenship poses to people's identities and rights in India. I also wish to include experiences from my field of practice with marginalised communities to talk about people's struggles to access their rights of employment, food and pensions. These communities who are vulnerable because of gender, caste, ethnicity and economic instability and experience deprivation and discrimination, their daily struggles are testimonial to the reality of how citizenship gets performed, identities get formed and reformed through the exercise of rights.

2.36 Revisiting Women's Movement within a Secular Framework

Anandita Ghosh

It has been a quarter of a century since Agnes examined the women's movement, in the backdrop of Babri Masjid demolition in Ayodhya and subsequent riots in the city of erstwhile Bombay. Agnes points to the failure of the women's movement in building a strong counter secular force in opposition to the communal forces. Since secularism was not a prime objective within the movement, there were no efforts made to develop secular symbols. While the movement itself was definitely not pro-Hindu, Hindu symbols and cultures crept into the movement. Subsequently, we witnessed the use of the same symbols and slogans for mobilizing women for right-wing agendas. Further, the riots raised the question of who the movement

should align with on the political front when there were converging demands on obscenity, uniform civil code, and women's representation with communal forces, although having arrived at the same stance following very different trajectories. The idea that a universal sisterhood existed was shattered in these years when women were drawing on their communal and religious identities and actively participated in violence against the other. It also reflected the inadequacy of the women's movement in centering a secular agenda. Agnes identified the need not only to address women's issues within a 'patriarchal framework but also within the challenges to democracy, secularism, and minority rights.'

Currently, the Babri Masjid judgement has been declared, and the communal tensions in the country are palpable. Given the present socio-political climate wherein there appears to be widespread acceptance of the Hindutva agenda among a majority of the people, the interactions between women and religious and communal identities will have varied implications on the lives of different women in diverse ways. This paper wishes to revisit the practices within the women's movement through an examination of case studies such as Nida Kirmani's paper on emerging Muslim feminisms and their relationship with the larger women's movement post the 1990s. It will also explore the larger movement's relationship with the issue of uniform civil code focusing on the recent ruling on triple talaq. Further, this paper seeks to explore the role of the women's movement in building a secular front in the present context where more and more women holding right-wing ideologies access traditionally male dominated public spaces against the 'other', but their very entry into these spaces might be conditional on their complicity and silence on conflicted issues within their own households and communities. This paper is an attempt to understand the events since 1994, in view of Agnes's paper, the present location of secularism as an agenda, and the possible ways forward, within the women's movement.

2.37 'In the Name of the People': Making (ab)Sense of Women's Agency and Belonging in Citizenship Debates as Nationhood and/or Peoplehood in India

Papia Sengupta

Contrary to popular perceptions surrounding globalization and borderless world, human identity as 'citizen' has become the most pertinent in modern world where all fundamental rights and claims of individuals are dependent on this single identity i.e. as 'citizens' of a territorial state. Citizenship, finds mention in the written constitution of most democracies but a significant aspect of who is a citizen, depends on the notion of belonging to the nation, one is born into. In post-colonial democracies characterized by cultural-religious plurality, belonging to the nation(s) is not a linear unidirectional uniform path for people as is the case with India, which as one political territory emerged only after independence in 1947. Even though parts of western India-Goa, Daman and Diu, Kashmir and Sikkim, joined the Indian state much later. Given the checkered history of territorial integration of India which continued well into the 1980s. the question of belonging (to a community/region) and becoming citizen (of a nation i.e. India) connoted different rationale and identities for people of India.

Under such circumstances, the Indian constitution stands as the most important document guaranteeing right to equality, freedom of expression irrespective of place of birth, religious-linguistic identities, political affiliations and community membership. Broadening the realm of citizenship our constitution accommodated the plethora of diversities by not making citizenship, a category dependent on any particular identity-this I call the 'constitutional plural model' of citizenship. But this doesn't mean that there were no alternative narratives and ideas present in India during independence or before that, a strong idea as propagated by the Hindu Mahasabha and later the RSS was of India as a *Hindurashtra*- or what

I call the 'religious monistic model' of citizenship has remained prevalent. Whereas the CP model highlighted the plural edifice on which India is built, the RM model beliefs rest on India as a Hindu majority nation, one prioritizing nation whereas the other's prime concern is the people- as citizens. Populism in India has diluted these two contradictory positions and merged the identity of citizen with that of people. Hence, whatever the Indian state is doing, it does so in the name of people. Interestingly, these two opposing positions have one unique similarity i.e. both narratives are marred with the absence of women agency. The present paper while investigating these diametrically opposite ideas as debated in the Constituent Assembly of India highlights the silences and suppression of women's agency within this interface of peoplehood and nationhood.

2.38 Economic and Livelihood Status of Minority Women of Muslim Women Post 1990-92: Middle level Town Ayodhya

Tarannum Siddiqui, Sushil Kumar

While the political implications and changes after the destruction of Ayodhya's Babri Masjid in 1992 have been extensively highlighted and examined in academic scholarship very little attention has been paid to how this has affected the lives of people living in and around Ayodhya. The voices, lives, and opinions of locals living in Ayodhya and surrounding areas are not included in debates on mainstream news channels on the issue of the Masjid's destruction and the court cases (and recent Supreme Court decision) that followed. Indeed, a research study was conducted in Ayodhya wherein adult women between the ages of 18 and 52 from Muslim communities were interviewed about how the Babri Masjid's destruction in 1992 affected their lives.

All of the women interviewed who were present in Ayodhya explained that they will never forget that day and that they and their families are still affected today. Some of the women also explained that when rallies and other political activities occur in and around Ayodhya that the economy is negatively affected and the pay rate per day decreases; making life even more difficult to manage. The research study in Ayodhya presents critical preliminary insights into how the destruction of the Babri Masjid has affected local families generally and women specifically. To build on and expand these initial findings, the study focus on how the aftermath of the Babri Masjid's destruction affected and how the status of women has changed through an in-depth, the objectives of the research study includes-Assess current status of women living in these localities, Explore any changes that may have occurred in women's status in these areas post Babri Masjid demolition and after verdict, Explore any changes that may have occurred in religious and cultural identity post Babri Masjid demolition and after verdict.

3 Women, Science and Scientific Temper—Exploring Progressive Alternatives

3.1 Technology and Women's Bodies: Assisted Reproduction and the Gendered Implications of Biological Citizenship

Aishwarya Chandran

The term biological citizenship was first conceptualized by Adriana Petryna in 2002, in her study of the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear holocaust. Attempting to study the lives of people suffering the health consequences of the nuclear disaster, she speaks of biological citizens as a class of people whose claims to citizenship are so severely circumscribed by their biologies, that it entitles them to specialized welfare policies and state practices. She calls biological citizenship 'a massive demand for but selective access to a form of social welfare based on medical, scientific, and legal criteria that both acknowledge biological injury and compensate for it' (Petryna, 2002, p.6). Welfare processes mechanized by the state rely on a rational-technical knowledge of populations, people, categories, embedded within a complex mesh of political, social, economic and scientific knowledges, creating multitudinous categories of political fields and citizenship practices. But all known models of scientific knowledge had been disrupted by the Chernobyl disaster, compelling newer codes of claim-making processes to be made. Normative citizenship practices were now being radically transformed in the wake of the nuclear holocaust where the knowability of science itself was being questioned. With this transformation in citizenship practices, new forms of vulnerabilities emerge, new forms of entitlements emerge, and suffering is appropriated by the state actors. The political and economic implications of these health concerns rouse anxieties in the processes of nation making, where the very enactment of these vulnerabilities both strengthens claims making abilities, but also produces newer vulnerabilities within the spectrum of citizenship practices. An objectification of suffering in economic, political terms, it also engenders novel bureaucratic practices and political codes.

Despite the proliferation in scholarship about the politics of biological citizenship practices, the gendered implications of biological citizenship have been relatively under researched. Biological citizenship brings to the fore questions about how ontologies of corporeality are produced and how normative citizenship ideals are moulded on a standardized image of corporeal identity. Biological citizenship investigates the hitherto assumed immutability of corporeal identity and posits it as tentative, always in the making, and contingent upon social, cultural, political, environmental factors. Within the context of feminist epistemologies, the notion of biological citizenship becomes all the more potent because feminist philosophers have consistently grappled with questions of bodily difference, and what it means to be a body at all.

The paper is based on an ethnographic study conducted in the city of Mumbai and explores the lives and lived experiences of women engaged as commercial surrogates and egg donors, and investigates the precarious networks of biomedical labour that have come to thrive in the underbelly of the hospital industry.

3.2 Science and Shame: The divergence between a statutory push for institutional deliveries and rising home births among the Indian elite

Alankrita Anand

This paper presents the India's dramatic rise in the rate of institutional deliveries, especially in rural areas, and cuts to metropolitan India where midwife and doula-assisted home births are making a steady comeback, asking the crucial question—whose practices do we see as scientific and newsworthy or at the very least, acceptable, and whose practices do we discount as old wives' tales, matters of national shame demanding state intervention?

According to National Family Health Survey data, the rate of institutional deliveries jumped from 38.7% in 2005-06 to 78.9% in 2015-16, This difference has been particularly stark in rural India (28.9% to 75.1%), where primary and sub-health centres are the main “institutions” for delivery. The accuracy and comprehensiveness of the measure aside, the jump, as it stands recorded, is credited to the role of ASHA workers (Accredited Social Health Activists) and

ANMs (Auxiliary Nurse-Midwives), both indispensable foot soldiers of the country's public health system. The push to appoint ASHAs and ANMs in every village is part of the government's efforts to meet global targets to lower the maternal mortality ratio. However, a rise in institutional deliveries did not lead to a proportionate decline in maternal mortality. The rise in institutional deliveries is also attributed to conditional cash transfer schemes but studies have found no direct linkages between scheme uptake and lower mortality. A host of reasons could be responsible: low scheme uptake, poor quality of care, lack of physical infrastructure, and a disregard for demand-side factors.

Nevertheless, the rise in institutional deliveries is seen as an achievement in itself, resting on the idea of making childbirth a safe experience. Tracing the history of institutional delivery in the West, however, one could argue that the idea was to medicalize childbirth. Before this process kicked in, home births were largely the norm. Popular culture is replete with instances of women giving birth in dimly lit rooms with dramatic draughts and a doctor who fails to reach on time. Today, one sees this only in films and books set in rural, remote and overtly patriarchal backdrops.

But home births are making a slow but steady comeback, albeit among the educated urban elite. These births are usually facilitated by a midwife trained in the technical aspects of childbirth and a doula to handle the emotive aspects of it. This package can cost anywhere between 35,000-70,000 rupees. Meanwhile, ANMs are paid 10,000-15,000 rupees a month, along with incentives per birth. However, it would be unfair to compare the two because ANMs assist childbirth at health centres, and only when it's a remote location do they go to the woman's house. Moreover, the idea behind appointing ANMs is not to recreate the experience of childbirth as an intimate event that binds women through shared experience but to ensure childbirth at the hands of a trained person.

In the wake of alarming C-section figures, there has been a global call to “normalise” vaginal births once again; it is argued that calling it *delivery* in health centres, as opposed to *childbirth*, itself medicalises the process, making it impersonal. An ANM also facilitates *delivery*, not *childbirth*, the latter being an experience that many women are now seeking out in the cities. The possibility is also being extended to urban women across the social strata through NGOs. Gynaecologists have also weighed in on the rising trend and sometimes raised caution. Meanwhile, government data is unlikely to have accounted for this new trend, perhaps because of its miniscule scale at this point. While home births may be a matter of shame for some, it is becoming an assertion for others, bringing us back to the question of who has the privilege to assert science and scientific temper.

This paper will trace how knowledge of childbirth got codified, focusing on which knowledges got codified and by whom; it will then understand maternal health targets as a modern state project exceedingly driven by figures, discussing the positions beneficiaries occupy as passive recipients or as right-seekers. It will contrast this situation with the new phenomenon of home births and discuss whether this model can be scalable, and if so, by whom and for whom.

3.3 Contemporary debates on science and scientific temper: challenges for feminist scholarship on science

Aswathy Raveendran

The contract between the state and science in postcolonial India has undergone several shifts over the past few decades. Immediately after Independence, the Indian state placed tremendous faith in science and technology as epistemic engines of progress. This is enshrined in the notion of “scientific temper”, popularized by Jawaharlal Nehru. Subsequently, India invested in scientific research as well as large-scale science and technology based development projects, which involved hydro-electric power plants, nuclear power and innovations in agriculture like the green revolution. However, many of these projects also began to invite criticism as they were deemed elitist, failed to cater to the needs of the majority and even lead to displacement and loss of livelihood. Despite these criticisms and industrial disasters like the Bhopal gas tragedy, the Indian state’s faith in science and technology based development persists till today. The public imagination also draws an equation between development and science and technology based progress. The uncritical faith in science and technology has been appropriated by different ruling regimes to further their agendas. This has been ensured by the systematic forging of associations between their ruling ideologies and scientific rationality. Recently in India, concerns around “retreat from reason” has emerged around pseudoscientific claims being made by right wing ideologues. Some individuals within the Indian scientific community have retaliated to these claims. This paper will attempt to map these recent developments employing a critical discourse analysis of recent media articles that have debated scientific temper. Drawing on academic scholarship within the Indian context that has attempted to understand various ideological positions on science, the paper will illustrate the dilemmas the present scenario throws up to feminist STS scholarship.

3.4 Gender, Sustainability and Identity; Responses to Technology and the Future of Work

Gayatri Nair

With growing awareness and concern about the environmental crisis, social and political responses to it have varied. Movements of various kinds have emerged to grapple with precarious ecological conditions- from those seeking drastic modifications of individual consumption to those that seek a broader political response. Environmental movements, particularly led by affected resource-dependent communities and which have included women in large numbers, have also taken the route of rejecting modern technology and seeking a retreat to-or revival of - traditional practices in order to be more sustainable. Feminist interventions - especially around the 1970s – that articulated this response as eco-feminism were built on an essentialist and reductive understanding of women’s relation to nature, capitalism and technology. This relation, however, as other feminist movements and discourse have highlighted, is far more complicated. Women have not always rejected technology, but rather

have been both denied access to technology and often suffered from its demands of re-skilling and de-skilling that accompanied shifts in production. In contexts where the division of labour led to a complete negligence of the application of technology to women's work, there has been a consequent undervaluation of women's labour.

This paper unpacks the politics of women and technology within an environmental movement. Specifically, it explores fisherwomen's and the fisher movement's response in Mumbai to the capitalist turn in the fisheries and the technological shift it ushered in. The broader fisher movement's approach to technology has been of a rejection of new technology, but for the Koli fisherwomen in Mumbai the situation was more nuanced. Even as they participated in the broader fisher movement and its call for elimination of new technology, they also articulated their concern that women's work in the fisheries had never been considered as a subject for technological upgradation. Consequently fisherwomen mobilised to access new technology. What they were pushing for was a political response that attacked the processes and institutional means through which the technological and economic transformation was inaugurated rather than a blanket condemnation of technology itself. The reasons for this demand closer scrutiny. Koli fisherwomen protested the denied and delayed access to technology, but also did so in the knowledge that their social identities linked to their work were unlikely to significantly alter with the penetration of technology in 'women's work', which was unlike the case for fishermen.

This relationship between gender, forms of work and social identities holds wider implications particularly in our contemporary moment. In the future of work in a technologically driven society, what are likely to be the gender outcomes? Will the structured restriction of women, to certain kinds of work allow them to fare better or worse in a world of work where automation of jobs and transformations to the nature of work will be common? Will social identities linked to work be broken down? And if so would this be a loss, particularly in the context of India where many such identities are markers of discrimination? The feminist possibilities available to reconfigure social relations around work in such a context are potent and must be examined.

3.5 Australian and Indian Policies, Programs and Initiatives for Women in STEM: A Cross-Cultural Comparison

Kirsty Haynes

This paper will explore policies, programs and initiatives established by Australian and Indian governments that are designed to increase the participation rates of women in science, technology, engineering and mathematics. This is commonly more known as STEM. The paper will identify flaws in existing programs and initiatives as well as demonstrate the extent to which, Australian and Indian women have the potential to benefit.

Indian programs and initiatives that will be evaluated include programs headed under the Knowledge Involvement in Research Advancement through Nurturing (KIRAN) initiative. Some of the programs incorporated under the KIRAN initiative include the Women Scientists Scheme, the Indo-US Fellowship for Women in STEMM and the Mobility Scheme. A further Indian government program that will be assessed is the Women Entrepreneurship Platform. Some of the Australian programs and initiatives that will be explored include the Women in STEM and Entrepreneurship Program, STARportal and the Girls in STEM Toolkit.

The paper will also identify and explain the social, political, ideological and economic influences that have shaped and influenced policymakers. It will be found that these factors differ in India and Australia. India's diverse cultural, religious, social, economic and cultural groups play a large role in determining what type of work is appropriate for women. In addition,

the wider academic literature indicates that patriarchy within the context of the Indian family structure continues to influence decisions made about education. Moreover, the influence of Hindu nationalism does have the potential to impact women's participation in science. With regards to Australia, social, cultural and institutional factors have the potential to compound issues faced by Australian women in STEM. These issues include gendered discrimination, an inability to juggle caring responsibilities and flawed flexible arrangement practices.

The paper will also examine the extent to which, Indian and Australian policies, programs and initiatives share similarities. For instance, it can be argued that both the Indian government under Narendra Modi and the Australian government under Scott Morrison continue to be influenced by ideology that asserts that women are responsible for their own economic empowerment. This is evident when assessing the Indian government's Women Entrepreneurship Platform and the Australian government's Women in STEM Entrepreneurship Program. This has implications for women wishing to pursue STEM given that recent research indicates that entrepreneurial pursuits can be economically risky with start-ups requiring constant funding and lower amounts of legal protection.

It should also be acknowledged that there are also notable policy differences when comparing India and Australia. Indian programs for women in STEM under the KIRAN initiative do attempt to address the issues faced by women when they attempt to re-enter their STEM profession following a career break. Indian government programs also tend to offer more economic relief to women in STEM as evident when evaluating the Women Scientists Schemes. In contrast, initiatives developed by the Australian government tend to focus on providing women in STEM with a means to access information about relevant programs and support services. This can be demonstrated when analysing programs such as the Girls in STEM Toolkit and STARportal.

As such, it will be argued that there are areas where Australia can learn from India (and vice versa). Moreover, both respective governments and their approach to tackling decreasing rates of women in STEM reflect the fact that policymakers often have an inadequate understanding of the complex factors that contribute to female underrepresentation in STEM. As such, policy flaws including a lack of solid evidence base for programs, a lack of detailed information regarding the participation rates of women in STEM as well as insufficient funding have the potential to undermine attempts to further improve engagement.

3.6 The Menace of Menstrual Politics

Mythri Bangalore

Article 51A(h) of the Constitution of India, which delineates the fundamental duties of an Indian citizen, requires every individual to "develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of enquiry and reform." In the post-Independence era, various measures were taken by the governments to establish scientific institutions which have not only been involved in conducting scientific research, but also popularising science and propagating scientific temper. These measures have played a considerable role in tackling superstitions and unscientific beliefs held by people. However, the present times are marked by a strong and steady attack against the scientific ethos.

Parties across the political spectrum are using religion to bolster their attack against science and suppress the spirit of enquiry. All religions have various rules and tenets governing the behaviour of their followers. The most underprivileged position in any religious sect is occupied by women on whom the burden of abiding by the regulations imposed on them is the greatest. Various religious beliefs are imposed on them to exert a greater degree of control on

their lives, ensuring that they remain in an inferior position to men. When a self-proclaimed hyper-nationalistic government builds its political agenda on the basis of religion, it undermines the cause of science and hampers the development of scientific temper amongst the populace. This is evidenced by the fact that elected representatives openly make statements dismissing the scientific method and propagating a myriad of superstitions.

Even in this day and age menstruation remains a societal taboo, so much so that across religions women are considered 'impure' due to this natural bodily function. In many communities across the Indian subcontinent, menstruating women are treated like untouchables and are isolated from the rest of the community. These discriminatory practices have spawned various unscientific myths about menstruation. Ironically enough, a significant section of women also does not interrogate the credibility of such beliefs. One of the discriminatory practices is to keep women away from places of worship. An extreme manifestation of this can be seen in the instance of the Sabarimala temple which prohibits entry of all women between the ages 10 and 50. A Supreme Court judgement in 2018 allowed women entry into the temple, causing a highly polarised scenario.

Not only did the Central government fail to protect the interests of women in this instance, politicians of major national parties spoke out against the Supreme Court judgement. What should have been a celebration of equality was turned into an opportunity for vote bank politics. What is a cause for greater consternation is the fact that the Supreme Court has allowed a plea to revisit the verdict, a move which has the potential to undermine the faith posed by the people in the judiciary.

In light of such a socio-political scenario, this paper proposes that the obscurantist superstitions and myths that have been handed down for centuries can only be countered by strong organised people's movements. It looks at how popular science, women's organisations and other non-governmental entities in Karnataka have been working towards spreading awareness about menstruation at the grassroot levels. This paper explores progressive alternatives to attacks on scientific temper and propagation of unscientific beliefs.

3.7 Ethics and Technology: Embryonic Stem Cell Research in India

Riya Ray

Globalisation has affected the formation of the nation-state we call India in various ways. The themes of development and progress post-independence and especially in the 90s has played an important role in painting and negotiating the image of India, both within India and to the rest of the world. We can trace the emergence of human embryonic stem cell research in India back to the middle of the twentieth century. During that time in India, the role played by science and technology was crucial in transforming the economic and political state of India as a nation.

To understand how and why hSCR (human stem cell research) play an important role in the bio-research and technology in India and globally we need to understand what are Stem Cells and how do they function. "The reason for stem cells attracting a degree of controversy is because of the use of embryonic stem cells. The availability of eggs and embryos has been of great significance in the emergence of India's stem cell research".

The rise of interest and investment in Stem Cell research also comes from the sentiments of nationalism. The responsibility of taking the nation forward acts through the rhetoric of science and development. Nationalism along with the need for a nation to become a global player makes it the norm to demand sacrifice and even justifies inflicting pain and suffering on the people.

By studying the emergence of hSCR in India and the subsequent developments, I want to look at the relationship it has with global policy and politics concerning bio-ethics. By studying the emergence of hSCR in India and the subsequent developments, I want to look at the relationship it has with global policy and politics concerning bio-ethics. The negotiations and cracks that we see in the policy formation or the implementation of it could take place because of the neoliberal form of governance in place over these practices and organisations working towards it.

The exploitation of people who are part and parcel of gathering stem cells for research and various other kinds of experimentation and trials takes place under the garb of ethical and informed consent. To understand the willingness of the participants one needs to look at the landscape of the population participating. The suffering is collected through the existing social and economic inequalities.

The national framework of regulations and state investment and involvement are important things to look at to understand the importance of bio-ethical research in India. The various case studies of IVF centres and hSCR in India compels us to ask the questions of how the regulations work in the field? How are research interests related to national interests and how they are impacting the population involved and crucial to the research? Women who are part of the research how are their lives effected and what are the stakes they can claim in such a research. The economical, ethical and sociological make up of India as a nation makes it a favourable space for such research but who is it favourable for? As, India is providing a guiltless and easy consumption and circulation of various services Inhorn points out an important aspect of medical research, “In the field of medical anthropology, the risk of romanticising reproductive agencies. People in this subordinated positions are not unreflecting passive automatons. They demonstrate, resolve, struggle, and problem solving in their quest to control their reproductive lives...The sever constrains that they face due to lack of proper policy and legal and structural framework in place also leads them to restrictive and limited reproductive choices. This often includes painful decisions of opting for reproductive technologies that will cause them disadvantage”. Moreover, the idea of ‘informed’ consent and willingness of participants need to be understood and read under these contexts and subtexts.

3.8 Engendering the Field of Science and Technology

Roshan Ara

While we are witness to a massive change in the outlook of the society towards women's education and emancipation, the participation of women in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) disciplines remains quite dismal. The field of Science and Technology has remained mostly the domain of men. Though the Governments at national and International levels are putting their efforts and investing huge funds for making women equal beneficiaries of science and technology yet gender parity in the field has been a distant dream.

According to the UNESCO estimates only 35% scientists in the world are women. World Economic Forum puts the Gender gap in STEM at 55%. World Bank 2018 data has recorded a huge gender gap in STEM disciplines at under-graduate level (22.1%), particularly in Computer Sciences (19%), Engineering and Technology (17%) and Mathematics (37.1%). In Europe, there are more women in Nursing, Teaching, Education and Social work but only a few in Engineering and Computer Sciences. The more gender equal countries like Norway, Finland and Sweden are also very low in STEM. According to UNESCO, women constitute only 29% of the researchers in one hundred and twenty one countries, 18% of researchers in Asia, 13% in India and Japan and 15% in South Korea. Till date only about 40 women scientists have been awarded Noble prize. Indian women constitute only about 40% of Under-graduates

in Science with Engineering coming close to second. Technological Companies have only 26% women engineers. Even in Ph. Ds in Science, only about 30% are women. The number of women heading science laboratories, science sections in Government offices, governing advisories and women with successful careers in other fields of science is very less. The reasons responsible for such a state of affairs are related to the gender blind approach followed in our system where women's credibility is suspected and they are least preferred for leadership positions. Various socio-cultural taboos, gender stereotypes, lack of awareness of parents and a patriarchal mindset of the society have divided the domains of knowledge according to gender.

Keeping in view the changing world scenario and in order to keep pace with the current challenges, it becomes imperative to mainstream gender at all policy making levels and embrace woman governance in the field of Science and Technology. The need of the hour is to break the 'Glass Ceiling' in the scientific field and make sure that all vistas of scientific knowledge are open to the women. Reducing gender gap in science and technology will help in reducing gender gap in skills, increase employability and productivity of women and also prove as a tool for reducing occupational segregation which in turn will lead to foster economic growth. There is a need to create an environment that would lead to develop curiosity and passion among women for studying and researching of science and technology.

A positive image of successful women in various fields needs to be created and concrete measures need to be taken to make them role models for our young and budding female folk so that they can opt for vocational and technical subjects. We need to develop a scientific temper and taste among girl students and organize awareness campaigns for this purpose. Concerted efforts of all the stakeholders of the society, including parents and teachers, are needed to boost the confidence of girls and hone their talent in the field of Science and Technology. Giving women the roles in scientific leaderships can motivate more women to come forward for research and analysis and can lead to a more comfortable and secure work culture for women. Women in leadership positions can change aspirations of girls by undertaking policies that make it easier for women to succeed and by providing a role model of a successful woman. The UN Secretary General Antonio Gutres also stresses for creating an enabling environment for female scientists and technologists whereby they can create a new social order

The present paper aims at examining the current state of women participation at various levels in science and technology, assessing the gender gap existing in the field, identifying the reasons responsible for the least participation of women in science and technology and working out the ways and means for en-gendering the field of Science and Technology.

3.9 Women in Science: Gender Differentials in Indian Academia

Shaila Desouza, P. Mukhopadhyay, Murari Tapaswi

Women as a group are unequally represented in political decision-making, employment, education, and remuneration. Education is expected to bring emancipation by creating capability and access to opportunity. It also helps the under-privileged to break social and economic barriers, undertake tasks that are not traditionally associated with their social or economic categories and empowers individuals and communities to participate equally in society. Scientific temper could transcend barriers of caste, culture, religion and race.

Universities should provide equal opportunity to women both at the enrolment stage as well as in the recruitment and career-advancement. However, the unequal representation of women in universities especially in the sciences was highlighted in high-income countries like the USA as early as the 1960s and some argue that they remain the same even now. Studies in

India have found similar evidence of under-representation of women in the employed academic sector especially in scientific organisations and higher education. This is a matter of concern as it embodies the politics of discrimination that perpetuates itself in all other spheres of the economy and society. This paper examines the gender gap in student enrolment, employment and publication in a selected list of top-ranking Indian higher education institutions and locates this in the larger context of exclusion of women. This paper contributes to the empirical literature on women's participation in higher education and examines its consequences for gender equality and possible remedies.

3.10 Women in Science: Nature of Struggle and Negotiation in Indian Context

Sunita Dhal

Over the past decade, many policies and programmes have been implemented to promote and increase the participation of women in the field of science and technology across various countries. In India, government has designed women scientist schemes to facilitate the recruitment, retention and re-entry of women in disciplines of natural science. As a result of these outreaches programmes, gender sensitivity is gradually built in within institutional spheres to promote women scientists and technologists to pursue science career. On this backdrop, the present paper aims at exploring some of the key questions related to women scientists' access to science and research in the contexts of their social and professional locations, and how do social and professional locales shape women's access to science and technology. The paper is based on the analysis of primary data which was collected from a group of women scientists through in-depth interviews. The study explored respondents' social locations and its intersection with pursuing a career in science and research in India. The results indicated that the nature of struggle and negotiations can plausibly reflect women's access to science career and research in context-specific manner. The study discusses policy implications relating to institutionalization of gender proactive policies in scientific field.

3.11 Knowledge and Attitude of Family Planning Methods Among Women

Sunitha Ponnampalli and D. Usharani

The expert committee by W.H.O. defined family planning as the "practices that help individuals or couples to attain certain objectives like, to avoid unwanted births, to bring about wanted births, to regulate intervals between pregnancies, to contribute the time at which birth occurs in relation to the ages of the parents and to determine the number of children in the family". Availability of family planning methods does more than enable women and men to limit their family size. It safe guards both individual health and rights and also improves the quality of life of individual women, partners and their children. In India, no matter whatever type of contraceptive is advocated, acceptability by the people becomes difficult because of the poor living conditions. This is over whelming felt in the depressed rural areas where privacy, water, electricity, knowledge of reproductive physiology and most important-motivation are virtually absent. Further, the traditional view that children are god given prevents the acceptance of the very idea of family planning not only among rural population and also among considerable urban population. For deemed India's vast heterogeneous population no single method, however good can be suitable. Theoretically all the scientifically approved contraceptives are available to the people, and the different methods of family planning.

3.12 Ved Garbh Vihar and Hard Hindutva: A Reading of Cultural Texts

Vasudha Mohanka

The state of Gujarat, the laboratory of Hindutva in India has since the early 2000, witnessed the co-existence of a burgeoning non-biomedical (read non-Western) program, namely, Ved Garbh Vihar (earlier known as Garbh Vigyan Sanskar) alongside a biomedical reproductive industry of assisted reproduction and commercial gestational surrogacy. Ved Garbh Vihar, is an RSS run biopolitical-ethno-religious-repronational project that seeks to inscribe dominant “cultural” (read Hindutva) values on to various bodies- reproductive and those unborn. The program is a “confluence of sexology, eugenics, cultural practices, and maternal and child health” that “claims to produce *su-santan* or *uttam santan* (perfect child)” for a perfect nation (Sur, 2018).

This paper analyses electronic print media, the Twitter page of the RSS led Garbh Vigyan Sanskar and the website of Garbh Vigyan Sanskar as cultural texts. While print media at times eulogises the initiative, at other times it critiques the program as resonating Nazi ideals aspiring for particular traits. Through a close reading of the Garbh Vigyan Sanskar/Ved Garbh Vihar website, this paper demonstrates the transnational positioning of Hindutva’s repronational project, aimed towards producing “*srestha vyakti- srestha samaj- srestha rashtra*” (*transl. superior/great person- great society- great nation*) (garbhsanskar.org.in), much like the Nazi ideals of a perfect race. A further examination of a host of electronic English language print media articles reveals that a large majority critique the program through provocative titles, funny images and likening the RSS representatives’ narratives to Hitler’s Nazi regime and the transnational cultural exchange of Ayurvedic knowledge between India and Germany.

An oft-cited story is that of the Mother in Germany who reminded an RSS representative of the importance of ante natal and pre natal care citing Hindu mythico-religious characters such as Abhimanyu. However, a few articles seemingly endorse the program through detailing success stories of prodigious children born, eliding the embedded elements of Hindutva nationalism. *Ved Garbh Vihar* programme vacillates between mythico-historicity and modernity. The program produces not just babies, but reproduces neo-eugenic ideals creating a potential “Made in India babies” industry towards the larger project of nation building. The paper demonstrates through a close reading of cultural texts that the program sells itself as a Hindutva initiative, elides other marginalized groups and reflects the aspirations of the early RSS leaders through Ayurveda and the deployment of social media.

4 Migration, Labour and Constitutional Rights

4.1 Can a System Like the *Kudds* Help Bring About More Equitable Gender Relations?

Aida A.P. Dourado

The home is stereotypically seen as a woman's domain. However, the 'home' that I had grown up hearing about, namely the *kudd* or home in which my father had lived as a migrant looking for work in Bombay, was a home in which my mother and/or any other women were not present. This paper discusses the system of functioning of the *kudd* or home that has been run by men and for men exclusively. Men raised within this system have challenged many gender stereotyped roles and responsibilities particularly day to day chores within the *kudd*.

The *kudd* system was a system introduced by the Goan Catholic community to help its members find income generating opportunities outside the state to combat economic backwardness. This was started during the Portuguese colonization of Goa, when there were limited opportunities in Goa for people to earn a living. This paper discusses *kudds* in Mumbai today using an ethnographic study of six such *kudds* and raises pertinent questions about the triggers for altering gender relations and analyses if this has had any impact on relations when men from the *kudds* return to their own homes in Goa

4.2 Emergence of property rights among Tripuris of Tripura – Implications for women

Ashim Shil and Paramita Saha

Right to own property and adequate housing are necessary for the full realization of human potentials. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 17, says "Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others; No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property." The argument for ownership of land or property by women rests basically on the premises that:

- (a) It is her right to inherit, receive, purchases, sell the property.
- (b) Ownership of property acts as a security for women.
- (c) Property ownership also improves her position in the households and improves her entitlement to income.

But scholars working on land or property rights of women have noted that gender along with other factors prevent women from accessing property rights. The equal right to own property or inherit ancestral property does not guarantee actual ownership or control over the land. In India property ownership of women is mostly through inheritance or succession and government programmes. In this context, the scholars have also shown how gender roles conceived and analyzed in different cultures, ethnic and religious groups can at times be further perpetuated by law enforcement machinery. Gender constraints along with other factors influence the accessibility of legitimate share in the property by women. Feminist scholars like Bina Agarwal, Nitya Rao, Flavia Agnes, Govind Kalker, Sofia Amral et.al have critically discussed the gender issues in access to property ownership of women in their writings.

The Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act, 2005 is the legitimated direction to the inheritance property rights for Hindu women and men in India. But in several parts of South and North-east India, the customary law and practices contradict the legitimate law of property inheritance by women. In this context, Tripura is a state comprising of the multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic groups. As per the 2011 census report, there are nineteen Tribal communities in Tripura and within these Tribal communities, there are several clans. Each tribal community of Tripura follows different traditions, customary laws, and practices in marriages, childbirth ceremonies, death rituals, and cultivation rituals. However, none of them have any specific custom of property inheritance. As these communities adopted settled cultivation and in the face of Govt. policy to abolish the practice of Jhum or Shifting cultivation, the importance of land rights emerged as crucial. In recent times FRA has become a significant tool to confer land rights to Tribal forest dwellers. Land ownership documents are often mandatory for accessing the benefits from different Govt. schemes based on land, need for credit from bank, etc. Though there are several studies conducted on the various issues of the Tribes of Tripura, there is hardly any discussion on the property right of women. Tripura is one of the pioneer states in implementing the Forest Rights Act (2006). But the impact of the act on women beneficiaries needs to be investigated. Thus this paper investigates the impact of ownership of property rights on women of the Tripuri community and the role of gender in this context. Various studies on property or land rights of women, government reports, court verdicts, case studies, and news reports of local and national dailies have been analyzed to examine the relevant issues. To conceptualize the objectives of the paper a field survey is conducted in the West Tripura and Dhalai district of Tripura. The survey area was selected purposively to include urban and rural areas, such that a suitable sample of Tripuri households may be obtained. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and Case Studies are used as methodological tools to understand the situation of Tripuri women with respect to property rights.

4.3 Gender, Migration and Caste: Interrogation of statist representation of care-workers in the context of HIV/AIDS Discourse

Asima Jena

This paper focuses on transnational migration of Dalit women into care-economy more particularly, providing labour service as domestic help, child-care, etc in Gulf countries from Konaseema region (reserved constituency for Dalits or scheduled caste) of East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. It situated the mobility of Dalit women at a critical juncture wherein the prospect from agriculture, fisheries, etc dwindled for Dalit communities in Konaseema region whereas the demand for female labour in care-market surged in Gulf countries triggered by the boom in oil market/economy globally. Given the scenario of troubled nature of economy and precarious earnings of Dalits in Konaseema region, transnational migration of young Dalit married or single women was a strategic decision or calculated move. It is a calculated move as the economic returns outweighed the cost of not performing motherhood and conjugal duties for shorter period – five to six years of contract. Significantly, the stigma associated with domestic work preempted savarna women from migration and thus, care work should be read not merely from the axis of gender, caste divides can be drawn as well. Making a significant departure from conventional migration scholarship – which linked the globalization and feminization of care economy – that highlighted lower income women’s sexual exploitation and vulnerability in care economy particularly domestic work, this paper emphasizes “on practices or materiality that underlies globalization” as termed by Saskia Sassen and “the influence of ethnic and community networks” when subaltern people make decision for international migration. Alejandro Portes underlines this latter aspect in his paradigm of

“globalization from below” and treated migration as people’s coping mechanism to counter insecurities unleashed through informalization of economy. Considering this analytical purchase, this study concentrated on two themes. First, it throws light on processes of migration i.e. existence of support systems or relatives already working abroad, arrangement of finance for travel, conjugal relationships at home and care deficiency of their children – such as leaving behind their own small children to receive care from their in-laws or parents while taking care of the children of the rich. Secondly, it underscores the patriarchal and casteist side of State in terms of curtailing the migration of Dalit women.

In this connection, this paper exclusively engages on Dalit women’s association with care economy and the modes through which HIV/AIDS discourse particularly anti-trafficking initiatives tried to impose restriction on the labour of Dalit women under the guise of protecting and rehabilitating them. While looking at the discourse and micro-functioning of anti-trafficking initiatives, the stress is to underline its dissonance with the everyday realities and interests of subaltern women. In parallel, it deconstructed the official account of HIV/AIDS which portrayed Dalit women’s migration pejoratively in terms of globalizing HIV/AIDS. In the anti-trafficking discourse of HIV/AIDS, female migration is extended from violation of women’s body to an infecting agent- spreading HIV infection among general people upon their return. By conflating voluntary female migration with coercive forms of migration, it appropriated Dalit women’s performance in care economy as sexual exploitation and their vulnerability to sexual epidemics. Globalization of HIV infection precisely implied the spread of HIV/AIDS infection by Dalit women via international migration – initially, Dalit women were infected when they worked in gulf countries through their customers, and later, upon their return infected their innocent husbands – Dalit men in Konaseema region. By analyzing a particular pattern in Dalit women’s migration, I intend to showcase how this particular form of migration though brought economic security and enhanced the social status – construction of houses, purchase of vehicles, education for the children, etc, in Dalit households, at the same time, it fraught with other problems i.e. marital/conjugal discords at home. However, “marital discord” is mapped through a different register. For instance, deprived of conjugal relationships, remittances were spent in entertainment activities – Dalit men visiting sex-workers and crucially involvement in unsafe sex. Against the statist representation of movement of Dalit women, this paper provides an alternative narrative in which the cause of HIV infection rate is not attributed to Dalit women’s migration rather unsafe activities of their men. However, instead of promoting safe sex activities, the statist discourse shifted towards restricting Dalit women’s mobility. This explains the way trafficking ideology prevails in the state narrative which always makes female migration the subject of suspicion and scrutiny.

4.4 Migration as a Source of Livelihood: A Study of Women Migrant Labourers in the Border Area of Karnataka and Maharashtra

Bhuvaneshwari Kamble and Hemalatha H.M.

Women constitute a major portion as well as play major role in the migration as labourers particularly in border areas of Karnataka and Maharashtra. The study aims at analyzing the socio-economic status of women labourers and impact of migration of women. The study covered the sample of 1000 women who migrate every year for 6-9 months and engage in sugarcane harvesting, bricks making, canal works and planting in forest area. Data has been collected by using interview schedule and case study method. Action research is also adopted to bring improvement in the living condition and create awareness about the labour laws.

The analysis of data shows that 73.9% of women belong to SC category 17.3% to OBC not a single woman is found from the so-called upper caste. As expected, 79.5% are illiterates and landless labourers obviously forced women to migrate for livelihood and survival. 81.2% women come under the age group of 20-40 years which is the reproductive and working age. 77.7% women are subjected child marriage and 70.6% women are facing domestic violence. 64% women are not having home in their native place. 76% women are facing drinking water problems. 80.9% women are not using their payments to meet the personal requirements.

The nature and structure of work reveals that they work like bonded labourers. It is found that sugarcane harvesting is not at all considered as wage work by the labour department. So, efforts are being made to organize women under SHG and give memorandum to the labour department to register them as labourers. As per the results women work for 13-14 hours at anytime in day and night without wage as advance amount has been taken by husbands before migration. Every year women are bound to migrate to repay the advance which cannot be completed in one season. Women have to live with no wage, no house, no water, no electricity, no health service, no school for children for 6-9 months. this paper is explained about the problems to earn their livelihood.

4.5 Modern slavery, trafficking and forced labour: Discourse and Resistance

P. Bindhulakshmi, Roshni Chattopadhyay, Meena Gopal and Lorena Arocha

With expansion of integrated global markets, the conditions of labour in these ever more complex supply chains are characterised by outsourcing, offshoring and subcontracting arrangements. Deplorable conditions of work span these supply chains in the production of basic commodities such as tea, sugar, prawns, chicken, onions, chocolate that estimate nearly 40 million 'modern slaves' around the world (Kotiswaran 2019).

A new discursive space influences global and national policy frameworks. Migration that is a normative condition of much of the developing world, criss-crosses trafficking. Displacement, violence against women and marginal groups perpetuate forced labour for significant sections of the population. The recent shift in international law, policy and practice from trafficking for sexual exploitation, to 'modern slavery' has allowed the re-framing of these global supply chain labour abuses and exploitation as a form of modern slavery. What is significant is that these developments are reflected even in the much advocated SDGs which have incorporated contradictory objectives such as achieving decent work with economic growth, while addressing forced labour, trafficking and modern slavery.

Further, labour organizing is now being recognised as having a role in tackling modern slavery. This despite the fact that labour organizing and labour movements have historically resisted forms of exploitation and struggled for rights to wages, welfare and better conditions of work. Alternative Worker-driven Social Responsibility models such as the Florida Fair Food Programme or the Bangladesh Accord are presented as better alternatives in the absence of labour organizing, where workers' voices are presented.

This paper attempts to draw from the findings of a study *Worker-driven initiatives to tackle modern slavery: a socio-historical pilot study* that addresses specific sectors in India such as waste-picking, sugar-cane cutting, and brick-kiln work from among a few sectors, with an over-representation of women migrant workers. Our research attempts to problematise the global narrative of 'trafficking' and 'modern slavery' by taking the 'worker driven social responsibility' model as a starting point, but a model that we do not subscribe to as a homogenised alternative. We instead foreground the lived experiences of workers encountering deplorable *conditions of work within new forms of organizing* in the current global economy that form the backbone for these efforts.

In this context, we seek to *connect these new efforts* of labour organizing in the informal economy with the role of long-existing labour movements and organizations that have challenged the role of state, industry and civil society. This brings in the specificities of contexts like that of India where class, caste and gender assume significance within labour processes of global supply chains. Additionally, we observe how these perspectives on workers differ from this current perspective on worker-driven monitoring initiatives. Through empirical evidence from the field, we attempt to understand how precarity and exploitation are also driven by wider social structures such as caste-based discrimination, gender-based violence and state indifference. Where state prioritizes business interests over labour rights, both workers' organizations and workers themselves are left to reimagine their efforts in the context of global discourses.

4.6 Intersection of Gender, Migration and Livelihood: A Study Based on the Lived Experiences of Women Migrants Living in the Slums of Mumbai

Debanita Biswas

Drawing from the case studies of my doctoral research this paper explores the politics of everyday lived experiences of women migrants dwelling in slums through the lens of constitutional rights. Their narratives reflect on their gendered everydayness and livelihood engagement in the urban slum environment of Mumbai.

Migration offers different consequences for men and women belonging to the economically weaker strata. A conceptually flawed official process categorized married women migrants as

'associated migrant'. While migration is entangled with the complexities of livelihoods and gendered power relations, these power relations define women's access to resources and mobility. The State apathy towards the slum dweller women migrants generates marginalities at multiple levels. It invisibilises them in the official data sources that affects their rights and entitlements and also denies the recognition of their economic contribution. The paper delves into the thick ethnographic narratives of these women to comprehend their lived experiences on migration contexts, livelihood opportunities, agency and aspirations.

Among twenty four administrative wards of Mumbai city, the M East Ward is ill-famed for the lowest human development indicators and more than seventy percent slum population. During my stay in this ward for sixteen years and my engagement with research projects of TISS I have onbserved that the women migrants, staying on rent in the slums, were not allowed to parcipate in the survey by their landlords, get limited access to water and are hesitant to talk or share about health needs and domestic violence. These experiences influenced my research and in it I aim to explore the gaps I felt existed in earlier research projects.

My paper will look into how these migrant women collaborate to contribute to their family income within the spatial site specificities, marginalities and invisibilities. I will also look at their roles in crucial resource mobilisation in home making; in the education of their children; and as part of the work force of the city. I hope to focus on how, as mothers, they envision empowerment by focussing on educating their daughters for livelihood, rather than on marriage. While it is important to problematize the construction of their identities as change agents in their community, it is necessary to recognise the ways in which they themselves view this potential.

4.7 Laboring for a Roof: Migrant Women Bartering Work for Housing

Dimple Tresa Abraham

The urban centre of Delhi has prompted an influx of migrants who come to the city in search of livelihood opportunities and employment. Many among them, particularly those from lower socioeconomic groups, struggle to achieve inclusion in terms of quality and regularity of work options and living spaces. For a poor migrant family engaged in low paying informal sector jobs, the option for affordable housing may be very limited in the city, with majority living in urban slums and JJ clusters. Few may find better localities to live in, the access facilitated mostly through social networks.

This study is based on field work on quasi-live-in domestic workers mostly first or second generation migrant women living in attached servant quarters in Delhi. Studies indicate migration to cities and domestic work to be closely related, with more than half of all part-time and full-time domestic workers in the city being migrants. While their cash earnings are crucial for the survival of households, this study using case studies of 20 quasi-live-in domestic workers bringing out daily struggles and negotiations to ensure the family has a relatively better roof in the harsh urban landscape of Delhi. Many of these women were found to work far below minimum wages as negotiations primarily was based on barter system – work in-lieu of the servant quarter. These systems/arrangements of work are yet to be included within the regulatory framework. Women under these type of work arrangements may remain outside the protection of worker rights as value of exchanged goods and service remain unclear and opportunity for organising or collective negotiations do not exist unless the state play a proactive role towards ensuring rights.

4.8 Type of Short Duration Male-Migration and Impact on Women Agricultural Workers

Itishree Pattnaik

This article contributes to the growing literature on feminisation of agriculture and its impacts on women's empowerment the measurement of which has been at the forefront of policy discussions in recent years. It analyses the complex impacts of gender-selective outmigration on women's roles in agriculture and livestock rearing, and reproductive activities such as household management and financial management. The paper is based on primary data from 800 rural households collected through extensive field surveys during 2015–16 in the two Indian states of Gujarat and West Bengal. The analysis shows a significant increase in women's work, as, along with their reproductive chores, additional responsibilities in the farm have to be borne by women because of male outmigration. However, contexts matter; data collected and analysed from the two states reveal different results regarding changes in decision-making by women.

Our analysis shows that migration is higher in Gujarat compared to West Bengal, which makes sense owing to the long history of mobility in Gujarat. The rate of migration varies across districts; migration was highest in Panchmahal (tribal, rain-fed zone) and lowest in Rajkot (ground water irrigated cotton belt).

A common feature is the high rate of migration among the younger generations. This shows the aging of the Indian agricultural landscape: the average age of farmers in our sample households was above 50 years. The burden of aging is more prominent in Gujarat, especially in the cash-crop producing zones of Patan and Rajkot. It is possible that income flows from

cash-crop production have changed the aspirations of the younger members of rural households, encouraging migration from rural areas.

While short-duration migration is dominant in both states, in Gujarat, it was seasonal in nature and in West Bengal, the pattern was irregular (short trips during any time of the year). Males dominate short-duration migration in both states, but the rate is higher in West Bengal. In Gujarat, male migration increases after the harvest period. Higher incidence of long-duration migration of the young people, particularly in Patan and Rajkot, and migration of the male partner after the main cropping season, are some of the factors behind the lower rates of work burden increase in Gujarat. The changing nature of migration from seasonal to irregular in West Bengal indicates a deepening crisis and increased work burden on women.

We studied two aspects of impacts of male outmigration – women's workload and autonomy. Although there was an increase in workload related to cropping after male-migration in West Bengal, women's participation in decision-making related to cropping was limited. On the other hand, fewer women in Gujarat reported an increase in workload, related to cropping and animal care after male migration, but women's involvement in decision-making related to farming is higher among the migrant households compared to non-migrant households (women's participation in terms of joint decisions). This shows male outmigration can lead to autonomy with regard to cropping, when women in migrant households can decide on what crop to grow, buy farm inputs, the amount of harvest to be sold and so on. However it is important to note that, irrespective of migration, the involvement of women in decision-making related to major household decisions (such as land and asset creation) remains lower even after male-migrant in Gujarat.

In West Bengal, the shorter-duration trips outside of the farm add more work burden on women. However, the length of absence being smaller leads to no or little change in autonomy in decision-making related to farming. There is hardly any change in women's autonomy after male migration, though migration has increases the workload. The type of migration in West Bengal seems to be more distress-driven desperate moves in their nature and shows that migration takes place in the larger context of changing agrarian relation rather than demographic characteristics of the individual and the household. The two contexts substantiate our argument that the impacts of migration on women vary according to the nature and type of migration, which in turn depend upon the health of the specific agrarian context.

The future of Indian farming being feminised and dominated with relatively older generation, short-duration male (mainly youth) migration raises a larger question on the overall development of the sector. Though migration increases work burden but it does not impacted the autonomy and helped in knowledge creation (through access to services) of the left behind family members, especially women. The positive impact of migration that was discussed in the literature, that migration increases cash-flow in the origin area, is needed to be studied more deeply.

4.9 Rural Migration – Livelihood Strategies for Women in Mumbai Region

Jitendra K. Aherkar

Migration is a way to move from one place to another in order to live and work. Displacement of people from their home to another area, state or country for a job, shelter or some other reasons is called migration. The history of migration is the history of people's struggle to survive and to prosper, to escape insecurity and poverty, and to move in response to opportunity. In developing countries like India, migration mostly takes place not due to the so called pull forces of the destination place as usually happens in case of developed countries, but because of poverty, unemployment, natural calamities and underdevelopment at the origin

place. Migration in developing countries like India is still viewed as a survival strategy. In India, internal mobility is critical to the livelihoods of many people, especially for people from rural areas. According to Wenfai Wang, Rural-urban migration is both a socioeconomic phenomenon and a spatial process involving the movement of people from rural areas into cities, either permanently or semi permanently. At present, it occurs mainly in developing countries as they undergo rapid urbanization. Job opportunities created by industrialization attract the surplus rural labor to the cities to seek higher salaries through employment in the industrial sector. Rural-urban migration is widely considered an inevitable component of the development process, though it has a broad range of consequences and implications. Migration of people within national borders is far greater in magnitude than migration across international borders and has enormous potential to contribute to economic prosperity, social cohesion and urban diversity. Internal migration is an essential and inevitable component of the economic and social life of the country, given regional imbalances and labour shortages and safe migration should be promoted to maximize its benefits. Thus, the research paper provides an insight to pro and cons of women migrant in Mumbai region and to understand tier socio-economic culture for their well-being.

4.10 Migrant Women in Construction Work-Issues and Vulnerabilities Towards Sanitation and Hygiene Access

N. Manimekalai

Construction sector offers employment opportunities to both the rural and urban poor in India. It has been consistently growing in the past three decades primarily due to urbanization and the real estate sector boom, the State policy towards housing etc. It offers employment to both short term and daily community migrant workers (Ravi Srivastava, 2016). The rural employment has been shrinking due to continuous drought in some parts of Tamil Nadu where the scope for non-farm employment within villages has been quite limited. (Sanghmitra S. Acharya 2016).

In certain dry regions such as Sivagangai, Pudukottai, Ramanathapuram and other region are facing a decadal drought turning the land completely barren. The agricultural labourers, cultivators and the artisan households particularly affected the worst. Farm Workers particularly men, either sold of their land or just left the villages and migrated to other places within or outside the Country for work. Women workers and children stayed back and often the women continued to engage in subsistence economy to make their livelihood. The export processing zones say textiles and garment sector opened up some opportunities where the adolescent girls are being absorbed to scheme employment which has its own long term implications. The other major sector captures the workers is construction sector. Both men and women migrate to other places and engage in work. Migrant women in this study is defined as women who commute every day for construction work from one place to other places with the distance ranging from 30 to 200 kms. More women headed households and women beyond 40 years are engaged in construction work daily commuting for more than a distance of 200 kms. Up and down. The working conditions and nature of work at the construction site is obviously known that the workers get exposed to sun, chemicals (Cement) and engage completely manual work particularly women, who must claim up carrying head loads upto three to four floors, depending upon the nature of construction. With such challenging working conditions, the women in particular face the challenges of access to sanitation and hygiene. The construction sites do not prioritize the sanitation needs as in many sites, there is no toilet. Some of the large building, government construction sites etc do have some temporary arrangements for toilet but not all.

The small construction sites do not have any concern and make the women to manage on their own either using the public toilet in the region or manage on their own. Strategies to improve their physical, social and psychological well-being of this vulnerable population through strict legislations (Shaik Zabeer, et.all 2019). A study conducted in Tiruchirapalli district of Tamil Nadu with the 120 women construction workers witnessed that there are more than 10000 workers both men and women who commute everyday from the neighbour hood districts such as Pudukottai, Sivagangai, Perambalur, Ariyalur, Karur etc in which women constitute more than three fourth. Women are engaged other than masonry work involving huge manual labour. Focus Group Discussion conducted with construction women in the age group ranging from 25 to 60 revealed that the migrant women suffer without access to toilet where handling menstrual hygiene is all the more a challenge. There are two systems, contractors assemble the workers and distributes to various places and the engineers themselves hire directly the workers. In the latter, some minimum access to toilet is being provided but not the former. The patriarchal perspectives with capitalistic mode of production, (construction here) overlook completely the women's specific needs. Absence of such needs have huge economic implications in terms of absence of person days, health issues due to poor hygiene and also occupation specific hazards coupled with severe health implications in the long run. The vulnerability of absence of alternative livelihood options in rural areas, absence of other members to support for livelihood or inadequate income and conspicuous consumption etc force the women to take up any work which supports the subsistence living. With such basic livelihood issues, sanitation and hygiene needs at work places do not appear as an 'issue' nor a 'priority'. The constitutional provision of equality is in stake.

The declining work participation rate in India is compounded with lack of provision of basic needs at work palce where the women tend to remain absent during their menstrual cycle or shift to other work with low wage or withdraw from the labour force. Patriarchal notions of work places confine to just perform without minding a conducive work environment. Provision of such basic needs will have a say over the "Surplus" towards capitalists and so the capitalist patriarch frame the rules and policies for workers, where the workers do not get adequate welfare measures due to them not ensured with basic needs at work places. This present study on Sanitation for Construction Migrant Women Workers with an integration of menstrual hygiene needs -Challenges and gender concerns tries to examine the work place needs of women and the challenges there of and the vulnerabilities reveal that there is no scope for women migrant construction workers to voice out their basic needs on access to sanitation and so it does not figure into the policy of the construction sector though the legislations related to unorganized sector including construction sector underline the need for providing basic needs with gender perspectives. The data collected from 120 women constructions migrant workers through Focus group discussion in five Assembly points and regions in Tamil Nadu will be analysed and presented.

4.11 One Day in the Life of Johra Bibi: Exploring Migration, Precarity and Resistance by Women Domestic Workers

Maya John

The paper seeks to explore key aspects of the precarious, unregulated work relation that exists in the paid domestic services industry in the Delhi-NCR. The nature of this work relation and associated forms of interface between these workers and the law shall be discussed in order to highlight just how compromised the discourse of constitutional rights is for this large workforce of women. The paper shall revolve case studies such as a recent revolt of domestic workers in Noida (Uttar Pradesh) involving a missing domestic worker Johra Bibi. From the

time Johra Bibi entered her employer's housing complex on the morning of 11 July 2017 to the time she exited the place on 12 July, the earth completed an entire rotation on its axis, but Johra subjectively lived through a much larger moment. Trapped inside a space controlled by 'madams', Johra Bibi's subjective experience was an embodiment of different times enmeshed together – a longer time of pauperization and marginalization interlacing with a more contemporaneous time of migration into the city, evolving mechanisms of the private power of employers.

Johra Bibi's case and others like the alleged 'suicide' of a minor domestic worker, Ranjitha Brahma, in her employer's house in Gurgaon (Haryana) clearly bring into the public domain the question of oppressive and exploitative nature of work relations. Each of these incidents also reveal a lot about the interface between domestic workers and criminal law, as well as the terrifying repercussions of their systematic exclusion from the ambit of landmark labour laws of the country.

The exponential growth of the domestic work industry in the post liberalization era is often seen as a continuation of the trend in the early 20th century wherein women were largely confined to informal-sector jobs. However, closer scrutiny reveals significant changes in this informal work, for paid domestic work has to be contextualized within recent inter-state distress migration patterns to places like the Delhi-NCR, and the growth of a new middle class in Indian metropolises. Notably, the neo-liberal economy in India has facilitated a sizeable increase in the number of middle-class women professionals in its metropolises, which has fuelled the demand for 'substitutes' to fill in for 'their' domestic responsibilities.

Migrating with their families, many of the impoverished womenfolk often first pick up jobs in the various construction sites in big cities. They tend to get absorbed as domestic workers once the real estate buildings are opened to occupancy. The paid domestic services industry represents highly *individuated* employer–employee relationships and intense *private regulation* of the work relation. The *private/personal nature of the workplace* has been used to make a case for privatization of regulation that ultimately provides employers an upper-hand in wage fixation and in fixing other terms of the (unwritten) work contract. Simply put, the domestic worker moves from the private realm of her own hearth to the *private* realm of the 'madam' where the absence of public power of the state provides for the possibility of *quasi-magisterial* powers of 'madams' to exist. In the domestic services industry, workers are typically pitched against a multitude of individual employers, each possessing *quasi-magisterial* powers that manifest themselves in the form of unique technologies of control as the public authority of the state – asserted through regulatory laws – stops at the doorstep of employers.

The overall degraded position of domestic workers and their concentration in the lowest rungs of the labour market rides on the logic that they are contracting in the so-called *private* realm of social relations where the principles of 'civic' contract are fleeting. A critical examination of the modalities and consequences of this peculiar positioning of the domestic worker *in between* the (imagined or real) dichotomy of the public and private world of social relations is thus an important section of the proposed paper. Using relevant case studies, the paper shall proceed to engage with the interface between this large migrant workforce, the criminal law and labour law. The critical overview of this interface strives to indicate the blatant violations of constitutional rights of these women workers. The paper shall also try to cull out the realities of workers' resistance, whose information only episodically trickles into the heavily employer-dominated discourse on 'thefts', illegal immigrants flocking this work, etc.

4.12 Critical Evaluation of Government's Data Keeping System from Gender Perspectives

Neha Prasad

Despite substantial rise in the income, literacy, awareness and higher education of women, there is no rise in the work force participation rate and employment rate of women accordingly. Without getting economic reliance, the goal of women empowerment or gender equality could not be achieved. Much have discussed on all the reasons behind low participation of women in the economic activities except – gender-based stereotypes in every dimension of the society. Neither the westernization nor the modernisation, could be able to change the gender-based stereotypes prevalent in the of Indian society – whether it is related with economic or non-economic activities culture, mobility, physical and mental strengths, societal pressures, gender-based division of labour, and the data keeping system of the governments. All follow stereotyped norms. It's often inbuilt part of policy formulation and strategies adopted without being acknowledged. The consecutive governments claim to be women friendly and prompt to adopt women-oriented policies and programmes. The biggest hurdle it faces is dearth of necessary data which can depict the prevalent gender gap in the society. The data system of the government are decades old and its concepts and methodologies are grappled with many gender-based stereotypes. Two most important pillars of concurrent data system of India the census and NSSO too, are not an exception. This paper aims has discussed the role and usefulness of these two institutions in policy making from gender perspectives. The paper has emphasized the need of overhauling of these institutions.

4.13 Escaping Away from the Hill Station

Nirvan Pradhan

India's constitution provides for the protection of its citizens, especially of those who engage in labour and unemployment. However, the withdrawal of the State, since the globalisation era began in India, has witnessed severe curtailment of employment opportunities for large number of people. This paper attempts to understand the migration occurring from the Eastern Himalayan region, especially Darjeeling in light of the underdevelopment of the region since Independence. Places like Darjeeling have been rendered as a 'shadow space' used for the material exploitation of the region, while the natives left to render for themselves. Using Sarah Besky's concept of 'spaces of labour' and 'spaces for labour', this paper attempts to understand the historical, political and the cultural reasons behind the shift in the 'spaces of labour' (Besky, 2017).

I attempt to answer three questions in this paper. What have been the coping strategies of the local people especially women, even as capitalism is reaching its limits in places like Darjeeling? The exploitation faced of the tea plantation labourers culminates in a crisis, especially in the festival season of *Dussehra* when they receive (or don't receive) their yearly bonus. In what way are these interjections, able to disrupt the normal functioning of the tea plantations? What have the been the response of the workers when the avenues for employment are shrinking?

Secondly, even as the current 'spaces of labour' are exploitative in their nature, the youth have been hesitant to take up traditional forms of employment in the tea plantations. Thus, an opening has arrived in the form of alternate 'spaces of labour'. The 'migration cultures' of nearby areas like Nepal, has spread to places like Darjeeling where the youth are leaving in droves to work in foreign locations. However, to what extend are these

foreign 'spaces of labor' able to provide dignified employment for the youth? Are they a continuation of the 'unfree labour' that has been a characteristic the tea plantations in Darjeeling or are they able to overcome similar challenges (Calvão, 2016)? What can we theorise about the celebration of migration and migrating workers from the Eastern Himalayas?

Thirdly, what can an alternative reading of the Gorkhaland agitation and the movement for a separate

State inform us about the exploitation and desires of the tea plantations workers, who remain the most vociferous supporters of the movement. Moreover, can the current trend of migrating to cities across

Southeast Asia and the Gulf be a form of 'moral protest' against the State (Guru, 2018). Thus, this paper attempts to place migration from the Eastern Himalayas as a 'moral protest' against the ineffectiveness and the failure of the State to provide dignified employment for the people living within its boundaries. Failure to do so has coerced the people to leave domestic spheres of work to work in foreign locations. By attempting to understand the current state of migration from the Darjeeling hills, certain motifs of migration culture, mobility, disenchantment with the State and unemployment can be highlighted that can contribute towards the larger debate on migration in lieu of the 'global regimes of labour'.

4.14 The Mismatch in Intent and Outcome: The Fallacy of Legislative Design in Interstate Migrant Welfare Legislation

Noor Ameena

India is a country with more than 95 percent employment located in the informal and unorganized sector. On the other hand, the labour and social security legislations are unduly concentrated in the formal sector. Our labour laws not only do not cater to the impending realities of urbanization, informalisation and migration, but often becomes the cause of the same. Among the many key under-legislated or improperly legislated domains in India, inter-state migration is a formidable area. The social security regime of the inter-state migrant labourers is broadly covered under the Central legislation Inter-state Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979, however the fact remains that a major percentage of the inter-state migrant labourers will not benefit from the same. The nature of migration has changed a long way over a period of time, particularly post liberalization and the legislation is not adapted to accommodate the different patterns of migration. The coverage of the Act is limited to those migrant labourers who can identify a permanent employer or contractor and continue to work in formal or semi-formal environment. A large population of inter-state migrants belongs to the category of 'footloose labour', a terminology coined by Jan Breman – these labourers move from place to place in search of labour, between households, small towns or large cities, or found in labour 'nakas' which are nothing but the most explicit form of marketplace for labour/labourer.

Government of Kerala floated a social security scheme targeting the inter-state migrant labourers in 2010, titled Kerala Migrant Welfare Fund Scheme. Welfare Fund model is a contributory fund scheme with contributions coming from employers, labourers as well as the government in which the labourers contribution remain minimal. This tried and tested model to ensure minimal social security to different sections of informal workers, say construction workers, fishermen, coir manufacturers, khadi and handloom among many others. The details of the scheme looked promising at the first instance with the labourers' contribution at the lowest at Rs.30/-, while the benefits including minimal health care benefits, financial assistance in the event of work place accident or death including special assistance for transportation of the body to the native place, education scholarship for children and retirement benefits, though

nominal. However, a perusal of the list of subscribers and the number of beneficiaries of the impugned scheme shows that the scheme has not fetched the intended effect. The fallacies of the Interstate Migrant Work Men Act 1979 of not keeping with time were repeated in the 2010 legislation and the lack of understanding of the nature of migration persisted. Social security legislation should be open and inclusive to cover the maximum number of beneficiaries; on the contrary the Act at hand is exclusionary by design. There are other legislations and schemes which are not specifically targeted, but tends to include inter-state migrant labourers – Contract Labour Regulation Act, Unorganised Workers Social Security Act, Rashtriya Swasthya Bhima Yojana are some examples. But, most of them fail the intended beneficiaries either by design or by default.

The near-complete absence of the role of gender in the law relating to inter-state migrant workmen – the category itself is work ‘men’ – also shows the non-recognition of women migrants in the legal framework. It is true that the larger population of inter-state migrants in Kerala is men; it is no justification for keeping other genders out of the legislative framework. Moreover, legislation should be all encompassing. The labour legislations in India continue to be ruled by the colonial and patriarchal heritage. The missing women and other gender in the labour welfare and social security framework amounts to denial of real citizenship. The gender – inclusivity should be consistent feature of any legislation, and to that effect the labour legislations require a major overhaul. The object of this paper is to examine the existing legislating framework vis-a vis inter-state migrant labourers in India, with particular reference to Kerala.

4.15 Support Networks and Institutions: Migrated Women making their own Spaces in Hyderabad

Rani Rohini Raman and Mithun Som

In India, migration as a process have largely been studied to understand male migration. Women migrants were largely seen as migrants who followed their families, their independent migration journeys have hardly been mapped. Now the narrative has changed in the post liberalization era. Women are now seen coming to the city on their own for jobs or education. When women migrate, still they do not migrate on their own and the process involves family and other support networks.

Women’s migration to cities are also dependent on their social positioning. Women from affluent backgrounds are able to migrate in a more independent manner. India’s extremely social and economic inequalities combined with political democracy have engendered ‘mediation’ for the poor and marginalized to access regular government services (Anjaria 2011). Kin, caste and village-based networks have long mediated the access of the poor to near and distant labour markets (Olsen and Ramana Murthy 2000), often involving sexual exploitation and patriarchal control of women. In this context, we want to focus on the enabling and controlling dimensions of networks that facilitate the migration of single women migrants to the urban spaces in India.

Based on a study of fifty women migrants to the city of Hyderabad, this paper explores the nature of networks that facilitated the entry of educated women from mufasil and rural areas to the urban spaces and the ways in which they shaped their everyday life, including access to employment. We argue that the networks, caste, class and religion-based, not only guide them to the urban spaces but also subject these young women to close surveillance and control. We point out that even as women navigate the urban life with the support of these networks, they nevertheless create their own networks based on ‘friendship’ thereby developing a new approach towards life and future.

Once women migrate to cities with the help of support networks, they locate themselves to different forms of institutions. These institutions can be educational or financial (workplaces) or residential spaces like hostels or housing complexes. Here by focusing on institutions, we want to focus on those structures which shape these migrated women's experiences as they are associated with these structures. With the framework of institutions, we want to highlight on the involvement and interactions these migrated women have with several institutions during and after their migration to a city. Experiences of migrated women does not get limited to only her as a student or a labourer/worker but her experiences also unfolds experiences of a migrated women in a new city, making her own place. On one hand these institutions react to migrated women with certain prejudices and apprehensions and on the other hand migrated women make several negotiations to make their own space within these institutions. In order to make their own space, they also make new community, new friendships, which creates yet another network to rely upon.

This paper proposes to focus on support networks and institutions as two salient aspects associated with women's migration in India. On the basis of a study conducted on migrated women in Hyderabad, this paper focuses to present the patterns, struggles and negotiations being made by young migrant women.

4.16 Migration and Health: Adequate Healthcare in Face of Young Migrants

Rigya Singh

Migration of young and healthy people is generally motivated by socio-economic reasons – to look for better opportunities to sustain themselves. It has been seen that migrants often present worse health than the natives – something erroneously explained away by genetic and cultural difference even though there are no provable grounds for such theories (Romito et al. 2011). Often, due to discrimination and socio-economic standing, migrants are prone to bad physical and mental health. According to key findings of a research project on gender and migration in India, it was found that “*the overwhelming majority of the workers - more than 93% in the case of rural women migrants and more than 84% in the case of urban - had no provident fund and no health insurance*” (Mazumdar et al. 2013).

There have been some studies done on migrant women's health but a disproportionate number focuses on their reproductive health (Romito et al. 2011). Migrant women generally have poorer health seeking behaviours than the locals which is made all the more difficult since there are government specific schemes which remain inaccessible to migrant population due to their status i.e. they do not have a 'permanent residence' in the state they migrated to. Caste, their regional identities and money become important factors in determining the care they receive at private and public health care facilities if they seek them at all. The aim of this paper is to understand the problems migrant labourer women face in accessing healthcare facilities in India and highlight its causes.

4.17 On Ethics of Hospitality: Towards a Universal Ethics of Citizenship and Migration

Rintu Borah

Global migration unsettles the modern nation-state logic of territorial sovereignty and citizenship. It pits the 'moral' against the 'legal'—universalism of human rights against the particularism of political rights. This 'unbridgeable gap' in political philosophy is symptomatic of the paradox that is constitutive of modern nation states. In a global political climate that is

mostly hostile to migrants, new geopolitical border regimes in the form of militarized borders, detention camps, sea interventions and criminalizing the movement of people are on the rise. India, too, finds itself in the grip of such migration debates, particularly after the recently concluded National Register of Citizens (NRC) of Assam left over 1.9 million people out of the citizenship register. How do we collectively respond to these migration situations? What moral and political responsibilities do we have towards the migrant people? Can we invoke the ethics of hospitality in contemporary politics?

This paper aims at treating the ethical theme of hospitality that defines our moral posturing towards the Other to address the contemporary backlash against global migration. Firstly, I turn to Immanuel Kant's limited concept of cosmopolitan hospitality, an early account that discusses state's obligation to be hospitable to temporary migrants. In Kant, a state must welcome foreigners to visit its territory and voluntarily associate with its citizens for the purpose of commerce, even though as a matter of right it may not allow them to settle permanently. Recognizing certain deficits in Kant's notion of cosmopolitan right, the paper shall later discuss its corrective notions as found in continental philosophy literature on the ethical theory of hospitality and precarity, particularly of Emmanuel Levinas and Judith Butler, which promise to help formulate a new universal ethics of citizenship and migration.

Second, I shall discuss briefly the draw parallels between the *res nullius* argument as found in John Locke and Kant. Locke's *res nullius* argument—that earth is a *res nullius* and “in the beginning God gave the earth to men in common to enjoy”—not only justified colonial appropriation of unclaimed land in colonies, but also produced land and forest legislations that made commonly held community land into ‘wastelands.’ Such legislation not only divided identities in the Indian sub-continent with conflicting languages, cultures and most importantly different modes of production, but also subsequently produced crisis of citizenship in most communities, the repel effect of which continue to plague the region in the form of migration crisis. Even though Kant rejects the *res nullius* argument as found in Locke and gives primacy to existing property relations, we are left with an *imperfect, conditional* moral aspect in Kant's conception of hospitality.

On contrary, Levinas in *Otherwise than Being*, develops a thorough critique of the Western philosophical tradition that gave primacy only to the ontological status of *conatus essendi* or right to be, remaining passive to Other's vulnerability. To bring out the anteriority of an ethics of responsibility, one first needed to break these pronounced notions of the self, something which his linguistic reformulation of the self in terms of the Otherwise than Being proposes. In Levinasian Other, moral responsibility is always for the other qua other. This formulation has opened up the possibility for a new ethics of hospitality that have the potency to address the contemporary global crisis of migration. In the contemporary climate that is hostile to immigrants, Levinasian ethics of bracketing all particularities of being—all possible differences and similarities—and to welcome the Other unconditionally beyond categories, have shed light on the fear for the Other. Agreeing with Levinas, Butler argues that the ‘face’ of the Other calls for an originary duty that suspends and supersedes even my my ontological right of *conatus essendi*. This face presents to me the extreme precariousness of the Other, and to remain awake, to respond to this precariousness is to know the precariousness of life itself. Finally, I argue that reconfiguring models of citizenship on the ethics of hospitality may provide for the foundation of new universal ethics of social justice, one in which one remains ethical only by acknowledging one's responsibility towards the precarity of the other.

4.18 The crucial highlights on Sugarcane Cutters in Maharashtra: Unorganized Seasonal Migrant Laborers

Saroj Shinde

Sugarcane cutters in Maharashtra are the seasonal migrants who migrate from the drought prone area of Maharashtra. Most of the time people from poor economic status, lower castes and illiterate or with low education levels are involved in this occupation and consequently are involved in the seasonal migration. An exploratory study conducted by taking in depth interviews of 20 women sugarcane cutters, informal talks with Mukadum's (team leaders) wives and observations made during the sugarcane harvesting season 2019.

As per the push pull factors theory of migration, the drought conditions and consequences of it at native places are the push factors and work availability at the sugar belt is the pull factor for seasonal migration of sugar cane cutters. Despite having the entire work burden beyond their physical limits and living in the miserable circumstances, these workers are the victims of exploitation by many ways. Due to their migration status they are thrown off from accessing state resources and services and hence their citizenship status is at stake. More importantly, these workers are not directly associated with the sugar factories therefore are liable to get exploited by the meddlers like Mukadum and contractors.

The exploitation of sugarcane cutters by the meddlers like Mukadum, Contractor, vehicle owner, and ultimately sugar factories is prevalent. The sufferings of these workers in terms of livelihoods, health, and education are sharply visible and could be understood by considering the circumstances under which their livelihoods are laid. Therefore, labor issues of sugarcane cutters are needed to be solved by taking concerted endeavors at the policy level.

4.19 Invisible Farmers - Tribal Women Migrant Agriculture Labour in Gujarat

Sejal Dand and Sumitra Thacker

Women in agriculture sector are the largest section of of women workers in India. Amongst these are the largest number of women are agriculture labour. Women farmers, small and marginal farmers in rain-fed regions, are also seasonal migrants working as agriculture labour or tenants in irrigated lands. There is no accurate count in any census of women migrants in agriculture sector, as they are often invisibilised since they migrate with the families and are subsumed under the male migrants in the agriculture sector. Lack of recognition of women farmers in general and migrant agricultural women farmers (tenants, sharecroppers and /or labour) in particular denies them dignified labour conditions and social protection as workers.

This denial is inspite of the National policy of farmers (2007) which defines farmers as “ a person actively engaged in the economic and/or livelihood activity of growing crops and producing other primary agricultural commodities and will include all agricultural operational holders, cultivators, agricultural labourers, sharecroppers, tenants, poultry and livestock rearers, fishers, beekeepers, gardeners, pastoralists, non-corporate planters and planting labourers, as well as persons engaged in various farming-related occupations such as sericulture, vermiculture, and agro-forestry. The term will also include tribal families / persons engaged in shifting cultivation and in the collection, use and sale of minor and non-timber forest produce.” Women & children also faced large denials of basic rights of safety security, health, education as migrants. This paper is based on an intensive engagement undertaken with intra and inter state migrant women & children in agriculture sector undertaken by ANANDI between 2013-2018 in Morbi district of Maliya, which sought to give them access to basic health, nutrition & education services promised as universal entitlements to all Indians.

Gujarat has nearly 14% tribal populations concentrated in the eastern belt of Gujarat. This area is contiguous to the schedule V areas of Rajasthan & Madhya Pradesh. A large number of tribal families from Dahod, Panchamhaals, Aravalli in Gujarat, Dungarpur in Rajasthan and Alirajpur, Jhabua districts of Madhya Pradesh migrate to irrigated cotton and other cash crop farms in western Gujarat for over 10 months a year. Our engagement revealed that many of these families have been intergenerational migrants, domiciled in Gujarat for over 15 years, yet lack any domicile documents in the destination sites. They reside in the farms in semi permanent or permanent housing with little amenities. The terms of their labour have changed over time, and currently none of the labour were employed on daily wages.

Their arrangements as sharecroppers or as contract labour were done with the household head, presumed to be the eldest male member of the household, subsuming all the labour of the women and children working on these farms. The paper will explore the conditions at work and site, access to primary health, nutrition and education services and strategies engaged to organise the migrant women at these sites.

4.20 Feminization of Migration, Employment and Survival: A Political Economy of Governance Possible?

Sonia George

Discourses on migration have captured a significant space in the present development debates. In a country like India, migration across the state has become a widespread phenomenon where millions of workers cross the borders of their own state in search for livelihood. This movement could be categorized as temporary, semi-permanent or circular migration. The workers involved in the temporary category of migration are exposed to vulnerable situations in the different stages of migration. They are in pervasive informal situations of work and majority are women and young girls between the age of 12-20. Mostly these workers are engaged in short economic work cycle under vincible conditions. Their labour provides comparatively cheap labour to the destination areas where they arrive usually through the assistance of middlepersons like contractors or agents. The concepts feminization of work and feminization of migration have to be looked upon as the upshots of these informalization practices and the increasing temporary and casual nature of the work.

Young women from tribal and other socially backward areas are more prone to migration as they provide cheap labour and they may undertake migration also through very manipulative environments. The socio-economic inequalities they face in their own locations force them to go in search for work in other states in their younger age itself. Most of them enter into the labour market as domestic workers, garment workers or now in the prevailing hospitality industry too. In this paper these young women are categorized as workers in the destination states where they are denied of any rights as labourers. Their invisibility in the labour market trivializes their capacities and contributions throughout their life cycles. Moreover, they are assigned to earn money for their marriage and also to look after the younger siblings in the family. In some cases, the younger male children's education is carried out through their labour.

The indiscernibility of these women denies them any rights as worker including recognition and basic entitlements of wages and social security. Lack of identity, scattered destinations and temporary character of the migration make them play according to the vagaries of the situations. Limitations of the existing policies and laws and the informal cycle operating at both the ends exclude them from any governance initiatives. This paper looks at the nuances of these invisible forms of migration through a gendered approach. The arguments are developed through narratives of young women workers from the southern part of Tamilnadu

who are migrating to Kerala in search of work. The deviations in the patterns of migration have neither been looked upon as challenging the dominant ‘male bread winner’ model nor as the survival strategy of these young women. The temporary period of work ascertains agency of these young women towards the next phase of their life cycle. The inability of the state mechanisms to facilitate this process at both the ends deny them identity or space in the political economy of governance.

4.21 Female Labour Migration in India: Smart Femininity, Familial Labour & Social Networks

Sonia Krishna Kurup

Feminist migration scholars have often contested the dichotomy associated with gendered analysis of internal migration in India that identifies male mobility primarily within the purview of labour and female migration as marriage driven. Many historical studies have explored women’s early migration in skill-based professions such as nursing and teaching. This paper studies the experiences of educated, middle class women from Nair and Christian communities who had migrated from the southernmost state of Kerala, between the late 1960s to early 1980s, to work in the various Defence establishments in Pune, a prominent urban area close to Mumbai. A combination of factors facilitated their migration and employment. These include the presence of an influential, caste-based migration network of Malayalis in Pune; the female migrant’s desire to supplement familial income and enable social mobility; and their status as single and educated women at the time of migration. Significantly, close relations who enabled the migration often extracted the labour of their migrant female kin for household work particularly childcare. The paper proposes a new conceptual framework that incorporates the concepts of ‘saving’ and ‘smart femininity’ to examine the interstate migration of women for labor in early postcolonial India. Being a single (or to be married) and educated woman from certain regional, caste or communal background involved in internal migration is central to this concept of smart femininity. The article, through oral narratives of women along with archival data, situates their lives and memories within the socio-political economies of Kerala and Pune. The work contributes to the historical understanding of internal migration, women’s labour force participation, and formation of gendered identities in India.

4.22 Women informal workers and Labour Reforms: Interrogating Access to Social Security

Swarnamayee Tripathy

The present paper is anchored on the claims of contemporary Indian State that one of the key objectives of the labour law reforms being planned by the codification of labour laws into four major codes is meant to provide legal and social protection to the informal or unorganized sector workers. The plan is to amalgamate the existing Central labour laws into four labour codes on wages, industry, social security and welfare, and occupational safety and health. It is a mammoth task if we take into account the size of informal workers in India. The challenges are many. The most pertinent question is “do these reforms particularly addresses the gender-specific needs of women”?

In absence of reliable statistics on its size and contribution to the economy, the informal sector remains a poorly understood and a grossly neglected area. The Economic Survey of 2018-19, released on July 4, 2019, says "almost 93%" of the total workforce is 'informal'. On the other hand, Niti Aayog's Strategy for New India at 75, released in November 2018, said:

"by some estimates, India's informal sector employs approximately 85% of all workers". Women constitute 94 percent of the informal workforce (National Commission for women). It is but obvious that women informal workers are worst affected lot.

Women in the informal sector are less paid, more harassed and little protected by the State. The latest Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) of 2017-18 released in May 2019, states even among the regular wage/salaried workers in the non-agriculture sector (of the informal sector), 71.1% had no written job contract, 54.2% were not eligible for paid leave and 49.6% were not eligible for any social security benefit.

Keeping this in view, three major challenges need to be addressed such as-- identification of informal women workers, mobilization of adequate funds to provide social security and setting up the institutional mechanism to implement the provisions of new labour codes.

What the codes are set to do: The wage code is aimed at ensuring a minimum wage and the timely payment of wages. The industrial code brings together regulation on trade union registration, strikes, layoffs, closures and the set of rules and model standing orders by the Central government. The social security code provides for the 'progressive universalization' of social security benefits for all workers, organized and unorganized, based on a rights-based approach. The fourth code, on occupational safety, health and working conditions, will regulate safety and health standards, working conditions and employee welfare.

This research study intends to do a critical analysis of the wage code and the social security code—two vital areas essential to ensure the dignity of work for women workers. The findings of the study are based on interaction with women informal workers in the developing smart city of Bhubaneswar.

The paper is divided into three sections. The first section will explain the gender-specific differential basic needs of women like maternity and child care, the problems of women in the informal economy and existing protective measures. The second section will deal with the labour reforms relating to wage codes and resultant benefits to women workers. The third part will deal with social security safety net reform for women informal workers. The last part tries to find out the answer to the question— would the new labour codes ensure the right to work and right to live with dignity to women workers in a post-globalized India.

4.23 Agency and Stigma of Tribal Women: A Perspective on Women's Agency and Disempowerment in Kuki Tribal society in Manipur.

Th Lunminlal Haokip and Jangkhosei Touthang

"The need to let suffering speak is a condition of all truth. For suffering is objectivity that weighs upon the subject..." – Theodore Adorno

Agency is conceptualized as the temporal social engagement with livelihood challenges informed by the past, attentive to the present, and oriented to the future. The tribal women's agency is considered with respect to the social position of women in Kuki tribal society situated within the larger cosmos of India. This paper discusses the agency of women in tribal society by combining two separate pieces of research by tribal male researchers; one conducted among stigmatized women in the urban socio-landscape and the other among peasant women in a tribal village. The first study concerns in-depth interviews of tribal women sustaining themselves through sex work in the state Manipur. It documents disquieting lived experiences of humiliation and social ostracism that tribal women suffered at multiple levels in their interfaces with social agents and with their community members. The unpalatable choice – to avoid shame, hate and disownment from the family and society – is to disappear and avoid participation in the social life of their community; some have been turned away and barred

from living in their own homes. Migration of women, stigma, and suffering in a patriarchal society are closely tied to moral pontification on a woman's body. In the second research, the life of women in the tribal village appears calm and unspoilt by suffering. However, daily life as lived by the women is abounding with struggles against limitations of poverty, demands of ideal woman's social obligations and roles within the family and in the community. Life stories bring into focus gender inequality with respect to the tribal inheritance laws and the position of woman vis-à-vis man. In both studies what remains constant are sufferings and position of women in tribal society as well as larger social aggregations. Against these disempowering social structures and circumstances, women continue their struggles to survive. Women's will to survive and the patriarchal socio-economic world that adds burden on them are central themes in this paper. Women's experiences of stigma and uncertainties are unique and generally given less attention in tribal studies. The paper questioned the comforting view of the gender question emanating from a dual misconception of empowered women in Manipur and egalitarian tribal society. It aims to contribute to the discourse on conditions and social values that produce disempowerment of tribal women.

4.24 Inter-State Migration in South East Asia with Special Reference to Chakmas of Chittagong Hill Tracts

Uddipta Singha Lahkar

Chakmas were being persecuted in post colonial era in their own native area called Chittagong Hill Tracts. The persecution and displacement started in the name of development (Kaptai dam construction between 1957 to 1962) and religion. During the colonial era, they were under so called British protection as the British Government (1860-1947) regarded the Chittagong Hill Tracts as an 'Excluded Area' in order to protect the indigenous Jumma (Jumma is a collective term for the indigenous people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts region of present day Bangladesh) people from economic exploitation by non-indigenous people and to preserve the indigenous people's socio-cultural and political institutions based on customary laws and community ownership of land. The Britishers also introduced Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation, 1900 or Chittagong Hill Tracts manual which functioned as a safeguard to Jumma people. But everything did change right after the independence. The research scholar wanted to understand the politico Administrative Institution of the purged Chakma people currently living inside the North East India as there are very limited studies available concerning the Chakma tribe.

5 Caste and Constitution

5.1 Dalit Muslim Movement: A Quest for Constitutional Justice.

MD Khursheed Akbar

Muslims in India are one of the largest minority communities and are found in almost all corners of India. According to recently released data Muslims in India comprise 14.2 percent of total population. The available data reveals that the backwardness among Muslims on many counts. But due to lack on data we know little about socio-cultural dynamics in the theoretically monolithic but empirically diverse communities.

The paper will make attempt to discuss the nature of caste and caste-like stratification of Muslims in India on the basis of secondary literature available on it. The paper will also make attempt to clarify the confusion around the category called 'Dalit Muslims', which emerged since the recommendation of inclusion of the 'Dalit Muslims' under umbrella OBC category by Mandal commission in 1980s. The confusion emerged because the Presidential Order 1950 (2) restricted the Constitutional category 'Schedule Castes' benefits to 'Hindu Dalits', the rationale given that the practices of Untouchability are sanctioned by Hindu religious texts and other communities' religious texts propagate equality among its followers. Later the benefits were extended 'Sikh Dalits' through constitutional amendments in 1956s and 'Buddhist Dalits' through amendments in 1980s. This time the rationale was given that both religions have their origin in Indian sub- continent whereas Islam and Christianity are foreign religions. The exclusion of 'Dalit Muslims' and 'Dalit Christians' from the benefits of 'Schedule Caste' category violate the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by Constitutions to each individuals 'Right to equality' and 'Right to freedom of religion'.

The paper will be divided into five sections: the first sections will give a brief sketch of the Muslims communities' historical background in India and will also discuss the broader categories among Muslims through available secondary literature. The second section will highlight the nature of caste and caste-based stratifications among Muslim communities discussed by different scholars on the basis of empirical data they have collected themselves from field. The third sections will clarify the confusion emerging of the category called 'Dalit Muslims' under the title of 'Who are Dalit Muslim' and also discuss their current socio-economic dynamics based on available secondary literature. The fourth sections will discuss the movement led by organizations for the demand of the inclusion of Dalit Muslim under the constitutional category 'schedule caste', particularly the organization All India Backwards Muslim Morcha led by Dr. Ejaz Ali and Pasmanda Muslims Mahaz led by Ali Anwar Ansari. The concluding section will highlight how the exclusion of 'Dalit Muslim' from the benefits of 'Schedule Caste' violate their fundamental rights guaranteed by constitution of India in the light of recommendations suggested committee formed by Govt. of India to study the socio- economic status of Muslims community particularly by Justice Rajinder Sachar committee and Justice Ranganath Mishra committee.

5.2 The Paradox of Art 17 and Annihilation of Caste

Nikhil Adsule

Indians today are governed by two different ideologies. Their political ideal set in the preamble of the Constitution affirms a life of liberty, equality and fraternity. Their social ideal embodied in their religion denies them... Constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment. It has to be cultivated. We must realise that our people have yet to learn it. Democracy in India is only a top-dressing on an Indian soil which is essentially undemocratic - B.R.Ambedkar

India, i.e-Bharat is still in a state of Selective Amnesia. We the people of India when asked about Democracy spell out what we learnt by rote, a learnt definition by Abraham Lincoln which though classic and historical in its own sphere, lacks the understanding of 'Graded Inequality of India' propounded by its dogmatic rule based religious texts which propounds 'Lawlessness of Law' to use Prof..Upendra Baxi's argument and institutes a Malevolent Republic punctured by Gender, Religion, Caste, Class inequalities, thus making the great democratic experiment i.e India, a palace that stands on the heap of dung which is gradually rupturing with every whirl of wind ingrained by societal morality characterized by the words 'bigot' and 'parochial' which give a glimpse of its traits in brief.

Thus rethinking Art 17 on the basis of Constitutional Morality which Dr.Ambedkar stressed, it can be put forth that in the context of Humiliation and Justice by its dissection in the realm of analytical clarity, descriptive realism and social commitment in the words of Upendra Baxi, it questions the responsibility and morality of society as a whole rather than trying to fit into any theories. In the words of Evelin Linder, it points to the 'Rubric of Humiliation'. It points to the shameful conduct of the Indian society against a particular strata of society which may not be redressed by material redistribution only. It is important to recall Marx and thus put forth that here the exploitation unleashed equates Humiliation plus injustice.

Hence it is important here to critically analyse the nuances of Art 17 and its implementation after the promulgation of the Constitution and subsequently taking a glimpse of judgements of India's Supreme Court, it points to an immediate need to recall Dr.Ambedkar's differently privileged 'politics of redistribution' over Gandhian insistence on the primacy of overcoming cultural harms done to the Dalits, to borrow a concept from Nancy Fraser. So, the system needs Transformation and not Reformation.

5.3 Economic Exclusion and National Law Schools: Why There Must be an End to Arbitrary Fee Hikes

Aatika Singh

Fee hike regulations are the new developing mechanisms to keep inclusionary education away from the realm of the marginalized. The hike in economic criteria to enter institutes of higher education has become a worldwide phenomenon driven by privatization and market based models of education. Such discriminatory mechanisms are fast catching up with the global south and penetrating its education system and setting up a corporate agenda by catering to industrial needs. This series of papers tries to establish that economic exclusion is a form of political cruelty rooted in caste based oppression that is making education and job market a non-accessible right slowly in India. Such a process I have emphasized is anti – constitutional and violates the equality provisions vested in the Constitution. The research question of the working paper is built on the linked proposition of economic exclusion and political cruelty in the framework of National Law Schools (NLU). I have analyzed the model of NLU's and mapped the structural issues faced by them in curtailing the fee rate to the

minimum. Ancillary issues that add to the non- inclusive nature of NLU's have also been mentioned. The issue I have addressed in the paper is the exclusive and androcentric nature of education in NLU's and why fee hikes are a deliberate ploy to keep the historically oppressed sections out of the purview of education and the entailing consequences of it. Presently there are a total of twenty four law schools all over India with smaller states slowly catching up to the framework. The entrance to these universities takes place through the Common Law Admission Test. In the analysis, I have used an anti -caste theoretical framework and collated the fee hike data of all the NLU's. Different indicators have been used to assess the student and faculty diversity along with marginal fee and other social markers to gauge the quality of the education being imparted. Testimonies have also been annexed. Due to a lack of guidance and allied facilities marginalized students usually end up opting for traditional courses and dither away from specialized professional courses. Add to this is a lack of proper provision of information and mentorship, which results in a lack of cultural capital, and we have students who aspire only for fast shrinking government jobs and are completely absent from the far more lucrative high-end, specialized private sector. Economic exclusion is thus institutionalized and becomes a form of structural discrimination in the NLU's. Such meritocratic structures based on faulty ideas of intelligence do not meaningfully promote egalitarian justice and keep a substantial number of students away from educational access and the labour market. Fee hikes exacerbate inequality. I also look at mechanisms to counter fee hikes being adopted in other universities worldwide. When legal education can become the strongest socio-economic and cultural equalizer, a fee hike only ensures that existing hierarchies of disparity remain intact and only students from an upper caste and class background enter these institutions. While institutions continue to enjoy unrestrained power and exercise zero accountability in the garb of autonomy, it becomes imperative to resort to resistance and create a safe space for all students to dissent and develop holistically. In conclusion, I have focused on understanding that intersectional discrimination can be rooted in one student as a structural phenomenon which can get highly aggravated through discriminatory decisions like fee hike. Therefore, a call for inclusivity through law as a tool for change is the need of the hour. Denying legal education on the basis of economic indicator is to render the very question of law as moot and unconstitutional.

5.4 Justice Means Annihilation of Caste

Pralay Mohan Nagrale

The prevalence of caste based occupation like manual scavenging is a prime example of how caste as a social construct pervades economic activities and perpetuates discrimination, exclusion, ostracization and victimization. Dalits engaged in manual scavenging such as Valmiki, Mehtar, for example, are compelled to perform the task of cleaning human excreta with bare hands or to clean sewer lines and septic tanks which is also the violation of Fundamental Rights of Indian Constitution.

Narratives from the families of manual scavengers suggest that the manual scavengers who are asked to change livelihood do not get the dignified jobs when they try. When they try to start business of their own, social psychology of the society does not allow them to buy from the scavenger who has turned into businessmen. The society discriminates against them due to the social norms, practices enforced by the dominant castes.

Manual scavenger and sanitation workers are only left with two options either to migrate to the city or to get educated. Even if they are educated, there will not be any change in discrimination and atrocities they face. Through case studies, the paper argues that even after

migrating, they are actively discriminated against by dominant castes. Urbanization reinforces the caste stigma and harassment they have always been facing at the source.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (1936) in his book *Annihilation of Caste* says that the outcaste is a by-product of the caste system. There will be outcastes as long as there are castes. Nothing can emancipate the outcaste except the destruction of the caste system. Within this framework this paper argues how the dominant narratives of providing them the alternative livelihood or introduction of advanced technologies are limited in their scope in ending caste based occupation. The paper adopts the critical framework of Ambedkar, that argues that until annihilation of caste is not achieved, the caste based work will persist and Dalits will be continue to perform degraded, undignified work.

5.5 Unconstitutional Arrogance of Caste: Oral Testimonies of Sexual Violence Victims of Puthirai Vannan Women in Tamil Nadu

M. Priya Chithra and S. Suba

Article 15(1) of Indian Constitution prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex etc. However, the caste based discriminations and caste centered occupational division still persist in different forms, both in rural and urban space of Tamil Nadu. While comparing urban, rural parts of Tamil Nadu i.e., villages are defined by their strong belief in caste hierarchy and people follow hierarchically constructed norms, conditions to maintain their socio-economic and cultural relations. This hierarchical nature of caste system graded the people in unequal order in social structures that simultaneously produces various graded social inequalities among the individuals and communities. In the caste hierarchy of Tamil Nadu, Scheduled Castes are placed under the lowest grade. Among the Scheduled Castes, “Puthirai Vannan” caste is placed at the bottom of their caste hierarchy. “Vannan” is a specific caste group in Tamil Nadu which is primarily engaged by the caste society in washing clothes and other related work. There are various sub-castes within Vannan community. One such is the “Puthirai Vannan”. Vannan (Washer) generally wash the clothes of other dominant caste groups, but “puthirai vannan” are made to wash the clothes of Scheduled castes like Parayan and Pallan. So they are even called “Para vannan” colloquially. “Puthirai Vannan” caste group has been undergoing various forms of exploitation in general and women in particular. Women are made to perform certain caste determined works such as cleaning and washing the unclean clothes of all members of community as well as clothes used by women during menarche and menstruation, rituals related to funerals and servitude works during village festivals, especially temple festivals. In the name of caste, there are multiple forms of atrocities, violence and humiliations perpetuated on them. They are faced to all forms of violence i.e. physical, economic, verbal and emotional in general for raising their voices against exploitation; women are subjected to sexual violence in particular by the dominant scheduled caste men. They are living as untouchables within untouchables. This paper explores the oral testimonies of sexual violence victims of four “Puthirai Vannan” women from Chengalpattu, Villupuram, Cuddalore districts of Tamil Nadu State with the support primary of data collected from field.

5.6 Equality is slogan not reality in India

Rose Rani Minz

Caste-based discrimination, inequality, and oppression comfortably survive and even thrive in modern day India. Caste-based discrimination is the most complex human rights issue

facing India. caste system involve the division of people into social groups assignments of rights are **determined by birth**, are **fixed** and **hereditary**. The assignment of basic rights among various castes is both **unequal and hierarchical**, with those at the top enjoying most rights coupled with least duties and those at the bottom performing most duties coupled with no rights. The system is maintained through the rigid enforcement of social ostracism (a system of social and economic penalties) in case of any deviations. **Inequality** is at the core of the caste system. Those who fall outside the caste system are considered “*lesser human beings*”, “*impure*” and thus “*polluting*” to other caste groups. They are known to be “untouchable” and subjected to so-called “untouchability practices” in both public and private spheres. “Untouchables” are often forcibly assigned the most dirty, menial and hazardous jobs, such as cleaning human waste. The work they do adds to the **stigmatization** they face from the surrounding society. Caste discrimination involves massive violations of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. It is often outlawed in countries affected by it, but a lack of implementation of legislation and caste-bias within the justice systems largely leave Dalits without protection. According to article 14 of the Indian constitution, the state shall not deny equality to any person before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India. Article 15 prohibits the state from discriminating any citizen on ground of any religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. Article 17 states that untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The ‘Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955’ was the first Indian law that came into force to provide punishment for the preaching and practice of ‘Untouchability’ and for any matter connected with it. In 1989, the Government of India enacted ‘the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act’, which recognized various kinds of acts of violence and discrimination inflicted upon the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes by non-scheduled castes and non-scheduled tribes as punishable offences. It also provides for provision of special courts at the district level to try the offences under this Act. Discrimination continues to exist due to ignorance, prejudice and fallacious doctrines which try to justify inequality. Such doctrines are used to defend slavery and discrimination on various grounds including caste systems throughout history and even in modern era. Despite provisions of legal measures, presence and the continuation of antagonistic socio economic and religious and cultural element makes the enforcement of human rights and prevention of caste discrimination difficult. We have laws to tackle the issue of caste Issues like untouchability and casteism are still common in rural areas. The reason for this is the deep rooted traditions of casteism. Not just adults, even children are subjected to this form of discrimination. Be it in the community, schools or even the playground, many children face humiliation because of caste discrimination.

5.7 Babasaheb Ambedkar in Bengali Dalit Women Writings

Debasmita Deb

In pre and post- independence time, the Dalit Bengal, Dalit literature and culture grew from a social, political and religious consciousness: something which was counter to the mainstream culture. It is this culture of resistance which celebrates 125th birth anniversary by paying their tribute to the liberator of Dalits in India Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. As the editorial of the Bengali Dalit Feminist journal *Neer* observes, the ‘progressive’, ‘meritorious’ Bengalis did not want to waste their precious time by thinking about celebrating someone like Babasaheb Ambedkar. The Bengali Dalits took it upon themselves to commemorate Babasaheb by writing about his life, eas.

Babasaheb’s relationship with Bengali Dalits is unique in a way. Historically it dates back to his camaraderie with Mahapran Jogendranath Mandal, the popular Dalit leader in pre-

independent India. Both of them fought for liberty, equality and fraternity. It was due to Jogendranath's efforts that Babasaheb was elected to the constituent assembly. This makes the Dalits in Bengal feel more affinity for Babasaheb. Time and again their writings on Babasaheb reiterated his chief ideas, liberty, equality and fraternity.

As a feminist research student looking at the intersection of caste and gender studies in Bengal, in this paper my aim is to study what does Babasaheb mean for Bengali Dalit women writers? What and why do they write on Babasaheb? How do they commemorate him in their writings? How does Babasaheb's idea of liberty, equality and fraternity shape their understanding of caste and gender? In other words, how do the Dalit feminists of Bengal reclaim Babasaheb for themselves? Is their reclamation of Babasaheb different than other Dalit feminists in India? If so how? One of the aesthetic theoretical basis of Dalit literature in Bengal is Ambedkarism. However, it would be interesting to study if Bengali Dalit feminist reclamation and understanding of Ambedkar is different from Bengali male Dalit writers.

In order to address these research questions, I am specifically looking at the edition of Bengali Dalit feminist journal *Neer* which commemorated the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar. I will also look at other texts where they have written on Ambedkar like in *Chaturtha Dunia*, the bi-monthly journal published by *Bangla Dalit Sahitya Sanstha* (Bengali Dalit Literature Organization). A review of these writings is expected to lead us to understanding Dalit feminist reclamation of Ambedkar for contemporary times. As scholars like Rege (2013) have reminded us, feminist reclamation of Ambedkar is necessary in the light of how Ambedkar's writings attacked brahminism and its twin, patriarchy. This is the theoretical context in which the importance of studying Bengali Dalit women writing on Babasaheb is based.

5.8 A critical study on Dalit Women's Right in Indian Constitution

C. Ramalakshmi

Dalit women were thrice discriminated in the society, faces the triple burden of caste, class and gender. The Dalit women had long been denied the equal privileges and opportunities unlike the other caste Hindu women; they were treated as second class citizen in her own society. In the name of caste, Dalit women have been suppressed in multiple fields. Highly victimized in caste discrimination, an age-old dehumanizes practice, which is still practice in a country like India. The basic concept underlying India's constitution is social justice. Several provisions were included in the constitution to protect the Dalit rights. According to the Constitution on India, untouchability is a crime. After independence, the government of India though abolished untouchability, it did not disappear in practice. The makers of the Constitution took special initiative to protect the minorities and depressed class.

Research needs to be done on Dalit women along with the Indian Constitution, to know about the various constitutional measures taken for the empowerment of dalit women. It is also important to study why they occupy marginalized position despite various protective measures and reservation.

5.9 Taxing the Body: the casteist objectification of the Avarna women

Sulagna Saha

Blunt in his book, *The Caste System of North India*, says: A caste is an endogamous group or collection of endogamous groups, bearing a common name, membership of which is heredity, arising from birth alone and imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter

of social intercourse. However the Constitution of India does recognise caste disabilities and provides for securing political, economic and social justice to all the citizens of India and it has given them the liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship. The constitution has also guaranteed to all the citizens for equality of status and opportunity and it has recognized the principle of fraternity assuring the dignity of the individuals. The constitution of India in its Article 17 has abolished untouchability and says its practice in any form is prohibited. The main aim was to liberate society from the blindfolds of ritualistic and traditional belief but however not much have been achieved till date. Untouchability is widely practiced to date

Culture, by referring to this term we often refer to the art forms, the fictional and non-fictional writings and also the various ritual and spiritual practices of a nation. Cultural practices are specific group of practices of a particular group of people in that it forms their identity in the larger world. Similarly, there are certain markers of the Indian culture as well. Besides being home to varied religions and being the epitome of secularism, India is also home to various castes practices. Be it the tales of rituals of the Brahmins, the valour of the Kshatriyas or the suffering of the Avarnas. They all constitute to be important branches of the Indian cultural tree. However, in this paper I will discuss the suffering of the Avarnas or the Dalit as they are only known to us. I will discuss their culture of resistance, a culture they developed for themselves to deal with the day to day oppression that were and are being subjected too. Despite the constitution of India declaring untouchability as forbidden, Dalits are tortured each day, every day. They realise that they have to resist the oppressive forces. Their never-ending struggle to be a part of the so called society, to be considered as human beings definitely needs discussion.

As we have always known that Literature is said to be the mirror on which life's realities are reflected, thus I will discuss caste violence and gender inequalities faced by the Dalits especially women, through a few literary pieces and real life stories. In this paper, the main focus being the tale of Nangeli and the breast tax system that once existed in Travancore, Kerala. She was the first among many to show the path of Resistance to these women making them realise that their life and body is just theirs and nobody has the power to tax it or objectify it. Dalit women's writings are a form of resistance. Thus Bama's 'Sangati', Baby Kamble's 'The Prison We Broke' and Urmila Pawar's memoir 'The Weave of Life or Aaydan' would be the most appropriate example to explore Dalit women's creative use of existing linguistic forms to challenge both upper caste and patriarchies within the caste, the emergence of Dalit women as revolutionary, constantly trying to sustain their culture while revolting against oppressive society, converting to other religions to seek refuge from the torturous life. Hence I want highlight the self determination of Dalit women who fight to live life amidst daily misery and agony and also look at caste and its workings within the Dalit sphere through the above mentioned works.

5.10 Ambedkar's Idea of Modernity and Citizenship

Vivek Kumar Singh

Modern ideas like citizenship entered India during the colonial period. The discourse on modernity and the ideas it brought was not a homogeneous one but rather a contestation of different visions like Gandhian, Hindutva, Nehruvian and Ambedkarite among others. Among these, Ambedkar's ideas stand out in its attempt to balance the universal with the particular.

This paper explores Ambedkar's idea of modernity and citizenship through his writings, submissions to the British government and speeches in the Constituent Assembly Debates. While Ambedkar is appreciative of the modernity and modern institutions because of their potential to bring social transformation, he is also critical of the individual centered discourse

of modernity. Speaking from the perspective of the ex-Untouchables, Ambedkar found that both the individual centric discourse of modernity and the community centric discourse of Hindutva and Gandhian vision, denied space for the articulation of their needs and interests of the Depressed Classes, who constituted a distinct group according to him. In this context, Ambedkar attempted to give a new conception of modernity and citizenship, which would allow for the modernist aspiration having individual based citizenship, but at the same time recognized the continued impact of social identities. In other words, he was arguing for the recognition of a communitarian reality, while maintaining aspiration for a liberal individual. In his writings, speeches and political actions, we see the articulation of different provisions for this such as separate electorates, representation in the executive, special provisions for education and employment among other things.

Ambedkar realized that a simple declaration of equal rights is not enough to bring substantive equality. The orthodox sections of society would not allow those constitutional rights to be claimed by Depressed Classes. In fact, without the acknowledgement of the inequalities persistent society and addressing them through specific mechanisms, such a declaration of equal rights perpetuates and legitimizes inequality. For citizenship to be meaningful to all, it is important to address the specific concerns of the different groups, instead of forcing the language of universalism and individualism. Ambedkar also argued that demands for representation must not be considered as divisive, but rather as facilitating equality and liberty for all by giving a means of social endosmosis in a divided society. Thus, we find that Ambedkar attempts to balance the ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, while offering an immanent critique of modernity and citizenship. Ambedkar's conception of a differentiated form of citizenship predates the emergence of this idea in political theory in the West in writings such as those of Iris Marion Young.

Ambedkar's ideas have great relevance in today's time, where the idea citizenship is undergoing a crisis and getting narrowly defined. The idea of citizenship in the constitution, which recognized differences to some extent, has become weakened with overemphasis on unity over equity. This paper argues that Ambedkar offers us the necessary framework for reclaiming citizenship, while balancing the universal and the particular.

5.11 'Bitti Chakri': Non-Recognised 'Domestic Work' in Bondage

Sophy K.J

'Bitti Chakri', a type of bonded labour, prevalent in Northern Karnataka, needs to be identified as a practice of bonded labour, though it is not technically covered under the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976. As the definition demands requirement of 'bonded debt' to be complied with, the kind of domestic work within the household of the landlord/employer doesn't get categorized as bonded labour. The paper would argue that the compulsion on them to do household work daily, year-round and lifelong itself brings every possibility of identifying them as bonded labourers in common parlance. Majority of the workers engaged in 'Bitti Chakri' being women from dalit caste (Madiga caste), the intersectional elements of caste, gender and class coop them in bondage for life. The paper would borrow the framework of intersectional feminism contributed by Jotirao Phule, E.V. Ramaswamy, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and contemporary scholars like Bell Hooks, Kimberle Crenshaw, Sharmila Rege and Anuapama Rao, to argue that 'unilinear normative gendered approach' doesn't really answer to the 'materiality of women's marginalities'. The purpose of the study is to discuss the ingrained casteism that conditioned continuum of this practice without any respect for principle of non-discrimination and prohibition of forced labour or beggary under the Constitution.

The judiciary has given clear definition of forced labour in *Asiad Workers' case* (1982) to state that 'any form of labour or service for less than the minimum wage would amount to forced labour'. It is implementation of this Constitutional morality, that is expected under 'progressive constitutionalism'. Another strand of inquiry the paper proposes is to analyse whether recognition of them as 'workers' and in that case, 'domestic workers' status, would release them from the clutches of non-recognition of their labour. Such an argumentation is also built thematically upon the conceptual framework of 'social reproduction/reproductive labour' that contributes indirectly to the labour market, remaining in 'invisible space', i.e., private sphere. This inquiry would require a parallel legal articulation to recognise undervalorised and unrecognised domestic work as 'work' and workers as 'domestic workers'. The International Convention No. 189 defines domestic worker as any worker engaged in domestic work in an employment relationship. This international covenant also instructs for payment of minimum wages to the domestic workers. However, India hasn't ratified this convention as the state is apprehensive about backlash from employers once statutory entitlements as workers being provided to them. Going by definition and category of work, worker engaged in household of the employer should be recognized as domestic worker.

The system of 'Bitti Chakri' should be abolished by law under the interpretation of 'forced/bonded labour' and those who work at household of the employer should be recognized as 'domestic worker' with minimum wages and other social security entitlements. The states like Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan has moved towards recognizing domestic workers as workers and notified minimum wages for them. While individual states have taken initiative, the new labour reforms proposed by the Central Government, especially newly enacted Code on Wages, 2019, still acknowledges payment of wages in kind, a primitive symbol of charitable payment towards labour. This really raises a question whether we are moving towards regressive interpretation of Constitutional morality of 'dignity at work'. The age-old discriminatory practice like 'Bitti Chakri' challenges Constitutional right to 'work with dignity' and enjoyment of constitutional guarantees as a worker-cum-citizen of the democratic state.

5.12 Citizenship in Exile: Dalit women as Manual Scavenger

Sumit Saurabh Srivastava, Kriti Mishra

The idea of citizenship is one of the most powerful ideas of the modern society governed by the modern, democratic and welfare state. It bestows upon the citizens a defined and distinct set of rights (entitlements) and duties (responsibilities). Citizenship stems from the constitution of the respective nation-state and as a result intrinsically links citizen, citizenship and constitution. However, such a romanticised landscape is not devoid of its share of faultlines and fissures running through its core as the paper stands witness to it. Taking cue from Gopal Guru's nomenclature 'citizenship in exile'; the objective of the paper is to present an account, based primarily on available secondary sources of the lives intersecting at caste and gender taking manual scavenging as point of reference. Thus, it is ethnographic description of such lives which exist beyond the data set and numbers. Here one can make a note of what exactly does 'citizenship in exile' means in this paper. Citizenship in its conventional sense endows the citizen with civil, political and social rights. However, in the case of Dalit women as manual scavenger, such rights do not make any sense. On the account of her caste identity coupled with her being woman, she is devoid of the above-mentioned set of rights which were so painstakingly crafted and drafted by Ambedkar.

In lay terms, scavenger means a person who searches for and collects discarded items. It may also mean a person employed to remove dirt and refuse from streets. However, in India, as and when it is prefixed with the term 'manual'; there is a paradigmatic shift in the meaning

and context of the term, 'manual scavenger' and its associated process i.e. manual scavenging. According to the Section 2 (g) of the Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013, a manual scavenger is 'a person engaged or employed for manually cleaning, carrying, disposing of, or otherwise handling in any manner, human excreta'. Needless to say, that the nature and context of manual scavenging is inhuman, degrading and highly undignified. As of 11-October-2018, according to Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment; 13,657 manual scavengers have, so far, been identified in 13 States.

In the Hindu caste system, which according to Ambedkar is the manifestation of graded inequality, the term 'scavenger' is synonymous to 'untouchable' caste/s. In the 'purity and pollution' principle outlined by Louis Dumont, these castes and communities are seen as 'polluting' by the other caste persons. Such an acute exclusion from the spheres of social interaction and social resource becomes all the more unbearable as and when the gender dimension is added to it. The Dalit women as a manual scavenger 'bereft of her being' is further discriminated along her gender lines. Thus, the grades of inequality appear to be cumulative in her case which extends beyond the conventional pillars of exclusion and discrimination i.e. caste, class and gender.

The paper is structured in a way that it begins with an understanding of manual scavenger and multilayered nauseating base of manual scavenging. Subsequently, it shifts to the constitutional mechanisms aimed at negating such a practice. At this place Article 15 and Article 17 of the Constitution of India come into serious interrogation on the account of their 'use value' and their real-life importance. In addition to these, it would be interesting to see how the committees and commissions aiming at abolishing manual scavenging have to say about its gender dimension. Elaboration on how caste and gender intersect in the case of manual scavenging forms the next section of the paper. The paper underlines that manual scavenging has a gender dimension also as majority of manual scavengers happen to be women. In this process, the paper touches upon how and why Dalit women are still engaged in manual scavenging where on the other hand the Dalit men are increasingly leaving this dehumanizing existence in favour of a more suitable and dignified occupation. The paper concludes that though various steps have been taken by the state and civil society organizations to liberate the Dalit women practicing manual scavenging, yet it's a long journey before they see the light of dawn

5.13 Caste and the Constitution

Sumathi A

We, the citizens of India, are in the Republican System of governance for the last 69 years. It is obvious that the very purpose of Democracy and the Constitution is, to protect every citizen of the country without any impartiality, prohibit discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, gender or place of birth. The castiest ideal is the cause for the mis-direction of the lives of majority. As Dr. Ambedkar said, a healthy nation cannot be built on the basis of caste. So, what specific legal and extra-legal aspects would we need to realize equality? How could the rights to equality by the Constitution be affirmed and that we could realize the definition of Dr. Ambedkar's 'Constitutional Morality'?

The caste system and the caste based recognition that has polluted the nation and the casteism has been realized as a source of empowerment. To eradicate this status quo, completely, people should not be classified by birth, family status and property. A constitutional legislation aimed at political reforms must eliminate the problems of the social system in the country, without neglecting them. The present social environment will be

transformed, if the existing Constitutional laws are fully implemented and will help eradicate inequalities of caste, class, gendered practice.

As per the Constitution, the protection of law should be provided to every person/citizen, equally and without any discrimination. That is how the Constitutional guarantees of equality can be proved useful. Ensuring free access to basic education and medical care for all the people would help prevent family and community violence. To raise awareness in every individual (citizen) that the caste system has only degraded the society so far and every citizen in the democratic country has equal rights. The Constitution should adopt the ideal of guiding equality and citizens from every sort of discrimination should be secured.

5.14 Dalit Among the Dalits: Dalit Women's Writing Then and Now

Kamna Singh

Dalit literature finds its roots in the dissonance between the savarna and the avarna experience of lives within the Indian society. Baburao Bagul in his essay on Dalit literature asserts that the established literature of India is inherently Hindu literature which not only excludes the low castes but also portrays a privileged 'savarna' experience as the normative experience of living in Indian society. The excluded 'avarna' experience of life found space in the writings of Jotiba Phule, Ambedkar and others in twentieth-century and later formulated the body of Dalit literature we have today.

Dalit literature can be seen as a social movement driven by hope for emancipation in the face of inequality within Indian society. It consists of intellectual and creative forms of work by Dalits, the victims of social, economic and cultural inequality. Within this body of literature, a large portion constitutes autobiographical writings which aim to encapsulate the neglected Dalit experience. The emergence of Dalit autobiographies can be seen as an act of resistance in itself as they break the age-old tradition of silence. It provides Dalits with a chance to bring the collective Dalit experience into literature as well as a political discussion. This then begs the question - is there something called a universal Dalit experience?

Works of people like Professor Raj Kumar has shown that the writings by Dalit men and women were similar in form but the content was markedly different. The very first autobiographies to claim Dalit identity were written by Dalit men. They largely talk about caste oppression and untouchability practised by the upper caste against them in their autobiographies but seldom engage with issues of Dalit women. Even when they did, they presented women with exaggerated qualities of motherhood and homemakers. These writings were devoid of realism in the same manner Hindu literature was when it came to the representation of Dalit experience. Dalit literature emerged as a result of the chasm between 'Savarna' Hindu literature and absence of Dalit experiences. In the same manner, Dalit women's writing was a result of excluded Dalit women's experiences in Dalit men's writings, which failed to address patriarchy and other issues faced by Dalit women.

In an essay titled 'Dalit Women Talk Differently', Gopal Guru talks about the formation of the National Federation of Dalit Women in 1995, which he asserted was founded on the basis of 'difference' from mainstream Indian Feminism. He asserts that the subjugation of a Dalit woman is two-fold. She is a victim of Brahmanical patriarchy which deeply stigmatizes her on the basis of her caste status, all the while experiencing more intimate forms of control by men from her own community who exercise control over her sexual and economic labour. Hence, we can say that her agency is infringed twice, on the basis of both her caste as well as gender.

Sumitra Bhave's compilation of narrated autobiographical pieces reflects not just culture-specific violence but patriarchy practised within the community as well. Another writer

named Urmila Pawar received criticism from Dalit men because her writings were not just centred on Dalit women and their pain but also because she didn't shy away from writing about the shortcomings of Dalit men and the community. In this context, Dalit women's writings can be seen as revolutionary on multiple levels as it represents the collective voice of individuals who have been historically silenced and rendered untouchables on accounts of both, their caste as well as gender. Through my paper, I intend to study the changing discourses of power, identity and experience as written by Dalit women in their autobiographies written across different timelines

5.15 In search of a 'Homeplace': Dalit women and Inter-caste marriages

Disha K R

Narratives of Dalit women has not occupied the discourse of inter-caste marriages despite the transgression of caste patriarchy due to the stigmatized 'liner' subjecthood of Dalit women as mere sexual victims and the discourse being revolved around Dalit men as they are subjected to gruesome violence. Therefore the paper focuses on the everyday violence, struggles and negotiations of Dalit women within the inter-caste marriages to understand the experiences shaped by interlocking structures of caste, class, gender and sexuality present within the imagined intimacies of inter-caste marriages.

Drawing from the in-depth interviews of Dalit women from Karnataka, the paper looks at the everyday 'caste violence' faced by Dalit women in the intimate sphere of inter-caste marriages. The paper argues how Dalit women are subjected to caste violence by denying a sense of belonging through a continuous process of 'othering' which runs against the very spirit of constitution. Dalit women who are perceived as a permanent outsider in the caste order are never really let in, to become an insider within the inter-caste families. This process of conscious 'othering' is where the caste honor derives power from in order to inflict everyday 'caste violence' through humiliations, which are rooted in the intersections of caste, class, gender and sexuality; and through the practice of untouchability, ranging from physical to emotional and relational. The paper further looks at the everyday negotiations of Dalit women to subvert the interlocking structures of caste, class, gender and sexuality in order to build the imagined 'homeplace' for their partner, children and themselves.

5.16 Does Constitution provide an alternative of the caste in India: Analyzing Ambedkar ideas in the contemporary period of caste movement

Archana

Indian constitution has framed under the chairmanship of Baba Saheb BhimRao Ramji Ambedkar, who himself is the sufferer of Indian caste system. The four fold varna system which exclude the lowest one in the social sphere also led the marginalization from the economic and political power share. Though the constitution does not recognize the caste disabilities and provides to secure social, political and economic justice to all their citizens have liberty to express their thought, expressions, beliefs and worships. However, untouchability practices were continued and to control it has passed prevention of atrocities act against untouchability in 1989. Therefore, time to time the constitutional remedies has been added to include the marginalized group in the mainstream society. In the recent decades, after the modern or liberal education, urbanization somewhat declined the caste practices but still the identities remain strong. The atrocities rate against the dalit or minorities in India shows the rigidity of caste and failure of the constitutional equality of the all citizens.

In democracy caste has paradoxically occupy the center stage as means of claiming share in socio- economic and political resources. It sought hierarchy and differences in society. The bloody trail of caste and class carnage continues unabated in Bihar, cycle of killing and counter-killings continues. In semi- feudal structure of Bihar caste based private militia of landed class is killing harijan agricultural labourers. The major carnage against dalit labourers has occurred at Dumariyan. (Bhojpur district) and Miapur village (Aurangabad district) Narayanpur , Shankarbigha (Jehanabad district) in 2000s. The different faction of CPI(ML) had massacred landlords and rich peasants. There seems to be no end to this bloody trail of killing and counter killings which had started three decades ago in the late 1960's and early 1970's with burning of dalit agricultural labourers at Kargahar, Chhauranano, Gopalpur, Dharampura and Belchhi. This politics of the brutal form of violence reflects upon the whole dynamics of the politics of development affects society as well as economy and democracy which requires a careful analysis.

This paper emphasizes on caste based movement create violence in the society and how constitution appear as an alternatives of the caste system in India.

5.17 Imagining a New Space: A Study of Elected Dalit Women Representative of Contemporary Kerala

Nithya.K

The claim of Kerala model is continuously questioned in the light of the caste atrocities happening in contemporary Kerala. The intolerance against the marginalized sections is increasing in the present situation. While considering the lives of Dalit women, their existence in the social and political space is least discussed. The prevailing situation in the Kerala society does not accept Dalit women's right to self-representation, self-organization, and self-emancipation. The feminist discourses have tried to homogenize the issues of Dalit women in contemporary Kerala. The study has been placed in the contemporary Kerala public sphere and looked into the experiences of Dalit women elected representatives of local governance institutions. Specifically, the study tries to understand the nature of entry of Dalit women into politics and looking into the challenges faced by Dalit women as elected representative. Also the study tries to understand the ways of negotiation of Dalit women in the social space having stigma towards Dalits.

It is an exploratory study, samples collected from the district of Palakkad. Being the highest scheduled caste populated district, Palakkad has taken as the research area. Under nonprobability sampling, purposive sampling method has been used for selection of participants for the study. The data collection has done through unstructured in-depth interview and observation. By adopting Dalit feminist standpoint, the study has explored the challenges and negotiations of elected Dalit women representatives. Dalit women's entry to local governance institutions is limited to affirmative actions. Caste as a form of social privilege and capital enables social mobility and choice to Savarna women. For Dalit women, it is not a choice at any time in the history. The Dalit women coming into power through affirmative action are acknowledging that the only reason for their entry to electoral politics is affirmative action. They are compelled to claim the public sphere even after getting an entry to it. The entry is never giving them equal space and also gives challenges to them. The study shows that even within the challenges and exclusions, Dalit women are claiming their space through different means.

5.18 Protection of Women's Rights in National Contexts

Ruchi

Women as vulnerable group- although women comprise half of the population they bear to brunt of human rights violation and some of the worst atrocities committed by men. In their most horrifying litany of injustice includes various forms of physical-sexual, social, psycho-emotional abuse, exploitations, homelessness, domestic violence, ill- informed decision and practices of patriarchies. For achieving equality between men and women, we need to understand discrimination of women and equality so as to develop appropriate strategies to eliminate discrimination against women. Constitution of India provides an elaborate frame work for the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These are safeguards for protection of Women's rights in National context, Constitutional Provisions, Institutional Mechanisms, National / State Human Right Commission, National commission for Women, National Policy for Women Empowerment, Protection of Human Rights Act, legislations relating to violation of women's rights in Public and Private domain, Laws against Sexual Harassment at Work Place, Domestic Violence, Trafficking and prostitution, Dowry, Foeticide, Prohibition of Child Marriage, Property right, Maternity Benefit, labour legislation relating to protection of women, personal law, , inheritance and succession etc.

5.19 A Socio-Legal Assessment of Constitution, Democracy, Disparity and Discrimination of Tribal Population in India.

Manisha Priyadarshni Bhagat

Indian Constitution proclaim that it seeks to secure justice, liberty, and equality, but is it there in the democratic practice in contemporary India, by going beyond the elementary concern with democratic institutions per se. It is argued that while the quality of democracy is often compromised by social inequality and inadequate political participation, democratic practice itself is a powerful tool of elimination of these handicaps.

While democratic institutions provide opportunities for achieving democratic ideals, how these opportunities are realized is a matter of democratic practice. The latter depends inter alia on the extent of political participation, the awareness of the public, the vigour of the opposition, the nature of political parties and popular organizations, and various determinants of the distribution of power. Both democratic institutions and democratic practice are important in achieving democracy in the fuller sense, but the presence of the former does not guarantee the latter. India was also among the first countries to include legislation aimed at affirmative action to combat the lasting influence of past social inequalities. Reservations and other constitutional guarantees for scheduled castes, and scheduled tribes expanded the horizon of legal support for social equity, no matter how we judge the exact achievements and failures of this early departure. Affirmative action would not become a serious possibility in the United States for many years after the Indian constitution came into effect in 1950. The main limitations of Indian democracy do not, however, relate so much to democratic institutions as to democratic practice. The performance of democratic institutions is contingent on a wide range of social conditions, from educational levels and political traditions to the nature of social inequalities and popular organizations. Democratic practice in India has often been deeply compromised by a variety of social limitations inherited from the past

The paper would be dealing with democratic institutions, the socio-legal assessment of democracy, and discrimination and disparity of tribal population in India.

5.20 Dalit Women And Gang Rape : Untold Story Of Underprivileged

Shilpa Bhagat

India has one of the best Constitution, which is based on the principles of liberty, equality, unity and fraternity. No doubt, as like other western countries India adopted a most humanitarian characteristics in our politics that is the 'Democracy. In spite of all this, we must ask the question about the contemporary situation of women and what would be the fate of women, especially the women belonging from 'Dalit' category that is the underprivileged group in India. The dalit women face three layer of exploitation- one as being women, secondly, being dalit women, thirdly as dalit among dalits. She is in vulnerable condition because she is directly affected by threefold exploitation and patriarchies . She is illiterate, poor and if she moved out for work and to collect the domestic things, she is sexually harassed by the dominant caste hindu men as they have power and the most important, the impunity of wrong doing they get is from Brahmanical religious texts in which it has written that it is the duty of dalit women to sexually satisfy the high caste hindu men.

The inhuman codification of such kind of law results in violence against dalit women since the decades. Like the colour/race discrimination , the caste based discrimination is practiced by hindu men and women against lower caste hindus. The people who are considered lower by , they are backward by class also. Wherein class can change but the person cannot change as caste because it is based on his/her birth. That is why the history of exploitation is continuing from generation to generation. Every day the constitutional rights of dalit women across the India are violated and these are violations guaranteed under article 14 , 15 and 32- all the fundamental rights are hanged in the court of law.

According to the report AIDMAM, a collective of women and girls, which works as an advocacy forum, data presented on dalit women in UNHRC meeting in Geneva, the report quotes official data on caste-based gender violence and discrimination and puts it in context through several narratives of dalit women and girls. The National Family Health Survey (4th round) shows that 33.2% women from schedule casts experience physical violence since the age of 15 compared to 19.7% in the 'other' category. All over the India in every four minutes a dalit women assaulted by gang rape. In the past decade (2007-2017), there has been a 66% growth in crime against Dalits, as per the National Crime Record Bureau. On this ground reality, gang rape of dalit women becomes a very serious issue for all across the India. According to the NCRB data of the year 2015-16, Uttar Pradesh (10,426 cases) reported the highest number of cases of atrocities against schedule castes , accounting for 25/6% followed by Bihar with 14.0%(5,701 cases) and Rajasthan with 12.6%(5,134 cases) . My planned study will focus on Maharashtra's Vidharbha region.

5.21 Democracy and Inclusiveness: Women Representation in Indian Democracy

Soniya Ravi

Democracy is one of the most contested terms today. Democracy is all about decisive role in decision making and it should be emphasized on participation. Democracy stands for inclusiveness, but in a country like India where exclusiveness is high there is an urgent and adequate need to deconstruct and reconsider our way of perceiving democracy. The idea of the majority is wrongly conceived in India. In India where there are multi-party system, multi religion and multi linguistics and diverse culture, how 31% can constitute majority. It is high time we did something about our democracy and there is a great need to bring electoral reforms

and introduce proportional representative electoral system in India. In order to strengthen the inclusive nature of our democracy we need proportional representative democracy.

Proportional representative democracy is welcomed as a better electoral process than the majority democracy, implementing different models of representational character in electoral system approximately about 80 countries. In our neighboring country Nepal, the main reason for the increasing representation of women (64%), Dalit's and transgender in the Parliamentary system over the past 10 years is through the transformation of the electoral system. Similarly, the distinct representation of the Maori tribes in New Zealand and the representation of Swami Tribes in the parliamentary constituency of Europe are the examples of how the electoral process of representation and representation of oppressed sections of society can be achieved.

When we check the women, Dalit and other deprived class' representation in Indian democracy, it is really tragic. The representation of male millionaires in Indian Parliament is more enough to show the male centered and male operated power and thus the patriarchal nature of our Parliament. When we take the entire history of Dalit representation in democracy, they have only got three hours to speak about their rights.

Democracy in the neoliberal period is only beneficial to a minority group of state interests. Political parties often fail to address the issues of people and Indian democracy is making people undemocratic. Only PR system can judicially represent the Dalit's, women and all other segregated class properly. The whole idea of democracy is just becoming a 'safety valve' and there should be debate and discussions on democracy. The question of non-representation is considered to be undemocratic and unconstitutional and our democracy is not representative. There should be 33% of representation for women. We should accept the traditional rights of Dalit and other segregated people include Transgender, LGBT community, Tribal people etc. Democracy should have a recognizing nature and proper representation should be given to the underprivileged section of society. The vulnerability and less dignity of deprived class should be addressed properly.

This paper intends to address the undemocratic nature of Indian democracy and it call for electoral reforms in India.

5.22 Experiences of Marginal women in the Local level Politics of Haryana

Saroj Rani

The constitution of India gave equal political rights to every citizen without any discrimination of class, caste, race, gender and religion. But there are many challenges for the marginal section in accessing equal political rights in Haryana. Even after getting at least 33 percent reservation at local level politics, they are unable to enjoy their political rights, the situation is even worse for marginal women. They are struggling to fulfill their basic needs; therefore, they are unable to make active participation in politics. Even they could not use their voting rights. There are various reasons behind these obstacles which women faces in Haryana including patriarchal system and caste system. Also, different issues contribute to it such as social, economical and political etc. However, due to reserved seats they are bound to elect as a representative, but in the caste based and male dominated political system, the marginalized elected women are either controlled by male member of the family or by upper caste people. The political issues of marginal women are in need to see differently from other political issues in the society because they face many layers of challenges in getting their political rights and enjoy the same.

This paper has explored issues and challenges in the local governance faced by women belonging to marginalized section of the society. The data used in this article, has been

collected with feminist perspective by using In-depth Interview and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) as methods. The study was conducted in the five villages of Sirsa and Kurukshetra district of Haryana.

5.23 Caste, Brahminical Femininity and Violence Against Dalit Women

Sowjanya Tamalapakula

Monogamous marriage is the central tenet of many patriarchal societies across the world. Monogamy is a cultural practice that is enforced on women who belong to certain sections of society in order to control their sexuality, labour and reproduction. Caste-endogamous marriage is the foundation to caste system in Hindu society. Upper-caste women's sexuality and mobility is controlled by upper-caste men in the name of monogamy and sexual purity. However, the upper-caste man's access to lower-caste and Dalit women is sanctioned by the hierarchical caste system. The Hindu middle class male was openly polygamous in traditional Hindu society. Hindu Marriage Act 1955, with the introduction of Anglo-Saxon Jurisprudence, abolished polygamy which delegitimized the status of 'concubine'/paramour and all other women accessed by Hindu men in polygamous relationships. However, the Hindu Marriage Act has not effaced male polygamy since the upper-caste man has culturally sanctioned access to women outside the marriage in a caste ridden, patriarchal society. Thus, there has been a shift from open polygamy to concealed polygamy in modernity. In addition, the Hindutva assertion of 1990s constructed a curious binary of 'monogamous Hindu male' against the 'polygamous Muslim male'. This enabled the construction of the image of 'concubine' as "evil woman" and "home-breaker" that engenders violence against Dalit/lower-caste women who are vulnerable to sexual exploitation by upper-caste men. Hindu society is so complex that women from certain caste groups are confined to concubinage and sex work.

Bell Hooks says, "Being oppressed means absence of choices. It is primary point of contact between the oppressed and the oppressor. Many women in this society do have choices (as inadequate as they are;" (Bell Hooks, 1995) Being compliant to the Brahminical patriarchy, caste Hindu women access the privileges of caste identity, inheritance of property and maintenance. Therefore several schools of feminists are not constructively turned down the system of family, endogamy and caste. Subversion of these structures lead to loss of their own privileges derived from intrinsically linked caste/class and patriarchal structures.

In 2006, a mob of hundreds of caste Hindu men and women has violently attacked Surekha Bhotmange and her three children. Surekha and her children were dragged out of their home and paraded naked and raped. The participation of caste Hindu women in rape and lynching of a Dalit family is shocking because we are conditioned to believe women are sensitive, non-violent, meek and subservient. But in almost all cases of violence in which women take part, it is primarily aimed to protect the interest their husband, family or caste group. In Mahabharata, Satyabhama kills Narakasura. According to Ambedkar's *Riddles of Rama and Krishna*, after the death of Narakasura, Krishna (Satyabhama's husband) gained his kingdom of Prakjyotishpura and harem of sixteen thousand women. Satyabhama aggressively and fiercely fought Narakasura in order to protect the interest of her husband. Similarly, Durga killed Mahishasura and several Asuras but have always been subservient and non-violent towards her husband. She did not kill her husband Lord Shiva who beheaded her own son. Caste Hindu women who participated in rape and lynching of a Dalit woman Surekha are primarily driven by the passion to procure the few acres of land for their caste group over which Surekha challenged the dominant castes. Surekha filed a police complaint against the dominant caste Kunbis who tried to occupy her piece of land. Secondly, they have justified their act in the name of restoring the 'moral values' which are nothing but Brahminical values of sexual

purity. Driven by the Brahminical attitudes of “holier than thou”, caste Hindu women have constructed Surekha Bhotmange as sexually impure as having an extramarital affair with her cousin in order to justify the act of killing. Brahminical ideologies are so prevalent in middle class Hindu society; the larger Indian society has not protested/condemned the gruesome killing of a Dalit woman and her three children.

In this paper, I would like to explore how the construction of monogamous Hindu male and shifts of open polygamy to concealed polygamy, caste Hindu women upholding Brahminical patriarchy in various insidious forms in order to access the benefits of caste/patriarchy shapes violence against Dalit women.

5.24 Mukta Salve’s essay: A Text of resistance

Swarali Patil

In the feminist movement, it was widely assumed through ‘trickle down’ model that feminism was introduced by white middle class feminists at first and then it has travelled to black women and then to ‘third world women. Many black feminists have argued this. In India also, it is argued that upper caste middle class women introduced feminism and then post 1980s Dalit women become feminists due to women’s liberation movements. However, it has been challenged by many Dalit feminists in India. In 1990’s independent dalit women’s organizations were started in Maharashtra in particular and India in general. They have questioned the dominant upper caste feminism in India. They have also reclaimed many histories on the backdrop of Ambedkarite movement in Maharashtra. They have shared their experiences and argued that dalit women experiences are different from upper caste women. They called Savitribai Phule, Tarabai Shinde, Mukta Salve as their icons in a fight against caste and patriarchy. In this backdrop Mukta Salve’s essay is crucial and considered as a text of resistance. Mukta Salve was granddaughter of Lahuji Salve one of the social revolutionist from Maharashtra. She was from ‘Matang’(Scheduled castes) community. At the age of fourteen-years studying for three years and studying in third standard in school of Jotirao and Savitribai Phule, was honored for the best essay in school by Major Candy. In reply to Major Candy she said, "Sir, give us Library and no chocolates." Her essay on "Dharma" (Religion) was read in front of 3000 people in presence of Major Candy. Mukta Salve’s essay ‘Mang Maharachya Dukhvisayi (About the grief of the Mangs and the Mahars) was published in Marathi magazine ‘Dnyanoday’ in 1855. Mukta Salve (a student in Phule's school) in an essay entitled 'About the Girls of Mangs and Mahars' draws attention to the deprivation of lower castes from their lands, the prohibition of knowledge imposed on them and the complex hierarchies wherein even the lower castes were stratified into more or less polluting. She then compares the experiences of birthing for lower caste and brahmin women, underlining the specificities of experiences of lower caste women. Mukta argues that only Brahmins can read Vedas and Shudra’s an only see it. It means that Shudra have no religious text or Religion for that matter. She pointed out that Brahmins and untouchables do not have similar religion. This question of Mukta Salve ‘what is the religion of untouchables’ gave rise to different socio-religious and political trajectories of anti-caste movement in Maharashtra and later on in India. In her essay she wrote about the differential experiences of colonialism to different people pf India, particularly shudras. As question of religion, or different experiences of women it is important to understand this essay of Mukta Salve. This text is considered as a resistance in many anti caste movements. So I will attempt to analyse this essay and will try to elaborate its connections with the broader questions of religion, gender and caste.

6 Normalization of Violence and Subversion of Constitutional Values

6.1 Normalizing Constitutional Subversion with Ochlocratic Approach

Abhilasha and Koushik Mahato

After centuries of violence and assaults on the aspirations of Indian people, unleashed with greater vehemence on its indigenous inhabitants, the British were forced into a transfer of power. The experience of colonialism was instrumental in the genesis of India's constitution. Central to its claim to legitimacy are laws and injunctions which guarantee the functioning of a modern liberal democratic State. This in turn transformed the erstwhile colonial subject into the citizen of a modern liberal State. The project of unveiling a liberal and egalitarian constitution invariably rests on refurbishing the citizen with fundamental rights and institutionally safeguarding her freedoms with recourse to ideas such as the separation of powers. These provisions are meant to be safeguarded by an independent judiciary as enshrined in the constitution. This analytical paper attempts to analyse the relationship between the growing instances of violence such as mob lynchings or gendered violence through the prism of the rights to life, liberty and equality. However, in the more recent times there has been an upsurge in the rhetoric of liberalism, while instances of intolerance and violence are on the rise in the public sphere. This paper explores whether there exists an axiomatic relation between the concept of state and the concept of violence. The Paper tries to understand this disjuncture through disparate yet related case studies, such as those of mob lynchings, incidents in the Patthalgadi movement and the Unnao rape case. These case studies will attempt to show that the state's recourse to a mandate of the majority, plays a central role in normalising everyday violence. It achieves this through many avenues, but primarily by not taking adequate steps to protect victims and by not prosecuting perpetrators. Further, the media plays a crucial role in building false or concocted narratives about victims, which are then used to fuel popular sentiments, re-victimizing the victims. The false narratives and the state's unwillingness to create an equitable environment have strengthened conservative and at times extremist groups in society. There exists a critical link between the failures of democratic and constitutional values in India, the false narratives of the media, the emboldening of majoritarian nationalisms and incidents of exception, yet 'everyday' violence. This paper then seeks to examine the processes through which violence that is internal and external to the state is normalised, while retaining the veneer of democracy and liberalism.

6.2 'Marital Rape', Intimacy and the Law: Right to Life, Privacy and Citizenship in India, 1990-2019

Abhilasha Jain

In the proposed paper, I enquire into the making of the category of 'marital rape'. I study conjugality, and intimacy to look into how these affect-laden concepts come together with political and social relations of citizenship and legal rights. To study conjugality, conjugal relationships, is to delve into the relational world of love, care, intimacy and desire, and to study these as social relationships has proven to be even more challenging. This may lead one to problematize each of them from feminist perspectives driven by questions of labour, as well

as violence. As Palriwala, and Kaur (2014) argue, that in theorisations of marriage, gender has been centralised in the last two decades through works on dowry, widows' conditions, marital violence, there has been as they say "little work on conjugality itself", i.e. on the "dimensions of emotion, sexuality, support and care" (2014:10). Through the discourses that I have followed here, I have attempted to note how transformation of suffering into language of rights, legality and violation of full citizenship (as well as failure of the State to safeguard those), gives entry points to the demands of recognition of certain kinds of acts of violence. However, by looking at the limitations of the process of meaning making, the paper also pushes to form a more nuanced sense of the exclusions that this transformation may entail. In the specific context of criminalisation of marital rape, one has to ask herself what kind of discourses of marriage, violence, and femininity are being evoked in order to entail the wife as a proper citizen with equal rights; article 14 and 21, the Right to Equality before the Law, and the Right to Life being one of the crucial Constitutional Rights being referred to in the writ petitions.

This is to say that the conjugal subject is not separated from the citizen subject in that, that it also reiterates, produces and contests (Brook 2001) the conjugal relationship. This is an interesting conversation between a Right to Privacy, and the Right to Life, which I intend to explore in the paper. Marital Rape debates push the surveillance into the bedroom putting the Right to Privacy, and criminality together. It has potential to ask questions of this Right, including what does the private mean when it has a long history of being complicated by feminist scholarship; who gets this right? In which forms does this right come to those, then? What is the 'couple's access to privacy? Sexual privacy? Who can and who must build a private life? Lastly, what do then rights mean in an everyday life that is differentiated by gender, class, religion, caste and ability.

For the purposes of the paper secondary texts such as newspaper reports, blog posts, the writ petitions, are being used to track a more popular discourse around 'marital rape', in an attempt to follow the making of the category of marital rape itself. By going to these sources I believe, (even more so in retrospect) I wished to trace the dialogues around Marital Rape, and pull out conversations and narratives of sexual, violence, conjugality and intimacy. Most of the terms such as Age of Consent, Restitution of Conjugal Rights, Sexual abuse in PWDVA, have come to formulate the language that women have been used in movements and have become part of the way we talk about sexual violence. These terms have contributed to the complexity of formulating any coherent terminology that may suffice in naming the sexual experiences of women. I say sexual experiences on purpose, and reiterate the thesis that 'sexual' is fraught with experiences of violence, which often take place in sanctioned spaces of structures. Most of these terms have their roots in women's fight for restoration of bodily integrity, and to question the patriarchal and violent order of things. They have all become part of talking about the intricacies, and limitations of women's lives that is governed by law.

Marital rape is only one such place where these two Rights may be brought together, this conversation however has the potential to reflect upon other forms of violence as well, such as the Citizen Register; Surrogacy Bill, 2019 (and previous debates). With entering these places through thinking about Right to Life, one holds the possibility of talking about living itself, which implies to think of lives in everyday instead of in the spectacular and perhaps even in the space of transformation of everyday into the spectacular.

6.3 Tik Tok, Toxic Masculinity and Perpetuation of Online and Offline Violence

Abhishek Annica

Internet has changed the way we communicate with each other and put ourselves out there for the world. With the rise of new social media platforms, especially video-based

platforms and their reach in even small towns and cities in India, new forms of expression have emerged in the last few years. Tik tok, one of the biggest social media platforms in India, brings out the class and gender contradictions of the Indian society in a vivid and visible manner.

The democratization of these forms of social media has led to the emergence of different forms of expressions in creative ways that has both positive and negative connotations. This paper focuses on the ideas of masculinity, often hegemonic masculinity through tik tok. This medium often borrows from film and other cultures but the direct and open interaction with other users makes it different from other mediums.

This show of masculinity, takes place in many forms, often spiralling into violent expressions both online and offline. The glamorisation of the rejected lover narrative and the fetisization of one sided romance has been one of the side effects of the popularity of tik tok. The spill over into the real world, resulting in stalking, threats and even murders reveals a further murky side to the platform. All of this, while done under the guise of a creative platform, has lead to perpetuation of violence and the paper tried to bring this out through patterns of masochistic behaviour, malevolent language and offline incidences related to Tik Tok.

The presentation of these narratives under the cloak of the idea of love is also especially problematic. For years Bollywood has presented masochistic and hegemonic masculinity packaged under the idea of love. It has worked to normalize violence and perpetuate ideas which lead to men getting inspired by these central characters. The case of films like Kabir Singh which feeds into and from social platforms like Tik Tok is a case in point.

While women on other mediums like Twitter and Facebook also experience verbal abuse, violence and rape threats, this gets amplified in video formats such as Tik Tok because of the visual and in your face nature of the medium and also because of the reach and accessibility of the medium which leads to women often being exposed to many more unknown people and strange advances. This leads to forms of violence; verbal, emotional and physical which might not be illegal but they empower the culture of hegemonic, often toxic masculinity.

6.4 Queer women of India and normalization of violence: Struggle, challenges and strategies of resistance by the community

Adrita Roy

A society where heterosexuality is the most socially accepted norm, it is not uncommon for people who choose not to conform to compulsory heterosexuality be targeted to violence. In this society people from non-conforming sexualities are placed in the lower rungs of the social hierarchy and the degree of violence an individual or a community of like-minded individuals is going to be subjected to depend on where they are located in the social hierarchy. When the struggle of people from non-conforming sexuality is looked at more closely, the double marginalization of queer women in this society is observed. The double marginalization of queer women, first because of their gender and then because of their sexuality makes them relatively more prone to be targeted with gender and sexual violence. This paper through the narratives of ten queer women and their in-depth interviews highlight the nature of violence through which queer women are marginalized. It reveals that violence against queer women is not uniform in nature rather its nature and characteristics vary from episodic forms of violence to collective violence to systematic form of exclusion/oppression of the community of queer women by denial of access to basic fundamental rights. The paper also reflects that despite the varied forms of violence inflicted upon queer women, there is significant lack of proper institutional redressal mechanism/ help-seeking avenues for aggrieved queer women to seek help in order to respond to the violence inflicted on them. In this context the author examines the relevance and the role of queer feminist and feminist youth led collectives of India as a

help-seeking avenue for aggrieved queer women and through focus group discussions with the collectives aims to highlight their contribution so far in responding to violence against queer women and strategies to combat the violence. The author concludes the paper by emphasizing on the need to shift from the notion of '*exceptionalism*' attached to violence and highlight how the normalization of lack of institutional grievance redressal mechanism for aggrieved queer women systematically oppress queer women as equal right holders of the state and subsequently violates their right to life, liberty and equality.

6.5 Women with Severe Mental Illness and Marital Rape: A Case Study Method

Akanksha Rani, Janaki Raman, Sojan Antony, Thirumorthy Ammapattian and Chethan Raj

Women with Severe Mental Illness lacks interpersonal skills and chronic nature of their illness often leads to impairment in their judgement, problem-solving skills and limited reality testing which increases their vulnerability to exploitative sexual relationships. Indian legal system doesn't consider marital rape as a crime which needs to be dealt with separate legislation. This article aims to describes how women with Severe Mental Illness can be at dual risk of being abused due to their mental illness and impairment in their functionality which often results into difficulty in performing their roles and responsibilities.

Survivors were quite ambivalent about coming out of abusive relationship so psychosocial interventions focused on helping them to redefine their experience as normal and seeing how they derives meaning from those experiences, how it affects their self-esteem and defences they use to cope up with the abuse. The interventions also focused on identifying high risk situations in which the survivors were most vulnerable and safety planning. Most of them had develop sense of shame about their bodies, sexual needs and desires and since they lack interpersonal skills so it becomes quite difficult to assert them into a relationship. Intervnetions also focused on addressing those aspects by giving information about sexuality, marriage, parenthood, family planning and contraception and training in assertive skills. The survivors were also link to community-based organisations which provides services for domestic violence.

Marital rape is a complex phenomenon which has culturally, legally and socially has been invalidated and becomes subtle form of violence against women. There is a need for collaborative efforts to be taken by mental health professionals, medical officials, social service providers, religious leaders, legal professionals to understand, educate, validate, treat the survivors and work towards their empowerment.

6.6 “You made me do it”: A feminist understanding of abuse in non-marital, heterosexual romantic relationships in India

Anannya Chatterjee

Feminist analyses of violence against women have helped consolidate a thorough understanding of violence, from diverse standpoints. It has demonstrated the systemic feature of violence underlying socio-cultural institutions and structures, foundational to the very essence of patriarchy and gender hierarchies (Sangari, 2008), and helped see violence against women as a tool to maintain, as well as reproduce, patriarchal power structures. Feminists have further strengthened their analyses to not limit violence to its stark, aberrational, conspicuous manifestations, but to also see violence in its non-flagrant, non-egregious forms that does not allow itself and its agent to be easily identified (Kannabiran 2016) and understand abuse as a

continuum rather than random, isolated acts (Levy 2008). Identifying the family and the domestic, private sphere as a major site of gendered power struggles, control and oppression, fierce feminist movements in India against gender violence within the family and the conjugal unit of marriage in the context of domestic violence and dowry deaths have taken place, that lead to construction of legal mechanisms that may act for their redressal. This paper, however, is interested in yet another private institution that is operationalized through the phenomenon of romantic love, a concept that is commonly understood as an emotional and sexual attachment between individuals, fueled by the desire of the other and assumed to be elevated from societal structures and hierarchies (Giddens 1992).

In India, heterosexual romantic love as a cultural ideal gained currency only in the beginning of 20th century but even in contemporary times and urban spaces, is limited, discouraged and even resisted by social institutions of the family and community to keep caste, class, ethnic dynamics and hierarchies intact (Orsini, 2006). Such a complex construction of heterosexual romantic love constitutes socio-cultural discourses that perceive transgression, individuality, autonomy of the participants as implicit to the phenomenon itself. It is within such heterosexual romantic framework that the author attempts to locate violence and understand the particular ways of its normalization and legitimization through gendered discourses of love, romance and intimacy. The author endeavor to understand violence through examining subjective, lived experiences of various women in non-marital romantic relationships. Borrowing the lens of Joan Scott (1999), the author treats such experiential accounts as critical sites for knowledge to understand and analyze how gendered differences establishes and constitutes the romantic subjects that ultimately legitimizes abuse in the name of love. The author attempted to do so through non-parametric, snowball sampling of 12 middleclass Indian women from 18 to 25 years of age, with whom thorough narrative interviews have been conducted.

Through discourse analysis, the study examines how the conditions of abuse are built steadily throughout the relationship, how survivors attributed meanings to the perpetration of abuse against them, thereby trying to identify the various socio-cultural, political and historical discourses that inform their subjective experiences of being in a romantic relationship. The author argues that the justifications of forms of abuse as a lack in the feminine self/normal manifestations of unmaintained masculinities, continuous endeavors on the part of the survivors to maintain the relationship and mitigate the consequences of violence, are symptomatic of a certain discourse of heterosexual romantic love as not only sanctified of any violence, but a realm that promises agency and autonomy to all individuals (thus putting love and intimacy above gendered hierarchies). Such discourses continuously dictate their experiences and understanding of abuse, leading to its normalization and therefore, invisibilisation. The study attempts to underline how such a normalization is necessary for making sense of the dynamics of the relationships for the survivors, thus altering the very sense of self of these women. The study further tries to throw insight on the crucial consequences of normalization of such physical, mental and emotional acts of abuse, of maintaining, regulating and mandating heterosexual practices and their feminine/masculine subjects, further affirming femininities and masculinities in their gendered roles, as well as (re) constructing socio-cultural discourses around romance, love and intimacy as ever-lasting, pristine and devoid of hierarchies.

6.7 Perpetuating Gender Bias: Deprivation of Women's Rights as Equal Citizens

Anne Thomas Panicker, Prarthana Patil, Rukmini Banerjee

As a part of a transnational research project None in Three Research Centre aims at preventing all forms of Gender-based Violence (GBV) through involving young people in research. Our collaborative work brings together four countries, India, UK, Jamaica and Uganda to develop prosocial video games as a part of school curriculum to change attitudes towards GBV. In India our study focuses on how it is gender bias that leads to normalisation of violence. We aim to prevent GBV through engaging with young people through using innovative methodology that can help de-stabilise the status quo.

We have interviewed 42 women and 47 men from Mumbai city on topics of GBV, gender bias and help-seeking behaviours. Preliminary results of our study suggests that the “bystander effect” is pervasive in India and a big driver of this behaviour is gender bias that normalises everyday violence against women. Gender bias that is a product of unquestioning acceptance of stereotypical and patriarchal gender roles can become a vital driver towards making women more susceptible to GBV, whether in private or public spaces.

As a bystander one always remarks that a woman facing violence has the option to leave the situation and walk away, the law allows for it. Yet it is unclear if the law is equally usable by all women facing GBV; whether women themselves think they have received enough help from institutions as per a citizen of this country; to see if Indian governments' implementation of laws, policies and programmes specially designed for women have reached people.

Article 15 of the Constitution of India talks of how the State cannot discriminate against any citizen on grounds sex and provides for making special provisions for women. Since the reformation movement and also after India became a republic it has been trying to provide equity by bringing many laws in favour of women. But at the ground level, we see institutions, public and private, themselves depriving women of their rights. So much so that the Parliament in the Criminal Amendment Act, 2013 had to bring a provision to make it punishable for a police officer who fails to record an FIR and a person in charge of a hospital if they refuse to treat a victim of GBV.

Bias invoking inaction to violence is prevalent at the individual level, at the community level, and institutional level. Through our study we hope to understand if and how bystander apathy exists within institutional functioning, how this apathy should be addressed to prevent proliferation of GBV, and the ways in which women's everyday lived realities can be transformed with acts of everyday resistance.

6.8 “Lynching in India: A Rise of Ultra-Nationalism & Hyper Masculinity in the Context of the Contemporary Socio-political Scenario.”

Asad Shah

India, being one of the oldest and the largest democracies in the world, upholds the principles of equality, liberty and secular freedom to its citizens. A country with a rich heritage and a standing example of democratic values, India has witnessed a great number of challenges that have attempted to damage the secular fabric of a country safeguarded by its constitution. Through its Constitution, India also lays emphasis on safeguarding the rights of the marginalized sections of society like the Minorities, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes.

Since the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) came back to power 5 years ago, an unprecedented rise of vicious targeting and killing of helpless Muslims and Dalits through a series of mob lynchings has been reported. An internationally renowned organization, the Human Rights Watch reported at least 44 such murders between May 2015 and December 2018. Hundreds more people have been injured in religiously-motivated attacks which are backed by a pervasive sense of nationalistic and religious pride, and the rise of right-wing ultra nationalism.

The existing provisions of the IPC and CrPc aren't enough to prevent lynchings or secure convictions for such crimes that target marginalized groups particularly the Muslims and the Dalits. The other side of this newly strengthened cult is the presence of absolute chauvinism and ego-driven right-wing fringe elements whose display of toxic masculinity is instigating a culture of violence and normalizing the same.

This paper intends to understand the concept of lynchings, the power dynamic that exists between the supremely powerful and the marginalized, and the role of Toxic Masculinity being played out in the current scenario. This paper will also explore the frenzied attitude emanating from right wing groups that has developed a lethal model of what 'Being a MAN' means, as well as the divisive communal politics behind lynchings by taking up cases of different incidents that have happened over the last 5 years.

6.9 Exploration of Institutional Approaches to Sexual Violence in Delhi

Ashmeet Kaur Bilkhu

Conceptualization of violence is essentially a prolix exercise of social construction. It can be understood against the backdrop of socio-cultural and political context of society. Violence against women has been researched and documented since many decades. The investigating of causes and its effects has helped to immaculate various theories and understanding of the subject. Sexual violence has been at the center of the discourse circulating from various positions and building resistance simultaneously. While exploring debates and perspective on the gendered notions of violence; sexual form of violence was a precursor to Indian women's movement. It started with anti-rape campaign in 1980's with the Supreme Court verdict over infamous Mathura rape case. Since then women's movement has been engaged with the issue of sexual violence against women through legal reform, procedural changes, advocating victim centric measures, etc.

This paper is primarily an exploratory study related to the establishment of One stop crisis centres in Delhi in the aftermath of 2012 Delhi gang rape. Justice Verma committee was constituted to look into possible amendments in the criminal laws related to sexual violence. Committee recommended the setting up of One Stop Crisis Center (OSCC) across India in order to provide all support under one roof to the woman victim in her fight for justice. Purpose of these centers is to provide help to assaulted women in terms of medical treatment, legal guidance, psycho-social counseling.

This research paper through the in-depth interviews with the counselors who worked as paralegal counselors from autonomous woman's organization and crisis intervention center under Delhi Commission of Women, explores processes of counseling for sexual assault through the experience of Ngo workers which helps to illuminates the attitudes and societal beliefs about assaulted women; challenges faced by victims in legal apparatus; gaps in the policy; role and interdependency of state bodies and civil bodies.

6.10 The State and its Hyper Masculine Practices in India's Northeast: Articulations of Resistance in Contemporary Literary Writings from Nagaland and Mizoram

Bhumika R

(...) What the stories are trying to say is that in such conflicts, there are no winners, only victims and the results can be measured only in human terms. (...) their very humanity is assaulted and violated, and the onslaught leaves the survivors scarred both in mind and soul. (Temsula Ao, 'Lest we forget': xi, 2006)

In most States in the Northeast as well as in Kashmir where Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) is in force, the bodies of inhabitants, becomes the site upon which the State practices its hyper masculinity. Violation of bodies by the State works as an instance of normalcy rather than an aberration. In the context of AFSPA enforced spaces, engaging with specific contours of violation of bodies and disruption of everyday life caused by the State's practices of hyper masculinity where impunity from such acts is ensured is crucial.

The narrative of sexual violence, when it is a strategy of the State, tells stories of a different kind from individual instances of sexual violence. This does not however imply a trivialisation of the act of sexual violence on a woman's body. Instead the attempt in this case, is to read sexual violence as a part of the strategy of the state, in its practices of hyper masculinity on the bodies of women, men, children and their everyday life. In disrupting the everyday lives of individuals inhabiting these militarised spaces, the State practices a violation of Article 21 of the Indian Constitution.

In the case of 'Northeast', given the nature of surveillance practiced due to the presence of AFSPA, the possibility of engaging with lesser heard 'stories' of people which challenge the State's narrative is perhaps possible only through the genre of literary writing. Contemporary literature from the Northeast, specifically literature written in English, narrates disruptions of everyday lives and how inhabitants practice resistance everyday life practices which militarisation seeks to disrupt. In other words, the everyday or mundane constitutes an important presence in most contemporary literary writings from the 'Northeast'. The attempt here is to read in what ways or how the three texts discussed in this paper articulate resistance against such disruptions of the everyday through practices constituting the everyday.

In the proposed paper, I intend to discuss how the fictional nature of the genre and the use of literary devices such as irony, metaphors, symbols and open ended conclusions of stories offers an insight into the 'stories' of people and their lives in the militarised spaces and also of different aspects of their lives, beyond the frames of militarisation and conflict.

In other words, the paper intends to argue how literature subverts the dominant narrative circulated by the Indian State on the 'Northeast'. In telling stories of the everyday and peoples negotiation with realities which also includes militarisation of the space, literature in this case provides an understanding of the space and people beyond linear and monochromatic frames of identity.

6.11 Gender Discrimination and Violence Against Women: Connecting the Dots of Declining Child Sex-Ratio

Bijayalaxmi Nanda and Nupur Ray

Violence against women has been one of the core concerns of women's movements reflected in diverse feminist literature, campaigns, movements and legal reforms through years. It has been viewed as distinct violation of women's equal right to liberty, equality and justice,

further extended to right to life and dignity, values enshrined in the Constitution of India. Increasing violence against women is also epitomized as a major public health concern and operates through multifaceted contextual, socio-cultural and political processes. Using population and health data from over 80 countries in 2013, the WHO reported that 1 in every 3 women has been the victim of physical or sexual violence by the intimate partner. In most cases, the family is the main perpetrator, however, other forms of violence are also channelized by members beyond the level of the family and community. Violence against women is also largely normalized particularly in developing nations because of its signification attached to physical violence, yet until the late half of the 20th Century with the rise of feminist movements and worldwide cognizance of violence as violation of human rights and that women's rights being claimed as human rights. The stories of violence against women are not mythically woven around the passive role of women as victims. They are the lived everyday experiences of women.

As far as declining child sex ratio is concerned, it reflects the gender balance in terms of numbers between girls and boys in the age group 0-6 years. It is common knowledge that this ratio is skewed favourably for boys in India. The reason for this skewed ratio is deep rooted gender discrimination in the country which favours boys over girls in the context of fertility choices. The misuse of new reproductive technologies (NRTs) by flouting laws of the country by medical practitioners has actively aided this form of gender discrimination. The consistent decline in child sex-ratio and its implications in the Indian context have engaged the feminists, demographers, sociologists and civil society groups since a long time. The negative consequences of poor sex-ratio go way beyond just scarcity of women. Areas of low sex ratios tend to be more misogynistic and those with higher sex ratios tend to allow for greater female independence and dignity. Low sex ratios also result in seclusion, disinheritance of women from property, low female literacy rates, poor health, low employment rates, and an increased incidence of domestic violence. Conversely, high sex ratios lead to more secure inheritance rights, independent incomes, higher literacy rates, better health and better opportunities for political participation, at least in local level politics.

There has been considerable research around violence against women in India and the literature on gender discrimination reflected in declining child sex ratio is also abound. This paper makes an attempt to examine the integral linkages between the two issues in the context of the declining child sex ratio and its impact on surviving women.

The methodology used is a combination of theoretical analysis and empirical study. The paper will review selected works linking child sex-ratio, gender discrimination and gender violence in order to examine how the issue has been framed within the narratives emerging from research, learning and activism. It would also interlink the gender discrimination reflected by India's child sex ratio with the violence faced by women using the data from the census and the NFHS.

Empirically, the paper will strive to extrapolate the same connection through some reflections from the field (specifically UP and Haryana) in order to provide a nuanced understanding of the same. The paper intends to argue that decline in child sex ratio, an egregious form of gender discrimination and a consequence of a culturally conditioned choice of son -preference has further consequences in terms of increase in other forms of violence against women in families and communities. These non-tangible interconnections further reinforce the patriarchal norms and values leading to increase in everyday 'normalized' and 'invisible' forms of violence against women and inadvertently a deeply violent society.

6.12 Virtual Space and Right to Expression: Women's Experience of Cyber Violence in Facebook

Chaithanya K

Around the globe, lakhs of women and girl children are subjected to different forms of violence because of their gender. Gendered violence is deep rooted in the existing power inequality among different genders in the society.

It is further perpetuated with the advancement in technology as new forms of violence emerge. The internet technology has led to, the growing reach of information and communication technologies. And the resultant widespread use of social media has opened ways to new forms of gendered violence. It has led to the emergence of 'cyber violence' which includes hacking, impersonation, surveillance, tracking, online harassment, recruiting and malicious distribution of unwanted content to women and girls. It is becoming a global problem with serious social and economic implications. According to the statistics of European Union, one in ten women has experienced sexual harassment since the age of 15. According to the recently published report of National Crime Records Bureau, a total of 555 cases of cyber stalking and cyber bullying of women have been registered across India in 2017. Facebook, a social media platform started in 2004 has created a big impact in the lives of people; from connecting people to hosting for cyber-crimes.

The paper titled, "Virtual Space and Right to Expression: Women's Experience of Cyber Violence on Facebook" analyses women's experiences of online violence and subordination on Facebook. The main objective of the study is to document the experience of women who faced violence on Facebook, to identify the patterns of violence, and to know how the society is putting restrictions on women's agency in digital space.

The study has employed both quantitative as well as qualitative tools to collect primary data. A structured questionnaire, prepared using Google forms, is randomly circulated to 200 people of any gender who are in the age group of 18-30 years and are active on Facebook using a smart-phone. The Google form is being used to collect gender disaggregated statistics about online violence on Facebook. Further, to know different patterns of violence as well as restrictions on freedom of expression on different genders. As a second stage of the study, in-depth interviews were conducted with 12 women selected through convenient sampling who have gone through slut shaming and rape threats on Facebook.

The study find outs that the deep rooted sexist mentality controls women from asserting her agency in social media. The reason behind the massive cyber bullying against women are either they posted about their personal experience/ photos, or reacting to certain social issues. The control of women in social media platforms actually reasserts hegemonic patriarchal norm, which suggests that public spaces as well as cyber spaces are not meant for women. Thus pushes them in the private sphere and limits their agency and expression. It is high time that the existence of cyber violence is accepted because there are lots of silent victims and it affects the mental well-being of people.

6.13 Parrhesia from the Margins: MeToo as a space of truth-telling

Darshana Mitra

Parrhesia is the ancient Greek ideal of speaking truth as duty. The parrhesiaste speaks truth in the form of criticism, whether of a friend or of the sovereign, and this truth-telling is done at great risk to their own self. This figure, while central to the politics in the ancient greek city state, is a gendered figure, in so far as ciswomen, transgender and gender non-conforming

persons are rarely ever allowed the space to speak truth as civic duty, with their acts of truth telling being construed as personal truth-telling, and not political criticism. Similarly, the MeToo movement has been characterised (and criticised) as merely an avalanche of personal accounts of sexual violence. The person making the accusation is thus reduced to an individual airing her personal grievances in public, and not as a parrhesiastic citizen, i.e., someone speaking truth to power. By subjecting individual accounts to evidentiary standards, a criticism of structural oppression spoken as parrhesia, is reduced to an individual account that needs corroboration. However, to reduce the MeToo movement to a compendium of accusations is to ignore the role of truth-telling in challenging regimes. How is a survivor to be recognised as a parrhesiaste? In this paper, I shall look at Foucault's conception of the parrhesia in ancient Greek theatre, and argue that the MeToo movement acts as a chorus of voices that takes individual accounts of violations and reframes it as parrhesia by the collective. In doing so, I will examine my experience as a survivor of sexual violence representing providing legal assistance to survivors of sexual violence, and the limitations that legal due process create in the act of truth-telling.

6.14 Everyday Caste Violence in the name of Honor: Dalit Women's Experiences in Inter-caste Marriages

Disha K R

The constitutional rights of individuals and the provision for inter-caste marriages has made the State an important ally in safeguarding the individuals and legitimizing transgressive exogamous unions. But unfortunately the increasing 'honor killings' in recent years shows the failure of the State to be an important ally to uphold the citizenship rights of people entering into inter-caste marriages. On the contrary, the enduring impunity by the State and the Society towards caste and honor crimes has led to the normalization of 'honor killings', especially against Dalit men which has invited for serious investigation and conceptualization of violence in the name of caste honor.

The Anti-caste activists are now demanding that these killings be termed as 'caste violence' and the perpetrators be brought under law without any impunity. But what counts as 'caste violence' in the name of honor is a very important question to begin with.

The first section of the paper discusses the importance of looking at violence as not just a manifestation of extreme expression into an event rather violence as embedded in the everyday, as argued by feminist scholarship, to understand the functioning of intersecting structures. Drawing from this, the paper discusses how the discourse of 'caste violence' in inter-caste marriages has been revolving around Dalit men due to spectacular violence they are subjected to and how the everyday 'caste violence' faced by Dalit women becomes invisible in front of gruesome violence. The paper argues that the everyday violence faced by Dalit women, however subtle, violates the citizenship rights guaranteed by the constitution.

Drawing from the in-depth interviews of Dalit women from Karnataka, the second section of the paper looks at the everyday 'caste violence' faced by Dalit women in the intimate sphere of intercaste marriages. The paper argues how Dalit women are subjected to caste violence by denying a sense of belonging through a continuous process of 'othering' which runs against the very spirit of constitution. Dalit women who are perceived as a permanent outsider in the caste order are never really let in, to become an insider within the inter-caste families. This process of conscious 'othering' is where the caste honor derives power from in order to inflict everyday 'caste violence' through humiliations, which are rooted in the intersections of caste, class, gender and sexuality; and through the practice of untouchability, ranging from physical to emotional and relational.

Lastly the paper argues for a framework of analysis which upholds the citizenship of Dalits by looking at both everyday caste violence faced by Dalit women along with event based caste violence meted out towards Dalit men for critical understanding and conceptualization of 'Caste violence' in the name of honor.

6.15 Recollected Violence: Women in the Bodoland Movement

Dona Biswas

The Bodos or the Bodo-kacharis form one of the largest ethnic groups in Assam spread over the whole of the Brahmaputra valley of Assam, in the North-East India. Due to the marginalization of tribal voices various ethnic groups evolved to demand their rights and space in Assam. This led the creation of Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) in 1966, demanded the division of Assam and creation of a separate state "Udayachal" for tribal population of Assam.

Once again, when the demand of the Assam Movement (1979-1985), creating threat to the tribal societies losing all their cultural traditions and practices. The All Bodo Student's Union (ABSU), took over the movement from the Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) and restarted articulating their demands for a separate state from Assam in the year 1986-87. The issues of language, culture, land, property and religion igniting in the process of long social, economic, and political discrimination faced by the Bodo society, and the tribal issues being appropriated again by the larger Assamese society led to this Bodoland movement for separate state in late 1980's. In between of movements, a series of events took place which showed Bodos' assertion for their identity, language, and rights against the Assam state that lead them to face violence in the region.

The ideological underpinning of State is to secure and safeguard the rights and interest of any minority community in India. However, the framework of my paper gives evidence to support my claim that Constitutional Rights of Bodo society got violated especially; the rights of women in the region were a special target. Through this paper, I want to analysis how the State violence over the Bodo population during the movement in 1980's rejected their Human Rights by targeting over common life and property of Bodos.

During the period of my field visit in 2017-18, in the Udalguri district of Bodo Territorial Area District (BTAD) I could explore some of the violence affected areas. The constant raids of Assam Police over a period in 1988-1989 and even later in the Bodo villages, schools and public places in search of Bodo men and students in general, extended the relative kind of violence upon Bodo women and girl. The main target then becomes the women and girls who were the member of Bodo women's organization, All Bodo Women's Welfare Federation (ABWWF). The organization was at its nascent stage. It was working on certain social issues for Bodo society demanding their rights peacefully. But the attempted interrogation by the police over the young Bodo women affected the women's leadership in the movement, which I could realize in my field visit from their survival stories. Now, those women when speaking about their participation in the raid-situation and police interrogation also mentioned about their withdrawals from active participation in the organization and the movement. This depicts extreme enforcement of law and order which created ruckus in their participation. These continuous threats of police in the lives of women had gradually minimized the women's role in dialoging their rights in the movement. The Bodo Women Justice Forum (BWJF) in 1992 especially formed to provide the remedial measure for such violence in the region through their capacity of law and order.

A number of protests could be seen in the personal as well in the public life of the movement, where women resisted for their lives, safeguarding their family and property. In the

villages, women formed local groups strategizing various ways to protect their village men and volunteers; by providing shelter while constantly giving security in the villages at nights, by providing food and transferring messages from one place to another. But what are unknown in the narratives of the movement are women facing involuntary violence happening in their day to day life of that time, and even after the peak of the movement the silences of women's sufferings.

The aim of the paper is to explore the personal narratives as well community narratives of Bodo women facing multiple levels of violence, and the after-effect of such violence in their lives. Even after the building of women's group in the Bodo society, when and how did they start talking about their long experienced silences? What are the ways that we can study the "normalcy of violence" push into the women's life during such resistance movements that makes it missing from the narrative of violence? And, in case of Bodo women's role in taking charge of life and property of Bodo society, this paper also extends the question of periphery and tribal issues. In this context the paper tries to locate the various layers of social positioning that need to understand while studying "women in the movement", and especially during such violence.

6.16 Violence in Labour Rooms: A Call to Action

Durga A. Vernekar and Sangeeta Rege

Violence against women takes diverse forms. The present paper speaks about the violence inflicted upon women at the time of childbirth and discusses how structural and organizational factors collude to normalize such violence. There is growing evidence globally, and in India, of violence inflicted on women during childbirth. Bohren et al. (2015) operationalized mistreatment of women during childbirth into: physical abuse, verbal abuse, sexual abuse, stigma and discrimination, failure to meet professional standards of care, poor rapport between women and providers, and health system conditions and constraints. Over the past decade, numerous studies have been conducted to better understand this phenomenon. Most of these studies have been conducted with women, eliciting their experiences of mistreatment during childbirth.

CEHAT conducted a primary qualitative study with the objective of understanding healthcare providers' perceptions of violence in labour rooms. In-depth interviews were conducted with doctors, nurses and class four workers of two government hospitals in India. Violence in labour rooms was a routine occurrence in the hospitals. Verbally abusing and threatening the woman to make her comply with provider instructions were commonplace. Women were also physically abused in the form of restraining her to make her adopt the birth position convenient for health providers, administering fundal pressure to hasten delivery, and even administering episiotomies without the use of local anaesthesia.

It was found that consent-taking was reduced to mere signatures or thumb-impressions on the consent forms; little heed was paid to whether women and their families understood what they were consenting to. Episiotomies were a normative practice for all primigravida women, and consent was never sought before administering the same. Furthermore, consent for copper-T insertion was taken from the woman when she was on the labour table and had just delivered the baby; this was reported to be done intentionally as the woman was not in a mentally or physically fit state to make informed decisions, and would agree with whatever the healthcare provider put forth. The woman had scant participation in decisions regarding her own body.

Significantly, whereas healthcare providers openly acknowledged the aforesaid practices, they did not perceive these practices as violence or abuse. They dismissed the

language of ‘violence’ and stated that they were routine practices which were necessary for better birth outcomes. There was little awareness of the LaQshya guidelines released by the Indian government for improving the quality of care provided to women in labour rooms. Healthcare providers were observed to harbour generally negative attitudes towards the women availing of their services, perceiving them to be backward in their thinking, lacking awareness and understanding of medical procedures.

Normalization of violence against women in labour rooms: An interplay of organizational factors and intersectionalities

Violence against women in labour rooms arises from and is perpetuated by inherent gender imbalances in the society and exacerbated by the sociocultural vulnerabilities women experience. Negative perceptions of women availing of government health services are compounded by the societal values which disregard women’s autonomy and control over their own bodies. Whereas these adverse practices are a grave violation of the woman’s human rights – her right to autonomy, dignity, respect and freedom from harm – there is scant recognition of these practices as abusive. The lack of focus on *quality* of material healthcare, and the absence of grievance redressal mechanisms for women serve to condone these behaviours by healthcare providers. Abusive practices against women during childbirth are institutionalized within these hospitals and passed on from older to newer staff members as a ‘way of conduct’. The skewed power balance between women and health providers, blaming women for shortcomings, and eventual acceptance of such violence by women themselves serve to upkeep this vicious culture, and also severely compromise the physical and mental wellbeing of women. There is an urgent need to address maternal health with the human rights lens so that women may be provided care which is dignified, judicious, and rights-based.

6.17 Violence of Erasure

Garima

Right to life and personal liberty are sacrosanct rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution to all persons, this is the line the concept note starts from, I would like to make a correction its not persons, its ‘normative citizens’. With this paper I would like to start a conversation beyond the binary, about the violence and its erasure on Trans people. This is paper is a result of a two month long internship I did with an organisation called *orikalakini* (Which tries to demystify the taboo around menstruation). I interviewed few trans men and gender non binary people on their ideas around menstruation. This paper would try and look at the silences which later turn violent between our understanding and needs of Trans people. Also in the light of the draconian trans bill 2019, I would look at how idea of what constitutes violence changes or doesn’t? All the rights that we talk about are not considered mandatory when it comes to trans people, the state, nonstate everybody discriminates against them and they are left out of any welfare measure and still the government takes taxes from them, this half citizenship is a violence in itself and it would serve as a common thread throughout the paper. The major issue being tackled here is how patriarchy is a violent ideology about power and not only about individuals.

6.18 Increasing Violence and the Mainstreaming of Tribal Familial Relations

(provisional title; no title given)

Isha Mishra

The idea that the world is turning to a global village has actually deteriorated the real villages especially the previously inaccessible wilderness of tribal territories. The huge disconcerting structures of modern factories with its obsession over labour productivity now tower over quiet paddy fields and forests. Many young tribals have found new, unsettling and unfamiliar jobs in these projects, mainly as unskilled cheap labour, their way of life changed almost completely with this sudden form of development thrust upon them. Over the years, social and religious reformers, bureaucrats, moral zealots, block development officers and even the sudden exposer to various other societies have tried to make tribals feel ashamed of their way of life. Puritans among Hindus, Christians, Muslims regard freedom of tribal life as an abomination. From dancing, drinking, the scanty clothing and free mixing of the sexes were condemned as immoral. This paper will study the mainstreaming of tribal familial relations now which places the tribal society in a conflicted position thus leading to a whole new set of violence emerging in the current context of tribal life. The paper contextualises the tribal life of *paniyas* and *kottunayakas* of Wayanad and examines the position of the women of these tribes, with their agency being completely taken away with the mainstreaming of their society and are now being pushed to take roles of ideal meek 'Indian' women. There are records of increasing violence and crime against women on the charges of infidelity and coqueting around by their increasingly suspicious husbands. This growing insecurity in men also draws from a psychological shift in their perception of an 'ideal wife' coming from an incessant need to replicate the outside world which controls the sexuality of their women, thereby making women doubly susceptible to violence by their own husbands and the constant gaze of society.

6.19 Memorializing Sexual Violence: An Ethnographic account of *Museum of Rape Threats and Sexism*

Isha Yadav

Introduction: Women, for a very long time now, ever since the emergence of technology itself have been on receiving end of illicit threats and sexual assaults via text message applications, on comment sections, and inboxes on all digital media. Every now and then, women receive messages from stalkers, from anonymous men and strangers who harass and violate their boundaries. Rape Threats' has become a new age mass crime that exists privately and faced by large number of women. There are not isolated incidents, and often the perpetrators escape from the clutches of law with impunity, through deliberate failure of working mechanism. Suffering in silence deprives women of their citizenship rights guaranteed by the constitution. Several artists have protested against gender-based violence, through installations and artistic productions. Earlier this week, 49,000 women protested for domestic violence in Paris, an Istanbul based artist created a public space installation that showcased the number of women dead due to domestic violence. Another artist created a museum of clothes that rape victims were wearing to engage conversations about the 'modest dressing'. Similarly, *Museum of Rape Threats and Sexism* is a digital installation created with crowd-sourced screenshots of rape threats and sexist comments that several women have received online for raising their voices for social justice. The verbal threats of violence, as though considered irreconcilable within the constitutional framework, have now come to be regarded as "normal",

because of lack of legal aid, and lack of seriousness around the subject. This has led to normalization of violence against women.

Methodology: Screenshots are an excellent tool for this analysis. I've crowd-sourced screenshots of verbal assaults, violence and harassment, incidences where women have received unsolicited "dick-pics" that women receive in their inboxes, through social media. The graphic content, sexist remarks and rape threats will be curated on three different motion graphic videos that are compiled to run simultaneously on three projectors covering three walls, and create an experiential walkaway into the inboxes of women. It is an attempt to memorialize the verbal violence that women go through. It serves as a space of intervention into ideas of consent, coercion, harassment, misogyny, sexual assaults, and gender based violence. The installation aims to visualize the affect of violence, explores connection and solidarities between all women. Viewers are invited to engage with the text on the screenshots, the act of writing these messages to unsuspecting women, and understand violation and coercion. This paper will include findings from ethnography of culmination of experiences and conversations in course of this exhibition, from crowdsourcing these screenshots to visiting the installation. Discussion with women correspondents and the visitors of the exhibition, on when does an abusive comment becomes a rape threat, and in what circumstances did women receive these, the aftermath, and experiences of men who have threatened women to rape them, as well as detailed ethnography of research process and building of the museum.

Hypotheses: This project aims to show the structural violence and the rape culture. Following the #MeToo movement, the digital installation seeks to create an intervention into the rape culture, and not only displays the threats but also records responses of women who've internalized this as the new normal. It expands our understanding of victimhood, sexual violence, and urges us to seek constitutional justice for the same. This installation is a social movement that resists sexual violence, brings them in light, is peaceful and democratic and in demonstrative sense engages the conversation about the verbal violence women endure, it is ongoing and women can keep contributing their screenshots to the same.

This project memorializes our collective past that delves into political violence. Memorialization and remembrance and our phone galleries are the spaces of contestation of our radically gendered histories, ideologies, subjectivities and imaginaries. The number of screenshots that women have contributed raise an urgent need of intervention. The paper seeks to explore the dynamic ways through which affected communities can speak for themselves. It explores connection, and creates a lens for memorializing violence. The ethnography, overall, triggers action for the cause and becomes a strong indicator of where rape culture lies. It excavates the verbal violence from the normalization. The artistic production of resistance,

6.20 Witch-Hunting as 'Collective Violence': Understanding through the case study of Oraon women of Jharkhand

Jagriti Pandit

This paper seeks to understand community-oriented violence inflicted on tribal women in the form of witch-hunting who are lynched by their own community designating them as witches. It studies the notion of collective violence carried by their own community. My paper attempts to study the practice of witch-hunting prevalent among tribes of Oraon within Jharkhand. Witchcraft and witch-hunting are not a very modern phenomenon but they have been existed in almost every society, culture and around the globe since centuries. Which started in Victorian era of Europe and spread like fire around the world and could be found in African tribes as well like those of Azande. It is said to be encircled by the belief system of magic, ritual, supernatural power, ghosts, sorcerers, and witches. Quite similar to these notions

of witchcraft, witch-hunting exists among the tribes of India too. This paper focuses not only on the anthropological concepts of magic, totem, sorcery, bongaism but it certainly tries to delve beyond these notions to understand the problem of witch-hunting. It raises the issue of violence, denial of justice and rights of these women within their society. It tries to study the legal aspect through case studies or FIR's obtained during field work. Which raises the question of right to life, normalisation of such violence among the communities and failure of law within the state. It tries to study witch-hunting prevention law and its problems and the absence of a law at national level. The research was conducted in Jharkhand, district Ranchi, village Kanjiya; which is majorly a qualitative work and draws upon through available literature on witch-hunting. Few works of scholars like Roberta Senechal on collective violence and another work by Shashank Sinha has deeper implication on the genesis of violence as collective and the root cause of witch-hunting. Which proposes the concept of 'culture of violence or violence of culture', which dominates the tribal society. Lastly, the paper includes the situation of tribal women and their exclusion within their own society which reveals the construction of the notion of witchcraft through the lens of patriarchy and gender. It brings out the reasons of the prevalence of witch-hunting in violent form and draws a vivid picture of what, how and why witch-hunting is still prevalent in the tribal region of India with special reference to the state of Jharkhand.

6.21 The Erotic Charge of Political Violence

Jaya Sharma

In my presentation I will explore the erotic charge of political violence. I believe this is an important exploration because to disregard the erotic dimension of violence means an incomplete understanding of that which we struggle to counter as feminist, secular and other movements. The erotic I will argue is not simply an add-on, it is key to understanding violence. My presentation will draw upon research that I have undertaken for a book that I am currently writing, which seeks to look at the linkages between sex, love and Indian politics through the lens of fantasy and the psyche. As part of this research I looked at tweets by Hindu Nationalists that targeted women journalists who were critical of their ideology. The tweets undertook attacks of a nature "prohibited" by norms of humanity, human rights and the Constitution, but given "permission" by Hindu Nationalism. Using the lens of the psyche and psychoanalysis in particular I will argue that at the intersection of this prohibition and permission lies the erotic charge of violence, which could also be called *jouissance*. I will also argue that "normalization" of violence might not be conceptually appropriate as a framework to analyze violence inspired by political ideologies. Might it be that it is precisely the "abnormal", perverse nature of the violence that provides the erotic and psychic charge, particularly in a context where there is no need to justify or explain, but to display the power to unleash violence which norms of human rights, humanity and the Constitution prohibit.

6.22 Voice of a Woman Crime Victim/ Survivor against the Violence Against Women at Workplace:

S. Jenefa

The Constitution of India has guaranteed a Right to life with dignity and right to take up any profession and hence it is the responsibility of the state to provide a just and favourable work environment to its citizens, women in particular. Gender-based violence is rampant in

India with the country being rated as the most dangerous country for sexual violence against women by the Thomson Reuters Foundation Survey (2018) based on various parameters including sexual and non-sexual violence, discrimination, cultural traditions, health care and human trafficking. Due to the existing patriarchal norms and conservative thoughts, Indian women in workforce face enormous challenges and gender-based violence at every step in their career ladder. Violent attacks on women holding positions of power and vibrant women would intimidate and silence fellow women in the society who aspire to make it big in their personal and professional lives. The shocking murder of the writer Gauri Lankesh, cyber crimes against assertive politicians like Jothimani Sennimalai, a Member of Parliament, the recent gruesome burnt alive murder of a woman Thasildar at work place in Hyderabad..... the list goes on and on. I would like to present my own case study of a Multi-Stab attack, a life-threatening one on me by a sacked guest lecturer at my office as the head of the department of Journalism of a state-funded University in Tamil Nadu with a gender-perspective. I would like to analyse the influence of my gender from occurrence of the crime to victim-blaming and other backlashes post-stabbing. The paper also will attempt to examine the ramifications of the violence on fellow women in the society.

6.23 Invisible Violence/ Violence of Invisibilization

Jhelum Roy

Recent events in the country, be it the abrogation of article 370, or the Babri Masjid verdict, or the Triple Talaq Bill, the Transgender Persons Bill have put our very constitutional values at stake, making us realise violence in totalitarian regimes is also constitutional. While the state has always historically been the only body that legitimizes violence, the rise of right wing fascists, not just in India but all over the world, has brought upon us the need to conceive and conceptualise violence differently. In a context where violence is legitimized through constitution, where the idea of citizenship itself becomes an act of violence, when laws are encoded to reproduce violence, when electoral regimes bring fascists to power, we need to think whether our frameworks to understand violence are adequate to register, and read such acts as violence, to read such acts of violence? This paper intends to unpack the myriad forms of violence, ‘the banality of evil’ (as Hannah Arendt terms it) that fascist regimes have made us confront. In doing so, this paper will also interrogate the statist paternalism that is at work, when such violence is often legitimized, justified in the name of protecting vulnerable communities, in the name of protecting women? How do we as feminists read violence of erasure, violence of censorship, violence of appropriating voices? How does one conceptualise violence when it comes in the form of bankruptcy of imagination?

When verdicts are ruled to satiate ‘collective conscience’, when majoritarian discourse subsumes, appropriates and gets passed as the only narrative, when dissent is blacked out, when all institutions of the state are put to use to ‘extinguish the human’, the political in us, so as to reproduce economic violence of capitalism, one feels at a loss of a canvas that can adequately categorise such violence? How do we read violence inflicted through psychosis, when entire communities are pushed to ghettos, pushed to live as shadow people? How does one understand violence of dismissal wherein women’s agencies, voices, dissent are completely rendered invisible, irrelevant?

Through narratives of women in Citizen Nagar, who have been survivors of the Naroda Patiya massacre and are banished to live there, haunted by memories of genocide and the smog of Pirana dump, through reading of some of the recently passed Bills and judgments, this paper will seek to find grasp meanings of violence in totalitarian regimes through a reading of Hannah Arendt’s work, and deliberate on how one makes sense of the times from a feminist standpoint.

6.24 Midnight Women: Challenges and Threats for Women Reclaiming their Space and Time During the Night

Kamalika Mukhopadhyay

Stereotyped norms and cultures have always prevailed around the lives of men and women. Women are expected to perform certain duties, follow some decorum in the patriarchal structure of our society to fall on the category of “good” woman. Women who dare to challenge these stereotypes and break the fetters of the society to live a free life as per their choice and discretion have to undergo the real challenges and threats of the society. They have to combat violence in their everyday lives not only in form of sexual or physical violence but also mental, emotional and social violence.

In present day context we see more women going out in the night due to the 24 hours round the clock work culture. Women are engaging in different types of profession which demands them to travel at odd hours in the night, or stay out of home during the night. As women are becoming more independent they wish to exercise their right to live a life devoid of any fear or threat – they wish to reclaim their space and time even during the midnight. Public spaces belong to them as much as it belongs to any man in our society. Hence they should have the freedom to access these spaces at any point of time just like a man in our society can do. It is the duty of the state and the society to ensure that women are not denied of their basic rights. In this context, it is essential for the government to take mandatory measures in order to make women feel safe in public spaces at any point of time.

Women who walk or travel in the night by choice or are compelled to, face various kinds of threats. These threats and fear of violence can range from stalking to rape, it can be simply anything to make a woman feel derogatory. Safety for women is a major concern which is highlighted in this paper. It shall also throw light upon the fear constructed around night time or how night is perceived by most of us. The “darkness” associated with the night time can make a woman feel really vulnerable. The paper aims to deconstruct the concept of “darkness” associated with night, which brings in fear and threat of gendered specific violence.

In my research paper, I would attempt to bring out some of the challenges and threats faced by women who are bound to travel or stay out at night and even those who like to go out in the night as a matter of choice to exercise their freedom and equality. In the course of discussion, I shall bring forth experiences encountered by these midnight women and also the multi-layered fears and challenges that each woman had to come across. I shall share my own experience of traveling in night or walking down the streets at odd hours of time with primary focus on two cities – Delhi and Kolkata. My attempt is to come up with solutions to these challenges and threats faced by the women in India who dare to step out in the night.

The paper shall also discuss the main stakeholders who are responsible for these threats. The “normalization of fear” associated with the night is ought to be understood critically from a gendered lens. It is to be understood how this fear is socially and culturally constructed. I would also like to raise the question here that is this threat or fear of violence just a psychological fear or exists in real.

The methodology of the study will be a mixed methodology. On the basis of qualitative and quantitative survey I shall try to analyse the root cause of such fear and how a woman feels that she can reclaim her space and time. However there are instances which shows that despite all these obstacles women still due to their indomitable courage and strength continues to carry on with their life and can influence other women around them to lead a life of their choice and live it the way they want.

6.25 Contested Realities in Manipur through the Lens of Armed Conflicts: Violence Against Women

Laishram Jitendrajit Singh

For many decades, an internal war has been brewing in Manipur with more than 40 insurgent groups demanding their right to self-determination and self-independence. The Government's response has been massive militarisation of the area and imposition of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, (AFSPA) 1958, under which arbitrary killings, torture, massacres, forced disappearances, rape and molestations by the security forces have taken place over the years but unreported in media houses. Hitherto, much of the angst of people of the state and varying human rights violations and other excesses in the name of safeguarding India's internal security may have gone unnoticed, unreported or sidelined before the 2004 Nude protest by 12 mothers; with their public demonstration, the Mothers of Manipur made the world sit up and took notice of the happenings in the remotest corner of the Indian state.

In 2013 Justice Verma Committee was set up to suggest amendments to laws relating to crimes against women, recommendations are of the view for the continuance of AFSPA, yet there is great need to provide legal protection to women in conflict areas against any misuse of the act. A month after the nude protest of 2004, the state government withdrew the controversial Armed Forces Special Powers Act, AFSPA, from seven assembly constituencies in Imphal city area. Subsequently, on July 2016, in an interim judgment based on a petition filed by the Extrajudicial Execution Victim Families' Association Manipur (EEFVAM), the Supreme Court of India hauled up the Indian Army heavily for a huge amount of excesses and extra-judicial killings committed by the force. The Supreme Court also condemned the use of extra-forces by the Indian Army.

Armed conflicts are never gender-neutral, yet women and innocent children are caught in this ever continuing melee of killings and subjugation. The rule of law, a cornerstone of good governance and democracy, requires that laws are in place to hold everyone to account, from the individual to the government. However, for many women and girls in Northeast India in general and Manipur in particular, the reality is that the rule of law means little in practice. The article retrieves women's vulnerable position in Manipur; the focus is on the contradictions inherent in the popular belief that women in Manipur enjoy a high status; respect and honour at home and extolled on public platform, women are increasingly becoming recipients of a spiralling violence due to the prevailing armed conflict situations. My pursuit of making Manipuri womanhood visible through oral history and traditions is a way of illuminating a narrative yet undocumented to highlight the need to ensure empowerment, promoting gender equality in peace-making, and how women have become the signifier for social justice and conflict-resolution. At the heart of my research is an understanding of Gender notions and analysis of public movement in Manipur and inquire the collective consciousness of women despite negligible political roles. Using Oral tools like Learning to listen, Interview analysis, a feminist frame for confronting the demons of public history, an interpretive oral narrative research is adopted to reach out to their memory as an authentic source.

The common perception in Manipur is that women enjoy a very high status especially in comparison to women in other parts of India, to some extent, the perception is correct, but it is also riddled with contradictions and complexities. When women attempt to redefine their roles and expand their arena of choices, their perceptions and actions generate reverberations through the entire society necessitating a re-ordering of not only gender roles and arrangements but also of the social and political order affecting the culture and the collectivity and its self-definition and identity. This approach is different from analysing the causal factors responsible for armed-conflict. Addressing these types of sources reinvigorate the need to address women

at the centre of the research, there is a greater need to hear this silence in order to understand their discrimination and injustice. Peace and harmony are essential pre-requisites for development of the North Eastern States of India for fulfilling the aspirations of the society and for building a strong, stable and prosperous nation. Acknowledging the suffering of women in Manipur, it is imperative that peace be restored in the state for the larger interest of Indian democracy.

6.26 Digital (Sexual) Violence Against Women: A Psycho-Feminist Response

Mamatha Karollil

Digitization and digital transmission via the internet widens the horizons of expression and communication, including in the intimate realm - of faces and bodies, voices and images. If the internet opens up new modes of sexual expression and intimacies, it also inaugurates new vulnerabilities and anxieties. A casual google search of 'blackmail' indicates how sex is often a site of shame, silence/secretcy and powerlessness - especially for women. While feminine shame around sexuality, and blame and punishment for sex outside the confines of monogamous marriage is an old story, "revenge porn" and "sextortion" are relatively new words in the crime lexicon and the legal framework to deal with them are a shifting, evolving landscape. A slew of laws concerning privacy, obscenity, defamation, criminal extortion, pornography and sexual harrassment seem to converge in the legal response to the problem in India and elsewhere. Laws construct popular/normative understandings of social relations as much as they reflect the same. The central question the paper asks is: how do such laws construct the woman, her (sexual subjectivity) and what contour/shape would a feminist legal response take? The paper aims to do an examination of a) experiences of female victims of "non consensual porn", b) the talk and responses of those around them to these kinds of violations and c) the laws around the world that deal with these kinds of violations, for what they reveal about the psycho-politics of sex in contemporary times.

6.27 Understanding violence against women in conflict prone regions: A case study of Kashmir

Mehreena Manzoor Tak

Violence is undoubtedly an inherent part of an armed conflict. In an armed conflict everybody be it men, women or children are victims of violence in one way or the other way. Violence on an individual can be manifested in several forms- while men are mostly being killed and physically tortured in an armed conflict, the women are raped, harassed and left widowed due to this violence. While impact of conflict is inevitable on both men and women, in patriarchal societies the women assumedly faces the impact of such violence at several levels. Thus women being already victim of various form of oppression and discrimination, this section of the society becomes doubly marginalise during conflicts. So for women with the institutionalized discrimination of patriarchal societies, violence during conflicts makes it even more rigorous for women.

In Kashmir, women have been victimised by both state and non-state actors, this violence against women has manifested itself in several forms; they have been killed, left physically handicapped, raped and harassed. Thousands of women have lost their fathers, sons, brothers and husbands. The plight of widows, half-widows, mothers, half-mothers and those women who have lost their dear ones reflects nothing but the impact of violence on their lives. Violence against women is not specific to any region, but has a universal Character.

Throughout several historical episodes women have been subjugated and oppressed in all forms of societies. In the context of India, Kashmir is one of the most conflict prone area and has been highly debated. While most work on Kashmir as a conflict area is focussed on several political aspects of governance, security, economic, and claim over the territories; issues like conditions of women in such circumstances have not received much scholarly attention. Hence the paper will very specifically focus on the conditions of women in the Kashmir's conflict area. The objective of the Paper is to study the forms of violence on women in Kashmir; It attempts to examine the impact of violence on women in the region. The paper aims to critically analyse, how the patriarchal form of society has in a way enhanced the violence on women. It will also focus on how different narratives have evolved over time in redefining and normalizing the process of violence against women. The paper is an attempt to understand the discourses on the complexities of women facing violence in conflict areas like Kashmir.

6.28 Who is the Subject of VAW discourse? The Everydayness of the Experiences of Violence

Nazneen Shifa

The paper problematizes the way the juridical discourse of VAW conceptualizes women as a universal subject. Inspired by the scholarship on South Asian Feminisms I will invoke the questions of how this universal, monolithic and singular representation of women has become authoritative in VAW discourse, which limits the possibility to understand various women's experiences of violence. Through some ethnographic episodes, this paper will show how such a representation of women in VAW discourse is fraught, which constructs women as a singular and unified subject. I will also show how this approach of VAW is unable to recognize the multiple contexts as well as multiple subject positions of women (Moore 2006, Kapur 2005).

This paper is a conversation between the juridical discourse of VAW and the everyday experiences of violence of women. I consider the 'everydayness' of these experiences is imperative to understand the nuances of women's life experiences. In this case, the everyday experiences of violence, which are often not possible to understand through the mundane tools and techniques that the technocratic approach of VAW offers. The paper will focus only on the discourses and practices of interpersonal violence which is often categorized as 'domestic violence' in the juridical discourse. It will particularly focus on the everyday experiences of violence of working-class women. Finally, I argue that shifting focus on multiple subjectivities (which are shifting, fragmented, and temporal) can construct a deeper understanding of the meaning of violence.

6.29 Normalization of Sexual Violence in Acquaintance Rape Trials

Neetika Vishwanath

This paper will expose the normalization of sexual violence and subversion of constitutional values in cases of acquaintance rape by different actors in the criminal justice system within the courtroom. The prosecution lawyer advises the complainant to depose about the 'use of force' and leave out any details that might confirm an existing relationship with the accused. The defence lawyers relying on similar patriarchal notions subject the complainant to cross examination to show the existence of relationship between her and the accused, the lack of use of force and lack of injuries, etc. to falsify the complaint. Given the nature of acquaintance rape, it is often the case that the defence lawyer is successfully able to bring to

record the contradictions about the aforementioned facts which do not speak to the offence itself. This is in turn relied upon by the equally patriarchal court to dismiss the charges of rape as 'false'. Normalization of sexual violence in cases of acquaintance rape is deep rooted in the public-private dichotomy in the inherently patriarchal criminal justice system which legitimises only certain kinds of sexual violence against women. The paper will draw from the findings of a court room ethnography of rape trials that I undertook in 2015 to problematise and unpack the normalization of sexual violence in cases of acquaintance rape.

6.30 Understanding Gendered Patterns of Burn Injuries: A Study of Response of Hospitals in Mumbai

Padma Bhate-Deosthali

Burns is a major challenge causing deaths, disability, and disfigurement. Globally, there are about 300,000 deaths due to burns every year (WHO, 2008). Extrapolation of data from major hospitals in India, indicates an estimation of 7 million burn incidents and 140000 burn deaths every year, making burn injuries the second largest group of injuries after road accidents (Gupta et al, 2010). Sanghavi, et al (2009) estimated 163,000 fire related deaths in India based on medically certified causes of death in urban areas and a verbal autopsy based sample survey for rural populations for the year 2001. Of these fire related deaths, 65% were female deaths. Of the 140000 burn deaths per year in India, 91000 are women which are much higher than the number of maternal deaths (Bhate-Deosthali & Lingam, 2016).

The paper is based on doctoral work that explored the phenomenon of burns from a public health perspective. Twenty six interviews with health providers in burns care across the three hospitals in Mumbai; they included medical officers, surgeons, resident doctors, nurses, labour staff (wardboys and ayahbais). Survivors/victims were approached and twenty two of them agreed to participate and eight key informants included experts from the fields of forensic medicine, burns surgery, and law, and women activists.

What emerged from the narratives of women was the lack of probing of the causative factors and the unreported experience of domestic violence preceding the episode and past history of domestic violence. The fact that 18 of the 22 women were experiencing domestic violence indicates the widespread occurrence of domestic violence and its linkages to burn injuries. Experiencing domestic violence was one of the most significant risk factors to suffering burn injuries contrary to the reported stove and/or cylinder blasts or accidental catching of fire of saris and dupattas in medical literature.

The response of hospitals to burns brought out several issues within the clinical and medico legal response. The routinely available care across the country is fraught with apathy, poor standards, and ill-informed practice of categorizing patients as "non-salvageable" /"non-survivable", thus depriving them of the standard (uniform) care as practiced by specialized centres. Providers underscored the need for clinical protocols for resuscitation, treatment, and referral. The completion of treatment for burns, which is a long process, requiring several follow up visits for surgeries and physiotherapy is gendered with few women following up for these services.

The study found that there is no clear protocol for documenting the history, evidence collection and medical opinion in the case of burns injuries. The studied silence about the actual cause of incident, investigation, and documentation in cases of burns injuries and/or deaths in women reveals serious gaps in the health care setting that contribute to the complacency and thereby condoning domestic violence. It was found that the forensic textbooks were devoid of relevant data on the epidemiology of burns and there was no discussion on the increasing number of dowry deaths, bride burning, and domestic violence.

This research calls into question the recording of burn injuries with no record of domestic violence and no investigation into the cause of burns, resulting in these being erroneously recorded as accidental burns in kitchens. Further, there is no mechanism for collating data between hospitals and police or for that matter within the various levels of the health system. The collusion of patriarchal attitudes of the family, police and health system work were obvious and they all worked in tandem to maintain a culture of silence over the violence within homes. The study makes an important contribution through informing the Haddon Matrix used for Burns Prevention (WHO, 2011) which identifies kitchen accidents as an outcome of constrained cooking space or hazards endemic to cooking. The findings underscore the need to focus on socio-cultural problems versus non-human agents/hazards thus making a critical contribution to the field of burns prevention. What also emerged were other gaps in policy where burn victims of “flame burns” are not eligible for any compensation by the state and the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016 does not include disability caused by flame/fire burns .

6.31 Agency of the Young Girls and Normalisation of Violence through Customary Practices and Implementation of Legal Provisions

Pragnya Joshi

Child marriages in common perception negate the agency of the person/s involved in the union. Contrary to this perception, the research by ANANDI (Area Networking and Development Initiatives) demonstrates that young girls, invisibilised through restriction on mobility and choices use their agency to enter the marital unions at an early age. This research focused on choice, consent, and agency of the young girls in the age group of 14-20 years. It unfolds the process of normalisation of violence in terms of the implications faced by these young women for their choices regarding attaining education, mobility, use of communication technology, labour, relationships, and sexual desires.

The narratives of discriminations and violence faced by these young women from marginalized communities from Dahod, Panchmahal and Morbi districts of Gujarat have been the unheard voices at the level of the family, and community. These young girls are the ones whom the community and the formal legal system recognises as ‘abducted’ girls, abducted for the purpose of marriage. These young women encountered denial of agency, discrimination, stigmatization, criminalization, and violence at the hands of the formal legal system, social norms and the customary practices which robbed them off their dignity, social-economic security and the opportunity to participate as the agents of change in the development process. The family, community, as well as the state, do not legitimize the agency of the young and the adolescents to give consent. They criminalise the consent of the young and adolescents through customary practices and laws. The criminalization of consent and choice of the young girls has become critical more so after the implementation of two laws in recent times- Amendment of Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013 which raised the debate over age of consent being raised from 16 to 18 years and Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 which completely denies any legitimacy to the ability of consent to the citizens below 18 years, for whose protection this law had come in existence.

This paper seeks to highlight how various customary practices guided by patriarchal forces within the family and community align with the formal legal system to curb the agency of young girls and deny them their constitutional rights. These patriarchal forces operate through the informal dispute resolution systems which hold social control over the community life in rural areas. They apply various punitive actions, and sanctions to curtail freedoms, choice, agency and access to development of these young women whose unpaid labour is

crucial for the survival of these marginalised communities. These processes of criminalisation and stigmatization which normalise violence increased vulnerabilities of the young women. These punitive actions and sanctions are justified in the name of *protecting honour* of the families and communities. In the same vein, the protectionist framework of the formal legal system makes *age* as the parameter for legal consent for sexual partnership. Both systems derecognise the capacities of these young girls make choices, take decisions and act as an independent and autonomous entity.

This paper is based on the interviews of the young girls who were either abducted or left homes with the partners of their choice. Interviews and consultations with the community leaders also inform about the dynamics of these processes of criminalisation and stigmatisation. The paper traces various processes through which the girls experienced normalisation of violence ranging from discriminations, denials, trauma, physical violence, auction to unnatural deaths.

6.32 Citizenship Today: Violence of Exclusion, Changing Identities and Rohingya

Prashansa Wadhwa

In the times that we live in, the question of who is a citizen, or to be precise, who is an “ideal” citizen? has acquired center stage, along with the challenges posed by the focus on identity and differences. This very concern with the “ideal-ness” of a citizen is contingent upon the imagination of nation-state. Citizenship is one amongst many identities which have the potential to moderate the divisiveness of other identities and as scholars have asserted, citizenship can tame the divisive passions of other identities like gender, religion, race, caste, class and nation. The debates on citizenship has always been in euro-centric light where scholars like T.H. Marshall conceptualise it in egalitarian light.

My paper will be divided into two sections, one will be dealing with the theoretical debates around citizenship and how contentious the issue of exclusion from citizenship is. This section will also involve feminist understanding of exclusion/inclusion and feminist typology about differential citizenship. The other section will talk about how citizenship is based on violence of exclusion with special focus on Rohingya migration crisis.

Citizenship is always defined as an individual's membership in polity. Citizenship has been written and explained in terms of inclusion in polity, in reciprocal of a set of duties, which frame the eligibility of inclusion in various exercises like voting, holding public offices and other branches of democracy.

But contemporary debates on citizenship have questioned this very idea that the citizen can enjoy legal rights independent of the context to which he/she belongs. The narrow concept of liberal citizenship stops the discussion on the legal inclusion or exclusion. According to which, everyone is an equal citizen irrespective of their religion, ethnicity, race, class or culture. To describe this contemporary, heterogenous and multifarious citizenship, one needs to get away from the singular meaning to cosmopolitan, diasporic, sexual, cultural and modern facets of citizenship.

In an extreme economically and politically polarised world, the intensity of migration is ever increasing. In India, like everywhere in the contemporary time the

crisis of reception is more apparent than the migration itself. Indian state's position on Rohingya has evolved through different regimes and has now come to a point of violent exclusionary approach.

It is important to understand the geo-political history of South Asia before drawing any thread since there are lineages that we draw from the imperial rule and here the crisis of identity is related to the rise of nationalism which operates at different extremities ranging from xenophobia to forms of cultural nationalism. In this discourse of nationalism the increasing hostility against the 'other' is fueled by the idea of superiority than multiculturalism. As a result of such nationalism, social fragmentation within this idea of citizenship becomes apparent. Many feminists critiques this fragmentation by questioning the basis of this dichotomy.

With the recent developments in the country, the understanding of citizenship is being confined to the boundaries of a narrowly conceptualised nation state. The overall context is that the current ideological push is homogenizing and there is a lack of tolerance towards difference and diversity. They justify such claims by invoking national interest national security. It therefore is very important to engage with these issues and my paper will look at the politics of identity and citizenship.

6.33 Feminism and its Discontents: Punishing Sexual Violence in India

Preeti Pratishruti Dash

The brutal gang-rape of a young woman in December 2012 in New Delhi changed India's legal framework around sexual violence, making it overtly punitive. This is evident from the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 2013 (CLA-2013), which expanded the definition of rape, and also introduced a mandatory minimum punishment. The Indian feminist movement, though skeptical of state-led carceral projects, deeply engaged with the J.S. Verma Committee, to introduce legal reforms on sexual violence, leading to the enactment of the CLA-2013.

Mapping responses of feminist groups to the J.S. Verma Committee, this paper argues that feminist groups missed the opportunity to engage with complex issues of criminal law and sentencing, in their attempt to reform the law. The paper empirically analyses 1635 rape judgments during 2013-18 from the state of Delhi, of which 726 were adjudicated under the old law, and 909 under the CLA-2013. Under the old law, 117 cases (16.11%) resulted in convictions, while under the CLA-2013, this number was limited to 52 cases (5.72%). Further, the paper finds that non-peno-vaginal rapes constitute a very small fraction of the total cases adjudicated under the CLA-2013, revealing their 'less serious' status, thereby preventing reporting and prosecution. The paper also finds strikingly similar patterns between the nature of cases and reason for acquittals under the old law and CLA-2013, comprising, to a large extent, breach of promise to marry cases, thereby revealing the inefficacy of the CLA-2013 in reforming investigation and adjudication of rapes in India.

Using these findings, and linking the introduction of mandatory minimum punishment to a reduced rate of conviction in these rape cases, the paper argues that a punitive approach to sexual violence, unaccompanied by institutional reform, has resulted in unintended consequences of feminist engagement with the state on legal reform. The paper seeks to explore the tension between feminist demand for ensuring prosecution and ending impunity for committing sexual crimes on one hand, and encroachments by the state on rights of the accused on the other. Underscoring the disparate impact of the criminal justice system on the marginalized, the paper emphasizes on the need for developing a feminist discourse for

punishing sexual violence, which goes beyond using criminal law as a site for feminist reform, and is in more meaningfully aligned to constitutional right to life and liberty.

6.34 Right to Life as a Framework to Address Everyday Digital Violence

Ramya Boddupalli

Women attract higher rates of online abuse when they express themselves on social media platforms. They are more vulnerable to receiving violent threats to their physical safety and lives. In an age where social media has created unprecedented opportunities of free expression, online abuse creates a charged atmosphere that breeds fear. The prolific nature of online platforms contributes to the normalization of violence by fostering a vitriolic ecosystem that lies in the grey where regulation is concerned. The *Shreya Singhal* verdict, struck down Section 66A of the IT Act that regulated online speech. This was a win for free speech but created a vacuum in regulation. Online spaces have gained a reputation for being free-for-all platforms that let abusive speech go unchecked. Social media platforms do have community guidelines to regulate hate speech but these are effective only if a critical volume of complaints is received. Further, they do not conform to Constitutional standards in India but to the more liberal standards of free speech of the US Constitution where these companies are based.

These platforms are also the turf of choice for political engagement - only the engagement is not always vibrant and democratic. Targeted trolling and abuse constitute a lot of the expression on online platforms. In a stratified society like India, where minor skirmishes could lead to major flareups, the constant barrage of hate can lead to violence. For instance, cow vigilantism spread through these forums has led to the lynching of Muslims suspected of consuming beef. The danger that speech can lead to violence is therefore real. The Dangerous Speech framework, as conceptualized by Susan Benesch, with its specific scope is a useful lens to apply to online speech. Dangerous speech is a form of expression that increases the risk that its audience will condone violence against members of another group. This kind of speech acquires a charge in the context of larger public discourse that subscribes to populism and undemocratic ideologies. Further, dangerous speech creates tensions that could not only lead to violence in real life but degrades public discourse by pushing the boundaries of decency. I contend that this, combined with the ease of disseminating information through digital forums, contributes to the normalization of violence and conflict in the digital age.

It is further important to situate this in the right wing, masculine and exclusionary politics of today. This means that some historically deprived sections, including women face the brunt of dangerous speech. Women with contrarian opinions are subject to violence because of their sex. Gendered abuse takes the shape of rape and death threats, public shaming, incessant trolling, cyberstalking and revenge porn. Women activists have been victims of targeted gendered abuse online on platforms like Twitter and Facebook from right wing handles who are motivated to abuse these women not only because of their political opinions but also because of their gender. While these are cases of specific women being targeted, in the aftermath of the abrogation of Article 370 Kashmiri women were mobilized as objects of marital aspiration of Indian men. This was a dominant narrative on social media as a means to justify the government's moves while degrading the dignity of an entire community of women. These instances create culture of violence and impunity with the possibility of violence always around the corner.

In this context, I argue that the constant subjection of women to online abuse is a concern for the Right to Life which also guarantees dignity and civil liberties. Being platforms of expression, issues of free speech naturally take precedence where the regulation of these media are concerned. Yet, when the public sphere itself has shifted to cyberspace, can the right

to life be ignored at the cost of absolute free speech? Digital media are markedly different from traditional media in terms of their reach. I contend that this is reason enough to define what right to life entails in these spaces. In *Puttaswamy*, the Supreme Court situated online privacy in the Right to Life but this needs to be broadened to recognize the right to exist with dignity in digital spaces.

6.35 ‘Honour’ crimes in India: Exploring the Everydayness of Violence against Women

Rani Rohini Raman

Broad daylight murder of Saima Sarwar in 1999 gave the world the term ‘honour’ crimes. The act of killing Saima, who was seeking a divorce from her abusive husband was defined as an act of violence which was done in the name of ‘honour’. If one looks into the global scenario on ‘honour’ crimes, as pointed out by Welchman and Hossain (2005), reports on ‘honour’ crimes were catalysed, in particular, by the murder of two young women, Samia Sarwar in Pakistan and Rukhsana Naz in the United Kingdom, the reported responses of their families and the state, and the growing level of attention, regionally and internationally, to the issue of ‘crimes of honour’ (Welchman and Hossain 2005, 1). Till recent times, globally such crimes of ‘honour’ were seen as acts which were associated with certain communities and religions. ‘Honour’ crimes were seen as the problem of the ‘other’.

In India, too ‘honour’ crimes were seen as the problem of the other. In 2004, Indian Government representative to UN council, S S Ahluwalia had denied that ‘honour’ crimes occur in India. For a long time, in India, ‘honour’ crimes were seen as an issue associated only with *khap panchayats* and Haryana. It took several cases to be reported from other parts of India to make people recognise that ‘honour’ crimes are prevalent in India too. Meanwhile, several academics and activists were speaking and writing about it with different perspectives. Law, caste, religion and gender were the main themes of those studies. Although in most of these works, violence remained a keyword, at the same time, a recognition that violence in general and gendered violence, in particular, is the core of this issue, was always missing. In a country where violence against women is mostly guided by the ideology of control of women’s sexuality, ‘honour’ crimes needs to be understood as a continuum of violence in the name of caste and gender.

This paper attempts to argue that gruesome events of ‘honour’ crimes are extreme manifestations of the day to day violence and control that women are subjected to. This paper, on the basis of the research done for my PhD thesis, proposes to argue that in order to understand ‘honour’ crimes in India, it is necessary to focus on the everydayness of violence against women which adds up to the act of ‘honour’ crimes. This study had focused on newspaper reports and primary interviews from several stakeholders associated with the issue of ‘honour’ crimes. With the help of these resources, this paper focuses on ‘honour’ crimes where the interplay of ‘honour’, everyday violence against women, caste, class and religious hierarchies lead towards the ‘act’ of ‘honour’ crimes. Many of the cases observed, reflects that in India, ‘honour’ crimes are not only limited to violence done after elopement or marriage but such cases are even reported when teenagers have been killed for the simple acts of talking over the phone. This paper proposes to highlight ‘honour’ crimes as the pinnacle of structural forms of violence in the name of gender, caste and class which violates the citizenship rights of several of citizens on a day to day basis.

6.36 Revisiting the Cow Protection Discourse: Gender, Caste and Labour at a *Gaushala* in a North Indian Town

Ridhima Sharma

The initial political and analytical impulse for this paper comes from a familiar and oft-encountered place—one of discomfort, with historical and contemporary ways of framing and interpreting the ‘cow protection movement’ or *gau raksha* in India. I argue that the dominant mode of analysing cow-politics in India, in its overwhelming association of the cow with Hindu nationalism both in symbolic and material terms, pays necessary but disproportionate emphasis on a certain kind of hyper-visible, spectacular violence. This informs the construction of a purported linear and teleological ‘movement’ in the name of the cow as if all heightened, finite episodes of cow-related violence, their varied textures notwithstanding, add up to produce a coherent ‘cow protection movement’. This conception of the ‘cow protection movement’ I posit, obfuscates not only the everyday process of the mobilising of the cow into a potent Hindu politico-religious symbol and the intimate relationship between the ‘everyday’ and the ‘exceptional’ but also obscures the manner in which gendered and caste- marked routinised practices of labour have come to constitute a ‘movement’ in the name of the cow. Making a departure from the commonly deployed method of analysing spectacular modes of violence such as cow-related ‘riots’ and ‘lynchings’, this paper uses an ethnographic engagement with the space of a *gaushala* or cow-shelter as a way of entering the cow protection discourse.

The first section sets the stage for my claim of *gaushalas* as a significant constitutive site in the making of the ‘cow protection movement’ and introduces the *gaushala* in which my ethnographic inquiry would be located. The second section provides a historical view of the scholarly construction of a linear ‘movement’ in the name of the cow and its analytical effect in the reading of the ‘cow protection movement’. The third section, the kernel of the ethnographic engagement, explores the manner in which gender, labour and caste shape symbolic, material and discursive practices at the *gaushala* to produce simultaneously the figure of the *gau sevak* (loosely translated as ‘one who serves the cow’) and the *gau mata*, the feminised and revered cow who is at once, the mother, the goddess and the nation. I also reflect briefly here on the politics of my own presence as a researcher in the field. The final section reiterates the political and analytical value of a *gaushala* as a point of entry into the cow protection discourse which I argue, can in fact, enable a feminist retelling of the story of cow protection and help us rethink violence in the current context. In speaking to a large body of scholarship on the banal, everyday ways in which the ‘nation’ is produced as a category, this work helps us understand non- spectacular modes of production of violence and the task they are being called upon to do in the contemporary moment.

6.37 Patronizing Laws & Zealous Implementers: Women, Sex Industry, & Anti-Trafficking Discourse in Assam

Sawmya Ray

In the context of the Trafficking of Persons Bill 2018 (ToP Bill) this paper will attempt to delineate complex consequences of anti-trafficking initiatives on lives of women in sex work. Briefly, this paper will touch upon the socio-economic context within which trafficking of women & girls takes place for commercial sexual exploitation. It will then elaborate upon the anti-trafficking discourse in Assam & its meanings for the targeted community. Specific focus will be on critically analyzing the ways in which notions of “trafficking” & “rescue” are constructed within this discourse & its impact on women in sex work. The violence,

discrimination, & further marginalisation – physical, psychological, & social-economic – that is perpetrated by state & non-state anti-trafficking stake holders, in subtle and obvious forms, through implementation of laws and policies related to trafficking and sex work will be elaborated upon. This paper is based on data collected from case studies, informal interactions with shelter home inmates as well as women in sex work (current & past), & interviews of anti-trafficking personnel. Agreeing with numerous existing research & recent reports/revelation of complex consequences of “rescue” & “rehabilitation” as is largely currently practiced, this paper argues that for sustainable combatting of sex trafficking & exploitation within sex work, anti-trafficking policies must emerge from the complex & varied standpoints of women.

6.38 Etymology of Love Jihad

Shahina K.K.

This paper is an attempt to understand how the concept of Love Jihad originated and spread across the country in a very short span of ten years. Love Jihad is a term coined by a Malayalam website called Haindava Keralam in early 2000. (That website does not exist now). Haindava Keralam was first of its kind in Malayalam that marked the entry of Hinduthwa's digital army in the Malayalam cyber world. The first case of Love Jihad allegation was reported in Kerala in 2009. The Malayalam news papers like Kerala Kaumudi and Malayala Manorama created a huge furore over 'Love Jihad' which led to a police investigation. The then DGP submitted a report in the High Court that there was nothing called Love Jihad and there was no organised attempt for conversion. The High Court of Kerala but refused to accept this report and stated that Love Jihad was a social menace and there had been around 3000 to 4000 cases of Love Jihad.

Meanwhile, Love Jihad hit the headlines in Karnataka and UP citing every case of love marriage between a Hindu girl and Muslim boy as an evidence to the existence of ‘Love Jihad’, an organized attempt for forced conversion. The Karnataka Police too, followed by an investigation, declared that there was no such organized attempt of forced conversion happening and they could not find any evidence for the existence of Love Jihad (2010). There were six to seven cases of Love Jihad allegation in UP too which created a storm in the national media. The UP Police also came up with similar conclusions as that of Karnataka and Kerala Police that there is no evidence for the existence of Love Jihad (2014).

The latest in this series is the infamous case of Hadiya, a Muslim girl from Kerala who was portrayed as the victim of Love Jihad (2017 to 2018). The National Investigation Agency came up with an interim report that Love Jihad did exist and there had been an emerging pattern for the same in Kerala. However, the final report was concluded with little evidence to corroborate their own interim report which stated that Hadiya's case was not one of Love Jihad and there was no conclusive evidence to prove the existence of the same in Kerala. I am picking up a few case studies to understand how this concept was originated in Kerala and spread across the country in a systematic fashion. I am looking into the pattern of this campaign which provides indications of a concerted effort and organized conspiracy to establish a wrong myth as ‘fact’ and thus to generate Islamophobia and to prevent even voluntary conversions and Hindu Muslim marriages. Methodology includes extensive conversations with the stake holders concerned – such as former DGPs of Kerala, Investigating Officers, journalists and the office bearers of RSS and BJP who had active involvement in the campaign against ‘Love Jihad’. Literature review, study of case files and examination of court documents also would be done.

6.39 Citizenship, Gender and Normalised Violence: Sex Selective Abortion of Female Foetus in Karnataka

Skylab Sahu

The Indian constitution ensures equality of rights to its citizens irrespective of any difference especially in terms of sex or gender. Right to life is a fundamental right of the individuals protected in India under article 21 of the Indian Constitution. Despite such constitutional guarantees women continue to be treated as second class citizens and face several discriminations, stigma and violence in the society. In the patriarchal society of India, over millions of girl children are missing every decade. Frequent discrimination and several other forms of violence against female gender is normalised to such an extent killing of the female child or sex selective abortion is often considered as socially legitimate and or not seen as a crime in India. When the life of the individual is denied selectively on the basis of the sex of the child before the birth of the child, then a woman's utmost right to life is violated even before the birth while putting the article 14, right to equality in peril. The practice of the sex selective abortion not only annihilates the right to life to the girl children but also exposes the woman to various psychological and physical violence and health risks. The sex selective abortion is a grimmer form of violence disturbs the social equilibrium, give rise to several other forms of gender violence such as rape, commodification of women and contribute to diverse socio-cultural problems.

The Census data since beginning of the survey shows a constant decline of the child sex ratio in the country, the current 2011 Census has reported the child sex ratio as 919. The phenomenon of the declining child sex ratio was initially prominent in the northern and north-western states, such as Haryana, Punjab, Gujrat and Rajasthan. However, as per the 2001 census, the problem has spread as an all India phenomenon and some of the southern states such as Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu which used to have relatively better child sex ratio, of late shows a decaling trend as well. In order to control the sex selective abortions, the Indian state has formulated the Pre-Natal Diagnostic Act in 1994 which was further amended in 2002 and is known as Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Acts (PC-PNDT) that helps preventing sex selective abortions.

This study is based on the secondary and primary data analysis. Two districts of the State of Karnataka are selected for the study to critically understand the role of the State towards addressing the issue of declining child sex ratio. The State of Karnataka has introduced Bhagyalaxmi policy to raise the status of the girl child and ensure basic needs of the girl children, it is also implementing the PC-PNDT Act at the State level. The study found that several socio-cultural, economic and ideological factors have been responsible for son preference by the people. It is argued that several reasons delineated by the people provided a base for social legitimacy expressed towards exercise of everyday based discrimination and normalisation of violence against women including sex selective abortion. Furthermore, the State administrative favouritism toward the doctor's lobby and inadequate regulation of the private hospitals and clinics by the State have further prevented the state in implementing the PC-PNDT Act adequately.

6.40 The Question of Gender and Caste Patriarchy: An Analysis of Dalits' Intervention in the Sabarimala Women Entry Protest

Sooraj S S

In September 2018, the Supreme Court of India ruled that pilgrims irrespective of gender can enter and worship in the Sabarimala Temple. Quashing the Kerala High Court's ruling of 1991 which banned the women of menstruating age (between 10-50) from entering the temple, the Supreme Court pointed out that such kinds of restrictions negate the Right to Equality under Article 14 and the Right to Freedom of Religion under Article 25 of the Indian Constitution. In my paper, I focus on three main groups which emerged supporting/opposing the Supreme Court verdict -- the ruling Left government, the Right-wing groups (like BJP, RSS) and the Dalit groups-- and examine their positions with regard to gender equality and belief. By comparing the stances of these three stakeholders I argue that Dalits groups, especially the factions of Malayaraya Community and Pulaya Community, overcame the political limitations faced by both the Left and the Right groups in the whole debate. In the second part of the paper, I argue that this political intervention of Dalits is made possible by the specific historical conditions in India where the question of gender is inseparably linked with caste. By considering the ban on women's entry into Sabarimala as a larger upper-caste Hindutva project,

I argue that the Dalits' intervention in the whole issue is very crucial, especially in the context of both the Left and the Right groups failing to address the questions of both gender and caste patriarchy involved in the whole debate.

6.41 Non-Violence as a philosophy as well as its gendered implications: A study into the philosophy and practice of non-violence in the accounts of women political prisoners during the nationalist movement.

Soumya Johri

The philosophy of non-violence was closely aligned to the concept of '*satyagraha*' or 'the truth-force' which was claimed by Gandhi to be the unique method to fight against the mighty British Raj. A *satyagrahi* was defined as a person who vows to go through the 'internal struggle' of leading a simple life voluntarily for the political freedom of the nation. The period from 1919-1940, saw a gradual evolvement of this philosophy as Gandhi applied it to the changing circumstances for the cause of Indian Independence. One of the ideal subjects of the non-violent campaign were women who was naturally seen to be dispensed with the sacrificial abilities as enshrined by the traditional role models-*Sita* and *Damayanti* from the Indian mythical past. Some gender historians of the freedom movement, view Gandhian methods and his philosophy as the pre-cursor to public participation of women and their emancipation (Basu and Ray: 1998) while others see it as doing only symbolic justice (Forbes: 1981). Ania Loomba in her remarkable lecture "The violence of Gandhi's non-violence" instead links it to degradation of women, as the philosophy did not allow them to question 'domestic boundaries' and 'familial hierarchy' (Loomba: 2014). Further, Gandhi's emphasis on 'suffering' in order to achieve greater goal is deeply problematic in relation to every-day histories of women. It is significant to note that Gandhi himself was defiant of allowing women to accompany him but later he had to give in to the demands of women's activists all over India. Gandhi's association of Women as the ideal *satyagrahi* owing to their self- sacrificing nature especially as pious ascetic widows is very problematic in understanding the role he ascribed to women. It is of special interest to me to study how these women "*satyagrahis*" underwent a different path than

that of the male “*satyagrahis*” as well as innumerable moments when they broke “nationalist” boundaries within which they were expected to perform their roles.

This paper studies oral histories and autobiographical accounts of women political prisoners and analyses the extent to which the philosophy of ‘non-violence’ facilitated/hindered the participation of women in nationalist movement. It questions ‘who’ could participate among women as well as ‘when’ while serving other familial roles subscribed to them. This becomes especially significant when satyagrahis were instructed to welcome ‘jail terms’ as prison itself was transformed into a holy metaphor- ‘mandir’ by Gandhi. Jail becomes a site for contestation and refashioning their identities. Gandhi’s strictures on courting arrests instructed satyagrahis to follow the rules and respect jail discipline, however in practice, women satyagrahis were often at odds with colonial officials and made complaints. The classificatory disciplinary colonial regime, also provided the impetus for subversions for women as they mediated through multiple layers of obstructions that existed in form of their own family members, political parties, and the instruments of the state. The segregation of the cells within prisons on not just the basis of sex but also ‘socio-economic status befitting the societal location’ defined discriminatory practices subjected to different categories of prisoners. While the site of ‘prison’ has been studied as ‘home’ by gender historians (Bjorkert:2006), this paper focuses on the disruptions that it created among women politicals and how women often employed it as a site of protest, both in conjunction as well as against the ideals of Gandhian non-violent philosophy.

6.42 Is Absence of ‘Violence’ Peace? A Reading of Violence and Peace through Shyam Benegal’s *Bhumika*

Sunita Singh

I am trying to make some linkages between women, peace and cinema. For the purpose I am critically looking at Usha’s character from the movie *Bhumika* by Shyam Benegal. Through this paper I have two particular objectives; first to understand the realm of a caste-citizenship of a woman and secondly rethinking the idea of right to liberty through Usha’s liberties.

Usha is first of all an artist in the movie, and she is actually a female artist and in that also, she is a female artist of the Devadasi tradition. In India, at a general level there is much appreciation and respect of art forms hailing from traditional repository and forms. However, the traditional art forms which come from the oppressed castes like devdasi, Bediya or tawaif tradition, they are looked down upon. There is a definite angle of caste which makes the tradition of the oppressed caste as downgraded but also the same needs to be looked at from a gender angle, where the arts which are feminine in nature are considered derogatory. For example the ‘Launda Naach’ which is performed by males but considered derogatory, foppish and low-standard. Not only are these forms of art considered derogatory but there is an implicit sense of violence in this art. Violence in the most visible and physical form, which is much more than a violent gaze but sexual harassment during the performance. Dr. BR Ambedkar emphasised on the caste-ordained linkages between labour, sexuality and exploitation while stating his positions on sex work, as a profession dominated by dalit women. His reading can be juxtaposed with the art traditions stated above.

Women, in general, in the 21st century have a strong feeling that economic freedom will make way towards all the freedom and peace in their lives. Usha was a character with money, name, fame, property and everything one would wish to have in life. The movie critically deals with the fact that despite having all the ‘fortunes’ she has a very limited space and choice. Her actions are ultimately governed by the male characters of the industry, male

counter-parts of her relationships and marriage. The movie goes beyond the realm of looking at right to liberty in the constitutional sense, and traverses at the nuances of a woman's struggle for liberty in both the private and public realm.

In a popular discourse the absence of violence and war is considered to be peace. Going by this definition Usha led a peaceful life, but for Usha peace was in love. Usha's entire search in the movie was for peace through love. The lacuna of equal love in her life made her terrible and devastated most of the times. She had many relationships but no relationship she shared had equality as an aspect, which is my central point. Even with the most progressive person in her life, the relationship shared was vertical, one dimensional and hierarchical. The reason in Usha's case was due to both caste and gender. The idea of equality, per se becomes more central to govern the idea of liberty, because what exactly is liberty in an unequal society? So, even in an absolutely 'peaceful' situation too, can we say that there is a strong sense of violence? Probably, a brahmanical patriarchy violence which explicates set of discriminatory levels and, negation of equality and liberty, as a dalit woman.

Even after 50 years of this film and many women related struggles in the country, most of the women are still struggling with the same problems. Usha in the movie is a dalit woman but not a dalit feminist, her struggles and retaliations are in the best form that she understands, but she is unable to find the root cause of the problem which is brahminical patriarchy, a term coined and set in discourse by Uma Chakravathy. The term is important as it brings together the notion of private property (that is control over land, through patriarchal lineage) and control over women's sexuality and negation of her labour. Usha becomes important because her struggle is a virulent form of normalization of violence largely due to a structural force, which is brahmanical patriarchy.

6.43 Violence Against Women in Everyday Life –The Role of Women Police Stations in West Bengal

Tumpa Mukherjee

Violence against women has been recognized as a basic human rights issue and the elimination of gender-based violence has been seen as central to equality, development and peace. The second wave of feminism and the women's movement in India in the 1970s made violence against women in the private sphere visible and includes not only physical violence, but also sexual and psychological abuses. Most importantly, the women's movement shattered the myth of the family as an egalitarian unit. Crimes committed within four walls of the house perpetrating exploitation of women by the very near and dear ones in the garb of protector, have become visible. Indian women have been victims of dowry related murder, harassment, as well as other types of marital violence.

Violence against women has roots in the male-dominated socio-economic legal and political order. At a theoretical level, patriarchy is cited as a cause for the prevalence of violence against women. Violence against women is a manifestation of an unequal power relation between men and women, which has led to the domination of women by men, by which women are forced into subordinate position compared to men. Indian women have internalized this powerlessness through the process of socialization in such a manner that for millions of women being beaten, kicked and abused by their husband and in-laws is a regular feature of their lives. In fact, violence is an extension of a continuum of beliefs that grant men the right to control women's behavior.

Over the past twenty years, upholding women's rights to live without violence has gained acceptance as a responsibility of the state through various international agreements. In January 1992, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against

Women (CEDAW) adopted the following resolution: gender-based violence is a form of discrimination, which seriously inhibits women's ability to enjoy rights and freedom on the basis of equality with men. At the 1993 United Nations World Conference on Human Rights, gender violence was defined as violence which jeopardizes fundamental rights, individual freedom and women's physical integrity. The Government of India ratified CEDAW in the year 1993. The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women emphasizes the elimination of all forms of violence against women and the girl child as one of its core objectives. It points out that institutions and mechanisms / schemes for assistance will be created and strengthened for prevention of violence against women, including sexual harassment at the workplace. Institutions will be created for the rehabilitation of the victims of violence and for taking effective action against the perpetrators of such violence.

The United Nations Declaration on Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, 1985, clearly stipulate the need for special services for women victims merely because they deserve a safe space to redress their grievances in their path to recovery, reparation and help them getting justice for being wronged. Feminist groups as well as the Government of India have responded to such issues. Indian feminists have been engaged in activism through which they focus on issues related to violence and crimes committed against women. They have suggested a set of alternatives such as legal provisions, increased presence of women police in police stations and formation of All Women Police Station (henceforth AWPS) to address problems related to women's experience of violence. In such a situation AWPS are important prerequisites for providing female victims of crime enough confidence to approach the police for justice. The purpose of AWPs is to address specific problems of women ranging from domestic violence to dowry harassment. It is believed there is some sort of natural empathy between female police officers and victims that can provide better communication. The present paper discusses the role of women police stations in addressing the issue of violence committed against women in everyday life. Through case study the paper discusses Women Police Stations in West Bengal. It includes women police stations at Bidhanagar, Baranagar and Kolkata Police Commissionerates, as well as Baruipur District Police. The papers suggest possible solutions for effective utilization of women police stations to enforce social justice.

7 New Media and Inequalities: Surveillance, Regulation and Resistance

7.1 Experience of Womanhood amongst Young Adults in the Context of Feminist YouTube Viewership

Aishwarya Rajesh Naik, Alphonsa Jose K

In the current scenario, Indian women at large are stepping into a new and dynamic era - where they are constantly negotiating with diverse and novel roles in the larger context of societal changes. One of the major changes has been the revolution in technology - Digitalization. This transformation has given women the platform to further explore and express themselves. The given can be witnessed on the social media platform of YouTube - a site that promotes the co-creation of content and has been a medium of expression for the young population.

In this study specifically, we are trying to capture the experience of womanhood amongst young adults and adolescents from the urban population in the larger context of the viewership of feminist YouTube videos. The purpose extends to gaining a wholesome understanding of the nature of concerned experience in terms of cognitive, affective and implied behavioral and social functioning, of womanhood.

Womanhood in the given study has been understood as the individual experience of adolescent and young adult women from the urban background, with reference to the multifaceted experience of their gender in the context of psychological, social, cultural, political, economic and environmental functioning. The construct emphasizes upon the internalization of the gender-related notions through the process of socialization and the individual perceptions of the young women towards these notions – which will form the essence of their experience. Purposive sampling based on initial screening was conducted to select the sample of 7 young women aged between 15 to 25 years. The method of the in-depth semi-structured interview was employed for collecting data and thematic analysis was conducted upon the data to discover the essence of the experiences by discussing the underlying differences and commonalities. The experiences extensively elaborated upon the viewership of varied nature of feminist content and the broader changes it brings about it women’s self-perception across various domains in their lives. The study has also brought attention to the larger process of socialization across various agents family, peer and specifically media and the interplay between influences of these agents on their sense of womanhood. The implications of the study are not only limited to contribution to the larger scientific community but also extends to bringing about a change in the self-perception amongst Indian women and thus contribute to the larger movement of women empowerment through this influential medium.

7.2 The Issue with Glorification of Sexual Abuse Scenes in Indian Movies

Anwita Maiti and Udaya Narayana Singh

In the present decade, especially after the horrific nation shattering “Nirbhaya Incident” which took place in Delhi in December 2012, there has been a considerable rise in the number of Indian movies that throw light on the matter of sexual abuse. In a society with double standards, where say, sex workers are seen as impure and defiled and evil, and not the men who make advantage of them, in a similar vein, sexual abuse victims are seen as the perpetrator and instigator of the crimes committed on them. Where the victims, ranging from the age of

three years old to eighty year old are blamed for getting soiled and defiled, and are asked to hush and not complain or express their pain and trauma of agony or anger, these movies are much needed in awakening the mass, but what should be focused is how these movies are doing the heinous job of glorifying sexual abuse scenes, or showing intricate scenes.

The power of a visual narrative is made full use of in these movies where anyone watching them might gape with horror. In the name of making people aware of the evils of rape, many movies are shrewdly or cunningly or also perhaps, accidentally, go into such details of the act as it to glorify the “rape scenes”. Detailed step by step execution of rape, with camera focus on the woman’s body and her face might make us wonder whether these movies are actually teaching people how to commit rape and then know tricks through which they can absolve themselves from these crimes. The viewers see how, after raping and gang raping women, their body should be slyly taken out without anybody’s notice and then dumped or burned to emit any evidence of the crime. From kidnapping a woman in a car and raping her, using a car to take her murdered body to dump it somewhere in the middle of the night, or sending death threats to a woman or her mother who is trying to tell the truth to the police. These definitely have a negative effect and may excite in forming ideas on how they could execute “the act” in real life situations.

In her widely acclaimed review named, *The Great Indian Rape Trick* (1994 & 1995), after the movie was released, writer Arundhati Roy clearly opined about how the director, Shekhar Kapur was so ridiculously obsessed with showing to the world how Phoolan Devi was raped, sort of celebrating the fact that she was raped and gang-raped. Roy questioned the director’s obsession with rape by saying “According to Shekhar Kapur's film, every landmark - every decision, every turning-point in Phoolan Devi's life, starting with how she became a dacoit in the first place, has to do with having been raped, or avenging rape. He has just blundered through her life like a Rape-diviner.//You cannot but sense his horrified fascination at the havoc that a wee willie can wreak. It's a sort of reversed male self absorption.//Rape is the main dish. Caste is the sauce that it swims in”. In a chapter named ‘Commodification of Woman’s Body and Rights of the Underprivileged in Post-Colonial India’ by infibeat, it says “Before The God of Small Things”, she attracted media attention by ‘The Great Indian Rape Trick’ written in two parts. She strongly criticizes Shekhar Kapur for his exploiting, misrepresenting and undermining the real life experiences of Phoolan Devi.

Roy posits that “the production, commodification and distribution of Phoolan Devi’s life-history through film” undermines Phoolan Devi’s agency in representing her own society and relocating it within trans/national material, historical and political relations of inequality. Roy questions the right to restage the rape of a living woman without her permission.”

One might ask, if such movies will, at all, serve the purpose of sending across a message to the audience about the grievous situation of women in the society, or rather, give enhanced ideas and concepts to the many perverted minds in the audience who enjoy such sex abuse scenes and might also feel bolstered and confident in getting to know how they could execute such crimes if they wanted to.

7.3 New media a double-edged sword empowering, as well as enabling targeting of, women

Ashlin Mathew and Raghuram S Godavarthi

As the world moves towards total connectivity, the Kerala High Court, in *Faheema Shirin, R.K vs State Of Kerala*, held that the ‘Right to Internet Access’ is a fundamental right, as part of the Right to Education as well as the Right to Privacy under Article 21 of the Constitution of India. Faheema, a student of Sree Narayana College in Kozhikode, was

expelled from the college for protesting against discriminatory girls' hostel rules banning the use of mobile phones from 6pm to 10pm, and restricting students from accessing the Internet. The court ruled that restricting the use of digital devices hampered the girl students' 'ability to access and use digital resources to learn and communicate', thus putting them at a serious disadvantage compared to their male counterparts.

Faheema's use of the Internet may have been purely personal and educational, but there have been other women before her who have taken to online platforms to express dissent, and raise opprobrium against social injustices. In 2012, the arrest of two young women who had posted comments on social media questioning a *bandh* called after the death of Shiv Sena leader, Bal Thackeray, eventually led to the repeal of Section 66A of India's IT Act, 2000, - and thus extended the freedom of speech and expression into the digital world. Given the traditionally oppressed status of women within the traditionally patriarchal Indian society, social media plays a huge role in not just amplifying their voice but also becomes a platform for discussing and challenging social injustices and, most crucially, a launchpad for solidarity and collective action.

Further, while women have leveraged a variety of social media platforms, including Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube as well as other new media including online news portals and blogs, to voice ongoing injustices, many have also used these channels to speak to the historicity of misogyny and the continuing repression of women by both state and non-state actors across class boundaries as well as national borders. For instance, the Internet has helped keep alive the memory of the "mass rape" of at least 100 women by Indian security forces during search operations in the villages of Kunan and Poshpora in 1991; the Internet has equally enabled memorializing the naked protest of the 12 Imas, or Mothers of Manipur following the rape, again by security forces, of young Thangjam Manorama. The Internet today brings us the haunting image of the Kashmiri woman who, borrowing a leaf from the Hong Kong protestors, spread salt on her face as protection against tear gas, reinforcing the fact that all is not well in Kashmir-under-lockdown.

The misogyny entrenched deep in Indian society is mirrored online, with women being the primary target of cyber-trolling - the worst bullying reserved for women from marginalized backgrounds. Though more and more women today vocally protest such abuse, the regulation of online platforms leaves a lot to be desired towards ensuring equally respectful spaces for free expression. As Dr. Zeynep Tufekci notes in her seminal book *Twitter and Tear Gas*, "scale and anonymity combine to change much of our understanding of the obstacles to exercising freedom of speech", adding that "targeted harassment campaigns also demonstrate the continued importance of race and gender in the digitally networked public sphere."

In 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action recognised and predicted new media's "potential to make a far greater contribution to the advancement of women. In 2016, Susan Fowler, an engineer at Uber, quit her job and, later, described in a blog post the sexual harassment she faced at the company, subsequent to which not just Uber, but many other Silicon Valley companies had to act upon similar complaints. In India, following the 2012 gang rape of a young woman in Delhi, the #Delhi Gang Rape campaign, paralleling street protests, shone a bright spotlight on gender-based violence and led to the government introducing specific anti-rape provisions in the criminal code. That notwithstanding, women such as Shreya Singhal and the Kashmiri Muslim activist, Shehla Rashid, to mention two, need to fight their own battles both on the Internet and off it.

7.4 New Media's False Sense of Democratic Space: How the Scrutinizing Male Gaze Creates a Clickbait Culture Around the Female Fantasy

Athira Madhav

The paper attempts to analyze a few disturbing trends that demonstrate the purported virtual democratic space offered by the New Media, to be as patriarchal, fascist and anti-feminist as the real world. The click bait culture upon which a lot of online media firms thrive revolves around perverted peeping into the personal life and personal space of the female, and the sexual minorities. Journalists set aside the task of objective reporting of the incident, to create a narrative titillating to the male gaze for more views and reactions. A notable chunk of content posted and shared widely, are the ones designed to provoke and pamper male ego. Neither does the content attempt to give clarity on the incident nor does it provide a perspective to understand the context from a better angle. Vexed by incidents of suicide, eloping, divorce, breakups, fashion, religion and career choices of the 'defiant' female, the male herd leading the hegemonised female, resort to abuse, troll and threaten the celebrated icons, survivors or the odd-one-out. Proliferation of manipulated content through New Media acquires wide reach and results in devastating consequences. One can observe that the hate intensifies if the celebrated female garnered instant fame through viral content. The same trend can be observed if one analyzes the reaction received by a sexual minority for expressing their rights and thoughts. When called out, the virtual mob claim their share of freedom of speech in New Media, which highlights the concept-- it's not what you write, but how you write it. The anonymity that the virtual world promises give the faceless attackers an effective tool to incite hatred against a person, transform the 'virtual killing' of a person into a real-life physical threat and discredit sexual assault accusations. There are attempts to take up space that patriarchy doesn't deserve, to sideline the questioning female and demote them as silent readers. They are pushed down to the level of digital have-nots.

7.5 The Moral Justifications used by Sexism in Social Media: A Philosophical Analysis

Audrich d mello

The paper focuses on the relationship between morality and sexism in the context of today's social media. There is a need to go back to the basics by understanding the meaning of these terms while analysing the relationship between them. It is a philosophical analysis interspersed with the disciplines of Women's Studies, Sociology and Psychology. It is a theoretical paper based on secondary data that will attempt to understand some questions such as: How does social media subtly influence opinion as a tool of manipulation, especially with regard to everyday sexism? How has the evolution of social media, with its own sub-culture, rules, and etiquette made sexism easier? How does morality justify these ideas of sexism and the subsequent behaviour? How can we create an awareness and bring some of the aspects that have been normalized to the fore?

7.6 “Your profile has been permanently suspended”: A study of surveillance and monitoring on Twitter

Bedadyuti Jha

‘Nationalism’ or Rashtravad has become the center point of debate in India’s current political economy. In the time of the country’s economy getting weaker by the day, constant privatization of the public companies, high unemployment, and increasing numbers of violence against the minorities, the nationalistic sentiments are often offended at mere pointing at such facts and not at the crises themselves. Beyond the traditional media of print and TV online news outlets and social media sites (SNS) emerge as the new media platform for bringing up the ongoing developments and discourses in our society in the form of information, propaganda, as well as a means of protest and activism for many sections who were absent from or underrepresented in the offline resistance. Alongside that, they also became platforms for the spreading of hate and disinformation.

SNS like Facebook and Twitter has been effective in resistance for mobilization and spreading awareness on issues that mainstream media does not portray correctly as well as for vicious trolling of activists to suppress dissent. In India, the current government also allegedly monitors social media accounts of individuals alongside the monitoring and surveillance by the platforms themselves. Twitter and Facebook often suspend profiles of individuals for “hateful conduct” and “not adhering to the community standards” or asks them to remove certain posts for them to gain access to their profiles. The surveillance whereas extremely harsh on people talking about various social and political issues like casteism, the Kashmir internet shutdown or rights of the minorities, it misses the barrage of abuses directed towards the same activists by the RW troll army. The troll army vociferously attacks anyone voicing dissent against the ruling party’s agenda and policies, and are often rewarded for their effort by the members of the government, even the Prime Minister himself in forms of endorsement on social media or opportunities of meeting at the PM’s office and residence.

The larger discourse on surveillance and monitoring on SNS often focuses on the role of artificial intelligence and ignores the human involvement in the process of developing such algorithms and in turn removes the possibility of questioning or asking for accountability from the individuals and corporations for the decisions of using the said technology. Guha (2019) argues that focusing on the functioning of a system divorcing it from the social relations around it is a faulty way to approach the issue of social media monitoring and surveillance. In this paper, I attempt to look at surveillance and monitoring on Twitter focusing on its recent ban on activists writing against casteism and the situation in Kashmir and use a case study method to look at two cases of profile suspension of activists during their recent mass suspension of profiles of activists and their rebuttal to the accusation of being biased against the marginalised.

7.7 Internet as a New Space of Resistance: An Exploration of Digital Violence against Women

Birendri

In the 21st century, technology dominates our social life, and the scholars like Jacques Ellul have referred it as ‘technological society’ and Shoshana Zuboff have referred it as the ‘age of surveillance capitalism’. The people are using technology to make easy and perfect sophist life. In contemporary digital era, the people have entered in combining virtual online spaces. The fastest and most efficient areas of human activities in daily life are taking place increasingly online rather than offline. The internet is considered to new public and social-

personal spaces of resistance. Even it can be seen that a new trend of movement also emerged through internet technology such as “Me Too Movement”. Through the rampant involvement with internet technology users sometime have turned into becoming the face of trolling. Eventually such events of internet technology consumption have created dangerous precedent for a particular gender “women” and makes of violence against them. It is become a way to start any movement through internet technology but parallel a new type of trolling and violence against women emerged. The resistance raised by ‘Me Too Movement’ is new form of resistance where physical presence is absent but at the same time a kind symbolic violence is present through trolling and abusive language against various genders. It can be referred as ‘digital violence’. The people who are not able to victimized women directly, they can troll or humiliate or violate women on social media. Cyber technology can lead to gender based violence in the form of symbolism. The paper will try to understand the nature of internet (cyber) technology in the context of women’s role and participation in these forms of resistance. Subsequently, how symbolic violence is being instigated against women through digital spaces of resistance would be an area of exploration of this paper. The paper is explorative and descriptive in nature. Further, content and critical discourse analysis would be important qualitative research tools to analyse various platforms used in ‘me too’ such as facebook, twitter, newspapers, and magazines.

7.8 Is New Media for the Marginalised? Gender Inclusivity, the Lack of it, and the Way Forward

Debarati Das

The scope of new media is expanding every day. With rising digital awareness, discourses around inequalities - of access, representation, visibility and experiences in digital spaces - have gained significant momentum in recent times. This paper seeks to examine the intersections of inequalities in new media that impact women and persons of other marginalised genders, the legal framework (or the lack of it) for safeguarding marginalised interests in digital spaces, and resistances of marginalised persons against the digital status quo.

A lot of digital discrimination is still not considered violence, legally or socially, despite its devastating impact on marginalised persons’ lives, rights and freedoms. Reporting and review systems of intermediaries like Facebook do not conform to their own community standards against hate speech and harassment. These systems allow propagation of gender-based biases. Review systems are usually based on inequitable keyword glossaries that do not recognise marginalised persons’ vulnerabilities. Review and reporting policies that receive sanction under laws on ‘obscenity’ also violate the freedom of sexual expression of women and persons of other marginalised genders. The Indian legal framework does not prioritise privacy and consent with regard to creating and sharing sexual expression in the digital space. *Guavas and Genitals*, a research study by Point of View, critically analyses the implications of Section 67 of the Information Technology Act, taking into account National Crime Records Bureau data and media reports on offences labeled ‘obscenity’. The study examines how crimes of consent are often booked as ‘obscenity’ offences, highlights consent violations in digital spaces that do not receive legal recognition, and points out other arbitrary usages of the provision. This paper delves into the oppressive undertones of legal elements such as ‘obscenity’, the extent of recognition of marginalised genders’ consent and privacy, and the legal sanction that intermediaries’ discriminatory policies receive.

Discourses on digital freedom in India include conversations on the Draft Information Technology [Intermediaries Guidelines (Amendment) Rules] 2018. While surveillance and censoring power dynamics between the state and intermediaries are discussed, the interest of

the individual affected by potential and current policies is often invisibilised. Policies on government and intermediary discretion over misinformation in new media fail to recognise that misinformation does not affect everyone equally. Women and persons of marginalised genders constitute most of the victims of gender biases propagated by digital factors – ranging from fake news to meme culture – based on misinformation. However, policies do not recognise specific vulnerabilities of marginalised genders. Under the pretext of misinformation, policies also destroy narratives of survivors who choose to speak out on social media, besides failing to safeguard their privacy. Moreover, artificial intelligence and algorithms used for social media surveillance demonstrate implicit biases. This paper seeks to highlight such new forms of control and invisibilisation of marginalised voices, and examines the space that the law and intermediaries allow for marginalised narratives in new media.

There are numerous efforts to bring about media and information literacy – the ability to identify information and misinformation, and awareness of media ethics - among marginalised groups. The author reflects on how such endeavours can be effective in a country where a large part of the population is not literate, taking into account examples in countries like South Sudan and Uganda. The paper also discusses the element of onus and the pressure on marginalised genders to keep themselves safe in digital spaces, which allows intermediaries and the state to evade accountability. It seeks to articulate how conversations around onus can be driven while also focusing on media and information literacy.

Persons of marginalised genders continue to reclaim digital spaces not only for personal expression but also for organising. The paper highlights feminist digital resistances in South Asia. It analyses new media resistances by queer persons, taking into account the report titled *Queer Digital Landscapes in India by Point of View* for Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice. The report explores queer digital organising in India, use of digital tools and strategies by queer persons, and digital safety and rights concerns based on queer communities' lived realities. The author seeks to articulate what a feminist internet looks like – in terms of digital rights and freedoms of marginalised genders, intermediary and state accountabilities, and legal framework - based on the Feminist Principles of the Internet that include access, expression, resistance, consent, privacy, and anonymity.

7.9 Tik-Tok Transgressions and Gender Misogyny

Dnyaneshwar S. Surwase

The existence of social media is completing its two decades in India. Starting or emerging with global capital nowadays social media is domesticated, regularized and incorporated every aspect of our life. Social media shapes our lives and our life also shapes social media. social media apps can be used for different things and what we see is that in contemporary times. everyone's life is affected by social media which include children, youths, adults and old. This paper will try to open up the possibility of social media app tik tok in challenging gender stereotypes.

Tik tok formerly known as Musically is a Chinese application. It is used to record video of 15-30 seconds. It lets you to create and share short lip-sync and drama and share your talents and skills with others. India is the largest user country of tik tok where approximately 300 million people use tik tok. Recently Madras High court gave the order to ban on tik tok for various reason. But taken into consideration opposition to ban the High Court dismissed the ban. The major themes of the videos made on tik tok are comedy, drama, patriotism, physical stunts, dance, prank, emotions like love, respect and care for friends, parents, sister, animal, beggars and physically impaired people, bewafasanam.

For me the significant sub-genre of these videos are those videos of tik tok app where men are doing and performing the feminine and women are performing/ doing the masculine. The transgressions they are presenting are of different genres like comedy or serious impersonation. What is interesting for me in these is the identities performed on social media are bound up in a mixed of interrelated shifts associated with modernity market relations, urbanization, consumer culture and the rise of mass-produced imagery. The tik tok app became the medium which offers a site to balance out the day to day contradictions of gender as rigid category. In recent years social media became an important site to study and observe everyday social interaction to get insight into reconstruction of gender stereotypes and stigmas.

It is true that millions of users are exposed to a gender biased news feed on a daily basis and without even noticing they reaffirm heteronormativity. But it is also there that there is counter heteronormativity also which is getting visibility by neo-liberal global capital economy through social media app like tik tok. It is interesting to look at why and how people are changing their attitudes by looking and performing gender opposite roles on tik tok. Social media is gendered and there are so many different ways we can layer that true but there are now so many different social media option that now we find that men and women engage in different ways. They also use and consume different type of ways as a function of counter heteronormativity or challenge to gender as a rigid category.

This paper tries to argue that tik tok app opens up the possibility for people to explore changing gender roles and breaking gender stereotypes. It explores whether the tik tok app helps to do gender transgressions or not? It focuses on the impersonation of gender roles by both men and women, irrespective of class, caste, gender both in urban-rural. After abolition of article 377 and emergence of tik tok, the representation of counter heteronormative gender roles became visible to some extent. The paper is trying to find out - does social media app like tik tok help to break gender stereotypes? Does tik tok app help to prove that gender itself is misogyny? Or does it point to the pre-existence of counter hetero impersonation which is now becoming more visible in the context of the neo-liberal global capital economy? Or can tik tok became a space for everyone that is counter heteronormative?

7.10 Online Keyholes and Windows: Censorship, Surveillance and Policy: Where do women stand

Geeta Seshu

Thus far, the engagement of women with new media has been dominated by the twin censorship of access and abuse. Despite this, women have managed to take hold of a medium that still holds out the promise of being the most democratic, non-hierarchical and multi-directional possible. But increasing governmental controls as well as the harvesting of the identities of women by large corporations has raised apprehensions about privacy violations, as well as of increasing surveillance.

Despite the rise in the number of women using new media, largely through mobile telephony, the figures are still skewed in favour of men. The ranks of the digital have-nots are still predominantly women, in an environment where access to media is already limited by their class and caste locations. For those who do manage to break the barriers of access, the backlash is constant. Powerful social groups like khap panchayats ban the access of women to mobiles while there are familial controls or repressive regulatory policies by heads of educational institutions. On the other hand, the assertion of women to use digital media invites abuse and

harassment, the death and rape threats, the policing, the stalking and privacy violations, retributory punishment like revenge porn etc.

Nonetheless, women have adopted new media in the most innovative of ways, using visuals and audio to circumvent the limitations of literacy. Whether it is in influential news sites, as bloggers and on social media networks, they have managed to create a vital space to express themselves. They quickly adapt to video sites like TikTok and even Bigo Live, despite the precarious nature of these sites and the edges of the Internet they inhabit.

But both government regulation of new media and the policing of social media platforms by corporations, already harmful to freedom of expression, have an adverse impact on women, alternately victimizing and demonising them, rendering them vulnerable and powerless. As technology transforms rapidly into newer forms, as artificial intelligence becomes more invasive, what happens to the control women can seek to exercise over themselves and their lives? This paper will seek to examine all of this, including evaluating how much women can engage with policies in shaping new media.

7.11 The Image of Women: Assamese Television Industry

Henashree Kataki

Mass media is a potential means of innovation in society, as it has the ability to influence the masses. Moreover, media has been a powerful medium of advocacy of gender equality, and yet media promotes stereotypical images of women that make them more vulnerable. In India, gender imbalance is much higher because of the social and cultural rigidity that prevails strongly among the different communities and this rigidity reflects in the unequal opportunities of women in every sphere. Women also tend to have a shorter career in media, because of the informalisation of the industry. Their recruitment, promotion, and production have no formal structure and so there is no protection for the workers in the industries

Although, women capture a larger space in television than men, the roles they play promotes the patriarchal norms, which binds women to the private sphere. Moreover, women are often portrayed to promote the feminine qualities of being weak, vulnerable, emotional, tolerant, and forgiving. In addition, promoting of such roles does not only harm the women but also the society that further enhances these stereotypes. Therefore, this study focuses in highlighting the gender stereotypes that is carried by the daily soap, Ardhangini.

The evolution of Assamese cinema began with women centric stories, as starting with 'Joymoti'. The Assamese media industry, however gave the space to women as directors, apart from acting. In addition, the scripts in Assamese cinema brought different traits and personalities of women, unlike in the mainstream media industry as ideal women. Moreover, stories based on social issues like; women freedom fighter, widowhood and on '*sita's agnisan*', were screened. However, the Assamese television industry evolved in the late 1982, the platform did not provided the same space as in Assamese cinema to women, as Doordarshan was the only channel. However, with the establishment of satellite television channels like; News's Live and DY 365, women as reporters shared the space with men. Later, with the introduction of entertainment channels like; Rang, Rengoni and Jonak, daily soap's were into the market of TRP. Assamese daily soap to an extend promotes gender stereotype, being a part of a patriarchal society. However, based on the analysis of the daily soap, Ardhangini that aired on Rang channel, highlighted the stereotypical behaviours and understanding within the realm of marriage. Apart from the stereotype, Ardhangini gave to both the lead female characters, the strength and ability to overcome their hurdles. In addition, in particular scenes there were gender stereotype, which was promoted. Moreover, instances in relation to the daughter-in-law, the stereotype stands more prominently, because of the notion that daughter-in-law is

responsible for a family's welfare and so they are more confined within the household sphere. The society's fear is the one that perpetuates the gender stereotype among people more frequently. It has been also observed, that men are also a victim of gender stereotype, as in Ardhangani, the male lead is expected to be strict in front of his wife and never give her the chance to cross his words or decisions.

7.12 Availing disability benefits – Current scenario among Indian Women

Lekshmi Vimala

Mental illness can be severely incapacitating, affecting everyone, irrespective of their age, gender, place of residence or living standards. Though it has been found that some groups are at a higher risk for certain illnesses, only the impact varies. Mental illness has been known to be significantly detrimental to the future prospects of the person affected. As per the Global Burden of Disease report (2013), mental disorders account for 13% of total DALYs lost for Years Lived with Disability (YLD). Disability benefits provided by the Government is of immense assistance to the persons affected. Recently the Government of India launched the Unique Identification ID (UDID), which replaced the existing offline disability facilitation through the administration of IDEAS (Indian Disability Evaluation and Assessment Scale). This card will act as the single document that will help in the identification of a person with disability and assists the person in availing the various benefits associated. This, according to the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, will help in tracking the progress of the persons with disability in all the levels of implementation – from the village to the National level. Though done with absolute good faith, the practical implementation of the initiative needs to be looked at.

The concept of Gender is also of significance here as it influences the control men and women have over the determinants of their health, including their economic position and social status, access to resources, and treatment in society (WHO,2000). Technology is also a socially constructed concept, alongside gender. India has achieved higher technological advancement during the last decade. Access to and use of the Internet has important economic, educational, and social benefits, and those who are excluded from Internet participation will also be excluded from several benefits . Hence it is of concern that only 29% of the internet users in India are women . The number of women in the country, especially rural India who owns a mobile phone for themselves is also a matter of concern. It is therefore important that serious deliberations are done regarding the practical difficulties associated with the implementation of the UDID initiative and whether all the stakeholders will receive the intended benefits since technology, if used deliberately has the power to significantly empower women in a developing country such as ours.

7.13 New Media, New Language: Revenge Porn and Saying No to Euphemisms

Mamta Kumari

Every single day, the most intimate moments of people are being uploaded and disseminated without their consent. This type of gender-centric crime is widely known as 'revenge porn'. However, this terminology fails to capture the real scope, extent, and severity of the crime, and reduces it to salacious sensationalism.

Revenge, by definition, is the 'action of hurting/harming someone in return of an injury/wrong suffered at their hand' and this implies retribution instead of criminal intent.

Similarly, using the word ‘porn’ or pornography blurs the line between content that is private and shared without consent, and public content created for mass consumption.

Language is one of the most dominant means through which patriarchy, gender discrimination, and sexism are strengthened and perpetrated. Just like terms such as cat-calling and eve-teasing euphemise and trivialise the crime of street sexual harassment, ‘revenge porn’ serves to dismiss the seriousness of gender-specific crimes in the digital world. As such, the term ‘revenge porn’ needs to be reframed and the crime needs to be renamed to reflect its severity. Several attempts are being made to rename the crime, with little success.

This paper seeks to understand how the term ‘revenge porn’ euphemises the crime it purportedly describes, the need to replace it, and the viability of alternative names.

7.14 Re-imagining the Future: Addressing Inherent Biases in Artificial Intelligence

Nandita Roy

We are living in times when a huge amount of resources of tech giants like Google, Microsoft and Amazon are being utilised for research on artificial intelligence. Already, AI has made their way into our daily lives - from smart home technology, internet of things to lesser visible forms like procedural media, customised social media content and targeted advertising among many others. How does AI learn to make decisions? The process is called machine learning, where a machine processes large volumes of data to learn patterns. This essentially means that any pre-existing bias in data will be perpetuated by AI unless it is removed from the learning data sets. Given the over representation of men in positions that determine machine learning (one estimate by startup incubator Element AI shows women making up just 13 percent of the AI workforce in the US), it is a cause of concern that AI processes could adversely affect decades of advances in gender equality.

Existing research suggests that machine learning data, algorithms and design choices can go a long way in perpetuating existing biases and inequalities. Technology is only as impartial as the data sets that it learns from. There have been instances when AI has associated masculine names with words like ‘professional’ and ‘salary’, while associating feminine names with ‘wedding’ and ‘family’. These biases have wide ranging implications from web searches to social systems like bank loans, criminal justice, health, academic admissions etc.

We have come a long way from Harraway’s notion of cyborg politics. While Harraway saw cyborg politics as a realm of possibility where one could move away from one code (the code of patriarchy, the ‘central dogma of phallogocentrism’), we are at the cusp of falling back into the same discourse. Thus, gender balance in machine learning is an area that needs immediate attention not only from those who practice technology, but also feminist activists, thinkers and allies. In this presentation, I would like to start a conversation about the existing problems with machine learning and its impact on gender, and gradually think through ways of reimagining a future which, rather than perpetuating age old biases, addresses and erases them.

7.15 “My Mother Does Not Allow Me to Upload My Pictures”, Gendered Narratives of Mobile Usage Amongst Young Women in Old City of Hyderabad

Neha Dhingra, Nidhi Wali, Debanjali Saha

Mobile technology has revolutionized the world, especially the lives of the younger generation who have unlimited access to data, information and social media. However, the process of self-exploration and identity building is navigated cautiously due to fear of social

punishment, this being true especially for young women. In the narrow alleys of old city of Hyderabad where family and community surveillance looms large in the lives of the young women, how does technology navigate in a gendered manner among the youth of marginalized communities? Are mobile technology and its services equally accessible to all? What are the seeming boons and banes of this technology and how is it shaping the younger generation? In a context of gendered poverty that defines the everyday lives of young women, access to mobile phones is a rarity. Amidst rigid cultural and gendered norms, romantic relations are explored which heighten the concerns about female sexuality and family honour. Young women transgress these norms amidst heightened surveillance and control thus, exercising their agency. On one hand, mobile phones are considered as a dangerous, sexual device, the usage of which is regulated by multiple institutions such as family, community and schools. While the threat of violence is pervasive with defiance of the normative, the mobile phone is also challenging gendered device through which young women contest and oppose gendered norms and regulation. Consequently, the mobile device embodies the existing gender relations by translating into a vehicle through which women continue to bear the burden as repositories for culture, values, morality, purity, reputation.

7.16 Community Radio – *Lokvaani Kachchh*

Preeti Soni

In the year 2018, Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan (KMVS) initiated the process to restructure the organization. This process included the transformation of media cell. Media cell was established in the year 1998. Ujjas newsletter was started to improve the literacy level of women of Kutch. For the last 15 years, “Ujjas Radio” has made 10 radio serials focusing on the various types of gender based issue of Kutch through the medium of community radio. Community radio was established and also performed the role of a pioneer at national and international level. Soorvani platform was established with an objective to promote and organize the folk music and musicians of Kutch. Through this platform activities such as teaching and learning of folk music, community cultural archiving, performance at various levels, providing stage for the artist performance etc., were carried out. Various types of communication tools were used for the development process. The media cell performing all the above activities was transformed in to an independent registered body, which is now known as Lokvaani Centre for Development Communication.

Lokvaani is attempting to reach out to people residing in the remote areas of Kutch. These communities live on the margins – geographically, they are very close to India’s international border with Pakistan; economically, they have the lowest human development indicators in Gujarat; and, socially, they have little interaction among themselves and with citizens in other parts of Gujarat. The journey we have undertaken is to bring out issues concerning the lives of these fellow citizens and make them capable to achieve their collective aspirations through the means and tools of development communication and informal education.

7.17 Between Symbolic Annihilation to Hypervisibility: Queer Subcultures and Visual Aesthetics operating on Queer Dating Applications in India

Priyam Ghosh

From time immemorial human beings have had the urge to communicate with their peers and also seek romantic affiliations and relationships with members of both same and opposite sex. With arranged marriage still prevalent in South Asia, but particularly in India, there is a tradition- millennia old, of romantic courtship arising not only from familial setups by friends and family or chance encounters, but also third-party intervention. The resources available to these third parties remained the same for most of the millennium: social networks, strong opinions about sorts of people who belong together, and the willingness to apply those judgments to the constitution of actual couples. But with neo-liberalism, the societal cultural norms disintegrated and gave rise to individuals, who accessed at times forbidden spaces with the help of capital. Sexuality and sex became tangible items available to those who could afford it. Both straight and gay dating remained a contentious subject, and with the majoritarian logic governing questions of morality, spaces of non-normative sexuality remained fraught with violence.

With multiple online dating applications available for the user to choose from, these norms of dating and courtship have changed. This paper makes an attempt to highlight the discourses of gender and sexuality that operate around the idea of abhorrent, or invisibilised queer bodies in popular online queer dating websites and applications (henceforth apps) like Planet Romeo, Pink Sofa, Gaydar, Grindr, Ok Cupid etc available for Indian users. The paper also looks at the role of class, caste, gender, language within the queer discourses operating within these online spaces.

This paper attempts to investigate various spatial, political and performative practices of marginalized investigate various discourses operating on various dating websites and applications where discourses of gender and sexuality operate around the abhorrent, abject and invisibilised queer bodies. The paper emphasizes on varied representations of performances of gender and sexuality in digital sphere which is viewed as an important platform for expressing views on tabooed issues like queer love and sex, without been subjected to violence which is witnessed in offline spaces.

7.18 New Media: Catalyst of New Social Movements in India?

Priyanka Yadav

With the advent of information supplemented by internet revolution in India a parallel structure different from the conventional media sources was observed to rise. This new platform was termed as New Media or Social Media that created an easy and accessible channel of communication and connection amongst the Indian mass. New Media comprised of channels like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Telegram, Orkut and the likes. Since access to this platform was easy and cheap more and more people were willing to learn and join the platform. As a result of which today we see most of the population in India using social media applications for day to day communication, information and knowledge.

Internet and social media like Facebook and Twitter are increasingly becoming more accessible and affordable options of staying connected with friends and family members spread far and wide. These are also providing opportunities to increase one's social and professional networks, express one's opinions and mobilise around commonly held beliefs and ideas. Activists on the ground are also finding these mediums of communication extremely useful to

advocate and mobilise for their causes. Through these, they are able to reach out to more and diverse people, who otherwise would be difficult to mobilise if these movements remained confined only to processions, gatherings and meetings. Therefore it can be said that social media or new media is shaping the contours of new social movement in India these days.

The anti corruption movement of 2011 was strengthened with the help of media, both print and television, and widespread usage of the Internet especially social media like Face book and Twitter. Prime time slots in television channels were devoted to the constant revelations of corruption stories by the then activist leader Arvind Kejriwal. The anti-corruption movement that stirred major uproar throughout 2011 received serious blow in 2012 with serious factions and fissures. Despite attempts by Kejriwal and his team to keep up the momentum of the movement and stirring up peoples' sentiments with a series of "exposes" against eminent people of the ruling elite; the movement was weakened with the withdrawal of support by Anna Hazare and Kiran Bedi. As both Anna and Kiran Bedi opposed Kejriwal's idea of forming a political party, fighting for the common people on the underlying principle of a "corruption free" society. After the anti corruption movement social media was observed to be the catalyst in two other important movements namely the Nirbhaya Case 2016, which was able to garner huge support from the civil society in India because of the mobilisation that took place on social media partially.

And the other point of reference is the #metoo movement 2018 a feminist movement whose birth and ashes both lie in new media. As the movement started on social media and remain restricted to the social media till the time it died an untimely death. In this paper therefore I would discuss with reference to all the three movements: Anti-corruption movement, Nirbhaya Case and #metoo movement how new media is playing and instrumental role in shaping the contours of new social movements? How far has social media been successful in facilitating these movements? In retrospect can social media be seen as an important tool for new social movements in the country?

7.19 Can New Media Disrupt a Masculine Public Sphere?

Ramya Boddupalli

Much has been said and written about the disruption caused by digital technologies to the economy, governance and society. Digital media(henceforth referred to as new media) platforms which include social media have transformed the media landscape. New media platforms are more democratic in that they are easy to access and the ordinary person is no longer just a consumer of news but also its producer and contributor. This has enabled the creation of a new public sphere that is markedly different from one conceptualized by Habermas.

Habermas conceptualized the public sphere as a singular arena that is constituted by a collection of private individuals who have a consensus on what is common good. They deliberate over the common good and produce discursive public opinion that is a counterweight to the state. As pointed out by feminist scholar Nancy Fraser, Habermas's public sphere is singular and does not allow for alternate or competing public spheres that reflect social stratification. Fraser terms it a bourgeois masculinist public sphere given that it does not have parity in access and separates private and public excluding issues of lower classes, other ethnicities, women and transgenders from the public discourse.

The emergence of new media (referring to social media platforms) has disrupted this traditional public sphere, which in India's case was dominated by upper caste men. The public sphere engendered by the new media is egalitarian and democratic in that it allows equal access to all. The proliferation of internet and smart devices has led to an unprecedented consumption

of social media platforms by hitherto excluded sections – including women and transgenders. For them, the concern with traditional media was about representation and articulation of their issues. It was thought that their representation and participation in these spaces would automatically make a difference. This problem, to a large extent is resolved in new media. The entry barriers to the digital public sphere are nowhere near as regimented as the ones that existed to the traditional public sphere. This has led to the cyber feminist utopian view of the digital, predicting that it would erase divisions hitherto thought as fundamental to society, fostering an egalitarian order.

It is at this juncture that I pause to ask if new, internet-based media can disrupt a masculine public sphere. On the one hand a movement like #Metoo unfolded largely online with women sharing their experiences of sexual abuse, resulting in the recognition of the malaise as a public concern. In contrast, women have also faced relentless abuse and “trolling” for expressing themselves online. For instance, Qandeel Baloch, Pakistan’s first female social media star had a tragic end when her brother murdered her in a so-called honour killing. Her short-lived career as a social media influencer is a tale of upending patriarchal norms that was met with extreme resentment and hate. Even the #Metoo movement’s challenge to toxic masculinity has met with much hostility and abuse in the digital public sphere. Clearly, the public sphere spawned by new media is somewhere in between the Habermas conceptualization and the cyber feminist utopia. While it has become easier for women to participate online, is it also the case that it has become easier to punish them by posting revenge porn, publicly shaming, cyberstalking.

If the traditional public sphere denied women the freedom of speech by denying them participation, does the digital public sphere undermine their right to expression by creating an ecosystem that abuses women relentlessly to stifle their voices? Finally, I explore if this is how the masculine public sphere resists the disruptive power of new media.

7.20 Women Journalists in 'Small' Cities: Context Madhya Pradesh

Ranu Tomar

How do we understand the city? The dwellers of a particular city are the best resource to know more about a city. Certeau (1984) writes that ordinary practitioners of the city make use of city spaces that cannot be seen. He writes that "their knowledge of them is as blind as that of lovers in each other's arms" (p. 93). This paper explores the experiences of women journalists in four different cities of Madhya Pradesh: Bhopal, Indore, Jabalpur and Gwalior, in an attempt to engage with feminist understanding of cities and outline critical debates on gender and space. This study employs feminist research methodology using in-depth interviews of women journalists working in Hindi print journalism in these four cities. As Phadke (2005) writes, "Life in a city has often been described as filled with ambiguity, replete with a sense of possible threat and the inevitable negotiation of risk" (p. 43). Thus, the presence of women journalists in a city and their interaction with city spaces and surroundings are significant aspects of their experience which have been critically discussed in this paper. This paper is an entry point to understand 'city' and cities of Madhya Pradesh too in academic manner. It also describes that as a researcher knowing cities from an insider and outsider perspective has been a dialogic-process towards understanding Hindi print media, gender, identity and geography in regions of Madhya Pradesh.

Women journalists have certain fears and perceptions about the city they live in. They go out for reporting in the city, travel to different places for their work, often with a sense of insecurity. Even everyday life as a journalist brings challenges for them in ensuring their safety as they move about 'at their own risk' in public spaces. The spatial context is not just about

space but more about socio-cultural process of making and remaking of the cities and its dwellers. Lefebvre (1991) writes, "Social space is a social product" (p. 26). He also posits that "the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (p. 26). Discussing space from a social perspective, Massey (1994) critically brings out that "construction of place is articulated consideration of patriarchal relations" (p. 181). This paper tries to capture urban experiences of women journalists in order to examine their relationship with their city. It attempts to understand experiences of Hindi women journalists of being in city spaces, and how they negotiate their right to city, belongingness and identity as an individual and as a journalist too.

7.21 Social Media: The Final Frontier for Eloquent Feminism

Ravindra Zende

In 2012, two years before Facebook acquired WhatsApp in 2014, two girls were arrested for writing a Facebook post opposing Mumbai Bandh for demise of Balasaheb Thackarey. This was some of the first arrests made in connection to writing on social media. In next seven years up to end of 2019 social media is excruciating stress over all walks of life.

On the other hand, common people-‘Aam’ Public is enjoying ‘harmless’ ‘Good Morning’, ‘Good Night’, and ‘Happy Diwali’ messages for 24X7 Since entrance of social media sites on millions of Android and Apple handsets. Absence of women and women’s perspective in mainstream, as well as alternate media is evident and alarming. Simultaneously, unorganised content full of misogyny, abetting physical and psychological violence against women, independent women’s lifestyle and thoughts is constantly pouring on social media.

In this paper, I will take stock of some organised movements struggling for feminist values on internet and some of the samples from unorganised individuals writings and expressions endorsing the opposite views on social media. There are many writings and studies about internet movements like #Metoo and #freethenipple discussing and theorising the phenomenon. I will refer and comment on those writings.

Analysis and theorising individual spontaneous as well as structured expressions on social media is prime focus of this study. We cannot dismiss Structured writings or organised trolling by merely boxing them as contrasting point of view; instead, we must keep tab on their language and visuals to envisage future campaigns and motives behind them. In this regard I can cite an example of debate about using Mangalsutra and Sindur in seventies and eighties of preceding century. It was the time when women in Maharashtra lately began to vocalise their concern and point of views. At that juncture mainstream media brought trivial issue of wearing or not wearing symbols of so called Soubhagya to the centre stage of feminist discussions, pushing real issues like livelihood, health, and security of women, domestic violence in the background.

We all have experienced surge of organised conservative advocacy and blunt attacks since 2014. Right wing powers are successful in creating intolerant atmosphere. As a result, we see another category of social media posts applauding feminist thoughts and actions but distancing from getting tagged as “feminist”. I will address this new-fangled trend. I will summarise and conclude with correlating observations and inferences in the study. This study might arrive to formulate and suggest future course of strategic feminist interventions on social media for the discussion. This is the time when we need to be vigilant and hold our battlements.

7.22 Transforming Debates on Gender and Online Abuse

Renu Singh, Anuhsree Jairath

Digital platforms have re-defined the meaning and terms of social interactions in a significant way. Along with that technology has also changed the ways in which people work towards social change. Social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter have become important platform to share views and form opinions. Additionally, the opening up of technology allows young women and queer people to explore and engage in new forms of freedoms and expression. However, this increase access to technology has come with its own form of backlash, similar to the backlash women and queer people face offline when they transgress designated boundaries. This backlash on online spaces has been termed as online abuse. In the larger discourse of internet as enabling and empowering, the space is simultaneously producing inequalities and hierarchies. In the name of ‘safety’ public spaces have often been cleaned up offline in ways that seem to erases spaces that existed for more marginalised communities (eg cruising). Are there lessons we can learn from this for online public spaces and how we should approach and develop it? In such spaces where there is an overlap between offline and online violence, who gets to be heard and gets the required legitimacy in digital spaces? Who can afford to be anonymous while who face more abuse than others? What role do identities play in this context?

It is in this larger context, the paper tries to understand three things: How can we ensure that the internet is a better place for women and gender non-binary people? What needs to change at the infrastructural level? The discussion around women’s safety in offline spaces entails having more street lights in public spaces (one of the suggestions given by Justice Verma committee), then keeping this in view, what could be the street lights of the internet? What do we know about patterns of abuse, and what lessons should we draw from them? Research findings, experiences and plenary discussion point towards systematic features of abuse and the importance of foregrounding intersectionality in our responses. For example, a close analysis of patterns (the Internet Democracy Project’s Twitter research and Equality Lab Study) of online abuse show that islamophobia and casteism along with gender is most important axis of online abuse. If we know that not all women are equally vulnerable to online abuse, what does it mean to develop a feminist politics of solidarity on the Internet?

If the mob has power, so does the collective. What would be a feminist collective response in the face of the mechanisms of online abuse that we know? It will be an attempt to unpack feminists’ response to organised right wing abuse online and the methods they are using to take back space online. What are the strategies that feminists have used in offline spaces which can be replicated online?

This study is exploratory in nature and is based on a close reading of existing literature around public spaces and violence, intersectionality (including the Metoo movement and LoSHA) and existing feminist strategies used to respond to online abuse. Along with mapping and analysing secondary literature, this study will involve in-depth discussions through interviews with feminists, gender non-binary & digital rights activists and Dalit activists who have been engaging with these issues on online spaces.

7.23 OTT Consumption and Other Media Usage: A Sample Survey in Mumbai

Ruta Trapasiya

The consumption pattern of media is changing dramatically. Media has also evolved from Newspapers to films, Radio to television and now mobile phones and other hand held

devices. Each media play its own role to entertain audiences in their own way. All media industries are undergoing technological changes in today's digital era and all of these giant industries are experiencing a digital transformation. From the broadcast media, the age of audiences deciding what they want to watch has arrived.

This research paper examines how Over-The-Top (OTT) platforms have influenced audiences and impacting their pattern of media consumption, particularly those below 30 years of age. This research used exploratory survey method and data was collected using an interview- schedule. 100 individual viewers in the equal proportion of males and females who are watching at least one OTT platform at the time of data collection residing in Mumbai were covered.

The findings suggest that OTT affects the conscious thinking of the viewers, indirectly isolates them, and makes it difficult for them to open up with people in real life. They tend to spend less time with family and friends because they spent 3-4 hours on an average in a weekday, whereas on weekends the number of hours spent on OTT increases to 7-8 hours. The cost of media consumption becomes approx. 700 INR in a month. It is also discovered that OTT platforms are consumed heavily because they provide freedom to watch bold and violent content, which is not available on television. Mobility is the reason for individuals to choose OTT.

7.24 Depiction of elderly people in Indian Films

Sabiha Hussain, Shaista Nasreen

This study is an attempt to know how elderly people are depicted in certain Indian films. Few Indian Hindi movies/ films based on ageing have been analysed like Baghban, Avtaar, Saarangsh, Cheeni Kum, Piku etc. Results highlighted certain stereotyping projections and incidence of domestic abuse in the depiction of characters of elderly. Elderly are depicted in both favourable and unfavourable negative mode- prejudiced in-law relationships, stereotypic images of elderly, family strains. it is hard to find specific programs aiming at issues of old age. These depictions influence the perception of how the viewers conceive the elderly, affecting the status of the elderly. The study was planned with the following objectives: 1. to analyse the status of the elderly especially based on the characters depicted in certain Indian films. 2. to assess the issues covered in films. 3. To examine their roles and relationship with family and community in the films.

Various studies show that watching TV is one of the leisure activities among elderly hence planning should be made to use media as a weapon to empower elderly in all aspects of life like health, economy and social life. Certain programs which project favourable images of elderly should be telecasted. Films focusing on certain special themes e.g., programs on health and fitness, awareness of rights and responsibilities to empower elderly should be encouraged.

7.25 Tracing the Scope of Feminist Praxis in New Media: A Critical Analysis of Social Media from a Feminist Perspective

Sampriti Mukherjee

We are living in a time of despair, defiance and decadence. We are witnessing a trend of organized hate-mongering and regulated violence on marginalized identities/communities. Our struggling present is also witnessing remarkable resistances formed within the attacked communities. As hybrid of communication and technology, virtual is becoming a reality or a copy of reality replicated by socio-economic relations marked by the complexities of gender,

caste, class. With the advent of IT-cells, campaigns composed for digital media etc., virtual media has become a platform of execution and functioning of exclusive ideologies of cultural and economic power, particularly in our country's demography. On the contrary, emergence of movements like Me too has explored radical possibilities of virtual while rupturing grand narrative of power named patriarchy. Hence, virtual is becoming the medium to enable both narratives of repression/emancipation, control/access, and alienation/assembly.

The quest of this paper is to trace constituents of feminist subjectivity and possibilities of collectivization in the realm of 'virtual reality'. Feminist academia suggests communication technologies as crucial tools, recrafting women's bodies. The study suggests, these tools embody and enforce new social relations for women world-wide. This is a 'new' communication realm and ultimately a 'new' medium, whose backbone is computer network, language is digital and users are globally distributed and globally interactive. The question is, (a) can the networked society, coded by command-control-communication be traced for constituting feminist subjectivity /'oppositional' consciousness'? (b) Can the virtual be explored as the intersection/alliance between social movements and feminist desire?

The paper will proceed with tracing the convergence of virtual media and women's movements (turned as social movements) and look for transgressed boundaries, potent fusions and contested meanings of phallogocentric society. To do that, this thesis will study the timeline of significant women's movements (Nirbhaya protests to me-too movement), its replications (written narratives, images, political statements, campaign materials) on virtual media and changing dynamics of feminist contingent politics in Indian demography throughout that timeframe.

7.26 Indian Women's Political Space on the Internet: Auto Ethnographic Study of Gender Trolling

Sanjukta Basu

This paper would present the preliminary findings of my autoethnographic PhD research which addresses one of the questions this sub-theme is exploring, "what are the new forms of inequality, disempowerment and control that are emerging in new media terrain." The research explores the linkages between digital media as a tool of political participation and identity; the global rise of right wing politics in the post-truth era; the rise of internet Hindutva; and the impact of these phenomenon on Indian women's access to digital space. Being a deeply personal subject of facing online abuses, this research takes the autoethnographic approach and documents my own life narrative which is shared and reflected upon with my participants such as queer women, feminists, social and political activists, female journalists and others who dare to dissent, publicly question the authority and / or assert their unapologetic identities on the digital space.

At the turn of the twenty first century, Internet promised to be a level playing field for women and marginalized communities. Leading cyber-culture theorist, Manuel Castell in his body of work from 1996 to 2012 emphasized on the positive aspects of internet such as the rise of network society, power of identity and self mass communication. By the end of the second decade however the dark sides of internet had overshadowed the good side. While women across the globe have been able to reinvent their identities, and put themselves into history today women are facing severe gendered cyber hate, called 'gender-trolling' which is posing a serious threat to their access to online space 'Trolling' have been studied from the perspective of psychology, cyber culture, and violence against women. My research takes a step forward and builds a political connection to gender trolling.

I am one of the early female bloggers in India and have personally witnessed the power of mass self-communication Castell was enthused about. Using new media and digital tools I have created a space and identity for myself. But today I am being constantly pushed away from digital space due to politically motivated trolling. Even as I write this abstract I am getting abuses every 15-20 minutes on my Twitter notifications, ranging from body shaming, sexual insults, insults at my birthmark, and shape of my teeth, morphed images which seeks to disfigure my face as if a virtual equivalent of acid attack. I revisited the tweet which started it and spent hours reading it over and over again to check if I have violated any law or Twitter community guidelines. I tried to ascertain the legal actions I am courting. I considered deleting the tweet but could not accept that hundreds of abusive Twitter users can force me to silence and forfeit my right to freedom of speech and expression.

This is a drill I repeat almost every day. And I am not alone, thousands of Indian women are being driven away from digital space and this phenomenon have gotten worse during the post-truth era with the rise of right-wing politics in India. This autoethnographic research foregrounds my experiences of facing several years of gender trolling and reflects those with my participants. Together our narratives seeks to provides answers to questions like, what is the deep nature of trolling, how it impacts our physical and mental health, personal and political relationships, how we cope, how we fight back, how we make sense of the rapidly changing cyber culture and how to manoeuvre and negotiate this space.

7.27 Evaluation of Cyber Ecosystem's Inclusiveness: Critical Analysis of Facebook's Inclusive Internet Index (3i) Report with Special Focus on India

Sharique Hassan Manazir, Rubina Akhtar

Cyber ecosystem encompasses a wide research area and interest of various stakeholders. Lately, there has been a rise in evaluation studies and reports worldwide focusing upon inclusivity of the cyber ecosystem at both micro and macro level based upon various set of indicators. United Nations (UN), International Telecommunication Union (ITU), Freedom House and various others government and non-government organizations have started to come up with their own form of research dealing with internet inclusivity and ranking of countries based on policies to make their cyber ecosystem more inclusive (UN, 2018) (UNESCO, 2018). Looking at the vast impact of such reports at the national and international level there is need of uniform methodology which could map exclusion at cyber ecosystem keeping in mind various aspects of social exclusion which vary drastically from one nation to another.

In this research, we will see a critical analysis of Inclusive Internet Index (3i) Report commissioned by Facebook and published by The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU). This research tries to map robustness of research methodology used by 3i Report to arrive at conclusion using report data set and raises important questions about the credibility of 3i Report. It also paves way for future discourse on digital inclusion evaluation studies worldwide, its importance as well as pressing need to arrive at one mutually agreed research framework to gauge inclusivity of cyber ecosystem country-wise irrespective of variation in social exclusion aspects like income level, population, languages, literacy level, age demography, religion, caste, ethnicity etc.

7.28 New Media and Inequality

Shivani Sharma

The new media is capable to create and strengthen our perception irrespective of the facts and morals because people have different views and their ability to express on any medium, a person will always find someone supporting their views (thanks to the Internet targeting a vast sea of people). It fails drastically to guide people in the right direction as "right" is defined by the old media supporting patriarchy and negative portrayal of women. Women are subjected as sex objects, vulnerable and a weak gender and exploited through pornography, online dating and criticism by condemning their views. Stealing identity and violating the privacy via hacking of their social media account and laptop camera respectively is more common in women than men, which gives men more control on women's lives under threats. Spider-woman on pogo doing dancing and cooking and stereotyping woman on cartoon channels has also played a crucial role in shaping the perception at an early age.

Humanity lack behind with more and more usage of new media and the urge to post online under a "trending topic" resulting into a viral post makes them wanting to take more videos of horrible incidents instead of helping the person in need and eventually turns into a gruesome fantasies and claiming as a dark humor. Further, the "trending topic" on news sites results into a "trending topic" on pornography sites. Softwares available to alter the body and face and the ability to mis-learn using blogposts are making women feel violated for their bodies and more overestimating sex.

Women using less Internet to avoid themselves being a victim in Cyberspace, lack behind stating their views strongly to break the chains of patriarchy and negative stereotyping. Bringing equality on new media will only be achieved by equality in the user base of new media. The task to change the image of women in the media is a long way to go and no doubt, it has improved immensely through higher ratio of women working in companies shaping the new media who helps and gives assistance reshape the stereotyped cyberspace.

7.29 Wild Feminisms: LoSHA and the Productive Possibilities of Feminist Disagreement

Shraddha Chatterjee

In 2017, Indian academia grappled with an anonymous list that was curated on social media, and named more than 70 male professors as sexual harassers of students. In the aftermath of this list, many criticisms emerged from established feminists that opposed this list on the grounds that it went against feminist histories of advocating for due process. Another line of criticism mobilized feminist and queer theory to posit that this list created an atmosphere of moral panic in the university. In contrast, those supporting the list argued that due process was often too dangerous or ineffective in addressing student complaints. It was also argued that a larger culture of sexual misconduct that does not amount to harassment in the legal sense is still crippling to women's progress in academia. In this paper, I trace these arguments and parse them for their implications for the possibilities and limitations of feminist thought in the university. In doing so, I attempt to engage with how these antagonisms are a sign of feminism turning against itself, and conclude that these wild feminisms lead to productive futures for feminist theory and politics.

Given that these dissensions occurred almost entirely on social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, and various blogs, the modality in which these debates took place is central to the arguments itself. Feminists critiqued the LoSHA because it was curated and disseminated via

social media, and those who supported the list did so because social media offered those who contributed to the list some measure of anonymity. In this paper, I will focus on how social media opened up the space for these dissenting voices, and shaped the entire event itself. I will also read the initial debates in conjunction with more recent related developments, such as Subodh Gupta's defamation case against an anonymous Instagram account 'HerdSceneAnd', which named him as a sexual harasser, and MJ Akbar's defamation case against Priya Ramani, who also chose social media to describe her experience of sexual harassment. By doing so, I will reflect on how social media makes sharing narratives and accusing harassers possible, and what are the costs incurred due to that possibility, especially given the gendered nature of social media.

7.30 Queering Campuses through Dating Applications: Possibilities of Resistances and Limitations

Rushikesh Korade, Hrishikesh Gulavni, Shraddha Sharma

Emergence of communication technologies like dating applications have seen a rise in the last decade. Applications like Grindr and Tinder are increasingly being used by queer folk. The usage of applications by queerfolk to explore and assert identities is not limited to leisurely dating purposes. This new digital space allows for communities to be formed both online and offline, which by nature come to represent sexual identities that are marginalised in most other public spaces and on earlier media technologies.

Predominantly used to explore romantic prospects like finding casual partners, the sexual transgressions that these applications allow for enables certain political solidarities to be formed on campuses. Enabled by features like the GPS, that allows location-wise searches, their usage has been used to form both romantic and political relationships on campus. Particularly, we look at a political queer group formed at Pune university to see the ways in which queer political solidarities have been made possible through usage of these applications. We see how it is the site of campus that allows them to be used as a tool for formation such a queer political solidarities. However, these technologies also create newer inequalities arising from corporate interests. We would explore the usage of these online applications on campus, to see their political possibilities and limitations in such contexts.

The queer group formed at the Pune university, called Kaleidofolk, of which all three authors are core members, will be used as a case study for this paper. Coming up in the current political regime has had various implications for the group. For a long time, the group has been anonymous, and only recently announced itself to the public, and the simultaneity of being anonymous and yet reaching out to queerfolk has been made possible by dating applications. Being located on campus while using these applications has allowed for a certain degree of diversity in the group, in terms of caste, class, sexualities, gender identities and disciplinary locations. The group has been organised with an aim to provide a safe space for sexual minorities, provide space for politicisation of students, and to form solidarities with other political groups that voice the claims of marginalised students on different axis on campus, and other groups of similar political engagements off-campus. To do so, the group presents its political agenda through members who are openly queer, or 'out', while simultaneously providing a support system for both 'outed' and 'closeted' identities.

The use of dating applications has been key in keeping the closeted identities safe, and reaching out to other closeted people. This means that group members using the applications have used them for diverse purposes, employing its political potentials. Through narratives of several members of the group, we would aim to find out their relationship with dating applications and the group as well as the ways in which being part of the group has altered their

experiences on those applications and vice-versa. While their membership in the group may be politically driven, it also creates space for romantic exploration. On the other hand, the digital space of dating applications becomes a tool for political organising. These phenomena feed into each other, thus, giving us insights on the changing nature of campuses through students' use of dating applications, that have occurred in the current political climate. Additionally, individuals who do not use these applications also constitute the group, their experiences tell us about the limitations of these applications and how differently these experiences come to be shaped.

The market driven nature of these applications works to systematically marginalise or invisibilize certain identities. We know, for instance, the heterosexist nature of Tinder and Grindr allows only those people who are assigned male at birth (AMAB). Besides, the fact that 76% of online dating application users in India are male, tells us about the gender divide in usage of applications. This has also affected the number of queer women, or people assigned female at birth reached through these applications. Thus, we explore new technologies that enable possibilities of resistance on campus, while being limited through their market-driven nature.

7.31 E-governance as regime of power: Gender and Digital India

Sreepriya R

E-Governance schemes were widely introduced in India as critical administrative innovations that were part of the 'Digital India' programs. Often the various applications of the semantic web in governance in India are rendered in a highly pitched and imbalanced rhetoric of development and claims to empower the most marginalized sections, especially the Dalits and the women. With the turn of the millennium, World Wide Web has also evolved as a form of rationality that is construed as an ideal and modern way to govern people through citizens' participation. In India too, almost all public institutions and ministerial offices have social media profiles in Facebook and twitter and actively engage and promote their policies through these platforms. The twitter participation of the PMO had brought up considerable controversies recently when the handle was found to be following and endorsing misogynic profiles. Amid much hype about citizen participation program through digital India initiative, 'MyGov' a portal for crowdsourcing ideas for governance was launched in 2014 with an aim to both enable citizens to creatively engage in specific government departments and to open up discussions in many areas of governance and nation building. Divided into two sections called 'Do' and 'Discuss', the 'MyGov' portal asserts that its claim is to 'bridge the gap between people and the processes of governance.' While the earlier initiatives of e-governance in India during the 90s systematically lacked the vision to integrate civil society and its perspectives into its folds, MyGov was put forth like a promise to address this yawning gap. However, in a context where citizen's expressions get widely stifled in social media and political pluralism is increasingly denied in the digital terrain through cyber-surveillance, the discussions in 'MyGov', far from upholding the egalitarian promises, promotes to re-enforce the prevalent cultural bigotry and fundamentalism in myriad ways. Right from its conception and in its methodologies of execution of policies and in the discussions that are generated, how supportive is the portal MyGov in resisting patriarchy? How much do the discussions reflect the temper and pulse of the disparate voices that constitute the population, and how evasive the discussions are about the fundamental issues of gender? I attempt to do a critical case study of MyGov to understand how gendering is operational through new technocratic means in contemporary e-governance.

7.32 Mobile phone and Rural Women in Bihar through the lens of Science Technology & Society (STS)

Srishti

Literatures evince that health informatics tools like mobile phone can prove to be a great medium for disseminating useful maternal health related information among rural women because of its high outreach and low cost. Being a technological artifact, mobile phone has the capability to serve people irrespective of their caste, creed, or race, making it a democratic means of communication. As a gift of science and technology, it is designed to transcend the barriers of time and space in order to connect people. This paper, thus attempts to comprehend the symbiotic relationship between Science, Technology, and Society (STS) in light of Actor-Network Theory and several other theories amalgamated with practical experiences and insights gained through field study on the perception of mobile phones among rural women of Bihar. A household survey was conducted in Malpur village of Dalsinghsarai Block, Bihar. Respondents were chosen through purposive random sampling from women who were either pregnant or had given birth in three years preceding the survey since the focus of the study was to comprehend the maternal health status and needs of rural women. Mixed methods including both quantitative and qualitative techniques were used for data collection and analysis. The study indicates that rural women have severe dependence on their immediate family members for information related to maternal health due to the absence of other channels of information. In such circumstances, mobile phone being the most accessible means of communication could be instrumental for imparting maternal health education to them by working as actant and forming a human and non-human network. Mobile phone in such a way can help in dismantling the prevailing culture of silence.

7.33 Amidst the Digital Divide: Social Media and the Emerging Discourse on Emotional Labour from a Feminist Perspective

Stephanie D'sa

Coined by American sociologist Arlie Hochschild in her book *'The Managed Heart'* (1983), the term 'emotional labour' was a gender-neutral term referring to the need to 'induce or suppress feelings' and emotions as a means to make others comfortable. Hochschild applied this concept to people working in the service industry. In 2017, US journalist Gemma Hartley wrote an article titled *'Women aren't nags – we're just fed up'* in the Harper's Bazaar to fashion a link between 'emotional labour' as she defined it and women's responsibilities of housework and life administration. The release of this article generated plenty of online debate and discussion centred on this new gender-specific definition of 'emotional labour,' what it is, and what it isn't.

While Arlie Hochschild argues that emotional labour is not gendered and woman-centred, many others state that emotional labour, by and large, falls on the shoulders of women and takes up a large part of women's lives and energy. This 'free, invisible work' is touted to be the glue that holds together relationships, families, and by extension, society.

In *'Women's Estate'*, Juliet Mitchell argues that the condition of women is not merely a function of her relationship to capital but is determined by her role in production, reproduction, sexuality, and the socialisation of children. Gendered emotional labour is then another aspect of women's work that impacts and determines the condition of women, their mental health, and social standing.

In the digital world, rhetorical productions are not static, but constantly evolving. The idea that domestic labour is productive work, and deserves recognition is mainstream across digital platforms, but not so much in economics. The recent push towards the acknowledgement of the existence of mental load and emotional labour as productive work is one that is led by women sharing their opinions on crowdsourced platforms. As such the discourse surrounding emotional labour as the stress resulting from unpaid tasks performed predominantly by women is constantly being updated and argued by the primary stakeholders i.e. women.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of new media as a platform to synthesize a new gender-specific definition of emotional labour, as well as to look into who is actually doing the defining i.e. women with access to these platforms, via a qualitative discourse analysis.

7.34 Ways of Seeing – Caste, Gender and Sexuality

Subhajit Sikder

With the coming up of internet based gay dating apps like Grindr and Planet Romeo which primarily serves to provide a medium for gay people to interact for sex also opens the possibility for gay people to find love, jobs, friends, intimate circle etc. Authors drawing from post-structural analysis have indeed shown that any particular event/phenomenon can have multiple results.

Drawing from such approaches the author seeks to throw light on the various profiles that appear on the gay dating apps and how they open the online space beyond its motive and also constrains it. Profiles on dating apps though lets us make a sense of a whole individual without even meeting or seeing them are usually available to us in the form of images since we view them on our screens. Through this paper the author is trying to show how this online space on one hand opens the space beyond its motive that is of dating but at the same time limits this space by not letting caste articulate it. While profiles of upper caste gay men can be seen flaunting their masculinity with their caste names, the same is discouraged when it comes to lower caste men.

This paper has come out of the experiments conducted by the author as part of exhibition project – Erotics of the leader, TISS, 2018. Some fieldwork was also conducted during the formalization of the author's M.A thesis. In this paper the author through his field work tries to unpack the relation between caste, gender and sexuality and how these social structures constantly move in and out of questions of modernity, violence and desire.

7.35 Media Images and Livid Realities: The Case of Women on Periphery

Supriya Pathak

Media in a democratic polity is supposed to act as a pedagogue of freedom and a telling critique of practices and formations of power. With this in view it is proposed to explore the representations of women on periphery by media (newspapers) with reference to key aspects of life including body, sexuality, social roles, their economic and financial contribution, family functioning, political participation, cultural participation, and creativity. The paper will involve content analysis of media representations of women on the periphery and correlate that with the life narratives of women. They form nearly half of the human capital in the country, but they remain the most deprived and long-neglected segment of the society despite the constitutional guarantee for equal rights and privileges for men and women. As a result of colonial domination and prevailing conditions of society, the socio-economic condition of

women on periphery (WOP) is miserable. WOP means women who are : Vulnerable , Have an unstable income source , Going through family distraction , Living with insecurity , Separated (with or without child), Victims of violence (such as war, conflicts, riots, custody), Tribal women , Dalit women. They are the excluded part of a state-sponsored Affirmative Action plan. They need to be addressed in literature, researches and media representations.

Against this backdrop this paper is planned to demystify the media dynamics by relating the people, media and the societal context with special reference to the women on periphery (WOP) and experience many disadvantages. It will undertake the relevant analyses of their media representations of WOP along with their experiential accounts. Thus, the views of users of media products would be involved. By situating them in their ethno- linguistic context the study would seek to identify the gains and losses of media representation and utilization in a systematic way. It will be achieved by taking into account the variations in representations of WOP across different regions of India. The socio-cultural diversity reflected in the economic, cultural, political and historical characteristics of the people do demand respect for diversity and provision for reasonable space to retain such variations.

Indeed, the form of reality manufactured by the media is shaping the human perceptions and behavioral choices in significant ways. They have consequences for almost all areas including body image, aesthetic sensibilities, political and cultural events, entertainment, health and education, law and order etc. It's an overwhelming experience with far reaching consequences which occurs at the conscious as well as non-conscious levels of human functioning. People, as consumers of media, are guided by the media generated and media supported formulations and are frequently used by the interested groups. We use the media generated image and information and are also used by them in subtle ways. In such a scenario media literacy is a must for WOP as they have a history of exploitation and are still subjected to exploitation in numerous ways. Their contributions, however, are often ignored. The proposed paper will try to examine the images of women projected by the media in selected regions of India and assess the extent of gap between media image and lived realities of women. The content analysis will be the main method to analyze narratives and the media images of WOP The structured interview method will be the main method for drawing the lived realities of WOP. For studying the lived realities of WOP a cross sectional design will be adopted. .What images of WOP are projected by the media in different parts of India? What are lived experiences of the WOP? What is the gap between media images and the lived realities of WOP? What kind of policy level changes are needed to improve the conditions of WOP and their projection in media? These all are the basic questions that will be address in this paper.

7.36 Journey of Lavani: From Renouncement to Accreditation; Absolving the 'Folk Art' in Popular Culture

Surekha Bharati

Lavani, the traditional folk dance of Maharashtra was once considered to be something without any dignity because it was performed by women of Kolhati caste. However, in recent times, under the garb of glorified words like tradition and culture, the sanskritization of folk art culture happens. The female artists of Marathi films and daily Marathi serials celebrated the shringarik that is amorous lavani, misrepresenting it to the common audience as performance of charm and elegance in modernized cloths. The so called mainstream culture is dominated by the hegemony of brahminical culture. The Brahminical cultural system of cultural politics has claimed to continuously use different cultures of the people of that state in the name of traditions, cultures and customs.

Some examples of folk art can be cited as representing of the cultural identity of Maharashtra in the world of populist cultural practices, as a reality shows such as colors TV's "Dholkichya Talavar" and ZEE TV's "Apsara aali". Both were presented under the authentic banner of folk art over the year. New kinds of changes are introduced in traditional folk music in the post-modern world using fusion music. Only the Brahminical cultural presentation was made using the most popular word "Dholaki" in "Dholaki Rhythm" and a program was presented on Dholaki. The attempt to authenticate it by using the words "folk art" in the flying "Apsara aali" appears in cultural programs on both the TVs. In the competitive program Apsara Aali, girls from all over the districts of Maharashtra participated in the dance performance, so it was mentioned that the district has a historical significance. Since the girls were not from the Kolhati caste and the competition was given to enthusiastic artists. The only exception was the famous Lavani artist as a judge "Surekha Puneekar", but her participation seemed formal and as a celebrity. In the thrust of globalization though these folk artist are getting support in reality shows, still Lavani as an authentic form has no standing in the world of competition. Instead of glorification of folk art lavani put 'symbolic representation'. In this way, the art of lavani is transformed as a popular cultural and identity of state of Maharashtra.

The aim of this paper is to look at whether the brahminical cultural political dynamics co-opts lavani as folk art tradition claiming them to be gatekeepers of lavani as popular culture. If so how do they do it? Does the female artists performing lavani in television shows perform it as part of commercial popular culture or as folk art?

In this research paper I will make references to some of the text and project work that have been read so far, while briefly summarizing the above two important points. I will also do comparative analysis of the two reality shows as they attempt to lay out theoretical and therapeutic studies, in which various folk arts are presented in Indian visual media. In order to address my research questions, I will also take in-depth interview of traditional lavani artists who have been performing since decades.

7.37 Children, Media Culture and the Construction of Gendered Identities

Tauseef Fatima

In the contemporary society, media culture appears to be a predominant force for the production as well as contestation over the process of meaning making in our life-worlds. There exist feminist debates about the role of media as a powerful source of identity, more specifically focusing on the construction of gendered identities, and struggle over meanings. In today's world of digital citizenship, 'new media' plays an important role in structuring people's material and symbolic worlds. This paper aims to examine the presence and impact of 'new media' in children's lives in relation to gender norms, gender roles and gender attributes. The objective here is to understand the intersections between feminism, gender and media cultures. Some of the intriguing questions that will be explored here are: How do children receive and interpret media messages and make sense of their life-worlds? How do the new media construct, reinforce or challenge the stereotypical messages about men and women? How are gender identities represented, mediated and experienced and what kind of 'social spaces' are created through the negotiations that take place between children and the new media? Do we find presence of upholding of constitutional values among the future citizens? Do children become more inquisitive through the intervention of media messages or do they get transformed into 'passive conformist sheep' through the media content as argued by Frankfurt school? The study tries to bring an intersectional perspective of digital citizens across class and gender. The paper will be based on feminist in-depth interviewing while drawing theoretical inputs from feminist media theory.

7.38 Young Adults and Instagram: Relationship Assessment of Influencer Marketing

Vibhuti Sanchala

The Internet has transformed many aspects of modern society and social interaction. This led to the emergence of social media which has become an integral part of day to day lives. India's urban youth spends more time on social media compared with their older counterparts. With such a rapid rise in use, the branding firms realized the potential of Instagram to aid in their influencer marketing.

The purpose of this research is to understand the impact of Instagram influencers on young adults, their frequency of Instagram usage, influence of influencer marketing, and extent of the credibility of influencers as perceived by them. This paper studies the dimensions of credibility vis-à-vis purchase intention using the 'Para-social Interaction Theory' of Donald Horton and Richard Wohl. The methodology employed is descriptive and quantitative. Offline survey using questionnaire with young adults in the age group of 18-30 years, who are active Instagram users and follow one or more influencers on Instagram were sampled. 100 valid responses from Mumbai constitute the final sample.

The findings indicate that the young adults tend to follow celebrity and fashion influencers more as compared to other genres of influencers. Also, they rely on influencers before purchasing anything, because of the authenticity of the content shared. It is revealed that 'attractiveness' and 'expertise' of the influencers are the reason for the influencing young adults' purchase intention. This research also provides evidences that social media has arrived and it is impacting young adults in multiple ways.

7.39 Anti-Caste Content on New Media: Potency of a Democratic Public Sphere?

Vivek Kumar Singh

Media is often hailed to be the fourth pillar of a democracy, meant to keep a check on the government and shape public opinion. Contrary to this, media, which is controlled by a few large corporates, has played an important role in maintaining a hegemonic discourse in favour of the ruling classes. As argued by Habermas, instead of facilitating a rational discourse, the media has played the role of limiting the discourse and making people passive consumers. The entry of new media, with its wide reach, lower entry cost and supposed lack of regulation by the state, has raised the question whether new media has the potential of offering a democratic space or whether it becomes another hegemonic space.

#Metoo, #OccupyWallstreet, #ClimateStrike, #BlackLivesMatter, are some of the worldwide examples where the new media has become a sphere of public dissent and mobilization, showing the potency of the internet. At the same time, data leaks like Cambridge Analytica, opaque political advertising, presence of extreme hate speech on these platforms point to the attempts of global capital and socially conservative forces to maintain their hegemony.

In this context, this paper does a content analysis of the anti-caste pages and accounts on social media in India, especially on widely used social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter. In the first section, the paper shows the reach of popular anti-caste pages on these platforms, which ranges in thousands of followers. In the second section, it explores the nature of the content that is shared by these pages and its role in building a democratic discourse in the society. In the third section, it explores the presence of pages/accounts that support caste in different ways- caste based matrimonial, displaying caste pride, opposing reservations etc. In the fourth section, it looks at specific case studies. Four cases are selected here, namely, shift

of 'Forward Press' from a print magazine to a web portal, emergence of 'Round Table India', Twitter's '#Smash Brahmanical Patriarchy controversy', and 'Blue tick controversy'. While the first two instances are success stories, the other two show how discrimination and bias can thrive in this new sphere. Along with these, instances of omission and commission in the deletion of content and deactivation of accounts is discussed.

This paper argues that new media can be best understood as a space of contestations hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse. Hegemonic content continues to proliferate on these platforms, often with the help of financial and structural support. With Big Data mining, a new 'technology of power' continues to operate, whose potential impact are still not totally understood. However, it is undeniable that there is a strong counter-hegemonic resistance, which continues to grow as new media spaces are claimed by diverse groups like Dalits, women, queers, Adivasis, etc who were hitherto unrepresented in the media. New media offers much more agency to people in terms of lower entry cost, possibility of active engagement instead of passive reception, dissemination of new ideas, information and perspectives, as compared to conventional media like newspapers, television etc which would require heavy investments and structurally supported a one way communication channel where the citizens were only passive recipients of the discourse. New media cannot be easily categorised into a binary of democratic vs. undemocratic space. It is a space of contestation between the hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourses, which itself makes it a step ahead of older forms of media and closer to Habermas' idea of a public sphere. It is only the entry of Dalits, women, Adivasis and all other marginalized groups, that has the potential of making this new media a democratic 'public' sphere in the true sense.

8 Citizens/People, Laws and Right to Life

8.1 Rehabilitation is Redundant, Recognize Rights!

Aarthi Pai, Meena Saraswathi Seshu, Laxmi Murthy, Rakesh Shukla

India has a complex set of laws and policies that influence and impact the lives of women in sex work. Discussions on anti-trafficking measures and responses have often been overshadowed by debates on prostitution per se as violence and slavery of women; and further muddled by a conflation with sexual exploitation of children. These discussions have been led by sections of women's groups, anti-trafficking groups and child rights groups in major part in the complete absence of sex worker rights groups. Consequently, the discussion on trafficking has been conducted on a parallel track with efforts to raise awareness on the status of women in sex work, respect their agency and right to choose their work. The anti-trafficking discourse also tends to invalidate the narratives of millions of women who migrate due to economic or other pressures. Safe migration for women and the right to choose a livelihood, continue to be hindered by narrow conversations on morality and culture and whether or not all women who move are potentially victims of sexual exploitation, especially single women. Anti-trafficking laws and policies and their application have followed a similar trajectory in India, manifest in its international obligations and national policies.

This study unravels the impact of The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (ITPA) on the protection of the human rights of sex workers. Anti-trafficking laws and policies have located women in sex work at the cusp of violence and impunity by law enforcement mechanisms and anti-trafficking groups. To demonstrate the impact of laws and policies on women in sex work to law and policy makers and other stakeholders, sex workers from Veshya Anyaya Mukti Parishad [VAMP] decided to undertake an assessment with various sex worker groups to document the human rights violations that they experience particularly because of anti-trafficking laws and policies. This initiative emerged from a partnership between human rights activists, human rights research agencies and sex worker collectives in India. The research was led and conducted by the sex worker collective VAMP, the NGO SANGRAM in India and Rights4Change based in Netherlands which developed the RightT Guide.

The assessment aimed at answering the following questions: understand how the international human rights framework could be applied to the context of sex workers in India, enable a large group of sex workers to understand the human rights framework and participate in the data collection and analysis process, frame the gaps between the stated rights for all citizens and its actual application in the lives of sex workers, understand and collate the experiences of violence and violations faced by sex workers, document and analyse how raids and rescue initiatives impact the lives of sex workers, analyse through community narratives how laws and policies enacted to respond to trafficking were being applied in the context of adult consenting sex workers.

8.2 Women's autonomy vis-à-vis State: Tracing the contours of sexual and reproductive health and rights in India

Adsa Fatima, Gargi Mishra

Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights are well recognised as human rights within the contemporary policy discourses both at the national and global level. Reproductive health

entails women's right to control their own fertility as they choose to, with the freedom to decide if when, and how they choose to reproduce; which clearly establishes its centrality to the lives of women and their experiences associated with their exercising of freedom and autonomy. It is thus imperative to locate these rights (SRHR) as essential to any discussion on right to life particularly interrogating the (un)changing needs and experiences of women, and girls given the aspect of patriarchal control over their lives and well being with its intersections with class, caste, religion etc. They are an integral and inextricable part of human rights including right to life (with dignity), all of which are universal, inalienable, indivisible, and interdependent. Further it is equally important to foreground the fulfillment of determinants that are intrinsically linked to the realization of these rights; material determinants such as access to food, land, housing, water, civic infrastructure or social determinants such as gender norms, power structures on basis of caste, class, religion, ethnicity, disability; as well as political determinants like ensuring participatory governance mechanisms interdependent on fulfillment of equality and non-discrimination particularly in relation to marginalised population groups.

SRHR recognition within policies and India's avowed commitment to international human rights standards through various treaties, covenants, conventions- inherently implies the State's duty to enhance women's sexual and reproductive health and education as well including access to comprehensive SRH care and services. Women seek out these services as 'young girls/adolescents', 'in situations of early marriage', 'as partners in family planning/reproductive decisions', 'as child and adult survivors of gender based violence', 'as women with disability', 'as sex workers', 'as elderly women' to name few examples in their lives continuum. Further, one needs to take cognizance of marginalisation of other gender and sexual identities when it comes to responsiveness of the health system-trans people, LGBTQI communities.

State's laws, programs, schemes relevant to SRHR therefore become critical site of examination to be reviewed from a rights based framework analysis. In recent tryst with legal amendments, judgments-SRHR in context of India throws up a complex landscape showing a vast continuum of achievements, progress on one end, while severe regression and backlash on other; with varied instances of women's/people's struggles (particularly marginalised communities) filling the range of spectrum. In the historic decision in *Justice K. S. Puttaswamy vs Union of India* (2017) the Supreme Court held that right to privacy is integral to the right to life, and it encompasses the decisions an individual makes in the "vital aspects of his or her life" in the areas of sexual orientation, family life, marriage and procreation. Decisional autonomy in the sphere of sexual and reproductive health is thus a core component of right to life, and law and policies on sexual and reproductive health must adhere to this standard. The following year, the Supreme Court decriminalized consensual sexual intercourse between adults of the same sex. These landmark developments marked a turning point in the sexual and reproductive health and rights of Indian citizens. However, at the same time, India grapples with an abortion law that eschews a women's rights-based approach and privileges the decisions of medical professionals over women's bodies. The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act 2012 (POCSO) raised the age of consent to 18 years and in the process criminalized consensual sexual encounters between teenagers, bringing them under the punitive criminal law system. It has made access to sex education, contraception and abortion a highly fraught issue for those below 18 years of age. The draft Surrogacy (Regulation) Bill 2019 prohibits a woman from providing surrogacy services for a fee and from benefiting monetarily from her reproductive labour, and also discriminates against same-sex couples, single persons and live-in partnerships from using surrogacy to become parents. These examples point to the complexity and contradictions in the terrain of sexual and reproductive rights in India. The authors will attempt to map these developments in order to better understand how to address the challenges.

Lastly, it is compelling to revisit that the current discourse on sexual and reproductive health and the centering of women's experiences and rights has been the outcome of a long and spirited struggle by the feminist movement, and there is a plausible case for exploring voices and discussions within women's movement in the country to reassess and re-imagine sexual and reproductive autonomy vis-à-vis right to life in its all-encompassing manner.

8.3 Quest for a 'Liveable Life': Legal Identity and Queer Discontent

Aisarya Dutt Roy

The Right to Life has been enshrined in the Indian Constitution as one of the fundamental rights. This right entails that no one shall be deprived of their right to life and personal liberty unless according to a procedure established by law. As a country consisting of populations from diverse social categories vis-à-vis caste, class, gender, sexuality, age, disabled/able, religious beliefs, etc., then it can be safely assumed that ideally this right has been extended to each and every individual cutting across various strands of identities. However, we also see numerous instances of violence faced by people from several marginalized sections of the society – be it sexual violence on Dalit women and tribal women, violent physical attacks and murders of Muslim and Dalit men, or instances of everyday violence faced by transgender persons – each day the numbers are shockingly on the rise. Moreover, the sheer impunity enjoyed by the perpetrators of such violent crimes makes us question the very viability of this constitutional provision. The innumerable lives lost because of hate crimes notwithstanding, the sheer apathy of the legal framework also needs to be questioned.

The question concerning the rights of transgender persons is an important arena in the contested terrain of legal discourse that is in requirement of some serious reflection. The sheer omnipresence of compulsory heterosexuality in each and every aspect of our lives points to the fact that the legal discourse is also no stranger to it. That compulsory heterosexuality is imbibed in the very minds of the lawmakers can be well gauged if one looks at the legal provisions that have emerged with regards to rights of transgender persons in the last few years. Transgender persons have been at receiving ends of violence resulting from severe hatred by the heteronormative society. Everyday instances of violence starting from the very structure of the hetero-patriarchal family, from schools, and from several mechanisms of the state such as the police, indeed makes us ruminate over how far has the idea of human rights been extended towards transgender persons. This paper thus seeks to examine the legal provisions of the NALSA (National Legal Services Authority) judgement, the Rights of Transgender Persons Bill, 2014, the Navtej Singh Johar vs. Union of India judgement and the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill of 2019, minutely enquiring the problematic provisions and otherwise. Existing literature although have dealt with some of these legal provisions in some detail, this paper will attempt to apply the framework of the right to live a dignified life of transgender persons, and will also aim to delve deeper into the broad umbrella category of 'transgender', a category that is increasingly being used by the lawmakers for the sake of convenience to arrive at judgements based on inadequate knowledge and insufficient representation from the transgender communities at large. A thorough reading of the responses to these provisions, especially those that have emerged from transgender communities, will be undertaken in order to critically understand the voices of the people, for whom these provisions are addressed. What constitutes the right to live a dignified life is also based on a person's subjective experiences and it is these trans-subjective experiences that will be highlighted in this paper.

From the point of view of the legal framework, it may seem that transgender persons have mostly been reduced to bare lives who have to focus the major parts of their lives on how to survive under severe discrimination, but several transgender men and women and genderqueer persons are now choosing to voice their opinions through several media – such as the highly significant autobiographies of Revathi, Vidya and Laxmi which are increasingly being translated to many languages, and those privileged enough to continue with their education have chosen the powerful medium of online platforms to express their discontentment with the state and write about their respective experiences of joy and struggles. Such expressions of assertions are extremely crucial in light of the present situation when the state is trying in every possible way to humiliate, otherize and dehumanize individuals from marginalized sections of the society, and prove to be powerful voices of dissent against fascist tyranny.

8.4 A Comparative Study of Health and Nutrition of Tribal and Non-Tribal Adolescent Girls in Ranchi Town of Jharkhand

Archana Kumari

India has 19.6% adolescents of the world. According to 2011 census, 365 million people in India, nearly a third (30.1%) of the population – are young people aged 10–24, 253 million are adolescents aged 10-19, and 232 million are youth aged 15-24. Jharkhand has 32 tribes and their culture, eating habits, life styles etc. are significantly different from Non-Tribal's. These have direct bearing on the nutrition and health of Tribal's. The urban slum adolescent girl faces greater physical and mental challenges due to ever increasing pressure of modernisation and competitiveness they are exposed to. Their physical and mental activities are higher compared to their rural counterpart. It is therefore imperative to study the health and nutrition status of adolescent girls in urban areas and examine the status of health and nutrition of Tribal and Non-Tribal adolescent girls. With the help of empirical data collected from 200 adolescent girls of Ranchi town, using paired t test the study concludes that there is statistically significant discrepancy in nutrition intake and Stunting of Tribal and Non- Tribal adolescent girls in the study area. However, no significant discrepancy in health status of adolescent girls in terms of Wasting and BMI was observed.

8.5 Customary Law, Angami Women and Political Participation

Avinu Veronica Richa

In the traditional Angami tribal society, women had a limited role in the informal administration structures or political affairs of the community. The home was considered as the rightful place for women, and women catered to all the domestic tasks and responsibilities with little participation in community political affairs. Any engagement in the public or political arena was considered as male territory and enterprise. This arrangement is systemic and normalized within the customary laws and practices of the community. However, in the contemporary Angami society today, with the onset of modernization and the introduction of formal administrative and development institutions like the Village Councils (VCs) and Village Development Boards (VDBs) at the village level the woman question in these institutions became somewhat visible but in a limited way and women were steadily foraging into community and political affairs in both informal and formal institutions.

In this backdrop the paper examines the role of women and the customary laws and practices of the Angami tribe of Nagaland, and it specifically seeks to understand the

interrelationship of the customary laws and practices of the Angami and the role of women in community and political affairs. It interrogates how the customary laws enable or limit the participation of Angami women in politics and decision-making processes towards the larger question of gender justice and gender equality operationalized within social structures and institutions. The state of Nagaland is accorded a special provision under Article 370A of the Constitution of India which safeguards its customary laws, social practices and beliefs of the people of Nagaland and also its land and resources. The paper is based on empirical data by employing interview method drawn from informants comprising of women and men, and the analyses are derived accordingly.

8.6 A Study of Processing and Filing Cases/ Petitions in the Family Court and its Impact on Women's Life through Gender Perspectives

Bhagyashree Balasaheb Jawale

India is democratic country and there is separate judiciary system for justice. There are civil court, criminal court and separate court for family related disputes between husband and wife. Indian society is largely patriarchal in nature. Through this separate judiciary system for family disputes reinstate the patriarchal norms of family through the practices. Family members, relatives, friends, peer groups and others involved into the process do play an important role in maintaining these structures. In the cases of divorce at every level officially and unofficially everyone tries to maintain the family structure.

Family court emergences for the relief the work pressure on court. The need to establish the Family Courts was first emphasized by late Smt. Durga Bai Deshmukh after her visit to China in the year 1953, where she had the opportunity to study the working of Family Courts. The emphasis was on a non- adversarial method of resolving family disputes and promoting conciliation and securing speedy settlement of dispute relating to marriage and family affairs.

In family court divorce cases are filed. For the different matters or disputes there are different laws in family court. We can see the changes in the causes for filing the cases in the family court. Earlier issues for divorce were violence, dowry and similar to these. Now days there are question of companionship, mental compatibility, ideological differences and other related issues also.

For this research paper I am focussing on the process of filing the divorce cases in the family court and its impact on women's life. The filing of case for divorce is important step for both families because it includes the honour of both the families. In many cases of harassment and violence women could not take action because of family pressure and responsibilities of children. Thus accessing legal provisions is most difficult for women. They have rights provided by our constitution but they could not use for their relief. In the whole process of family court do family courts make any stereotypical understanding of women in patriarchal society or make decisions only based on law. Under the Hindu Marriage Act and the Special Marriage Act divorce can be obtained if the spouse has treated the petitioner with cruelty.

The study of family court needs deep understanding of legal as well as social context and to study family and court as site on which dispute is addressed. Thus in my research I will focus on the process of and filing of cases/ petitions in the family court. To understand this I will conduct the interviews of advocates who are practicing in the family court. Through their interviews I will try to find out how people look at this system and process. Who are involved in it? Are women using their rights given by the constitution? Are decisions made by them or it is there any pressure on to them?

8.7 Translating Constitutional Principles in Life: Journey from Vishakha judgement to POSH Act 2013

Chitra Lele

Constitution of India is basic law of land and provides framework of values and principles of governance. Constitution is living document and does respond to changing context. It has expanded through legalistic means like amendments, laws and through judicial interpretations. In recent years judicial activism has resulted in progressive expansion of some of the articles of the Constitution of India. Article 21 is one of such articles. Present paper attempts to review the changed context of 21st century India, change in principles of social life and in light of it journey of 'right to life' from judgements to enactment.

As we all are aware 21st century has spread spell of market, neoliberalism, globalization, development magic. Along with this challenges of communalism, politics of violence, extremism have prevailed. Cuts in government funding, rolling of welfare state, new paradigm of governance have brought changes in political sphere as well. All this have forced to move from 'We the People' to 'We the Customer'. These changes have brought in change in principles of social life - individualism, rationality, competition are governing principles of new social reality. In this changed contest it becomes important to revisit the basic promise of constitutional principles of liberty, equality and justice. What it means in today's context? What is right to life (Article 21)? How it has been interpreted in this context by Judiciary? Law is subversive site but how progressive interpretations have read Article 21 broadly is also worth enquiring. This paper attempts to do a thought mapping journey of Vishakha judgement (1997) to Prevention of Sexual harassment of Women at workplace (POSH) Act (2013).

Even today women are seen symbol of purity of community, culture also as object of pleasure. Patriarchy and idea of superiority of male over female at workplace have often resulted in sexual harassments. Women are entering in public places in numbers, but changed context have led to informalization of workforce, weakened unionism and welfarism. In this context this act means a expanded meaning of article 21 i.e., right to life. Guidelines on this were issued in 1997, later another important judgements came on these issues in case of Apparel Export Promotion Council v. A.K Chopra and Medha Kotwal Lele & Ors. V. Union of India & Ors., Vishakha judgement/ POSH Act 2013 provided safe environment for any women irrespective of her age and employment status. Although the law preventing sexual harassment at workplace has been in force since 2013, there remains lack of clarity on various aspects like what is covered under sexual harassment, obligations of an employer, safeguards available to the victim, procedure of investigation, etc. This lack of clarity results into more active role of judiciary.

Right of life has been expanded through this progressive interpretation and later by enactment of POSH Act but operationalisation remains the challenge. To understand this challenge, power relations between state actors, patriarchal values, gender bias of administration, women in different situation need to be understood. Immediate context to understand it can be #MeToo campaign and allegation of sexual harassment against Chief Justice of India. Having right in principle and enjoying it on ground are two different realities. Present paper attempts to understand this journey from letters to action. This study will help to understand operationalization of judgements, actors involved in this. Media, political parties, pressure groups, women's organizations, social movements and women's movement in particular are major actors influencing this process. Role of these actors will be assessed in mapping journey of POSH Act 2013.

8.8 Labour Room Violence in India: Levels and Determinants

Dibyasree Ganguly

World-wide, many women experience disrespectful and abusive treatment during childbirth in facilities, although evidence is limited in low-income and middle-income countries like India. Furthermore, according to WHO reports 'such conduct not only violates the rights of women to respectful care, but can also threaten their rights to life, health, bodily integrity and freedom from discrimination'. This statement invites greater action, dialogue, research and advocacy on this important public health and human rights problem, especially in terms of providing respectful maternity care. According to recent recommendation suggested by WHO, 'Respectful maternity care - which refers to care for and provided to all women in a manner that maintains their dignity, privacy and confidentiality, ensures freedom from harm and mistreatment and enables informed choice and continuous support during labour and childbirth'.

Given this context, our study fills a critical knowledge gap by providing robust quantitative evidence on labor room violence [LRV] experienced by pregnant women at health facilities. Issues such as LRV raise concerns on medical or hospital ethical standards in India and on the violation of the reproductive rights of women.

The major objective of this study is to investigate the prevalence of LRV (one of the forms of obstetric violence) faced by the women during the time of delivery in Uttar Pradesh [UP] (the largest populous state of India which is also considered to be a microcosm of India). Further, this study also analyses the association between prevalence of labor room violence and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. We aimed to assess the levels and determinants of LRV using data collected from 504 pregnant women selected from the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) Register in a longitudinal survey conducted in UP, India. The dataset comprised of three-waves of survey from the inception of pregnancy to child-birth and postnatal-care. Logistic Regression model has been used to assess the association between prevalence of LRV faced by the women at the time of delivery and their background characteristics.

About 15.12% of women are facing LRV in UP, India. Results from logistic regression model (Odds Ratio [OR]) show that LRV is higher among Muslim women (OR = 1.8, 95% CI [Confidence Interval] 0.7-4.3) relative to Hindu women (OR = 1). The prevalence of LRV is higher among lower castes relative to General category, and is higher among those women who have no mass media exposure (OR=4.7, 95% CI 1.7-12.8) compared to those who have (OR=1).

In comparison with global evidence, the level of LRV in India is high. Women from socially disadvantaged communities are facing higher LRV than their counterparts. For any further progress in pregnancy outcomes in India, policy makers should focus on the availability and accessibility of services, and on ensuring quality of care and dignity of the receivers. Countries such as India must improve its ethical standards in healthcare delivery where people from all sections of society, especially those from marginalised communities receive quality services with dignity.

8.9 Sexual Harassment Act, Educational Institution and Internal Complaints Committee: A Sociological Analysis

Gurpreet Bal

The harassment of women in the families, community and society though may be a centuries' old phenomenon but in Independent India equal rights of all sorts are given to both men and women through the constitution. Everyday unreported incidences of different intensity of harassment of women occur in our private and public spaces. Despite the International law, that is, convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) in 1979 to which Indian government is signatory, innumerable much publicized cases such as Rupan Deol Bajaj versus K.P.S. Gill in 1995, the mass rape case in 1997 of a social worker, Vishakha, to a much recent Nirbhaya case in Delhi are glaring instances of violation in the range of 'women's dignity' to 'right to live'. It is due to social movements and particularly women's movements some justice was sought. Vishakha, who was working to create awareness in the villages of Rajasthan against the child marriage practices, could get justice only through the top court, i.e., Supreme Court of India. For the first time the legal system of the country was forced to take cognizance of the matter, to at least define sexual harassment and Supreme court of India in the case of Vishakha versus Government of Rajasthan came up with some measures of prevention and redressal of sexual harassment in the form of guidelines- christened as Vishakha guidelines to protect the human rights of women. The patriarchal nature of our varied structures did not allow anything to happen beyond it for another 13 long years and it is only in 2010 that Women's Commission prepared a Bill for the protection of women against their sexual harassment at workplace. After 16 years of Vishakha judgement the country finally has a law against sexual harassment of women at workplace, which became an Act in April 2013-The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal). With the enactment of this Act, sexual harassment is considered a violation of the fundamental right of woman to equality under article 14 and 15 of the constitution of India and her right to life and to live with dignity as per article 21 of the constitution. It has also been considered a violation of a right to practice or to carry out any occupation, trade or business under article 19(1)(g) of the constitution which includes the right to a safe environment free from harassment. As a result it became mandatory for all organizations to have internal complaints committee (ICC) wherever 10 employees are working. Even though a whole range of people at work from the domestic worker (maid) to third party such as the cashier in the bank who tries to touch the woman customer are covered under the act, but my focus here is on the higher educational institutes where young women are in majority as students, research scholars, and who are the most vulnerable lot. The objective of this paper is to examine the functioning and accessibility of an internal complaints committee against sexual harassment and its implications and repercussions on the victims, the accused and the committee members. In view of the fact that more than six years have passed since the implementation of the Act, it is pertinent to explore the efficacy of the much desired Act for the dignity of girls to study in a safe environment. The paper seeks to answer the significance of the Act for the governance, awareness and legitimacy of the provisions given, besides the mudslinging of the committee members, and the victims, based on my personal experiences and observations as Chairperson of an Internal Complaints Committee of a highly ranked University. The issues will be explored from the perspective of administration, accused, and the abused based on the cases reported against sexual harassment where the inquiries were carried out and punishment according to the service rules was awarded. The inbuilt premise of the Act is to modify the behaviour of the offenders. The pertinent question is: does it serve the purpose? Can the Act give justice to the harassed women? If yes, what are the implications?

8.10 Disabled Denied Access to Justice and Challenges in India: A study of sexual violence against women with hearing and speech disability

Kaushal

On 4th April 2018, The Human Rights Watch issued a report titled 'Invisible Victims of Sexual Violence: Access to Justice for Women and Girls With Disability in India'. This report focused on the different kinds of sexual violence that disabled women in India were subjected to. While the report noted significant improvements in laws pertaining to sexual violence against women following the infamous Nirbhaya rape case in 2013, it also pointed out crucial inadequacies in terms of the training and information dissemination involved in the cases of sexual violence pertaining to women and girls disabilities. While there has been a notable improvement in the formulation of laws following the recommendations of the Verma Committee, the implementation of the same remains inadequate.

On account of lack of proper training on matters related to issues of disability, the police and the courts fail to recognise the intricacies involved in identifying various disabilities. Moreover, people involved in the judicial process are not sensitive to the needs and demands of a disabled individual. While workshops and sensitisation cells may go a long way in disseminating information on the rights of disabled populations, the fact that there are rarely any such initiatives makes it all the more difficult for disabled individuals to communicate their needs and grievances and the environment in which they are located in, continues to be informed by able-bodiedness. The language employed in the administration of justice in cases of sexual violence on women and girls fails to account for any conditions of disabilities which the survivors of these crimes may have, as a result of which they face a lot of hurdles in their process of seeking fair punishment for the perpetrators of these crimes.

The manner in which police officers conduct themselves in cases of sexual violence is often insensitive and harsh. In the process of gathering testimonies in such cases, the manner of interrogation and the language involved often puts the survivors of sexual violence in an extremely uncomfortable position. As a result, the first step towards seeking justice often comes to a standstill. Even when it comes to reporting of such cases, conditions of physical disability like hearing and speech impairment, prevent individuals from going to the police station and filing a case. In most cases, police stations neither have policemen who have any training in sign language nor do they have a person trained in interpreting signs, who can ensure effective communication in a situation where the survivor of sexual abuse fails to articulate the nature of the violence verbally.

The knowledge of sign language plays an important role in administering justice to those who have speech or hearing impairment, and a lack of the same knowledge leads to serious challenges in the process of even reporting the crime in the first place. Despite there being a provision for sign language facilitation in the police stations, the initiative to get a person who is well versed in the same is usually taken by social activists or NGOs. Since 2013, the state has been directed to ensure such amenities, but it continues to evade this responsibility at the cost of severely hampering its own operations.

I will talk about the following procedures in this paper: Writing abuse reporting to the police, difficulty in taking proper medical care, are those who are involved in the judicial process gender sensitive, what are the challenges in getting adequate compensation, difficulties in writing reports due to physical disability, family and society attitudes towards girls with disabilities who are victims of sexual violence

8.11 Questioning the Legal and Gender Paradigms: Minority Voices in Women's Movements in India

Maitree Devi

This paper examines the voices of Muslim women in India against the unequal clauses of Muslim personal laws and customary practices, as well as against state- and community level repression locating through law and policies that have been denying Muslim minority women equal opportunity and gender justice. I specifically researched Mumbai-based organizations, including Majlis, Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan (BMMA), Bebaaq Collective, Awaaz-e-Niswan and Coro of Literacy, representing minority women on personal laws. It makes a two-fold argument. First, Muslim women in India are approaching the different unofficial judicial institutions in large numbers against the discrimination and oppression they are facing in their family and community, confronting Muslim Personal Law, in comparison to the state authorities and courts which failed to provide them useful recourse. Second, Muslim women's organisations and NGOs having a long persisting understanding that male-dominated religious boards or NGOs dismiss women's voices and fail to address their issues and grievances regarding Muslim Personal Law. My study confirms that to provide a productive space for litigation and effective solutions to grass-root level Muslim women, several Muslim women's organisations brought structural changes by qualifying Muslim women as Islamic judges (Qazis) who ensure a gender-neutral perspective in a range of informal and unofficial community or religious dispute settlement bodies. By so doing, these organisations have presented a challenge to well-entrenched religious groups in the community traditionally seen as the sole leadership and decision makers.

8.12 Law, legal aid and fair trials : Women under trials engaging with criminal justice system

Monica Sakhrani and Jeevika Shiv

The management of prisons falls under the purview of the State government, as per the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India. In every state, the prison administrative machinery works under the chief of prisons and Indian prisons face three long-standing structural constraints: overcrowding, with 68 percent of the prisoners being under trials and understaffing and underfunding. In independent India, the Committee on Jail Reforms led by Justice AN Mulla recommended uniform, nationwide collection of prison statistics in 1983. The NCRB took up this endeavour and, in 1996, published the first Prison Statistics India, for 1995. Thereafter, the statistics were published without interruption until 2015.

After a delay and several changes the 2016 report was released earlier in the year in April 2019 and the latest report of 2017 prison statistics released recently in October 2019. It shows that Women inmates are 4.18 percent of the total prison population but doesn't give the caste and class categorization of any undertrial.

The data of both NCRB and Prison statistics show the lack of access to legal aid by women prisoners due to multilayered system barriers and the paper aims to analyse the two statistics along with field level reality from two prisons in Maharashtra.

The authors work at Project 39 A, National Law University, Delhi (NLU) at the newly instituted Fair Trial Fellowship (FTF) Program under Project 39-A. The Programme seeks to support empanelled legal aid lawyers under the DLSA in their efforts to provide legal representation to undertrials in Pune (Yerwada) and Nagpur Central Prisons . With an aim of providing quality legal representation to undertrial prisoners and handhold the inmates through

the legal proceedings by strengthening state mechanisms to reach out to the most marginalised , specifically ensuring access to women undertrials and work to support the District Legal Services Authority to strengthen mechanisms for providing free legal aid to persons in custody. The work for the first one year shows that only 3 percent of prisoners approaching the DLSA through this mechanism have incomes over two lakhs an year and more that 50 percent are illiterate.

The paper aims to look at the two prison with a comprehensive overview of women undertrials and there interface with the constitutional provision of legal aid provided under Article 39A and the gendered nature of reach access and interface through the system. The paper will look at a comprehensive sample set of women prisoners and their interface with social workers and Legal aid lawyers in accessing legal aid.

The study done of women undertrials in Pune and Nagpur along with case studies on accessing the criminal justice system aim to provide an overview of both the working mechanisms of legal aid, where women slip through the gap and the system barriers and prejudices which further deter women from accessing legal aid as undertrials.

The key questions we are exploring include: Is access to legal aid gendered? Trends in crime, criminal justice, prisons and legal aid as per the states own analysis, are there certain women whose interface with the criminal justice system after being accused of a crime is further inhibited by their identity and socio economic situation, state mechanisms and there role in reaching out to women in accessing legal aid, the lived experience of women undertrials accessing legal aid and the systemic barriers to the same, do all of the above redefine how the state understands citizens and institutions in the current age. We hope to be able to bring together practice, action research and jurisprudence to reflect on the above.

8.13 State Constructions of the Legible Transgender Citizen: Shifts and Continuities within the Parliamentary Discourse

Nayan Prabha

In this paper, I attempt to look at the state discourse of citizenship in the context of the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill in India, focusing on the constructions of the transgender individual vis-à-vis the transgender community. The inclusion of the category of transgender in the legal registers, following the NALSA judgment of 2014, prompted the space to bring out legislations on the matter, and several draft versions of Transgender Bill appeared in the parliament since 2015, the latest one being introduced in 2019. During this time period, the transgender community has expressed strong oppositions to the bill through continued protests as it has not been considered to be adequately rights based. The multiple versions of the bill include clauses or sections which implicates on the relations between the transgender individual vis-à-vis their biological family, and the transgender community. In this paper, I want to focus on the site of state deliberation on these issues, that is, the parliamentary discussions.

I intend to understand, through a discourse analysis of the parliamentary debates, how state discourse constructs the citizen location and rights of the transgender persons. This bill was introduced in the parliament also as a response to the demands of requirement of legislation in this area to address the structural and social discrimination. The stated intention of these bills introduced is to "protect" the rights and for the "welfare" of the transgender persons. The bill contained problematic clauses dealing with the issues of "rehabilitation" of transgender persons, as well as implications of criminalization through criminalization of begging.

In this paper, I argue that by constructing the frame of "victim" transgender individual and "criminal" transgender community, the state organizes a stance of protection and

surveillance towards this issue. The site of parliamentary discussion reveals other contesting articulations of the issue, however, the dominant frame eventually articulated through the bill manages to preserve the heteronormative structure of family and marriage. The tripartite categorization of legal gender frame then presents another oppositional binary of "adult" (read "male") and "infant" (read "female" and "transgender") in the dominant state discourse. The infantilization of women by the state has been a regular phenomenon.

However, the infantilization of transgender person presents a different aspect which needs to be understood in the context of citizenship and rights. The bill was deemed to be lacking immensely in assuring the rights of the transgender persons. In some of the arguments given in the parliament, the individual rights of the transgender person was invoked only in opposition to the community itself, for instance, the community was being framed as criminal cults taking away the children from their biological families, and within this the rights of the individual was being invoked. I argue that the dominant frame to articulate the position of the transgender individual was as a child, and this framing allowed the construction of community as criminal. In this paper, employing the method of discourse analysis, I look at the constructions of these frames and their implications.

8.14 National Security Vis-À-Vis Right to Life: Is NRC a Shield to Xenophobia?

S.P. Ezhiloviya, Riyanka Biswas

“PIRAPIRKKUM ELLA UYIKUM...”

“IN BIRTH THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN” (Thiruvalluvar)

Despite the phrase being centuries old, it is a known fact that neither then nor now have all men ever ‘lived’ or ‘offered protection’ as equals. Locke in his Social Contract theory mentions how people in primitive society denounced their sovereign rights of self-governance to an elected individual in lieu of protection from external elements. The principle of *Parrens Patriae*, now more than ever, is of utmost importance, but what we have instead is a State machinery which has forgotten its welfare functions and is actively investing more in defence and national security. In recent years the Indian federation has been extensively scrutinizing all its inhabitants and separating the ‘citizens’ from the undesirable intruders or ‘*ghuspet*’, the term most used by the government when addressing such people. It is indeed a sorry state of affairs when citizens of a State have to provide proof of their existence and legitimacy to the very government they chose and brought into power. These people who have been so unceremoniously dragged by their heels and put into detention camps will be rendered ‘Stateless’, if the government successfully implements NRC pan India. As per the principles of *Jus Soli* or *Jus Sanguinis* every individual, be it a citizen or otherwise, deserves a life of dignity and not mere animal existence, which has been treated by the Apex court in many of its landmark judgments. In *S.P. Gupta v. UOI*, Hon’ble Justice P.N. Bhagwati had stated that, “the court has to innovate new methods and strategies to provide access to justice to large masses of people who are denied basic human rights, to whom freedom and liberty have no meaning”

If one were to look into India's history, it can be concluded that India has always been accepting of refugees, starting as early as the Syrian Christians also known as Malankara Nasrani who settled in parts of Kerala to the Parsees, the fire worshipping Zoroastrian community who fled from Iran in fear of persecution from the predominantly Muslim population and sought refuge in the then kingdom of Gujarat. Despite not signing the 1951 Refugee Convention or the 1967 Protocol, India has been adhering to the principle of Non-Refoulment. In addition to this, the judiciary in India under the aegis of the Hon'ble Supreme Court has always placed primary importance on Right to Life for the non-citizens.

The paper seeks to explore how NRC would affect the Right to Life of two of the most vulnerable communities currently seeking shelter in India: Sri Lankan Tamizhs and Rohingyas. The former is a group of people which sought refuge fleeing the persecution by the dominant Sinhalese populace and have since been living in India for more than two generations. Most of the Hill Tamizh people who had fled Sri Lanka fearing persecution do not have an option of returning back to their country and thus voluntary repatriation is very rare. The second case is of the minority Muslims from the Rakhine region in Myanmar, who have fled their country fearing persecution from the Buddhist community. Neither of the communities have been classified as 'Refugees' due to absence of a written law, which makes their lives in India all the more precarious. Currently the Rohingyas have been termed as 'illegal migrants' and face the threat of deportation back to Myanmar.

The paper further seeks to ask a pertinent question i.e. prior to hastily implementing NRC, for the sake of ensuring "National Security", would not it be wiser and responsible of the State to implement a legal framework on refugee and asylum seekers, clearly defining and distinguishing between a citizen, illegal migrant, refugee, a stateless person and Internally Displaced Person. This way India could be the harbinger of promoting peace and upholding human rights in the SAARC region.

Despite the fact that security and protection remains one of the primary duties of the State, with increasing poverty, decreasing employment rates, reduced funding of public educational institutions, declining environmental health and the widening gap between the haves and the have-nots, the government seems to be moving farther away from its welfare function and more towards a paranoid surveillance state. Last but not the least, the paper seeks to introspect NCR through the lens of objectivity and will look into the motive and nexus between NRC, the insipid Citizenship Amendment Bill and most importantly the internal and current geopolitical climate of South Asia.

8.15 Modalities of Inheritance of Public Land among the Hindu Widows of West Bengal

Rai Ganguly

This paper will discuss the situation of the Bengali widow, who inherits property under the provisions of the Hindu Succession Act of 1956, and her bid to acquire agricultural land in Birbhum district of West Bengal, thereby attempting to critically reflect upon the centrality of the role of the State in relationship to laws, and upholding of rights. While widowhood in India is synonymous to destitution - both economically and symbolically, the right of widows as primary heirs with property rights equal to that of men owes its advent to both colonial and postcolonial lawmaking in the country. Feminist discourses have since found these laws lacking both in gender neutral conceptualisation, as well as their fruitful implementation. Within the present market-driven economy where land is a primary productive resource, the idea of a widow as a legal actor to claim property is an anathema, especially in a rural, agrarian setting. Rarely, she becomes the individual who the law must address, when her identity is subsumed under the rubric of family and work, as well as imbued with the added circumstance of 'have-nots' facing difficulty in 'coming out ahead in litigation' against their superiors. Even as 'a field of one's own' promises sustainable livelihood, status and increased bargaining power for women - in times of crisis or otherwise - the legal mechanism seems unable to create the confidence that women can seek their property rights with impunity. The relationship between agricultural land - a scarce resource - and women as landowners is thus considered to be lean, despite their hard labour and other contributions in all agriculture related processes.

West Bengal as the site of this study is an important factor as it effectively implemented the policies of redistributive justice through the West Bengal Land Reforms Act of 1955 (hereafter WBLRA), specifically through two particular amendments in the years 1972 and 1981. By attempting to redistribute lands to the rightful tillers of the soil, the then state government had to redefine the hierarchical relationships around land, leading to an attack on the heart of private property - the family. Moreover, successful redistribution of land resulted in more marginalised families receiving land, whose claim to it was cemented by making this land hereditary. This paper will elaborate upon the preconditions under which Hindu widows from these beneficiary families avail land under the impact of the succession law as well as the land reforms act, and how together and apart, they govern her access and ownership of agricultural land.

Land thus owned by its new owners is a distinct new category as it is not property over which any member of the family has rights of alienation, gift, mortgage or sale. At the same time, it is heritable. Moreover, right to the land is associated with labour that must go into making the land productive, and the nature of the land is shared as a certain part of the produce is to be given to the original owner. Such a land is known as sharecropping land. After the registered sharecropper's death, overwhelmingly males, the duty of carrying out the land related work fall on the other 'lawful heirs' of the bereaved family. Interestingly, the land law of the state ordains only one member can become an heir at a time. Sharecropping has been made a veritable reality in West Bengal. The government equated right to land and hence livelihood as right to life, and the aforementioned amendments ensured that the WBLRA is included in the 9th Schedule, so that the act becomes a piece of legislation immune to judicial decisions. Indeed, under the protection offered to the tenants or sharecroppers' family, the rural agrarian Hindu widows can be a double beneficiary as under the West Bengal state legislature, she has rights to the shared land as a distinct new category of property, as well as an agricultural worker, whose labour is crucial in the family of farmers. Land rights for women must be therefore, both legally and socially recognised to be effective. Introspection on whether this amounts to social justice, will be taken up in the course of this paper with reference to particular case law associated with the amendments to the WBLRA.

8.16 The Gender Disparity in Household Expenditure on Health Care of School Going Children Across the ST and SC Social Groups in Jharkhand: A Case Study of Chatra District

Rajesh Kumar Rana

Health is an important component for human development and economic growth of any country because healthy people have higher capacity to work and higher productivity but health is not a one time investment in human life. It is a continuous process from pregnancy to till death for everyone. Therefore, health care is essential for humanity, but for the growth of physical body and cognitive ability of human need to invest in health from childhood at household level because during the childhood, health of children is totally depends on attitude or preference of household or parents toward the boys and girls. If girls are discriminated in health care expenditure at the household level during the illness or sickness than its leads to high infant mortality, and low women empowerment. Gender discrimination in health care expenditure also hamper the future generation because girls will be future mothers. But there is no proper record or data available about the health care expenditure and attitudes toward the boys and girls to the government or NGO. Therefore, it is need to more research about the gender disparity in household expenditure on health care of children. Hence, the objective of this paper is to explore the gender disparity in household expenditure on health care of school

going children in Chatra District of Jharkhand. The study was based on the primary data. For this study multistage, random sampling technique was applied for selecting the samples and the total samples size was 86 (SC 31 and ST 55). The schedule method was used for data collection and it was administered through predesigned questionnaire. The descriptive statistics like average and average difference and inferential statistical tool like t-test at 5 % level of significance were applied. The results of the study revealed that there is no gender disparity exists across the ST social group on health care expenditure among boys and girls but the study found gender disparity in health care expenditure across the SC social groups in female headed household.

8.17 The Dialectics of Reproductive Rights and Right to Life

Rajshree Bhoigad

Reproduction in itself is critical category because some scholar argues it is natural desire of women and some other argues it is impose on women. Feminists argue that Motherhood is a social construct but on the other hand it is also agency of women. When we are looking it as agency, then it becomes necessary for women to have reproductive rights. Although India has develop legal and policy frameworks guaranteeing access to abortion and contraception, women and girls continue to experience significant barriers to full enjoyment of their reproductive rights, including poor quality of health services and denials of their decision making authority. For ex. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, states that all couples have the right to plan the number and spacing of their children. However, when they allow reproductive freedom only to married couples, they limit their ethical concerns only to couples; they deny this right to all other people and individual women in general. New ART industry is also completely unregulated and it creates marketization of reproductive technology and imposed patriarchy on women in new form. For ex. Surrogacy bill which completely violate rights of surrogate women as well as homosexuals and single persons.

Supreme Court said that article 21 includes the "Reproductive rights of a person". The Supreme Court recognized reproductive rights as both part of the right to health as well as an aspect of personal liberty under article 21. When we talk about health in general we never talk about women specific needs or reproductive health but when there is issue of women's health then we only talk about reproductive health of women which is very contradictory. In this paper I am going to look at government schemes and laws about reproduction and how it violates rights of women. We always say that state looks at only reproduction of women but I would like to argue that Reproduction is not seen completely by state. Because that if we are talking about reproductive right we also have to think about the question of infertility and today there are various ART's available for infertile women but that facilities are not being provided by state and are only accessible to high class/status people by private hospitals and it causes discrimination against poor women and violation of their rights. I argue that if its states responsibility then that should also be included in the state policy as it is the reproductive right of women, because as stated in directive principles it is state's responsibility. The proposed paper also attempts to question the argument that we always do as 'state looks at only reproduction of women' and would argue in my paper that how we look at only 'Natural Reproduction' instead of Reproduction.

In India all the laws related to Reproduction do not fulfil the basic Right under article 21 as it denies person Right to Choose, violates persons dignity, Equality and indirectly social justice. By looking at how laws about new ART are affecting basic right to life, the proposed paper aims to understand how right to life in context of reproductive rights get violated in society and is there any possibilities to expand/ reconceptualise it. I would like to look in India

how reproductive rights are violated as people are discriminated on grounds of race, sex, property, physical disability, social status/health status and if people are discriminated on these grounds then this is obviously not a social justice. As this topic is also part of my doctoral research named 'The Question of Infertility in Marathwada: Analysis from Gender Perspective' I will write this paper based on the literature available on this topic. For that purpose I will use articles/literature about what schemes state provides women for reproduction to see how this schemes include natural reproduction only and also use articles about new/old laws related to new Reproductive technologies to see how that laws affect right to choose, right to live with dignity and personal liberty as well as right to equality of women that is threatening Right to life.

8.18 Ethics and Technology: Embryonic Stem Cell Research in India

Riya Ray

Globalisation has affected the formation of the nation-state we call India in various ways. The themes of development and progress post-independence and especially in the 90s has played an important role in painting and negotiating the image of India, both within India and to the rest of the world. We can trace the emergence of human embryonic stem cell research in India back to the middle of the twentieth century. During that time in India, the role played by science and technology was crucial in transforming the economic and political state of India as a nation.

To understand how and why hSCR (human cell research) play an important role in the bio-research and technology in India and globally we need to understand what are Stem Cells and how do they function. "The reason for stem cells attracting a degree of controversy is because of the use of embryonic stem cells. The availability of eggs and embryos has been of great significance in the emergence of India's stem cell research".

The rise of interest and investment in Stem Cell research also comes from the sentiments of nationalism. The responsibility of taking the nation forward acts through the rhetoric of science and development. Nationalism along with the need for a nation to become a global player makes it the norm to demand sacrifice and even justifies inflicting pain and suffering on the people. By studying the emergence of hSCR in India and the subsequent developments, I want to look at the relationship it has with global policy and politics concerning bio-ethics. By studying the emergence of hSCR in India and the subsequent developments, I want to look at the relationship it has with global policy and politics concerning bio-ethics. The negotiations and cracks that we see in the policy formation or the implementation of it could take place because of the neoliberal form of governance in place over these practices and organisations working towards it. The exploitation of people who are part and parcel of gathering stem cells for research and various other kinds of experimentation and trials takes place under the garb of ethical and informed consent. To understand the willingness of the participants one needs to look at the landscape of the population participating. The suffering is collected through the existing social and economic inequalities.

The national framework of regulations and state investment and involvement are important things to look at to understand the importance of bio-ethical research in India. The various case studies of IVF centres and hSCR in India compels us to ask the questions of how the regulations work in the field? How are research interests related to national interests and how they are impacting the population involved and crucial to the research? Women who are part of the research how are their lives effected and what are the stakes they can claim in such a research. The economical, ethical and sociological make up of India as a nation makes it a favourable space for such research but who is it favourable for? As, India is providing a

guiltless and easy consumption and circulation of various services, Inhorn points out an important aspect of medical research, "In the field of medical anthropology, the risk of romanticising reproductive agencies. People in this subordinated positions are not unreflecting passive automatons. They demonstrate, resolve, struggle, and problem solving in their quest to control their reproductive lives...The sever constrains that they face due to lack of proper policy and legal and structural framework in place also leads them to restrictive and limited reproductive choices. This often includes painful decisions of opting for reproductive technologies that will cause them disadvantage". Moreover, the idea of 'informed' consent and willingness of participants need to be understood and read under these contexts and subtexts. In our times of development where it is a catch phrase and vacant promises it is important to look at the costs the nation pays for the idea of development, and the violence it endures in the process.

8.19 Mandatory Reporting of Sexual Violence and Sexual Rights of Adolescents

Sangeeta Rege, Padma Bhate-Deosthali, Sanjida Arora, Anagha Pradhan

Right to life has been recognized as a fundamental right in India and has right to health as an integral part of it. Right to highest attainable standards of health is enshrined in India's international obligations under UDHR, ICESCR. Adolescents account for about one fifth of Indian population. Government of India recognizes importance of addressing health issues of this group including violence, unmet contraception needs, unintended pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections along with nutrition, need for information and ease of access of services. However, right to sexual and reproductive health of adolescents – an integral aspect of right to health, as enshrined in the right to life is compromised by the laws such as POCSO. Mandatory reporting of sexual violence under POCSO has serious implications for adolescents in consensual sexual relations.

This paper will focus on contradictions related to sexual reproductive health policies of GOI for adolescents and the POSCO law that forbids all sexual activity under 18 years of age. The paper will look at aspects of agency of young people and patriarchal mind set of the POCSO law that increased age of child to 18 years and its implications on adolescents in consensual sexual relations.

The paper draws from data from peripheral municipal hospitals in Mumbai where Dilaasa departments have been established as a part of comprehensive health response in collaboration with CEHAT. Medico-legal forms of 485 girls / adolescents who were less than 18 years of age and had approached the hospitals for medico-legal examination were analysed. Around 20% of these were cases of elopement where girls aged 13-17 years had willingly eloped with boys, and further 5% were adolescent girls whose parents had filed a missing persons report about them. The present paper analyses these records to provide insights into barriers to health care and denial of sexual and reproductive rights for them because of mandatory reporting under POCSO.

While some girls had approached the hospital for treatment the others had approached police to file a complaint and were brought by police for medico legal examination. 22% of those who had eloped reported no history of sexual activity, 77% reported consensual sex. However as per the law all were asked consent for medico legal examination and evidence collection. 51% refused, the rest consented under family pressure but clearly told the doctors that sexual activity was consensual. Of the 8 girls who were pregnant when they approached the hospital and wanted MTP, only 3 could be provided it. Mandatory reporting was one of the barriers to access to MTP for adolescents. Some girls left the hospital without availing of services on being informed about mandatory reporting. These girls are compelled to either

continue with unwanted pregnancy or to resort to unsafe abortions. Parental control over access to MTP too was a challenge in some cases. Mandatory reporting also has other consequences for adolescents. All the girls were presented to CWC for institutionalisation and were sent to shelter homes where deemed necessary by the CWC. On the other hand, in a majority of cases of elopement there was a component of domestic violence against the girls e.g. forcing them to marry against their wishes, physical or emotional abuse from family members - which is not automatically recognised by the system. Mandatory reporting places the adolescents in a difficult situation as on one hand disclosure of sexual activity makes a case against their partners who also maybe adolescents; and on the other hand the families insist on converting a case of missing persons into that of rape. As the law supersedes adolescent health policies; mandatory reporting leads to grave implications for this group.

Conclusion: Current position of law is discriminatory against adolescents. Non recognition of adolescents' agency of being sexually active and mandatory reporting of their sexual activity has grave implications on them. Health sector is compelled to report, and it jeopardises their therapeutic role vis a vis these young girls.

8.20 Right to health for Survivors of Police Torture: Role of medical professionals

Sangeeta Rege, Padma Bhate, Deosthali, Jagadeesh N Reddy

India is a signatory to United Nations Convention against Torture or Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment since 1997 but has not ratified it despite recommendations from the Law Commission and National Human Rights Commission to do so. The prohibition against torture is well-grounded in Indian law. India's constitution guarantees fundamental human rights to all, including right to life and liberty. Those suspected of an offence and being tried in the court of law have right to life guaranteed by Indian constitution. Yet custodial torture occurs routinely and is used by investigating agencies to secure evidence and confessions. The health sector has a critical role to play in identifying signs of torture as well as provide therapeutic care to persons in custody. Medico legal evidence gathered by health providers can help in documenting health effects of torture and deter police personnel from resorting to inhuman and degrading treatment of persons in custody. Despite being in a critical position, health providers have not implemented their role

This paper presents an analysis of medicolegal documents of 22 persons who were subjected to torture in custody. It highlights the gaps in medico legal documentation by health providers when they were brought to them for a medical examination. They failed to document torture related clinical signs in post-mortem reports. A critical analysis of the protocol for medicolegal documentation of custodial deaths issued by the National Human rights commission is presented along with key domains for a uniform protocol that comprehensively addresses forensic and therapeutic role of providers in consonance with international human rights protocol such as the Istanbul Protocol.

A review of medico legal proformas used for examination of torture revealed that doctors omit critical details such as lapse in time between patient in custody and medical examination, nature of injuries sustained due to torture, causation of injuries and even cause of death when a person dies in custody. A closer reading of the medico legal records revealed that the examination was done cursorily which raises several concerns about the adequacy of training of doctor as well as their professional ethics. They failed to record crucial information about even obvious signs of torture. Doctors propensity to conceal medical findings to support police claims was observed. Some of the post mortem reports of women include comments on size of vaginal introitus which have been deemed unscientific. Added to these lapses, are

lacunae in medical and forensic textbooks which neither carry definition of torture or guidance on examination based on Minnesota protocol and Istanbul protocol, thereby leaving room for subjective interpretations of torture by health providers. The only available protocol is NHRC protocol which is also not uniformly implemented across different states in India. It does not include clear guidelines for examination of sexual violence as part of a post mortem/autopsy examination.

In order to address these serious gaps, CEHAT in consultation with forensic experts, human rights activists, lawyers and health advocates evolved a protocol for documenting signs and symptoms of torture as well as protocol for recording post mortem findings. Guidance specifically include observations related to physical violence, psychological violence as well as use of substances such as drugs/others as well as use of restraints. It specifically includes a section on documenting forms of sexual violence in custody. The protocol makes efforts to educate health providers on understanding covert forms of torture that include restricted access to/contamination of food and water, restricted access to toilet facilities, sleep deprivation and withholding of medical treatment. It alerts them to forms of sexual and physical torture, its signs and time span within which to be collected.

It is important to generate concerted discussions and dialogue with medical and forensic providers to critically reflect on their role in examination, care and documentation of torture as well as post mortem. They must uphold the right to highest attainable standards of health care to those affected due to torture and be held accountable for their inaction to respond to survivors of torture.

8.21 Unpacking everyday nation on the site of school textbooks

Sayali Shankar

In this paper I would like to investigate school textbooks as an everyday part of a child's life. Although one needs to interrogate the syllabi and pedagogical practices that go into making of the future citizens of the nation, it should also be noted that the level of these activities may differ depending upon the class dynamics of the school. Furthermore, the dichotomy between private and public schools is something which needs to be unpacked as well. For this paper, I intend to flesh out the ways in which school text books build the understanding of homogenous identity of Indian Citizen.

Past decade has witnessed various instances of changes in the history textbooks syllabus. The attempt to change the syllabus of textbooks is not new and have been known to take place even before the active emergence of the Hindu right as a part of the governing body. It becomes important to understand then these changes in school textbooks as scholars have suggested that Schools become a ground for the building of the nation; hence these students would become the future vote banks of the nation.

Indian Express reported the change in NCERT class 10 history curriculums on April 8 2019. They report three deletions of chapters based on the rise of nationalism in the Indo-China region another that narrates the history of world through novels and the contemporary world through novels and a third on the development of cities.

The reason cited for the decision to reduce 72 pages of a 200 page book namely 'India and the Contemporary World - II' which is part of the curriculum was for rationalization exercise undertaken by NCERT, at HRD Minister Prakash Javadekar's behest, to reduce the curriculum "burden" on students. Article also suggests that this is the second textbook review undertaken under the incumbent government.

The three chapters that were deleted from class 9 book, Indian Express reports on March 18, 2019 included chapters on how social movements influenced how we dressed, illustrated

caste conflict through the struggles of the so-called 'lower caste' Nadar women of Travancore, who were forced to keep their upper bodies uncovered, the second was on the history of cricket in India and its connection to the politics of caste, region and community. The third focused on the growth of capitalism and how colonialism altered the lives of peasants and farmers. How does then one look at this deletion of the history of marginalized communities from the memory of the nation making via textbooks? Furthermore, how does one articulate this identification of these deleted chapters as reducing the "burden" of the students?

As Tanika Sarkar argues that school becomes a site on which young minds are trained to imagine nation in a particular way. It is important to see how then the idea of citizenship is constructed which seems less secular and more as a homogenization of hindu identity. Thus, I propose to interrogate in this paper as to how the sense of "Other-ness" is created via the school curriculum more importantly through textbooks. It becomes important to unpack the idea of unity in diversity and what does it mean to be united under the banner of Indian citizenship, thus how do we understand the compromise of diverse culture into a united understanding of nation. Further how this understanding is represented in textbooks not only in history but in other subjects as well.

In this paper I would attempt to interrogate as to why and how schools textbooks become a site on which the memory of the nation of the past and the present is created and re-created systematically with the change in the political ideology of governing bodies, and how does that contribute into making of the identity of Indian citizen. Although I am also interested in exploring school curricular, extra-curricular activities and pedagogical practices but for this paper I would like to focus on interrogating and understanding the making of the everyday nation state by reviewing school textbooks published by NCERT of classes 9th and 10th.

8.22 Right to Life for Women: Requiring Transformation in Constitutional and Judiciary Mindset

Shital Tamakuwala

One of the former Chief Justice of India (CJI) and also a former Chief Justice of the Patna and Delhi High Courts, mentions in National Conference on Transformative Constitutionalism in India, explaining India is a country based on family system and if we disagree regarding the criminalization of marital rape, it shall bring chaos and 'Rational anarchy has no place in the Indian democracy" . These are the words of non other than one of the highly revered former CJI and this does not leave Indian women with much to desire from judiciary. The thing to bother is that if such esteemed individuals like him have such opinions about marital rape in the judiciary system than what can be expected from the common Indian citizens. "Whereas, if we refer Section 375 of IPC, even constitution sides men in cases of marital rape"

The Section 375 of IPC states that man is given protection from the crime of rape if he is the husband of the victim. It is very necessary to understand why our Indian legal system is so "bias towards men" about marital rape and we must analyze the laws which talk about it. Here the paper discusses the Section 375 of the Indian Penal Code and also according to Section 375 states what rape is. Particularly, the exception to this provision states that "Sexual intercourse by a man with his own wife, the wife not being under fifteen years of age, is not rape" ("Section 375 In The Indian Penal Code" 2019). Several people argue and agree to it and say there is nothing wrong with this.

Some claim that the IPC has sufficient provisions to deal with assault and abuse. They even go to the extent of saying that the exception covers arranged marriages due to the fact that it criminalizes intercourse with brides under the age of fifteen. Through this logic, they try to

ignore the deep patriarchal undertones to this exemption. Section 375 of the IPC is based on section 1 (1) of the Sexual Offence Act, 1959 of English Law (Sankaran, 1978). By the common law, it was stated that a man cannot rape a woman as by consenting to marriage she has given herself to the man . But soon this exception was banned by R v R in 1991 ("R. V R [1991] UKHL 12 (23 October 1991)" 2019). The judges ruled that the court had left all common sense in order to state that the applicant had consented to the act because she had married her husband. The exemption of marital rape is a legal fiction in today's age of rape laws ("R. V R [1991] UKHL 12 (23 October 1991)" 2019). The paper states that it's the need of an hour are to realize that this exemption makes a woman the property of her husband. It is clearly understood, that after the woman consents to marriage, she has consented to every action and decision her husband makes. In today's age of egalitarianism, the constitution cannot let such rationale be a founding stone for a law. While a woman who enters a marriage may make her body accessible to her husband, it is with the understanding that she can deny sex whenever she wants. Many may still protect the exemption by stating that it is hard to define where consent starts and ends in a relationship like marriage and that it protects innocent husbands from vengeful wives.

The current paper looks at constitutional guarantee of right to women's life by encompassing all the ways in which it has been framed and implemented through judiciary systems. My research paper talks on the expansion of the rights particularly (Section 375) (Section 376) in recent judicial decisions. It also throws light on the new amendments of section 375 & b 376 and how the right is being compromised in the translation of those decisions into legislative and administrative actions. The media also directs movies show casing the meaning and challenges with instrumentalization of the rights and distancing it from the aspect of social justice. In this regard, to support the argument and attempts to revitalize it in the larger context the researcher would like to illustrate certain movies focusing on the 'nationalization', 'corporatization', and 'criminalization' of human lives.

8.23 Of Wombs and Women's Work in the Law: Reflections around the Ban on Commercial Surrogacy

Sneha Banerjee

This paper seeks to analyse some recent legislative and judicial developments regarding women's labour in order to contextualise the ban on commercial surrogacy in India. In doing so, this paper engages with debates on the right to life through questions of women's livelihood and their identities as worker-citizens, as they emerge in the law.

Through the legislation to ban commercial surrogacy, the state arguably views it through a somewhat sensationalist lens, taking into account its "widespread condemnation... regularly reflected in...[the] media" and aiming to address the "exploitation of surrogate mothers" as delineated in the Statement of Object and Reasons of The Surrogacy (Regulation) Bill, 2019 when introduced in the Lok Sabha. It appears that commercial surrogacy is viewed as an exceptionally exploitative form of women's labour. However, interestingly, such a conceptualisation is not by virtue of the nature of work involved in surrogacy, but rather for its mere availability in a market context. It is therefore sought to be legalised, even glorified, in its altruistic avatar, when women gestate, give birth and relinquish those children for "close relatives" without any remuneration but rendered illegal, even criminalized, when performed outside the family as paid work.

At this juncture, women's rights and entitlements as worker-citizens in India are arguably expanding - through the amendment to the Maternity Benefits Act, introduction of the Occupational Health and Working Conditions Code, 2019 and some interestingly positive

arguments around women's bodily work as in the 2019 Supreme Court case (State of Maharashtra vs Indian Hotel and Restaurants Association) around bar dancing, to name a few instances. However, it is also pertinent to simultaneously examine the narratives which draw boundaries of legal permissibility around questions of women's work as is evident from the ban that is sought on commercial surrogacy. Through a broad overview of these gamut of regulations and judicial observations, this paper attempts to identify some of the gendered tropes as they appear in the law around questions of: a) (non)permissibility of some types of work for women, b) their recognition as workers or its lack thereof and c) the patriarchal instrumentalisation of the law to glorify women's unpaid reproductive labour within the family.

8.24 Post-Sabarimala-Verdict-2018 and Problematic Social of the Female Body

Soniya

Kerala social scenario had been subjected to the whole lot of hue and cry from all walks and strata of life consequent to the verdict on the issue of the provision of entry permit to women of the age of 12-50, to the Sabarimala temple. The common argument of the fighters for and against this verdict considered the constitutional provision, for all citizens to enjoy equal opportunities for holding one's own beliefs and to act accordingly, positively.

This resulted in problematising the very concept of citizenship and the constitutional provisions thereby. The struggles for enforcing the verdict led to the unity among the politically affiliated women's organizations and they were brought in one line to the socio-political movements aiming equality before law. The slogan of this united movement to unanimously address the equal citizenship, irrespective of women or men, came to limelight, but the subjugation of female body by and through the social system, patriarchy produced and reproduced through androcentricity was not unanimously addressed to by these movements. But despite dissents from the mainstream social the issue of androcentricity had been topic of discussion among a lot of small group gatherings, consciousness raising programmes, public speeches, academic conferences and the very Constitution was analyzed through the contemporary social interventions, from all academics' and activists' walks of life.

Based on such a conceptual preliminary, case studies conducted by this researcher are being analyzed in this paper, with significance to secularism and democracy, the watchwords of Indian Constitution.

8.25 Protection at the Cost of Liberation?: Analysing the Impacts of India's Child Protection Laws on Girls

Sujatha Subramanian, Piyali Chatterjee

The child protection mechanisms adopted by the Indian state are geared towards protecting children who are identified as vulnerable, with the idea of protection defined as the state machinery providing for basic safety and care for children. Two such critical child protection laws are the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) Act, 2015 (JJ Act) and the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (POCSO) Act, 2012. The Juvenile Justice Act attempts to create a safety net for children by prescribing punishment for various offences against children, while also mandating rules and regulations to be followed while dealing with "children in need of care and protection" and "children in conflict with law". The POCSO Act, enacted as a gender-neutral law in 2012, provides for a legal framework for the protection of children from offences of sexual assault, sexual harassment and pornography, while attempting to safeguard the interest of the child.

Most analyses of and interventions into these laws have attempted to provide recommendations that strengthen the working of these laws. However, what has been missing in these analyses and recommendations is an interrogation of the very idea of protection and how and against who it is mobilized. The wide number of children who can potentially come under the net of these child protection laws necessitates that we undertake a critical reading of these laws and how they define the concept of protection. In our paper, we analyze the JJ Act and POCSO Act, arguing that a critical reading that interrogates the idea of protection and analyses the construction of identities of both the protector and the protected within these Acts is necessary since the mobilization of these child protection laws may often re-inscribe already-existing inequalities of gender, age, caste and class.

The focus of our paper is on the figure of the "girl child" and our paper will analyze how child protection mechanisms work through a denial of girls' agency and desires in a context where girls are already denied autonomy and mobility. The marginalization of girls arises not only from the intersection of their gender, age and other identities, but also through a deliberate silencing of their voices, since within child protection mechanisms, they are seen as being unable to represent their best interests. In analyzing and critiquing the JJ Act and POCSO Act, our argument is that the liberation of girls requires that we not only centre the need for protection of girls but also centre social justice in how we imagine their lives. As we analyze in our paper, social justice, in this instance, also requires a recognition of the diverse realities and desires of girls.

Our methodology of co-authoring this paper attempts to put into conversation our individual insights as a girlhood studies scholar and a child rights policy practitioner. In our critique of the JJ Act and the POCSO Act, we will draw on our experiences of working with contemporary child protection apparatuses, including our work with the state on juvenile justice. We will also historicize the identity of the girl as a legal subject within colonial and postcolonial legal and social reform discourses to look at how ideologies of gender, age, class and caste have shaped state intervention into girls' lives. Our attempt in the paper will be to demonstrate that the origins and impacts of child protection laws in the lives of girls are neither neutral nor apolitical. While a greater engagement of girls themselves is critical to achieving justice and liberation, our paper acts as a provocation to reimagine girls' engagement with the legal apparatus.

8.26 Right to Pee – The Struggle for Right to Life with Dignity

Supriya

The paper deals with the campaign of Right to pee for free, clean safe urinals for women in Mumbai. It focuses on how grassroot organisations came together to seek gender rights through Right to pee campaign. The eight years of campaign by grassroot men and women basically focus on right to equality, mobility safety and access and availability of toilets for marginalised sections with Dignity, Human Rights recognises women's right to safe and clean toilets, and in turn reiterate the right to live with human dignity. The Right to Pee (RTP) campaign emerged out of CORO and Leaders' Quest's Grassroots Leadership Development Program which is aimed at building capacities of grassroots leaders to tackle some of the chronic and complex issues that the marginalized communities face. RTP got built from a group of Mumbai fellows and their organisations' collective resolution to advocate at all levels from (grassroots to policy) for gender-inclusive (design, access) clean, safe, free public urinals.

The paper will deliberate on processes in the 'Right to pee' campaign in the following: insensitive & gender-biased system, women's unfulfilled rights to: Equality, Dignity, Mobility, Safety, devaluation of women's ability to contribute to economy & society, issues of caste &

class, cross-cutting domains: Health, Livelihoods, Education, Gender-Based Violence, & Access to Public Spaces. This paper will deliberate on various mobilisation strategies. This will include strategies of collaboration and confrontation adopted with the administrative and executive state machinery to enrich collaboration between civil society organisations and the state machinery. Action research strategy was used to build empirical data needed for further intervention. The campaign strengthened community voices around issues of gender and sanitation and facilitated representation of these voices in the policy related discussions. The civic administration's sanction to women's urinals under its gender budget, preparation of gender sensitive design of women's toilets by the authorities in the planning department in consultation with representatives of RTP campaign, Municipal corporation's circular for separate toilets for transgender, inclusion of a chapter on women's toilets and urinals in the State women's policy... these are some of the outcomes of the RTP. And RTP as a model is transcending into campaign for 'right to city' where voices of marginalised communities especially of women are being strengthened and encouraged to claim their entitlements in the city.

9 Women and Education

9.1 Gendering Discipline at School: Case Study of Delhi Convent School

Aakanksha D'Cruz

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005 in a section titled 'Discipline and Participatory Management' criticizes disciplinary techniques in schools across India. It brings one's attention to how unreasonable and disparaging constant supervision of a student's demeanor, academic performance and clothing can become. It proposes instead "inculcating the value/habit of self-discipline" as an important aspect of learning and educational development. The idea of self-discipline is conceptualized as a means of "self-governance" whereby students can act autonomously, "understand the rationale behind a rule" and become democratically involved in "evolving rules" for themselves.

The NCF's supposedly well-meaning criticism of disciplinary modes in schools however, fails to acknowledge the idea that self-discipline is not beyond the matrix of disciplinary power. In fact, self-discipline sustains disciplinary power by making the use of overt force a measure of last resort. Therefore, to those who embrace self-discipline by internalizing the 'value' of discipline, disciplinary systems appear to be the 'normal' and 'natural' order of things. This paper fleshes out the concept of discipline as—(i)an overarching framework of modernity based on surveillance, supervision and inspection, (ii)a personal attribute and 'virtue' and, (iii)a matrix of power. Therefore, it begins with a theoretical reading of the works of Weber, Bentham and Foucault to converse on the concept of discipline.

The paper then locates the notion of self-discipline at the heart of the school 'hidden curriculum'. Hidden curriculum refers to 'tacit preparation' for a world which has its foundation built in gendered systems of disciplinary power. Thus, through a discussion on the role of the hidden curriculum in reinforcing heteronormative and socially sanctioned performance of femininity, this paper asserts that discipline is gendered. It looks at a case study of the all-girls' Delhi Convent School (DCS) to decode the 'ideal convent school-girl' as constructed in the school's rules and regulations. These disciplinary dictums enshrine, embody and represent the normative girlhood formally envisaged by the school administration.

Further, after a brief discussion on how disciplinary mechanisms shape girlhood, the paper attempts to answer the following research questions— how does DCS construct the normative convent-school girlhood? How has the normative/dominant construction of a DCS convent-school-girl shaped the lived girlhood(s) of actual girls? Thus, the paper makes a distinction between 'girlhood-as-prescribed' and 'girlhood-as-lived'. For this, it analyses the school website which contains extensive rules and directives with respect to comportment and conduct, self-stylization and school uniform etc. The content of the school website is read alongside interviews with the school alumnae to understand "the slippage between the rules as given and the rules as remembered".

The paper concludes with a discussion on the question of schoolgirls' agency—do DCS school-girls conform to the norm or resist such a dominant construction of girlhood? During the course of this research, the researcher realized that these narratives of girlhood cannot be placed in the neat dichotomy of conformity and resistance.

9.2 A Content Analysis of Textbooks through Gender Perspective

Abdul Basit Naik, Dr Usma Nazeer

In Indian context the textbooks are the most important repositories of knowledge. It is an imperative teaching and learning material as nearly all teachers and students rely upon it across the country. Textbooks define boundaries of disciplines at different stages of education. They link children with their lived realities and weave national and human concerns. It is important that they include issues of equity and equality, as children both boys and girls from all segments of society access them. No doubt, Children can now have access to different disciplines through the usage of internet, by browsing e-books and accessing different websites. However in small town and in the rural areas printed textual materials continues to be an important aid underlying the contours of disciplinary knowledge. The present paper is earnest effort to examine the textbooks of Jammu and Kashmir state board of school education through a lens of gender. The visual depiction in each theme was also analysed. The study was delimited to analyse the textbooks of English at elementary level. The researcher also provides suggestive measures for making the textbook chapters of gender inclusive. So that the students were sensitized about various genders issues and the rate of discrimination against girl child will be declined.

9.3 Historical Development of Secular Education of Muslim Women in Tamil Nadu: Its Impact on Muslim Women's Empowerment - A Study

R. Abida Begum

Education has been regarded as the most significant instrument for changing women's subjugated position in the society. This article aims to probe the role of education in the empowerment of women. The study is an attempt to understand the historical development of secular education for Muslim women in colonial Tamil Nadu. As a lot of contradictions exist on the studies of Muslim women's education, there is a need to study the history of Muslim women's secular education. This paper aims to explore the outstanding role of Hobart Muslim Girl's School, Chennai, and providing secular education to the downtrodden Muslims girls in Chennai since 1873 and which is remarkable in the Muslim women's empowerment. By establishing this school, the British government tried to provide every type of education to the Purdah observing Muslim women, who were very much lagging behind in education. It was a pioneer school in the presidency. It is an institution came in to existence at a time when Muslim community in India did not show any interest in western education. In due course Muslims were engaged to balance with the rapidly modernizing environment under the British colonial government and attempted to retain their cultural heritage, traditions and religion. Muslim ladies were strong in their passions and emotions, and their moral nature was great tenacity of purpose and strength of determination. With those advantages Annie Van Sommer argues that if Muslim ladies, given the proper training and opportunity, they cannot fail to take a leading part in moulding the destiny of the Muslim people. In this paper I attempt to explore the efforts of Muslim women, who availed the opportunity given by the Hobart School, developed their educational standards, acquired legitimate rights and attempted to empower themselves and faced the challenges given by the society.

9.4 Social Media, a Tool for Empowering Women

Amrita Jaiswal

Women participation in work force in India is among lowest in the world. Prevailing social norms and patriarchy hinders women participation in the economy despite their increasingly higher levels of education. One of the main factors is the motherhood, which takes a toll on workforce participation of educated women. With disintegration of joint family and emergence of nuclear family, women are having no family support system for childcare hence many educated women are quitting jobs midway through their career. Women empowered with education and talent are using social media to rediscover themselves.

Social media has emerged as an important tool for women to communicate and connect. It has given women a platform to speak up irrespective of any barriers of distance and background. Movements like #Me too have encouraged solidarity and emphasized on shared experiences. It has helped in creating and building a kind of sisterhood among women not known personally but connected by common cause.

Women are connecting with like- minded women through these platforms and forming communities (commonly found in facebook). These are closed and *only women groups*, providing a safe online space for women to connect, express, support each other and achieve their goals together. These groups help women grow their businesses, inspire women to step out of their comfort zone, to start something fresh and find relevant jobs. These groups are also providing psychological support to women during motherhood and parenting issues. Through conversation and compassion, they are changing lives of many women.

This paper is an attempt to explore the potential social media holds for women, using a case study of one such experiment. It examines how social media can also provide safe space for support and encouragement to women and makes a case that facebook groups can provide an inclusive platform for women's empowerment.

9.5 Glass Ceiling in Higher Education - A New Perspective

Anuradha Tiwari

When gender gaps in academic staff worldwide are analysed, the results reveal a near universal culture of male-dominated institutions. The gender gaps are particularly evident among the highest paid, highest status, decision-making and leadership ranks, but gradually the gender gap is diminishing in higher education especial in case of women leadership in Indian higher education sector .In this paper we aim to discuss the global higher education (HE) context by identifying the main gender gaps on a global level and understanding the causes of the gaps. The paper also investigate the changes in women leadership scenario in India.

Information on academic leadership of about 100 Indian institutions will be analysed from secondary data sources. This paper would highlight the areas primarily keeping in mind the status of women from an academic seniority perspective. A genderless approach towards leadership roles has been highlighted, in adherence with the theme of leadership and education role in improving student experience and enhancing student success.

9.6 Finding the Missing Men: Reframing Gender Equality Policy and Practice

Anushna Jha and Tena Pick

Right to Equality as a fundamental right was guaranteed by the Constitution of India more than half a century ago. Among other provisions, it included the promise of equality of opportunity as well as prohibition of discrimination on grounds of gender. Almost seventy years on, India ranks 95 among 129 countries in a 2019-released global gender equality index that measured aspects such as poverty, health, education, literacy, political representation and equality at the workplace. This paper identifies that a major part of the roadblock to achieving gender equality has been the exclusion of boys and men from policies and conversations on gender equality. It takes the recently released draft National Education Policy 2019 as a case study and finds that boys and men have been excluded from the narrative on gender equality and inclusive education. They have also been kept out from a wider conversation around gender equality and achieving SDGs 4 and 5. This paper explores the limitations of the existing frameworks and their blind spots regarding the role of boys and men. We examine the draft NEP and its confines when it comes to treating gender issues in education as "women's issues". While there is no denying a special care is needed to ensure the education gap between boys and girls is closed and that there are many cultural practices that put girls in a disadvantaged position, it cannot be expected that the complex issues of gender inequality in education can be solved without including boys and men. In this paper, we focus on two main verticals regarding men and boys in education: one, the need for a gender-equal curriculum that explores male gender roles and attitudes that are harmful to boys and two, the need for male, feminist role models in schools in the form of teachers. We look at gender as a cross-cutting theme for all aspects of policy implementation and apply a gender lens to SDG4. We acknowledge that gender roles, expectations and cultural practices differ according to the region, socio-economic class, cast and levels of ability and need to be addressed in education policy as such. We claim that it would be impossible to achieve gender equality by putting the onus on women and girls, occasionally including transgender children in the narrative, while treating boys as "genderless". In this paper, we apply a gender and positive masculinity lens to the draft NEP, while also reviewing policies of the Right to Education Act and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan to evaluate their position on gender inclusive education that does not include boys and men. We look at the constraints and challenges related to targets and indicators for SDG 4 and 5 vis-a-vis achieving gender equality in and through education, and recommend ways of promoting and measuring gender equality in education.

9.7 Gendering Fiscal Space: A Review of Kerala's Gender Budgeting in the Education Sector

Ashraf Pulikkamath, V Bharathi Harishankar

Gender in the fiscal policy is a very recent debate in academia. Gendering fiscal space arises from the understanding that there exists a gender based economic discrimination, which means that there is a complete or partial denial of economic arena and opportunities for a

particular gender. Owing to patriarchy and other societal norms, women are the most vulnerable category to this form of discrimination. All the developments in the field of gender and economic development over past few decades since 1970s, are based on this issue, which argued for right to equality. However, dialogues on gender based economic discrimination always take rounds about wage discrimination and care economy. Gender budgeting (GB) has been projected as an inevitable tool for gender mainstreaming in the fiscal policy arena, ever since the 1995 Beijing conference which persistently called for gender equality in economic sphere.

In India, gender equality is a matter preserved by the constitution itself. The preamble, fundamental rights, fundamental duties and directive principles of the constitution sensitize for gender equality and its importance. Further it also advocates for measures of positive discrimination in favor of women in order to empower them which results in prospective 'equality' in the long run. GB fits within this framework of a democratic development policy which aims at women's advancement through gender sensitization at different levels and spheres in the fiscal policy arena.

In the Indian context, GB is a relatively late acknowledgement of the fact that government policies affect different genders differently. Such an understanding is crucial in achieving an inclusive human development. Hence the GB practice can be viewed as a 'space' allocation for gender concerns within the fiscal policy framework. India holds a relatively good history of this fiscal policy intervention, both at national and state levels. However, execution of GB as a gender sensitization policy and locating such sensitized allocations within the fiscal policy contains a lot of ambiguity in reality. The state of Kerala provides a good case in this regard. Kerala was one of the forerunners in introducing GB (2008) and later discontinuing it to revert to the Women Component Plan (WCP) which is a rudiment form of gender budgeting.

Using a descriptive methodology, this paper analyses GB in Kerala as an intervention to produce a space for 'gender' in the state fiscal policy. Although the first initiation can be traced back to 2008, it took about a decade for the state to have a definite space for 'gender' in budget which is called as 'gender budget statement' (2017). It was mainly due to the political reasons, as the succeeding government, the one who initiated first GB (2008) in the state discontinued the practice by going back to the previous system of WCP (2011-16). Being a state with gender budgeting for plan expenditure alone, this situation also poses a question of choice between WCP and GB to be chosen as a tool for gender mainstreaming in the state. This study adopts the framework of fivefold classification of ex ante allocations for women (Women's Livelihood, Women in Difficult Circumstances, Women's Health, Women's Education, Women's Nutrition), given by Das, Thakur and Sikdar (2006), which evaluates the distributional pattern of GB based on the different important needs of women (2017-20).

Among others, education is assumed to be the key for gender sensitization and gender empowerment than any other factor such as employment or health under development policies. Education is the foundation on which all other empowerment parameters are built up. Hence GBs are expected to be positively skewed towards educational allocations than any other provision. However, the reality is deviating on a closer look. Although Kerala's educational attainment and policies towards education are renowned, the educational allocations under Kerala GB is placed at second last position among the aforesaid fivefold categorization. These educational allocations further show a steadily declining trend when compared to other allocations. The space for education was not better in WCP either, which equally shows negligence of education sector even with zero allocation in some initial years. This paper inquires to the intra allocation patterns of the recent GB statements of Kerala and compares educational allocations under WCP prior to GB, to see which one has a better space for education. In addition, the paper also contends for 'gender space' in budget allocations in terms of its proportion to total budget and state GSDP.

9.8 Right to Education of Refugee Girl Children: Narratives of how Rohingya Girls in Hyderabad Navigate Educational Spaces

Debanjali Saha

The Constitution of India under the Right to Education Act, 2009 declared provision of free and compulsory education to all children in India from six to fourteen years of age, barring the territory of Jammu & Kashmir. However, since the Act does not define a child or its parents/guardians as citizens of India, the question - "Are refugee children eligible for Right to Education in India?" remains unanswered. Under international law of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and Convention on the Rights of Children (1989), refugee children have theoretical rights to basic needs such as food, shelter, health care facilities and education. Although India ratified the Convention on the Rights of Children (CRC) in 1992, there has been a perceptible ambivalence in its enforcement with regard to refugee children. In a scenario of forced displacement, the women and girl children of the persecuted community are mostly affected. The culture and ethnicity of the community is attacked through the violation of the bodily integrity of the female members of the community. In case of refugee girl children, educational spaces are sanctities which provide safety, security and the hope of a better future. Refugee women and girls, residing within the democratic territory of India, live in perpetual fear of displacement and sexual harassment. Instead of continually being dependent upon the mercy of government and civil society organisations to provide them with a voice, they require safe spaces and agency to make rational and self-informed choices about their self-identity. Education provides the means of making these informed choices. It is of utmost importance to protect the immediate basic needs of refugee women and girls, with a plan of catering to the long-term developmental needs in the host country. However, there has been a blatant disregard for safeguarding the population of refugee women & girls in India thus leaving them acutely vulnerable in such spaces. Thus, the focus of this study is the analysis of access to educational spaces, quality education and psycho-social needs of the Rohingya refugee girl child. This study is based on a qualitative research design in order to lead a subjective and in-depth study of the different forms of psycho-social needs that refugee girl children are confronted with in the educational spaces of the host countries. An attempt to understand this has been made with the description provided by the informants about their refugee history, the adversities faced by them in the host country and also their future expectations. It pertains to the feminist methodology of the interpretive paradigm with a thematic analysis of the data collected. This study showcases how access to educational spaces often involves sexual harassment on the way to the school, humiliation inflicted by teachers and by peers within classrooms. Furthermore, there exist difficulties associated with the pressure of learning new languages and integrating with the cultural norms of the host society. It sheds light on teachers' perceptions of and interactions with refugee students at government schools can become deterministic of the extent of participation of these refugee girls in the mainstream classrooms. Narratives of willingness to learn English and attending night classes for more empowered lives have been discerned through focus group discussions with mothers of refugee girls. Refugee parents' expectations and involvement in their daughters' educational outcomes also play a significant role in the achievements of aspiring refugee girl students. The study also highlights how citizenship rights act as bureaucratic roadblocks in pursuing Secondary and Higher Secondary education for refugee girls, thus leaving them exposed to social dangers like child marriage. In the absence of the state taking necessary action to preserve the rights of refugee girls, the study calls upon civil society organisations to work for and along with the refugee girls. The state's complete silence on this growing yet invisible body of population requires the non-

governmental organisations to comprehend their issues and provide short term remedies such as counselling sessions, access to safe transportation, mentoring and language aids and training of government school teachers. However, it is only through the state's recognition of this marginalized group that the systemic discrimination against them can be addressed.

9.9 Impact of Health of Adolescent and Young Tribal Females on Higher Education in Jharkhand

Debjani Roy

There is a Chinese saying "If you wish to plan for a year sow seeds, if you wish to plan for a decade plant trees but if you wish to plan for a lifetime educate people".

India is going through one of the most significant demographic transitions that have ever taken place. Nearly 30% of its total population of 1.3 billion is under the age of 18 and nearly half under the age of 24. Tribals constitute the second largest social group in India. Health and education are indispensable for economic growth and development of the society and have been addressed as important issues even in Sustainable Development Goals. Adolescence marks the developmental transition from childhood to adulthood, a time when many important social, economic, biological, and demographic events set the stage for adult life. The nutritional status of adolescents requires close monitoring because they represent the next generation of parents. Several epidemiological studies have shown an association between physical developments in adolescent period with socio-economic status. Jharkhand, a mineral rich state in Eastern India is largely dominated by tribals that cuts a sorry figure as far as female health and education are concerned. The National Education Policy (2019) that aims at providing quality, liberal education to all can succeed only if health of the stakeholders is protected. Ranchi district with its fair share of higher educational institutions is lagging behind as far as tribal female education is concerned. The paper attempts to unearth the reason behind such discrepancy and to discern a relationship between female health, their attainment of higher education and their transition to an economically productive life. The study is based in urban areas where gender bias and societal apathy prevent tribal females from achieving what is rightfully theirs. Through a primary survey of higher educational institutions in Ranchi district an attempt has been made to document female tribal dropouts, their health status and whether there exists a relationship between their wellbeing and their continuation of studies. The study tries to address the larger issue of how poor health and low level of education can impede a country's progress and suggests ways of mitigating the same.

9.10 Girlhood and Gender bias in Primary Education

Divya Chauhan

In this work, I attempt to look at the childhood of a girl, her primary education and how in between of all this she faces gender biases in each phase of her life. We often talk about gender-based discrimination and the differences between a man and a woman but the differences amongst the girl child and boy child are rendered invisible or say not focused upon because 'children' are the gift of God, they say but through this work we will look for the ways in which the differences are practiced with the special focus on girlhood i.e. the childhood of a girl and her primary education.

In spite of India's repute with regard to women is to an extent to treat her as a goddess, the moment a child is born, the first thing that strikes to everyone's mind is it a "boy or girl?" and the differences are beyond just biological and are apparent since childhood or say even

before that with the practice of sex selection and not celebrating the birth of a girl child. "The emotional, sexual and psychological differences with the females begin from the time doctor says, 'It's a girl' (Chisholm, 26 January, 2016).

In India, it is said that a woman is either someone's daughter, sister, wife, or mother, demonstrating the various stages of her life. Besides, it also points at the absence of female agency - in fact, it is an idea that is often considered foreign and 'imported', diluting its importance in leading a healthy life and a woman to have her own identity. Paradox to the popular belief that as a child one doesn't face discrimination and is free from the societal pressure, it can be seen how from a very tender age girls are taught to behave in a certain way and make them to care and household work which explains how since childhood some culturally accepted behavior which is said to be 'must' for girls is imbibed in them that seems natural for girls to adopt. The same belief that the society holds for school is that it is a place which is outside of the matrix of patriarchy and such settings but one forgets that the teachers and every other human resource which is part of the school is a product of the patriarchal cultural setting, hence gender-bias can be observed. Here in this research project, the timeline used roughly is from that of pre-independence i.e. around 1830's to post independence which is very briefly put to give a historical context and later in detailed is focused on the contemporary times i.e. 2000-2019. The research's location is based only in India and major focus is in two cities, Delhi and Jaipur, Rajasthan.

To explain what the research's main aim is to first understand what girlhood means as even 'girlhood' can be seen in various ways, but here it is seen as a childhood of a girl and how it differs from that of a boy, and the primary education is opted because during the phase of the girlhood is the duration that is dedicated to the primary educational institution, to clarify further the research focuses on the 'extra-curricular which is outside the curriculum in a classroom setting'. This aspect will talk about 'Favoritism' i.e. how outside the curriculum the teachers engage with the children, how they choose students for activities or for the sitting arrangements in a class. Do they look at gender while doing it or any other reason? Has it any matrix system or a protocol?

The aim of the research is to find the roots of biases between a girl and a boy and how even education plays a role in the development of girlhood during her primary education. Girlhood is socially constructed and there are many complex and inter related factors that create girlhood, of these one of the most significant factors is education- so my question is to see how education creates and reinforces girlhood on the one hand but on the other hand also equips girls to begin questioning critically the roles and expectations prescribed for them. It is to examine how girls negotiate what is prescribed for them through education process on the one hand and on the other hand to see how they find avenues for resistance through the process of education itself.

9.11 Understanding the Workings of Internal Complaints Committees investigating Sexual Harassment in Higher Education Institutions: A Small-Scale, Exploratory Qualitative Study

Jyothisna Belliappa

Women have a significant presence in higher education in India today both as teachers and students. The All India Survey of Higher Education 2017-18 indicates that 47.59% of students and 42% of teachers are women, a proportion that has increased over the last few years. However, women's presence in higher education does not necessarily create the conditions for a gender equitable culture. Higher education is located within a broader social context and cannot escape the influence of cultural norms, hegemonic notions of masculinity

and femininity and existing patriarchal structures. Therefore, higher education institutions need to take specific steps to create an equitable and inclusive culture both for academic and non-academic staff and for students. In this context, the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 and the UGC's 2013 Saksham Report on 'Safety of Women and Gender Sensitisation on Campuses' are important milestones.

This research employs a qualitative research methodology to explore the workings of internal complaints committees (ICCs) that investigate sexual harassment in higher education following the enactment of the 2013 law through the accounts of individual members. Ten members of ICCs across five elite higher education institutions were interviewed using semi-structured interviewing techniques. Interviewees were asked about their experiences of serving on the committee and the challenges they face both in investigating sexual harassment complaints and in proactively creating a gender inclusive culture in the campus. Specific challenges associated with pastoral care of students were discussed. Since individual cases are confidential, questions were carefully crafted to address general concerns rather than details of individual cases. Other ethical considerations such as anonymity for individuals and institutions are also maintained.

It was found that interviewees enter committees with a range of prior experiences and are recruited based on a variety of factors including academic background, a reputation for discretion, seniority and availability of time. While all interviewees' accounts indicate a fairly sincere commitment to the committee's work (and in some cases a prior interest in gender issues), those from social science or humanities backgrounds have academic frameworks through which they can understand questions of inclusion, equity and gender-based harassment while others struggle to do so. It was found that although ICCs address harassment in orientation sessions and sensitisation workshops, women experience a range of inappropriate behaviours, some of which have become pervasive in the culture of the institution and against which ICCs are unable/unwilling to take suo moto action.

Many interviewees expressed concern that the intensive procedures of the ICCs which are mandated by the law are distressing and stressful for complainants and witnesses. Some interviewees also discussed the personal (emotional) impact on themselves of participating in committee hearings. It was found that there is little parity across institutions in terms of the kind of training given to ICC members and some confusion as to the scope of their mandate in a residential campus. Many interviewees indicated that, unlike the Saksham report, the 2013 law is specific to workplaces and does not address the unique needs of educational institutions. An important finding of the research, which is also borne out by accounts of ICCs outside the education sector, is that their influence is considerably constrained. ICCs can only recommend a course of action based on investigation of a complaint, the implementation of which is undertaken at the discretion of management. Consequently, for ICCs to be perceived as credible and effective, support for their mandate needs to come from top management.

Based on accounts collected so far, it could be argued that at present the effectiveness ICCs seem to be a function of the commitment of individual committee members, institutional support and prevailing institutional culture. As a result, the establishment of a gender equitable culture in higher education remains largely dependent on the collective will and efforts of dedicated feminist or pro-feminist individuals rather than strong institutional mechanisms. While the law and the UGC guidelines are important steps towards gender equity, institutional structures and procedures will need to be further strengthened (along with institutional culture) if higher education institutions are to respond proactively to women's increasing presence on campus.

9.12 Education and Employment Prospects of Women with Locomotor Disabilities: Life Histories from Kamrup Metropolitan District, Assam

Jyotishmita Sarma

Education plays an important role in the lives of persons with disabilities as sometimes it is the only means to improve their life situations. Unfortunately, however, due to attitudinal and infrastructural barriers, persons with disabilities face numerous obstacles in attaining quality education. This has different repercussions for women with disabilities because they are often denied the traditional feminine roles of marriage and motherhood. Alternatively, due to lack of education, these women are also unable to find well-paying jobs to secure their own futures. This paper attempts to highlight the lived experiences of 18 women with different locomotor disabilities in the age-group of 18-57 years regarding their experiences of attaining school education and securing their futures through an adequate source of livelihood. The fieldwork for the study was conducted in the rural and urban areas of Kamrup Metropolitan District, Assam. It was found that a number of factors had hindered the access to education among the older women which include negligence of the family members, onset of the disability, apathy from the government school administration and lack of understanding about the nature of the disability. In contrast, for the younger women, due to different government policies like the RTE, even though they do not find it difficult to get admission in government schools, integration among classmates becomes extremely difficult. Furthermore, the study also found that due to the poor quality of education, the women largely remain out of the job market and have to take up odd jobs at the disability organizations nearby or try for self-employment. It was found that while work at the disability organizations could be very fulfilling, it does not pay much, due to which the women are always looking out for better opportunities elsewhere. It was also found that self-employment may not be very easy for the women as most of them belong to poorer families who are unable to provide them with the capital to invest in their new ventures. Through the life histories of these women, the paper argues that better provisions need to be made for school-going children with disabilities in order to ensure that the vicious cycle of poverty, ill-health and disability in the life-course of persons with disabilities is appropriately tackled.

9.13 Shodhini - Action Research on girls education

Kajal Boraste

Abhivyakti Media for Development is an NGO in Nashik, Maharashtra striving to build the media capacities of marginalised groups. Abhivyakti believes that everyone has the right to tell their story by their own and with this vision Abhivyakti is working in North Maharashtra since 32 years.

From last three and half years, Abhivyakti is engaged in an Action Research project on education, livelihood and rights of girls from tribal belt of Nashik district. There are 100 Shodhinis (Meaning young female researchers in Marathi) from 10 villages of Nashik district have conducted research on young girls' lives. Our research paper will focus on the education and livelihood scenario of girls in rural part of Nashik.

Shodhinis found that there is high dropout rate from schools in villages after 8th grade. Lack of safe and regular transportation facilities, lack of school infrastructure, poverty and early marriages are the major reasons behind that. Also there are no livelihood opportunities for girls other than working on daily wages in farms and companies. Though we all are trying to promote the education for girls, we found that there is no connection of what girls have

studied and what they are now doing for livelihood. Also we found that there is high rate of migration of girls from villages to nearby cities for livelihood. Although the girls have completed their education they do not get converted into the meaningful workforce in the market. They just be as a service providers to specific class.

Our Research paper will mainly focus on: What educational and livelihood opportunities are available in villages? Does that accessible to girls? Why do girls drop out of school, what are the reasons for that? What do girls want to learn other than formal education? What are the obstacles for girls in continuing education? What are the livelihood aspiration of girls and what support and skills they need to do that? What are the problems facing by girls working on daily wages?

This research helps to provide data about the lives of rural girls, who remain unheard and whose lives doesn't get reflected in policy making. We are advocating the findings and recommendation derived from research at various fora. This will help to build inclusive policies for education and livelihood for women which will include young girls from rural areas. As this is an action research, Shodhinis and Abhiviyakti are trying to take actions on different levels with different capacities. Shodhinis are now started participating and hosting women's council meeting in their villages on regular basis, they are negotiating to postpone the early marriage of girls in their villages. In such manner this research is meaningful and important for the betterment of girls' lives.

9.14 Women, Trade & the Indian Textiles Sector: A Review of Studies with a focus on Employment, Education & other Socio- Economic Aspects

Kanupriya

This paper seeks to establish the linkages between international trade and the labour-intensive textiles sector in India with a particular focus on women's welfare in terms of their employment, education, wage rates and other socio- economic aspects. Some of the key research questions that this paper would seek to explore relate to the issues of formal labourforce shares going down in the Indian economy and that of informal employment going up, especially in the context of the labour - intensive Indian textiles sector. The subject matter would also include the issue of whether or not this informalisation trend has been tilted towards the Indian females more than their male counterparts. These trends must not belie the quality of employment in the sector as a whole; this would help shed some light on the condition of women workers in the Indian textiles sector---- both economically as well as socially. The key objective of this paper is therefore, to determine whether or not trade in the Indian textiles sector has led to an improvement in the socio- economic condition of women employees in the same, with regard to employment, education, health and other aspects. This analysis shall also draw parallelism between the Indian and foreign scenarios. The theme of women empowerment would be of particular interest in this regard since, the condition of women is not quite sound in the country. To summarise, the paper seeks to examine the socio- economic condition of women employees within a trade oriented Indian textiles sector.

9.15 Beyond the Mainstream: Education for Bakkarwal Tribal girls of Jammu and Kashmir

Kavita Suri

Tribals constitute 8.61% of the total population of the country, numbering 104.28 million (2011 Census) and cover about 15% of the country's area. In India, there is an amalgam

of 645 tribes and in Jammu and Kashmir (including Ladakh), the number is 12. According to Census 2011, the total strength of tribal population in Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh is approximately 1,493,299 (15 lakh) out of which 1,406,833 lives in rural areas of these three regions. This constitutes 12 % of the total population of the two Union Territories.

In the present-day India, social exclusion issues are gaining more relevance by the day, more so because the country is growing at a decent growth rate but not all sections of society have been able to take advantage of this growth. A large majority of tribals in India are yet to enjoy the benefits of this development and still remain excluded. Tribes in India are commonly perceived as 'different' socio-cultural groups living in isolation and leading a life of seclusion. The fact that tribal people need special attention can be observed from their low social, economic and participatory indicators.

Bakkarwal is a Scheduled Tribe living in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Majority of the members of this tribe are nomadic tribes. These nomadic tribal communities undertake long seasonal journeys (annual migrations) to the lower and middle mountain areas and Pir Panjal pastures in the summer with their flock of sheep and come back to the plains in the winters. Bakkarwals undertake very long seasonal journeys which stretch even up to two months and take them to the higher reaches of even Dras and Kargil. The armed conflict which has continued in Jammu and Kashmir deeply impacted these border communities.

The proposed paper seeks to explore the status of education among the nomadic Bakkarwal girls. The paper would discuss the issues of inclusion and exclusion from the dominant development paradigm of education in Jammu and Kashmir. The study would also explore the impact of mobile schools and seasonal schools opened for these tribes by the J&K government in the past.

9.16 Intensive Mothering: Educated Women in the Service of Family in a Globalizing World

Madhumita R, Lakshmi Lingam

Over the past few decades, the Indian Female Labor Force Participation (FLFP) has declined persistently in both rural and urban areas. India's experience stands in contrast to most countries in the world which have had an increase in this indicator. There is an inverse relationship between women's educational qualification and chances to enter and sustain in paid work. Paid work allows women to have financial freedom and gives them the ability to make strategic decisions in their lives. The women entering employment are those who are from the lower socioeconomic strata of the society, women who are not so formally literate and participate in the unorganized sector with low wages and hostile working conditions. Women from the comparatively "better off" families, especially in urban areas, stay out of employment. Urban upper middle class educated women have the opportunity to exercise their agency concerning employment, marriage and other life choices.

This paper focuses on educated urban women in upper-middle-class families to understand how they make choices concerning career and employment. It explores the relationship between women's education, marriage, motherhood and choices influencing their labour force participation. The paper also captures the career trajectories of women based on their choices and their experiences of entering or re-entering paid work. This paper is based on a primary study conducted in Chennai with 22 women who have a graduate or higher level of education i.e. holder of one or more professional degrees. All the women had at least one child below the age of ten years. The participants were classified according to their present employment status into: (1) Never entered paid employment, (2) Have entered paid employment and withdrawn, (3) Have entered paid employment, withdrew and re-entered it,

(4) Have entered and continue to engage in paid employment and (5) Self-employed. The study followed qualitative research design as it seeks to understand from women their experiences, decision-making processes and dilemmas regarding employment and its related choices.

The study revealed that women have a preoccupation with raising their children and spend at least 5-7 hours a day carrying out child-care activities. Women who are not engaged in paid employment spend more hours than this. Today's parents want to make heavy time investments on their children, which comes at the cost of the woman staying out of the labour market and providing high-quality care for children. The distrust and high cost of paid childcare, coupled with fear for their children's safety acts as a deterrent and persuades women to stay home unless there are grandparents or other relatives in the vicinity who can look after the child in their absence.

Using observations and interview narratives from the study, this paper attempts to capture the prevalent ideology of 'intensive mothering' that seems to dictate women's decisions to take up employment or remain in one. Women are solely responsible to produce 'successful all-rounded children' covering academics, sports, art and culture. The dominant narrative of educated women in the service of the family continues to remain the same in a globalizing India.

9.17 Reproducing the Consumer Citizen: A Study of Migrant Women Negotiating Spaces of Education and the Urban

Madhurima Majumder

Education is one of the most pervasive products through the consumption of which, gender, caste and class norms are re-produced. Even within the structure of colonialism in India, education was used as a tool through which women could be made into better wives and mothers. This system worked towards conditioning women to 'appropriate' class and caste norms. With the liberalization of the economy in the 90s, education, for many has become an investment to ensure social mobility. It teaches women how to navigate between the demands of the local and global, modernity and tradition.

The higher education institutes in the country tend to be concentrated in urban areas and cities. The number of women migrating for education is still low; however, the increase in their numbers is significant. In 2001, the migration of women in the country for education amounted to 0.4 percent of the total migration in India. This figure increased to 1.0 in 2011. This is a small but significant increase. This increase needs critical attention as unlike the patriarchal mode of migration, these women often migrate not with their families, but on their own. This often becomes a space for women to engage with people outside their kin or community and build networks within the larger space of the city. Negotiations within these spaces are significant as it allows women to build newer relations and networks. However, often it is through networks of family, kin or friends within their own community that they migrate and socialize thereafter. Moreover, women often end up having to stay in hostels or in residential spaces that by proxy act as guardians of patriarchal systems. The networks that they form within the spaces of education, residence and city, despite being outside the structured familial hierarchies, are largely governed by their class, caste and social capital.

This paper will focus on how migrant female students mediate between their social identities, consumer culture as well as gender roles. The intent is to critically look at how educational spaces are crucial sites for producing a globalized consumer citizen and at the same time are spaces that allow women to forge and/or contest forms of gender and caste hierarchies. The attempt will be to move away from the debate about the differences between the global

and the local and instead focus on how the global is used to reproduce local class, caste and gender hierarchies.

This paper is based on a study conducted in Hyderabad by Anveshi Research Centre for Women Studies. The primary focus of the study was on women who moved from small towns, mufassils and villages to educational institutions in metro cities. Narratives of fifty women were collected to understand their experiences and map shifts (or otherwise) in their subjectivity in the course of their stay away from home. By focusing on how women narrativize stories of their life, their aspirations, choices of fashion, romance and student politics this paper is an attempt to map how gender, caste and class, as well as colonial and postcolonial legacies of culture and power, affect how students navigate their roles as citizens and consumers. Through this paper I wish to discuss and perhaps understand how feudal patriarchal logic and hierarchy is being refashioned within the neoliberal logic.

9.18 Fast-tracked Adulthoods and Lost Childhoods: Social Aspects of Girls' Education and the Missing Policy Links

Manavi Das

The Right to Education Act, 2009 guarantees that every child between the ages of 6 and 14 will be entitled to receive free and compulsory education. The Act also mentions in Section 9 (c)5 that local authorities must ensure that children belonging to weaker and disadvantaged sections should not be discriminated against and prevented from pursuing their education. Additionally, there are several initiatives that specifically aim to increase girls' participation in education and improve their skills and employability. The Central Government's campaign 'Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao' that began in 2014 is one such example. There are others like the special scholarship scheme 'Vidyalaxmi Yojana' instituted for girls from low- literacy villages in Gujarat. Based on an ethnographic enquiry of two tribal dominated villages in Panchmahals, Gujarat, this paper makes an attempt to critically explore the missing links between the rhetorical framing of the necessity of girls' education as evident in these schemes and the lived realities of rural girls.

It is observed that with the state's increased emphasis on girls' education, families have become more aware of the fact that girls must be sent to school. Households in the study villages expressed their wish to educate girls so that they could get a job. But the wish has not translated into easing of gender roles so that girls have more time to devote to studies. Girls of all castes assume the role of secondary caregivers to their siblings, carry out household work, work in the agricultural land and, if needed, go out of the house to work for an income. The field study revealed that it is the unpaid and invisible work carried out by girls that sustain many households. Girls are expected to mature fast and conform to rigid social norms, which they find difficult to break free from to explore the opportunities promised by the policies and programmes. Boys are given more opportunities and material assets by households, even if they are not as good in education as girls.

The study argues that due to the neglect of the lived realities of children, the professed policies have failed to make any impact on the educational status of girls and what education may lead them to achieve in life. The paper also discusses the ways to bring girls into policy discussions about education.

9.19 Gendered Aspirations and Education Attainment: A Study of Intergenerational Mobility in Rural Eastern India

Manika Bora

India's rapid economic growth and increasing Gross Domestic Product (world's fifth-largest economy in nominal terms) has been accompanied by a rise in inequality of incomes, well-being and economic opportunities. Social mobility, measured in terms of income, education and occupational mobility, remains a concern for the development economics literature that seeks to assess the distributive effects of economic growth. This is especially true for India, where caste-based and gender-based discrimination have historically worked to limit social mobility and deny equality of opportunity to women, individuals belonging to religious minorities and lower caste groups. Intergenerational mobility is able to capture changes in access to opportunity in the long run, and is therefore a good indicator of social mobility in society. While considering education-based indicators and national datasets, researchers have noted the low intergenerational mobility in India, especially among constitutionally protected marginalized sub-groups such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Muslims.

This paper is divided into two parts, using mixed methods approach to comment on the disparities in educational aspirations and outcomes in rural Eastern India. Most large-sample studies available in India highlight the dearth of longitudinal data that tracks the same individuals over long periods of time. This restricts most studies to making cross-sectional comparisons, examining all parent-child pairs, through cohort-based analysis.

The first part of the paper is based on a unique region-specific dataset to study intergenerational educational mobility among women in Bihar, a low-income Indian state with high levels of poverty and dependence on the farm economy. This paper employs a novel dataset, Cycle to Empowerment 2016, that overcomes the co-residency bias present in the developing countries' cross-sectional studies. We study quasi birth-cohorts to capture temporal effects within the household. The study of education transmission over generations, requires locating of the parent-child pairs in the household using co-resident members and information on 'relationship to the head of the household'. This parent-child matching exercise has a specific fallout, that is, exclusion of information on married daughters who no longer reside in the household due to customary patrilocal practice. As a result, there are limited datasets that have been able to comment on the intergenerational mobility of daughters in the literature. My study examines gendered trajectories of educational progress over time, layering the analysis further with caste interactions which remain an influential variable of mobility in society.

The second part of the paper is based on in-depth interviews as part of fieldwork in rural Bihar, mapping a typology of the educational aspirations articulated by the young women. These aspirations were not limited to seeking specific educational outcomes and often mediated by their social location, resources and constraints. The qualitative analysis locates the narratives of aspirations to not be narrowly defined only by women's social and economic location in village hierarchies, but also through an intergenerational lens. Instead this paper foregrounds feminist methodology to include fine grained understanding based on specificities of gender norms, access to role models, information networks, and parental education and occupation.

I hope to combine the measurable study of educational attainment through quantitative analysis with a qualitative understanding of women's life aspirations. Therefore, this paper seeks to contribute to the discussions on gender and social mobility in the context of a transitioning agrarian society in a developing country.

9.20 Dalit Women and Education: The Intersection of Caste and Gender

Manisha Arya

The education of women is always connected to their empowerment and emancipation. The importance of education is also linked to the gender equality. There is a high increase in the enrollment of women in education and employment in the recent years but it needs to be further problematized to examine the representation of women from marginalized section such as Dalit, Adivasi and Muslim women with education.

The question of the impact of caste status or identity on women's education is missing from various world and national reports on women's education. The emphasis is placed on how gender impacts the educational achievement of girl's education. Such reports do not include the experiences of Dalit women which are affected by their lower caste identity, therefore neglecting the role of caste inequality in educational achievement of women.

The paper aims to look at the how the intersection of caste, class and gender impacts the access to and participation Dalit women in the educational sphere. How the simultaneous operation of these structures affect the education of women differently. The paper draws on existing literature and statistical data to examine the status of education of Dalit women. It highlights the major issues and barriers to Dalit women's participation in higher education. The paper argues that though the gross enrollment rate among Dalit women has increased over the years but the dropout rate among them is still higher in the school level. The gender parity index among Dalits showed that the enrollment of Dalit women gradually decreases from school level to higher education level indicating that they are less likely to continue their education and go for higher education.

Woman is not a homogenous category instead the experiences differ according to their social location. In the higher educational institutions, the experiences of Dalit women are different from the upper caste women due to their caste location. Their experiences include facing caste discrimination and humiliation, gender discrimination, sexual harassment, and various other academic and pedagogical issues. The structural inequality results in the lack of non-economic capital such as cultural and social capital among Dalit women students which lead to their 'unfavourable inclusion' in the higher educational institutions. In addition to that, the culture of the educational institutions also poses many problems and barriers to Dalit women's education. The prejudices, attitude and stereotypes of fellow students and teachers affect the educational performance of Dalit students.

Therefore, the paper argues that equality of opportunity and access to the educational institutions only leads to as Deshpande calls it 'formal equality'. It does not grant 'substantial equality' to marginalized sections or make the educational space more inclusive.

9.21 Women and Education: Mapping the Transformations among Migrated Women in Hyderabad

Mithun Som, Rani Rohini Raman

Owing to unequal and urban oriented development in the country, education and employment have been largely consolidated to cities. Hence, it becomes imperative that in order to gain employment and higher education men and women are moving to cities. As reflected by census data, in the last two decades, an increasing number of women are also migrating to cities for these opportunities. Our paper is based on interviews of 50 such migrant women who have come to the city of Hyderabad for employment and education. This paper is

a part of a larger study done in Anveshi Research Centre for Women's Studies on 'City and Sexuality: A study of youth living and working in Hyderabad'.

This paper argues that the effects of education on migrated women needs to be looked beyond educational institutions, courses and curriculum. As it was observed that migrated women, as students were not only interacting with their educational institution, but at the same time they were also interacting with different parts of a new city like its residential spaces, public spaces, markets and transportation etc. They were also interacting with the people in the city in different ways. Within their educational institutions, these women were making new friendships, they got to know new ways of lives, new debates, new vocabulary. When these women reflected on their journeys, they didn't focus only on the education they got inside the classrooms but also reflected what they learnt and unlearnt outside the classroom. They reflected how this exposure changed their understanding and view towards their family, towards relationships, towards career, towards friendships, towards marriage and their understanding of self. How this made them more equipped for negotiations, for assertions. These transformations are also dependent on the social positioning of the migrant women. Our study brought out the interplay of caste, class, religion and region as the women accessed the city and were ready to accept the transformations. For few, not following these transformations was also a form of assertion of the self.

This paper proposes to move beyond the linear debates on migration and its patterns and tries to push the envelope by laying out the transformations that migration and education brings collectively. This paper attempts to explore the interplay of caste, class, religion and gender in the process of women migration for education, which challenges the existing debates on migration.

9.22 No Girl Left Behind: Exploring Gender Norms, Barriers, and Opportunities for Girls' Education in Jharkhand, India

Nalini V. Khurana, Tanvi Jha, Pranita Achyut, Hanimi Reddy, Ravi Verma

Eliminating gender disparities and ensuring equal access to quality education are key priorities within Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4). Girls' education has been widely recognized as key to not only eliminating gender inequality, but also various other development challenges. Educating girls has a huge multiplier effect on a range of outcomes, including poverty, hunger, health and wellbeing, violence, economic growth, etc., and is essential for achievement of the SDGs.

Although gender equality in education has gradually improved in India, girls continue to lag on key indicators, with high drop-out rates and low completion of secondary education. According to the National Family Health Survey 4 (2015-16), in Jharkhand, only 15% of women aged 19-24 had completed 12th standard. In the remote and less-developed districts of Godda and Jamtara, part of the Santhal Paragana region of the state, the proportion decreases to 10% and 6% respectively. This paper seeks to unpack the structural drivers of poor education outcomes among adolescent girls and identify specific barriers and opportunities to inform programming on girls' education and empowerment.

As part of ICRW's UMANG program on girls' empowerment and child marriage, funded by the IKEA Foundation, research was conducted using mixed methods to understand underlying norms as well as knowledge, attitudes, and practices around gender equality and girls' education. This included a quantitative survey with 4180 girls aged 10-18 years, 2023 young men and boys, and 2050 parents in three districts of Jharkhand. Bivariate and multivariate analysis were used to explore associations and effect of different variables. Focus group discussions with adolescent girls, boys, and parents, as well as key informant interviews

with community stakeholders were conducted to take a deeper look at attitudes and norms prevailing in the project geographies.

The findings paint a grim picture of girls' education in the project districts. There is little to no value accorded to girls' education, with marriage as a competing priority for parents and communities. From an early age, girls are groomed to undertake household chores and occupy the roles they will continue to perform after marriage. While some parents mortgage land and jewelry to fund their daughters' early marriages, similar investment in girls' education is lacking. Household responsibilities, expenses related to schooling, and marriage/pressure to get married are cited by girls as major reasons for low attendance and eventual drop-out from school. The relationship between education and early marriage is complex and mutually reinforcing - according to some parents, educating girls can increase their marriageability, while others see educated girls as a threat to the status quo within the marital home. As a result, girls' education has little to no value of its own and is instrumentalized for the ultimate objective of marriage.

Linked to the broader normative barriers, systemic barriers related to school functioning further hinder progress on girls' education. Government schools in project districts struggle with poor student-teacher ratio, with only few, over-stretched teachers per school handling a range of responsibilities. Platforms that plan and monitor school development and quality of education (e.g. school management committees and parent-teacher meetings) are largely inactive with low engagement and lack of capacity to handle issues faced by adolescents such as drop-out, violence, early marriage, etc. Many schools lack basic amenities such as functional girls' toilets, availability of menstrual pads, as well as facilities such as playgrounds, computer labs, etc. than enrich quality of education. Furthermore, long distances to secondary schools and lack of safe and reliable transport facilities disproportionately impact girls and contribute to drop-out after completion of 8th standard.

Despite entrenched patriarchal norms and a broader 'disabling' structural environment, adolescent girls showed positive attitudes and aspirations for continued education and employment. For them, schools provide an escape from the environment within the home - a place to learn, play, communicate, develop friendships, and explore new experiences. Although the resilience and aspirations of girls are a key catalyst towards empowerment, findings from the research suggest that it is essential to change societal norms, activate and strengthen education systems to ensure that girls are supported by their families, community members, teachers, and broader systems. The research has implications for education and adolescent programming, and further underscores the need to extend the benefits of RTE Act to older adolescents to ensure an enabling environment in which no one is left behind.

9.23 Muslim Women's Access to Education: A Critical Analysis of State Initiatives

Neda Fatima

The objective of the paper is twofold; first, to provide a landscape of literacy among the Muslim women in India; second, to propose a dwell upon the critical analysis of state initiatives so as to provide impetus to the same. Both the exercises will be based on the available secondary literature and will outline the prospects and challenges of the issue at hand. By now, it has been very well understood that education has both intrinsic and instrumental values. In its former sense, education manifests in acquiring intellect, wisdom and knowledge by a person and thus is considered virtue of higher order. The instrumentality of education reflects its sake of something else i.e. increasing the life chances in terms of employment and occupation thus adding up to the self-worth and a person. Both the values are inherent in the contemporary discourse of development in general and human development in particular. Seen in this way,

in India, the perennial and acute exclusion of Muslim women from the sphere of modern education deprives them both from the intrinsic value of self-worth and employment opportunities; i.e. exclusion from education marginalizes them further. The paper argues that the marginality of the Muslim women stems from two sources; one, ethnic and religious identity (being the part of Muslim community); second, on account of gender (her being woman and thus having 'secondary citizenship'). Sachar Committee Report 2006 has also noted that Muslim women have lower educational attainments than men due to lack of equal educational opportunity. According to the Census 2011, Muslims have the highest percentage of illiterates aged beyond seven years at 42.72. As far as state initiatives in this regard is concerned, the Constitution of India clearly guaranteed the educational development of each and every citizen under Article 45 of the Directive Principles of State policy and Article 21-A. Policies focusing on Muslim women's education include Scheme for Providing Quality Education in Madrasas (SPQEM) launched in 1993-94 (revised in 2007-08 with IDMI (Infrastructure Development of Minority Institutions) with the aim of improving poor Infrastructures of minority institutions). Similarly, other schemes have also been initiated by the state like Maulana Azad National Fellowship for Minority Students, Padho Pardesh, Begum Hazrat Mahal National Scholarship for girl students belonging to the minority communities, free coaching and allied scheme for minority communities' students among others. Despite the above measures, the paper concludes that two factors responsible for the dismal representation and participation of Muslim women in education are lack of community support structure on one hand and the inability of the state mechanism to attract them towards the educational institutions. Furthermore, the pan-Indian practice of gender segregation in educational institutions further aggravates the educational situation of Muslim girl child. The lack slide attitude of the family and community members towards Muslim women's education is also partly responsible for their exclusion resulting in low literacy rate among Muslim girls.

9.24 Educated housewives and weekend fathers: Interrogating unpaid work among urban women

Neha Dhingra

This paper examines urban educated women's experiences of unpaid work. Though national level data have been showing the consistent reduction of educated women from the paid workforce, little has been done to unpack the seemingly apparent nation- wide phenomenon of large number of educated women returning themselves as being 'unemployed'. This study is exploratory in nature and attempts to understand what is keeping large number of women outside the labour market. Through analysis of narratives of young women, who are housewives, I argue that the policies of liberalization coupled with urbanization have interacted in multiple ways to create and reinforce 'domesticities'. Gendered arrangements at the household level show resilience while intergenerational changes experienced in institutions such as family, education systems and workplaces with their intensive orientation have created unprecedented demands on women's labour. Heightened feelings of insecurity prevalent in cities have contributed to women's distrust towards childcare facilities, which would have otherwise lowered their burden of childcare. Unable to exercise choice, all this has left little scope for them to enter paid employment, leaving many frustrated, insecure with feelings of being 'trapped in households'.

9.25 Gender Analysis of Marathi Language Textbooks of Maharashtra State Board

Nirmala Jadhav

School education plays a key role in framing the personality of students and it makes a deep perennial impact on the persons in their future life. A person develops her/his thoughts and feelings on the basis of what is inculcated in him/her at school days. Especially the primary level schooling is very important because these are the formative years when child learns to imbibe and comprehend the social world, its societal values and its 'sanctioned'/natural' ways of behavior through the formal content in school textbooks and the educational practices at the schools. Therefore, the role of school textbooks becomes very significant at this formative stage in imbibing egalitarian values. As stated in the preface of the textbooks, the Marathi language textbooks are expected to teach and inculcate the language skills, make students familiar with Marathi literature as well as to develop patriotism, scientific thinking and the values of equality and fraternity among students.

But this dictum remains only in words on the pages. Even after the acute battle by feminists and other researchers over the years, the curriculum does not reflect much changes in it. The textbooks still seems to be full of gender biases and the way the issues of class, caste, religion, region, culture and ideologies are presented are very controversial and are promoting the hegemonic culture of Brahmanical patriarchy. The growth and development of women's studies and the critical engagement of feminist scholarship has been more centered at higher education thus the real crux of school education has been negligent in women's movement and women's studies as well. Thus it is significant to critically analyze the content of the school textbooks to make them more egalitarian, secular, and inclusionary nature with modern values.

Thus, in the present research it has been tried to critically explore the gender bias and above mentioned other issues in the language school text books of Maharashtra State Board at the primary level (Standard 1st to 4th) Marathi language text books. The present research paper will also attempt to find out what changes have been done in the curriculum over the years and explore gender bias, class, caste, culture, religion and ideology presented in the textbooks. There will also be a discussion about alternate curriculum which will be free of gender bias and a content which will be inculcating patriotism, scientific thinking, equality as well as due respect for all the religions, cultures and regions.

This present research paper will include the critical analyzing of language school textbooks on following points:

1. Gender bias-the number of lessons written by male and female writers, content of the lessons, number of lessons that are men centered and women centered, the number of male and female characters in each lesson and in the whole text book, the roles assigned to male and female characters and at the end of the academic year the students go with which images of men and women in their mind
2. Conceptualization- nature of concepts like: beauty, ugliness, work, patriotism etc.
3. Caste- how it is dealt with, whether it is overlooked or mentioned and if mentioned in which consequences and with which purpose.
4. Biographies and selection of literature-whose biographies are selected and which side of that person is focused, which values do these biographies inculcate and which part of the literature is selected.
5. Religion and culture- how many religions have got the place in these texts and how much space is given to which religion?
6. Pictures/photographs-find out hidden gender and social and religious implications of the pictures included in the textbooks.

7. Languages/dialects- critically underlying and analyzing the tone of the language, which dialects are used, proportion of urban and rural language etc.
8. Exercises- the questions or the activity exercises below the text exemplify the purpose of the syllabus designers thus to analyses such content from feminist perspective to unravel the gender politics being done in the school textbooks.

9.26 Higher Education and Muslim Women: Issues and Challenges

Popy Devi Nath

This paper aims to examine the status quo with regard to the major issues related to Muslim women in higher education. The paper is based on in-depth interview with 50 Muslim young women attending colleges in Hyderabad, India. The purpose of this paper is to: 1. Highlight the barrier of women in higher education. 2. Analyze gender-based educational disparities among various social sections. 3. Assess the effectiveness of compensatory measures taken by the central and state governments to address the gender-based issues in higher education. 4. Participation of Muslim women in workforce. This paper will provide guidelines to ensure full equity for women graduates and other stakeholders.

9.27 Creating Pathways from Education to Employment

Prerna Kumar, Amenla B. Nuken, Nitin Datta, Ms. Aditi Vyas

Women's labor force participation increasingly recognized as critical driver and outcome of economic growth and development paying long term dividends for families, communities, countries, and women themselves. However, women have poor access to education, skilling opportunities and linkages for productive entry into labor market. Although school enrolment rates improved and gender gap in gross enrolment ratio declined; girls have low secondary level school completion rates, and are left out of economic participation, that are key catalytic pivots to achieving empowerment and gender equality. Women end up working in informal economy - unskilled, poorly paid, lack benefits and opportunities for advancement. It is not enough to get women into work; but critical to intervene during adolescence and give girls education and skills to obtain and retain quality employment.

Based on learnings from previous research and programs, ICRW designed innovative ecosystem based program 'Plan-It Girls' to build gender integrated life skills and employability skills among adolescent girls in Grade 9 and 11 of government secondary schools, and to shift prevailing norms in household, community and workplace through engaging with male peers, parents, teachers and community, in Delhi and Jharkhand. The curriculum for girls was developed through participatory process and focused on self, identity, gender, power, patriarchy, influence on day to day lives, emotions, relationships, communication, violence, gendered nature of work and aspirations; along with skills to map aspirations, set goals, develop resume, prepare for interview, work management, stress management and money management. Intervention with stakeholders aimed to reduce resistance to girls' success and generate support. Curriculum on gender equity and prevention of violence (GEMS) was transacted with male peers. Teachers meetings and workshops were organized along with mothers' meetings and community meetings.

Quasi experimental longitudinal study revealed improved self-esteem, gender equitable attitudes, mobility, decision-making, career-decision making, economic self-efficacy and preparation for work in future in Delhi (mean scores and DID analysis). Jharkhand also showed similar results. Mixed model regression showed that impact on gender attitudes was highest

among girls of grade 9 in Delhi. Grade 9 and 11 girls in Delhi also showed significant improvement in self-esteem, preparedness for work and career decision self-efficacy. In Jharkhand significant change was observed in self efficacy of girls in both the grades and their perception about their schools. Path analysis indicated improvement in gender attitudes lead to increase in self efficacy leading to economic self-efficacy. Implications in the field are as follows:

- Understanding gender, power, patriarchy is essential to empower girls socially and economically. Imperative to account for gendered realities and aspirations of adolescent girls.
- Change in gender attitudes is greater among younger adolescents. Gender integrated life skills need to be transacted with adolescents aged 10-13years.
- In rural areas, need to transform schools into safe spaces. Teachers reported improved attendance of girls during program implementation. This implies that schools as a safe space is a precursor to change

9.28 First Generation learners in Education and Employment

Priya Patil

In India, education is perceived as a mechanism for social and economic advancement of the deprived sections of the society through social mobility and guarantees equality to everyone. It is considered a means of 'liberation' from the shackles of caste. However, in reality, it has become instrumental in reproducing social stratification based on caste, gender, class and region. Maintaining the hegemony of the dominant sections of the society. The inherent inequalities and discrimination faced by the oppressed and marginalized communities have changed forms according to time and have continued to persist in the educational system over the years. This has led to the continuous discrimination, marginalization and pushing back of the Scheduled Castes in education by the upper castes. However, the provisions in the Constitution of India like the Right to Education have facilitated the gradual entrance of the Scheduled Castes into the mainstream higher education.

The cultural practices, behavior pattern, sex role expectations, and association of women with the private domain of household, continue to affect their access to higher education. Dalit women, in every sphere have to face it twice because of their identity, and are thus-'doubly dalit' and 'doubly discriminated'. In purview of this, this paper will explore the challenges of first generation dalit women in higher education in two colleges - the International Hindi Vishwavidyalaya and the Datta Meghe Medical College. Both these colleges are located in the district of Wardha, Maharashtra, and are known to have a history of having first generation college students since decades. This research will explore, analyze, and understand the impact of caste and gender based discrimination faced by first generation college goers. It will further try to understand their adjustments and coping strategies that they adopt against these obstacles. The narratives of dalit women students from two streams - Social Science & Medical -including working as well as non-working students, three mothers and three lecturers will be used for gathering this information.

Keeping in mind the dearth in Dalit literature, this paper uses Dalit Feminist Standpoint theoretical framework to focus on the subjective realities of dalit women and underscore the nuances of these experiences. These subjective realities will be captured through an interpretivist paradigm. Questionnaire, in-depth Interviews and group discussions along with literature review are the methods for this research. The study finds that these two colleges are being seen as a ghetto that is situated in the elite and up-market urban zone of Wardha. The students of these colleges are being discriminated at multiple levels on the basis of their caste,

class, gender, race, religion and region. Though the liberal urban environment has given them space to negotiate their challenges, they are still caught in the shades of caste and patriarchy which in turn affects the future employability rates of these students, especially women.

9.29 *Anusandhaana*: Education, Career and Marriage in the Lives of Young Dalit Women: A Study Based in Karnataka

Ramakka R. and Manjula T

What are the circumstances and contexts in which young Dalit women gain a sense of autonomy? How do they imagine and articulate their negotiations? How do they make sense of a word such as "dream" in the context of education, career and choice of partner - all contingent on their caste, class and region among other factors.

In addressing these questions, scholarship on education among different Dalit communities has largely tended to represent the male experience. On the other hand, studies highlighting the experiences of Dalit women with regards to their work have remained within certain definitions of employment or labour, not always approaching an imagination of "career".

In this paper, we set out to unpack the interconnected workings of education, marriage and their careers on young Dalit women. These interconnections, although are recognized, do not appear in sharp focus within literature on Karnataka. In what specific ways do these three elements influence one another and impact these women who are from diverse literate, non-literate, urban and rural backgrounds? Among them we focus on narratives of women working as safai karamcharis, young women forced into the Davadasi system, and others in marginalized occupations.

Our study is set in two districts of Karnataka - one of them, Kolar, with the highest Dalit population in the state, an epicentre of sorts for a number of Dalit and Left organizations that have deeply influenced the revitalization of marginalized identities; another, Bijapur, ecologically made vulnerable, a region that has seen multiple migratory patterns and has a long history of anti-caste socio-cultural movements. The study includes in depth interviews of 20 women and a number of FGDs in each district.

Through rich experiential narratives, including our own, we foreground the negotiations young Dalit women make with individuals, institutions and their own expectations. What are the effects of these negotiations, strategies and at times, compromises on their psycho social wellbeing? What are their choices, opportunities and dreams with regards to education, marriage and career?

9.30 Caste Composition of Women in Higher Education in India

Chandrika Raval

Indian constitution defines women's rights to equality and non-discrimination as justiciable fundamental rights. The historic universal declaration of Human Rights, adopted at the UN General Assembly in 1948 declared that "everyone has the right to education". After independence higher education sector attracted greater attention. Government plans and programs and state level programs and schemes emphasized higher education for women in the society and it is recognized as a powerful instrument of women for socio economic upliftment. Now India has third largest higher education system in the world. But, if we see the data of higher education, there are gender based disparities among social sections. One of the reasons

for this is caste, religion and culture. Caste is not an archaic ritual system but it is a dynamic aspect of modern education and economy.

This is a secondary data based paper. The main objectives of this paper are to show Gender composition in higher education and its relation with caste. The statistics presented in the paper have been compiled from the annual reports of UGC. The paper conveys that there is a steady educational progress among socio-economically disadvantaged groups such as Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Government tried to improve the educational status of Women but various factors such as caste, religion, culture, regional background, gender stereotyped mindset etc. have affected women's role in higher education.

The paper also informs that there are various problems of women which are structurally framed in the society. Socio-cultural values affect women's higher education. Socio-cultural values affect women's higher education. The study finds that education makes a person self reliant but individual interest, family and cultural values are important for higher education. High quality research is needed for this. The paper concludes with important remarks and suggestions.

9.31 Migrant Women and the Promises of Education: A Bordieuan Reading of Select Case Studies from Delhi

Ridhima Tewari, Manjeet Bhatia

Every institutionalized educational system (ES) owes the specific characteristics of its structure and functioning to the fact that, by the means proper to the institution, it has to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and to the fulfilment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary which it does not produce (cultural reproduction), the reproduction of which contributes to the reproduction of the relations between the groups or classes (social reproduction). *Reproduction: In Education, Society and Culture*, 54, 1990.

The above quote from Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron inaugurates the concept of the 'cultural arbitrary', which is integral to their theory of social reproduction. Along with 'habitus', various forms of capital- such as 'social capital' and 'cultural capital', and 'social class', the notion of the 'cultural arbitrary' is employed by Bourdieu, in particular, to interrogate social inequality. Towards a similar cause, Bourdieu undertakes a detailed analysis of the educational system, claiming that the system re-establishes and perpetuates the very inequality it is borne out of, even propped up by.

The present paper utilizes select case studies from Women Studies and Development Centre, University of Delhi's short-term project titled *Mall: A Gendered Space* (2017) to examine migrant women's investment in the idea of education. Focusing on migrant women employed at a popular shopping mall in New Delhi's Vasant Kunj area, the study attempted to capture their reasons for migration, and the socio-economic effects of migration and employment within the shopping mall. Focused group discussions, as well long interviews with these migrant women revealed a recurring belief in education as a means of social mobility and change. Women working at different strata of employment- from store managers and executives, to housekeeping and security staff-, as well as from different pockets of the country (Kashmir, Orissa, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh among others), stressed on education as a propelling force behind their migration. While some were already more educated than their spouse and had desired to migrate for work, others believed they would save and 'invest' in generating long-term gains for themselves through obtaining further educational degrees. More importantly, all of them suggested that inability to be educated and obtain degrees had been a

major reason for their socio-economic backwardness- a 'failure' they did not wish to impart as a legacy to their children. A significant example of this was a young housekeeping staff Radha (name changed), from Bakshi-ka-Talab, a village near Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, who had invested a considerable portion of her income in tutorial classes for her primary school-going daughter (to supplement what was being taught the government school).

This paper revisits some of these case studies of school drop-outs, or barely literate migrant-women, whose aspirational story hinged on establishing a meaningful connection between migration and education. Drawing from Bordieuan framework of social reproduction, this paper attempts to show how education, itself dependent on various forms of capital possessed by players in a social 'field', becomes a goal for migrant-women working in the Mall. Simultaneously, it also seeks to establish how such an investment in a deeply unequal system leads to further internalising of social stratifications and an ironical dependence on structures of the dominant class.

9.32 Comprehensive Sexuality Education: Why the hushed tone?

Rigya Singh

Sustainable Development Goals have definitive guidelines on improving Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights in its agenda (Galati, 2015). One of the major SRHR indicator is education; more specifically Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE).

CSE in India is a contentious topic. Sex itself is seen as something shameful and taboo, so talking about it is seen in the realms of 'indecent'. While CSE is not just about sex but about sexuality which encompasses a wide range of topics ranging from sexual identities to gender equality to child sexual abuse disseminated in an age appropriate manner; in a country with plural cultures and religions, each having their own view on above mentioned subject matters, it becomes difficult to convince people to view CSE as something beneficial since it has been pigeon-holed in a archetypal mould of promoting lascivious behaviour among young people.

Majority of us have received a rudimentary version of CSE through media, friends and the internet as it is not a part of school curriculums. While we have films like Kabir Singh which perpetuate a distorted view of relationships and even to an extent promote interpersonal violence in the name of love, it becomes apparent why CSE needs to be inculcated in the very curriculum for a nuanced, sex-positive and rights-based understanding of sexuality. Foucault in his seminal work *The History of Sexuality* painstakingly illustrated the conversations on sexuality in Victorian Society, breaking the stereotype of it being a puritanical culture (Foucault, 1978). Since conversations happen regardless, it is imperative that proper knowledge is provided to curb misinformation and promote healthy environments for young people to grow in. Staying silent on the matter isn't an option because when one does not have the language, they often lose the tools to express themselves. Although some private schools and organisations have made an effort to educate students on sexuality, a uniform curriculum across country has yet to be formulated. The sexuality education provided is often lacking, incomplete or planned according to the ideology of the organisation offering it (Aleya, 2015). Lack of pedagogy to tackle what most consider to be a hot potato, teachers do not have the know-how to educate their students on it, nor do the students have a trust-worthy source to turn to.

Comprehensive Sexuality Education implies an implementation of an age-appropriate framework that deals with all aspects of sexuality. Imagine if young kids had the know-how to protect themselves against child molestation, people knew the value of informed consent and varied genders normalised in classrooms breaking the stereotype of gender binaries and norms. These are not impossible scenarios. With this paper, I attempt to look at the state of CSE in

schools in India and the notions young people possess regarding it. The hope is to do away with myths and taboos while talking about comprehensive sexuality education and elaborate on its usefulness.

9.33 Education of Tribal women in Jharkhand - An overview

Saraswati Pandey

This paper attempts to examine and understand the low literacy level and education among tribal women in Jharkhand. The tribal women constitute like any other social group, about half of the total tribal population. The paper discusses the role of government, institutions, programs and the links between education and development. Various programs and schemes are there but their penetrance is poor and the benefit is also limited. Many of the programs did not benefit the tribal community because the programs were not conceptualized with reference to the local needs and the multiple differences of geography, customs and regional requirements. There are multiple other reasons, which do not allow the full benefits of the programs to reach the target population, like corruption, lack of political determination and lack of development of the regions to start with. The paper talks about the need for special focus on tribal education, which is also inclusive of tradition and at the same time is innovative.

9.34 Employment and Education Status of Women's from Mang Garudi community

Sayali Shinde

Mang Garudi is one of the marginalized communities in Maharashtra; it is one of the sub-caste forms Mang community. Because of lack of resources and means for living they still engage in criminal activities such as robbery which is supposed to be their caste job in general public. Their social conditions are worse and they stand at lowest to the development indicators such as health and sanitation, education and other three basic needs. The objective of this paper is to analyze the status of vulnerable women from the Mang Garudi Community and their development issues particularly health, education, and occupation. Another objective is to understand the socio-economic location and background of the Mang Garudi community in caste society. The analysis is based on the primary data which is collected through the self-observation and the unstructured interview with the women and children from Mang Garudi community. The women's are facing many issues of survival. The issue which they are facing is off health, education, sanitation, addictions, occupation, and indulgence in criminal activities. There are some disturbing realities I would like to put forward in this paper so that their problem in life get focus of academicians and policy makers.

9.35 Padhayenge Nahi toh Reservation Kahan se Milega? - A Study of Meena women in Sawai Madhopur, Rajasthan

Seema Marmath

In India, concerns around marriage are central in determining women's entry into the employment sector. The extent of education that is allowed by the family thus has a huge role to play in the educational outcomes of women. The present research is located within the Meena community which is one of the largest Scheduled Tribes of Rajasthan. The community has a double-edged sword wherein for official purposes they are a tribe but on the basis of traditional accounts they are a Hindu caste. The community has had access to considerable social and

cultural capital in the post-Independence period. In the early decades after Independence, the rationale to educate young girls beyond school remained extremely low. But after the structural reforms, Meena women's participation has increased which is evident from a rise in the enrolment of women into institutions of higher learning in Sawai Madhopur. This is due to the emerging demand for educated daughter in laws within the community which has had a considerable impact on the educational outcomes among Meena women in this region. The fieldwork for this research was conducted in the first women's college in Sawai Madhopur. The participants were final year students pursuing Bachelors and teachers within the college. This was qualitative research wherein in-depth interview and participant observation were the methods used to gather narratives of young Meena women. This paper shall bring out the linkages between women's education, marriage and dowry that has had a huge impact on the educational outcomes of Meena women. This paper shall argue that the dowry rates, which are rampant within the community determine the affordability of education by families which has a direct impact on their employment opportunities in this region. A 7-year data was gathered from the Social Welfare Department in Sawai Madhopur, wherein the data depicts a lack of Meena women accessing top educational institutions such as NIT and IIT and those clearing grade one posts in the country. Through the narratives of young women what comes out were the possibilities of employment among Meena women are determined by their locations of the rural or the urban. Finally, the paper shall argue that the Meena community uses its access to reservations to fulfil the demand of an educated daughter in law who has possibilities of employment, which are fulfilled through women's entry largely into B.ED courses using the reservation policy which reinforces women's concentration into gendered professions such as teaching which is in complete contradiction to the larger perceptions of the Meena community being concentrated in grade 1 positions across the country.

9.36 Talking Gender Parity in Classrooms - A Case for Contextualising the Dialogue on Gender at the Local Level in Tamil Nadu

Sethulakshmi.V and Vaishnavi.C

The discussions around gender are effective when it starts young, and among boys and girls in institutions like schools. While it's encouraging that there is an acceptance for such a dialogue, there is hardly any documented evidence of such dialogues from rural India.

This paper discusses the preliminary data from an action research study conducted among 600 adolescents in a small town in Tamil Nadu. It advocates for action researches to incorporate and reflect on local and state-level decisions while observing and analysing local realities through global theoretical frameworks. It summarises the ongoing conversations from the gender training program conducted for parents, teachers and children in a school in Kumbakonam, Tamil Nadu over 8 months. This paper stresses the necessity for a public platform for dialogue around gender sensitisation and sexual harassment through workshops among parents, teachers and students.

We argue gender parity should look beyond just enrolment numbers and respond to the local gendered attitudes, aspirations towards career choices, relationships and culture. The preliminary findings reflect the biases and prejudices they have in regard to gender roles and stereotypes and how it pervades their lifestyles, career and life choices. And, our study indicates career choices though they are gendered they are also deeply rooted in the socio-economic context of the place. Hence, gender sensitisation should be a continuous process of reflecting and incorporating realities, into the larger paradigm of social change. It should justify further contextualised examination of issues and theories, even if they have been claimed redundant globally.

9.37 Policies, SDG Goals and Gender Equality in Education

Somdutta Mukherjee

The paper would try to map the trajectory through which Women's Studies has evolved as a multidisciplinary discipline, from being a part of University Grants Commission's (UGC) non-formal education to an 'independent' discipline through different processes of 'institutionalization' within the education system. By drawing parallels between local and global changes at policy levels (education policies, economic policies) regarding women's issues, it will see what made the Indian State feel the need to address women's condition and then work towards 'empowering' women through Women's Studies.

It was in the third Five Year Plan (1961-66), where we can find that women's education emerged as an important area of focus. One will have to remember that National Council for Women has already been formed in 1958, under the leadership of Durgabai Deshmukh and there was an immediate need to focus on ensuring women's equal rights in education. While Indian State was still struggling to give equal opportunity to women in education, the publication of the Towards Equality report in 1974 by the Committee on the Status of Women in India (formed in 1972) showed that there was a specific need to look into and understand women's condition in relation to health, employment, social status, political participation, and so on. During that time, the report had made a strong impact on Indian State and its policy makers and it was the time when the report brought to the forefront that development of the state did not automatically facilitate women's development. The findings of the report prompted Indian Council of Social Science Research to fund research projects in universities which later would lead to the development of Women's Studies as a separate programme in higher education institutions. In 1974, a unit for research on women was established in SNDT University, Mumbai. This marked the initiation of feminist intervention in academia. The National Conference on Women's Studies in 1981 paved the way for the formation of Indian Association of Women's Studies, which, in 1985, along with UGC organized a seminar to discuss the funding possibilities, feasibility and relevance of women's studies centres in India. UGC's Guidelines for Development of Women's Studies in Indian Universities and Colleges that came out immediately after the seminar in 1986 accelerated the process of institutionalization of women's studies, a journey which began post-Towards Equality Report.

Although the trajectory might look smooth and seems to give an overall picture of how Women's Studies emerged within the space of higher education institutions i.e. universities, the paper would try to find whether there is influence of global issues which India could not avoid while formulating its education policies (with special focus on UGC'S guidelines and policies on Women's Studies) which were, in many ways, controlled by economic policies that came under similar kind of influence in a global world. In the mid-1970s, the global scenario saw many developments and concerns with regard to women's issues. In the local context, India already had the Towards Equality report, and interestingly, it was the time when United Nations Decade for Women would commence. UN Decade for Women helped establish the significance of women's issues at home and at work which were being neglected by the state, family and general public. The UN Decade also brought to the forefront discriminations faced by women in the spheres of education, health, work.

If we look at the recent development with regard to draft education policy in India (including draft of UGC Guidelines of Women's Studies Centres), one would find the overarching importance of Sustainable Development Goals (UN-SDG 2030) which talks about promoting equality and empowerment of women. Therefore, the parallel developments, in global and local contexts, make one curious about what goals are set; under what circumstances

those goals become important than others and whether there are possibilities of 'sustainability' through ways in which policies are made.

9.38 Right to Education Act and Universal Access to Education in India

Sulochana Pednekar

Education plays a very crucial role in the growth and development of a country. The level of education of the population provides information on the type of human capital generated in the country. Globally, 263 million children, adolescents, and youth between the ages of 6 and 17 are currently out of school. Southern Asia has the second highest number (11 million) of out-of-school children of primary school age with India's share being 2.9 million. India accounts for the largest number of children in the lower-secondary age group who are out-of-school and 47 million youth of upper secondary age out-of-school (UNESCO, 2016). India notified Right to Education (RTE) act in India in April 2010 to provide free and compulsory education to all children from the age of 6 to 14 years. RTE act provides the guidelines in giving admissions and improving the school infrastructure to provide free and compulsory education. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009, is a result of the legislation envisaged under Article 21-A of the constitution of India. This paper aims to study the age and gender-specific reasons for not attending school and to evaluate the implementation of the RTE act in India in providing free and compulsory education. The study has used the data from the 4th Round National Family Health Survey which is collected in 2015. The reasons for currently not attending school are analyzed using STATA Software. The data analysis is carried out for all the States and Union Territories of India. The NFHS-4 Report provides only the overall reasons for not attending school. The study will show the most important reasons among the school going age-groups and gender-specific issues that need to be addressed to meet the goal of universal access to education. It may be noticed that even after 4-5 years of RTE Act children in the age group of 5-9 years are not able to enroll in schools. The paper will also showcase the gaps and lack of school-level data which is important for monitoring the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) goals and meeting the targets. Until every child gets access to education, the Sustainable Development Goal 4 to provide quality education will remain an unrealistic goal for India. If India needs to monitor and fulfill the Sustainable development goals especially Goal 4, the data gaps need to be identified and filled. The paper attempts to provide the implications for policymakers in understanding the reasons for not attending the school and finding appropriate strategies to overcome the issues of access to education in India.

9.39 Caste and Gender in Campus: Examining the Pedagogy and Praxis

S.Swetashree

Caste and gender inequality is rooted in the Indian social structure and operates through social norms and usages. Women and Dalits invariably occupied subordinate position in this patriarchal and caste ridden society, since time immemorial. Dalit women suffered double disadvantage, as being woman and being Dalit in the caste and patriarchal society. At the dawn of modernity it was expected that these obsolete social practices will disappear with the spread of education and spread of universal value system. However, research has established that this discrimination have made ways to modern institutions including educational institutions, in addition to its traditional enclaves. The educational settings are not free from patriarchy, neither it is free from casteism but these practices are rationalized and justified through various means.

The subtle, pervasive discriminatory acts experienced by members of stigmatized groups such as, Dalit and women in the university settings have been invisibilized and seldom noticed by the uninitiated. How caste and gender as a category gets organized, expressed and disseminated through the pedagogical practice in the university. Drawing filed experience from Sambalpur University (Odisha), the paper attempts to underline how gender and caste neutral the university campus is? It also interrogates the conventions, customs and rules that governs gender role in the university? It also investigates, how various signs and symbols around the campus imparts category of gender and caste.

9.40 Privatization of Higher Education: The Calculus of Consent

Vaishali Narula

Higher education has an important role to play for academic pursuits and augmenting of knowledge. Higher education is the determining force to produce and disseminate knowledge. The university system in the India laid its foundation under the British rule and paved its path towards western liberal education. This liberal framework of education was carried further post independence along with industrialization. The policy objectives and initiatives in higher education focused on self- reliance and industrialization.

As the higher education system began to expand there were observed various types of institutions some affiliating, some unitary, some institutions of high esteem focusing on professional education and more. This was the period with an emphasis on public institutions and public funding for the expansion of higher education. With this expansion the concern of access gained prominence considering the pluralistic nature of the Indian society. This was the phase of expansion, access and equity in higher education with public resources and funding. There was a focus on education reconstruction with structural reorganization, improvement of teaching learning practices and educational opportunity.

The constitution of India with its contestations and promises focused on equality and freedom with equality of opportunities. The state worked towards constituting an egalitarian society. This required education of citizens(i.e. both men and women). Moving towards its goal of access and equity the need for strengthening of education was examined and reflected notably in the Radhakrishnan Commission (1948-49) and the Kothari Commission (1964-66). These commissions focused on radical reconstruction of education with a focus on educating women and maintain the norms and values.

As the nation advanced towards strengthening and reforming of higher education it had to address the vital concern of expansion, access and equity. Gender equality in education was identified as essential for the development. The UN Convention on Elimination of discrimination of Women(CEDAW.1979), the MDG's. The Beijing Platform for Action(1995) and the SDG's worked towards gender equality and empowerment of women. The focus on Educating Women was taken forward by GOI through the initiatives of Mahila Samakhya, Scholarships for girls, setting up of anganwadis, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and the Right to Education(RTE: 2009). As the state took measures to strengthen primary and secondary education a phenomenon central to the higher education emerged - massification. The increasing expansion in enrolment also brought forth the concern of inclusiveness. Globally there has was a shift from elite to mass higher education and subsequently to universal access (Trow:1974). The decade of 1960's and 1970's saw rise in the number of higher education institutions. The increase in the number of higher education institutions from 27 universities, 578 colleges, four lakh students with a public expenditure of 0.19% of India's GDP in 1950-51 to 184 universities, 5,748 colleges, 49 lakh students to an expenditure of 0.77% of GDP in 190-91. The estimates for 2012-13 were 712 universities, 36,671 colleges, 296,29 lakh students and

a budgeted public expenditure of 0.89% of GDP.(Department of Higher Education, GOI:2014.The decade of 1980s saw reduction in the allocation of funds by the state. This had an impact on the functioning and processes of higher education. This brought about changes in the policy of the government.

The UGC regulation 2003& 2010 put forth for establishment and maintenance of private university. This opened the doors to private institutions in higher education. The rise of the private institutions brought forth the concerns of quality, maintenance of standards and accountability in higher education and importantly access of higher education. This paper aims to attempt that with glocalization of higher education the issue of access especially for women. An understanding towards the impact of emergence of market and commodification of higher education on learning and knowledge building amongst women. Neoliberalism represents an emphasis on free trade, fiscal conservatism and privatization, with implications for decreased support for the social welfare system. The neoliberal reform with the greatest implications for higher education is the privatization of state-owned enterprises, i.e., colleges and universities. Does this compromise increase the autonomy of universities? Have universities increasingly become mere extensions of business and industry and in these the incorporation of women? How does it impact the structuring of curriculum, fees and research goals. The allure of privatization can be substantial, so are the anxieties.

9.41 Caste, Religion, Culture and Girls' Education in India

Vaishnavi Ramesh Rao Pardi

भारत में जाति, धर्म, संस्कृति, और लड़कियोंकी शिक्षा.

"इस पेपर में पूरे भारत के क्षेत्र में होने वाली जाति, धर्म, संस्कृति, और लड़कियोंकी शिक्षा तथा स्थिती का अध्ययन कर रही हूँ"

10 Women and Employment

10.1 SHGs in India: The grey area between paid and unpaid work

Alpaxee Kashyap

With the large number of women's collective formed around the country, this paper seeks to understand what gains do the SHG women have by being part of the collective -both socially and economically. Historically, women's Collective like Combahee River Collective of South Carolina, a group of radical black feminist which was one of the most important organizations to develop out of the antiracist and women's liberation movements of the 1960s and 70s(Taylor, 2019) or the collective mobilization of women for the cause of preserving forests in the Chipko Movement in India in 1973 (Jain, 1984) or the Self Employment Women's Association (SEWA), which was launched in the state of Gujarat, India by female garment workers who first met in a park to discuss their working conditions and eventually organized into a trade union in 1972 have worked for 'self-help', an intrinsic aspect of feminist solidarity building. The 'work' done within these spaces have been felt need generated within the space and self-regulated and hence the gain of the work could be in terms of 'agency' 'resources' or 'achievement' (Kabeer's understanding of empowerment) which is other than paid compensation.

However, with the changing understanding of women's collective to SHGs, SHGs being small, informal group of 10-20 individuals, who are homogenous with respect to social and economic background and come together voluntarily for promoting savings habit among members and for a common cause to raise and manage resources for the benefit of group members- they started generating their own savings. This saving, however, cannot be considered as payment by the government.

The Indian government tapped on the potential of women's collectives for Indian development since the Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) when they introduced the SHG model "as a core strategy to achieve empowerment" with the objective to 'organize women into Self-help group and thus mark the beginning of a major process of empowering women' (Planning Commission, 1997). This strategy was continued in the 10th Plan as well (2002-07) with the government committed 'to encouraging SHG mode to act as the agents of social change, development and empowerment of women' (2002).

With this, came in large scale SHG programs supported through governmental and non-governmental initiatives for 'poverty-reduction' in India. SHGs soon became a medium for last mile delivery of most schemes in India. Feminists have raised concern for SHG women acting as a buffer for the failure of state institutions. Feminists have highlighted the severe toll that increasing hours and intensity of work had on women's sleep, leisure, and food.

This paper is based on secondary review of literature. Electronic databases, grey literature, relevant journals, organization websites, newspaper articles and keyword searches have been performed to understand the different kinds of work-load on SHG women and 17 evaluated SHG programs in India have been looked into to understand the 'gains' from the perspective of the SHG women. This area between what is expected and compensated to the women and how much is gained by the women is what I call the 'grey area'. This paper will look into the question of 'work' that is expected out of the SHG women and the expectation of the SHG women from engaging in developmental programs.

10.2 Domestic Workers in the Informal Workspace in India: Economic Wellbeing, Wages and Working Conditions

Amrita Ghatak, Kingshuk Sarkar

Unlike most occupations in the informal sector, domestic workers include mainly women many of whom are single and heading the households. Even among the rest women members are the major livelihood earners in the family. Also a majority of them commute a long distance to reach their place of work. Educational and health entitlements are extremely poor. Socially majority of such workers belong to the backward caste, schedule caste and schedule tribe category. Thus overall domestic workers come from the vulnerable section of the society and are disadvantaged from the socio-economic point of view.

Although there are numerous labour legislations for informal sector workers exist, domestic workers do not get benefit from them. The fact is that domestic space has, over the years particularly since the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies, become the dominant work space. There has been large-scale decentralisation, disintegration of production process such that factory system of production is slowly giving way to home-based production structure. In such a changing context, slowly but steadily there is a recognition of domestic space being the work-space. The issue of recognition of domestic workers as workers and their needs to be covered under protective legislations has attracted attention of administrators, policy-makers, observers, practitioners and academicians in recent times. There are civil society organizations and a few NGOs who are working for the betterment of conditions of work of domestic workers. But mobilization under registered trade unions is not commonplace even though traditional trade unions have expressed their intention to broaden their coverage to include domestic workers in recent times.

With rapid increase in informalisation of labour force and growing focus of labour administration on informal sector labour over the last decade and half, there seems to be some focus on domestic workers also as part of the informal labour diaspora. As part of such recognition some of the states have devised social security schemes for domestic workers and attempts are being made to form domestic workers welfare board. Such boards are supposed to formulate welfare schemes for domestic workers and implementation of those. Also, few states have included domestic work as a scheduled employment under the Minimum Wages Act 1948 and issued necessary gazette notification to that effect. However, till date no state has determined/declared minimum wages for the domestic workers. The matter is still pending with the state minimum wage advisory boards. It is expected that the recent inclusion of 'domestic work' in the wage and social security codes may provide room for many protective legislations to be applicable on domestic workers.

Given this backdrop, this paper focuses on the economic well-being of domestic workers, their wages and working conditions in India using data collected through primary survey and subsequent visits to two cities - Kolkata and Ahmedabad - in India during 2018-19. While on one hand the paper explores whether and to what extent domestic workers in India are economically vulnerable; on the other hand, it discusses the existing norms, practices along with the wages and working conditions of this workspace in those two cities. A number of visits to the fields are made in order to conduct focused group discussions and surveys separately among 250 domestic workers in Kolkata and 261 domestic workers in Ahmedabad.

While the differences in hours of work, wages, paid leaves, etc. are found to be substantial between domestic workers and others in India, Gujarat and West Bengal; the dependence of households on the income of domestic workers is evidently much higher in West Bengal compared to that in Gujarat and overall India. However, it is found that most of the domestic workers in Kolkata do not earn adequate money to run their households; whereas,

domestic work in Ahmedabad is often a primary livelihood option. Wages in Ahmedabad are higher and more uniform than that in Kolkata. The tasks are more standardised in Ahmedabad than that in Kolkata. While domestic workers in Kolkata could garner the trade-union rights in recent times with active presence of civil society groups, they form homogeneous and informal groups for negotiating contracts with employers in Ahmedabad.

10.3 Mapping Social History of Chikankari Artisans as a Respondent: A Case of Lucknow

Aparna Dixit

The paper is a critical inquiry of the Social History of *Chikankari* artisans as a respondent in the research. The researcher currently working on the *Chikankari* Artisans of Lucknow. During her research as a women's studies scholar, she visited the field; based on her field visit and available body of literature she highlights some challenges and debates pertaining with the question of how to research *Chikankari* Artisans in Women's Studies? In the paper, the researcher gives a brief introduction to the topic and reviewed available important researches on the topic. She also underscores the challenges and issues, finds in the field and in the existing studies. Throughout the paper, she traces the social history of the Artisans as a respondent and In the end, raises some important questions regarding researching *Chikankari* Artisans in contemporary India. The paper is a feminist intervention in the field of the social history of workers as a respondent in research that reflects on the idea of the need for experiments with researches in Interdisciplinary discourses in India in general and in Women's Studies in particular.

10.4 Are Women Prepared for Future of Work?

Archana Zende

A simple correlation exists between women's work and women's status. Economic or industrial transformation is translated into labour market changes which define or re-define gender relations and opportunity for employment of women. Globally and in India, a decadal analysis of employment data reveals a declining trend of Female Labour Force Participation (FLFP). Launch of new technologies, digitisation, and automation raises a concern that women employed in low-skilled and low-paying jobs may lose their place in the workforce.

How marginalised women are negotiating this situation? And what is the definition of 'marginalised' in the context of the digital revolution is the point of inquiry of this paper.

As a part of my master's programme in Gender, Culture, and development, I wrote an article 'Nhavi (barber caste) women in Pune city: renegotiating new opportunities for livelihood' in 2016. This study was an analysis of the efforts of Nhavi women to earn a livelihood through beauty parlours, focussing on the gendered process of class formation within their caste. I discussed the struggles of women from the Nhavi caste who have opted for the profession of running beauty parlours but only after overcoming the 'stigma' associated with a caste based occupation. I concluded that article with the concern, as; this small marginalised group of Nhavi women in Pune was unaware of how conditions were changing, and how they could overcome the stigma associated to their cast based occupation and transforms their lives. The personal grooming and care business was still growing many new streams. Trends such as spas, massage, and aromatherapy treatments were flourishing. The question I posed was, how many Nhavi women are willing or capable of taking advantage of these developments.

In another world unknown to these women, the future of work (FOW) has emerged as a major policy topic in recent years. I came across a report about the future of work, 'Opportunity or Challenge? Empowering women and girls in India for the Fourth Industrial Revolution prepared by Global Compact Network India (GCNI) and Deloitte. This report states that the launch of new technologies, digitisation, and automation raises a concern that women employed in low-skilled and low-paying jobs may lose their place in the workforce and also poses the question, whether women and girls of India are ready for the digital revolution and changing nature of work available?

These inquiries are similar and associated. I revisited the subject and met some girls and women perusing beauty treatment and hairstyling business as an occupation. These women are from higher caste affluent families of bankers and lawyers. Their stories are not different. Girls formally educated in electronics and telecommunication or computer science are now seeking training in the Beauty Industry.

In this paper, I wish to analyse this trend as a phenomenon. I will enquire if new economy and industry 4.0 is pushing these women to domain of less illustrious and less paid gigs. Are these women aware of the future of work in terms of the nature of organisational realities and necessary skills. The methodology is that of qualitative research combining methods of unstructured interviews and oral narratives. Every subject has a unique upbringing; which compels me to work on the very loose structure of questions in their personal interviews. I will also use data and inferences from my previous writings. I will attempt to draw data from specific case studies to furnish empirical evidence.

10.5 Understanding Women's Role in Pottery Sector in India

Arfa Fatima

The roots of pottery, a cottage industry, can be traced back to the earliest civilizations. The analogy of a woman being treated like the potter's wheel toiled by a stick, usually connoted as the phallus symbol, is uncanny as women play an important role in this sector. The endogamous group has regulated the women folk by imposing a religious myth that the means of livelihood would be polluted by their touch. Hence, women don't learn pottery and only provide 'assistance' to men. It is a carefully devised strategy to ensemble the effects of deep-rooted patriarchy that promotes sexual segregation. In my paper, I would investigate the gender roles and unfavourable effects of globalization on women involved in this craft, followed by a case study of a 'kumara' community residing in Dewa, Uttar Pradesh.

10.6 Women in uniform - Feminist Analysis of experiences of exclusion of Women Officers in Indian Army

Arohi Panicker

As a signatory of UN Sustainable Development Goals India opened new contours of employment opportunities for women with the aim to empower women and promote gender equality. Following this in 1993 Indian Army started commissioning women at officer level ranks. Like every other Army personnel women are also commissioned on contractual basis with the contract lasting for 14 years. In this duration and depending on their postings women officers do a plethora of work ranging from taking troops and supplies in difficult terrains to solving disputes among others. This does not levy them from performing the traditional gender segregated roles which the women (in general) are expected to perform. On the contrary women are granted (not granted) some assignments based in their biology.

The Army has always been a hypermasculine organisation. The presence of women in the forces for some have added to the smooth functioning of the forces whereas for others is a shire waste of time and money. In the hustle between different voices women serving in the forces have a different lens to look at themselves and their work. As a 'lady officer' and a woman at the same time women in the forces in their own way negotiate for a niche in the organisation which includes tackling subtle gendered stereotypes and differentiation, access to resources and amenities. The persistent presence of the invisible glass ceiling prevents them from not only holding certain positions but also deny them the organisational perk of pension.

The paper is an attempt to critique the hypermasculine and patriarchal functioning of the organisation by highlighting the everyday battles of women officers in this hypermasculine space and also shedding light on the importance of women in organisations like the Indian Army. It also tackles with the dilemma of commissioning women in combat roles which the organisation has denied ever since on the grounds that Indian women (because of their biological needs) are not equipped to take up combat arms. The paper addresses the underlying experiences of exclusion of women serving in the armed forces - self exclusion where the women do not see themselves as 'feminine enough', organisational exclusion wherein women are not given various positions stating their biological needs as an occupational hindrance.

10.7 Changing Work Participation of Fisherwomen in a South Indian Village: A Narrative Analysis

Arya Chandran L

The present paper is based on the doctoral fieldwork done in a South Indian coastal community. Narratives from the marine fishing community have been collected to trace the changes in fisher women's participation in the coastal economy over the period. A clear gender division of labour existed in the community from earlier times. Fishing and its sale is the traditional occupation of the community, but largely a men's domain of work. Local belief system and the prescribed gender roles have restricted women from being part of the labour force. Men were the primarily breadwinner of every household and women took care of the children and household. Net making and drying of fish were only ways through which women stuck to their traditional occupation. While few sold food items like breakfast and evening snacks. Natural calamities and the subsequent sea erosion has squeezed the community to a narrow strip of land. This gave little space for the households to dry fish which earlier was one of the occupation done by women. As the global demand for fish increased, more industries were set up for net making and processing fish, were fisherwomen became labourers like other women. Social awakening in the coast, neo liberal policies and increased global demand for fish, lead to more competitors and increased poverty in the coast. This gave a new arena for women in the coast to step in the marketing of fish. Even then the local belief of fisherwomen would pollute the sea has beholden women from fishing. Thus fishing was done by men and fish vending by women, which is still in practice. At present there are more than 300 women fish vendors. The attached social stigma and restrictions on fish vending women travelling in public transport system have reduced. Unlike other women in the society women fish vendors had high mobility and are often seen to have a dominant nature especially because they engage in a male dominant workspace. Thus the paper will reflect on the influence of social, economic and geographical changes in the coast and its subsequent changes in fisherwomen's labour participation.

अवन्तिका शुक्ला

महिलाओं की शिक्षा और उनके लिये रोजगार के बेहतर अवसर आज के समय की अनिवार्यता हैं। महिलाओं के लिये सिर्फ घर गृहस्थी की जिम्मेदारी ही प्रमुख समझी जाती रही है, बाकी सारी चीजें गौण। लेकिन अब चाहें इसे हम महिला आंदोलन का प्रभाव कह लें या फिर विवाह के लिये शिक्षित और महंगाई की मार से बचने के लिये कामकाजी पत्नी की मांग, आज महिलाओं की शिक्षा और रोजगार को कम से कम शहरों में गंभीरता से लिया जा रहा है। यह अलग बात है कि रोजगारों की संख्या भी तेजी से घट रही है। सच्चाई यह भी है कि रोजगार को पाने के संघर्ष में उनका पारिवारिक उत्तरदायित्व कम नहीं हुआ है, बल्कि उसे अपनी शिक्षा और रोजगार के साथ निभाने की भी मांग बढ़ती जा रही है। सूपर वूमन की सोच का जन्म भी इसी के साथ हुआ है, जो महिलाओं के ऊपर बड़ी हिंसा है।

रोजगार की कमी के चलते महिला या पुरुष दोनों के लिये ही यह आवश्यक नहीं है कि रोजगार उनके अपने शहर में ही हो। अतः सीमित संभावनाओं में भी उन्हें रोजगार के लिये शहर से बाहर निकलना पड़ता है। आज स्थितियां ऐसी बन गयीं हैं कि पति और पत्नी अलग-अलग स्थानों पर नौकरियां कर रहे हैं। भारतीय समाज में परिवार व्यवस्था के भीतर पितृसत्ता मजबूत रही है। संयुक्त परिवार हों या पति, पत्नी युक्त एकल (न्यूक्लियर) परिवार। दोनों ने ही परिवारों में आपसी गठजोड़ के साथ परिवार की पितृसत्तात्मक संरचना को बनाये रखा है, क्योंकि समाज के सत्ता संबंध परिवार के सत्ता संबंधों से ही तय होते हैं।

आज एक नया परिवार सामने खड़ा है, जिसमें पति और पत्नी अलग-अलग रह रहे हैं। बच्चे अपनी माँ के साथ हैं। डिसटेंट रिलेशनशिप जैसा शब्द पति पत्नी के लिए सुनने को मिल जा रहा है। पहले भी पति पत्नी रोजगार या अन्य कारणों से अलग-अलग रहते आए हैं, पर उनमें अधिकांश स्थितियों में मां कामकाजी नहीं होती थी। या तो मां अपने बच्चों के साथ ससुराल या मायके में रहती थी या फिर ऐसी स्थितियां कम देखने को आती थीं। पर आज जैसे जैसे स्त्रियों के बीच शिक्षा का प्रसार हुआ है, उनमें स्वयं को स्थापित करने की, अपनी पहचान बनाने और आर्थिक रूप से आत्मनिर्भर होने की एक उत्कट अभिलाषा भी बढ़ी है। वे रोजगार के बेहतर अवसर प्राप्त करने के लिए अब घर से दूर जाने की भी हिम्मत कर रही हैं। परिवार भी विवाह के बाद महिलाओं को अकेले दूर रहकर रोजगार करने की सहमती दे रहा है। और स्त्री पुरुष के एकल परिवारों की संख्या धीरे धीरे बढ़ रही है। एकल परिवारों में महिलायें बिना किसी बंधन के रह रही हैं, और अपने निर्णय लेने में आत्मनिर्भर होती हैं, आत्मविश्वासी भी होती हैं। लेकिन इन परिवारों का संचालन जितना लगता है, उतना आसान नहीं होता क्योंकि महिला यहाँ अपने बच्चों के साथ अकेले रहकर अपनी नौकरी कर रही होती है और अभी भी हमारे समाज में इसे बहुत सहजता से नहीं लिया जाता। कई बार ऐसी कामकाजी महिलाओं के पास हमेशा कोई पारिवारिक सपोर्ट सिस्टम उपलब्ध नहीं रहता। परिवार और पति के दूर रहते हुए अपने बच्चों का बेहतर पालन पोषण जिसमें उनकी भावनात्मक जरूरतों की पूर्ति भी एक अहम मुद्दा होता है, साथ ही अपने विवाहित जीवन को बचाये ले जाने की जद्दोजहद भी एक तनाव का कारण होती है। अकेले रहने की तमाम असुरक्षाएँ अलग से। इस स्थिति में यह महिलायें इन जद्दोजहद के साथ अपने परिवारों का संचालन, बच्चों का पालन पोषण, नौकरी की मांगों और विवाहित जीवन की उष्मा की रक्षा किस प्रकार करती हैं, यह एक विचारणीय बिन्दु है। यह इसलिये भी आवश्यक है कि क्योंकि जब हम

समस्या को समझेंगे तभी समाधान की तरफ आगे भी बढ़ पायेंगे.परिवार के स्वरूप के भीतर किस तरह के परिवर्तन हो रहे हैं? वो कौन से कारण हैं कि जिसमें कि पितृसत्तात्मक परिवार व्यवस्था से बाहर निकलकर महिलायें अपने पति और परिवारीजनों के बगैर बाहर नौकरी कर रही हैं? महिलायें जब अपने पति या बगैर किसी पारिवारिक व्यक्ति के कहीं बाहर रहती हैं, तो उनके भीतर किस प्रकार के बदलाव होते हैं? क्या वे सचमुच पित्रसत्तात्मक व्यवस्था से मुक्ति प्राप्त कर पाती हैं, या वे एक नये प्रकार की पित्रसत्ता को अपने पास पाती हैं?इस तरह के परिवारों को चलाने में महिलायें किन संघर्षों और चुनौतियों का सामना कर रहीं हैं,इन विषयों पर अध्ययन आवश्यक है. इसके माध्यम से हम मध्यवर्गीय शहरी महिला के प्रवासन को भी समझ सकते हैं और पाते हैं कि शिक्षा, रोजगार और प्रवासन का संबंध उनके जीवन पर किस प्रकार का प्रभाव डालता है.

10.9 A Study of Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) workers in rural areas of Manipur

Bandana Yumnam

This study makes an attempt to analyse the possible outcomes of ASHA workers as working women living in a patriarchal society. The study aims to understand impact of incorporating health responsibilities within their daily lives. The existing literature in the Indian context of voluntary community health workers has not discussed the changes and work-life conflict of the ASHA workers after joining their duties in an adequate manner. Manipur, a conflict-ridden state is a patriarchal society where majority of women lack empowerment in public and private sphere. Most of the household or domestic activities such as cooking, cleaning, raising the children and caring are being handed over to women despite being an ASHA worker and not receiving any help from males of the household. They undertake such activities for their own survival and their families. Women engage both in economic and household activities simultaneously. However, such activities of women are not looked at as productive work or a contribution to the society, and also not accounted in the calculation of state (SGDP) or national income (GDP). Cultural norms and social expectations also affect the way of women and how they perceive their own activities. Methodologically, the study is based on qualitative approach by using in- depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) of the ASHA workers living in Wangoi block, Imphal west district of Manipur. The study has relied primarily on the narrative analysis of the ASHA respondents about their day- to- day life activities of being an ASHA worker.

10.10 Women in Saffron Cultivation in Kashmir Valley: Ending the Gap for the Upward Mobility

Binish Qadri

There is mounting wage inequality among workers in the organized manufacturing sector. In addition, since the 1980s, there is growing wage inequality between skilled and unskilled workers in both developed countries and developing countries. Human capital is one of the most important factors elucidating wage inequality. Better-quality education and value-added access to education will condense some of the wage gaps and, significantly, allow women to broaden her prospects by flaring the opportunities available to them. Among the illiterate, women keep on meaningfully over-signified. The global trend towards extreme wealth concentration has dramatically strengthened the economic and political power of male

individuals at the cost of females. In the world around women continue to be underrepresented in high-level and overrepresented in low-paying jobs. Female-dominated occupations-such as agriculture-continue to occupy the lower rungs of the world economies. Moreover, in current economies of the world, the role of gender is apprehended as an essential socio-economic variable impacting agriculture products. Besides, in rural economies it is emphasized that the majority of females do agricultural deeds. This contention holds true in the case of saffron farming as well and the present study argues that there is wage inequality between male and female growers in both pre and post-harvesting stages of production.

Women work in saffron fields as growers on their own reason and story, as unpaid workers on family farms and as remunerated or unpaid laborers on other landholdings. We find their role every now and then in all stages of the development of the very cash crop which is the most expensive crop having a wide market in and outside the country. However, their efforts are more observed after harvesting takes place in the month of September and October. At both subsistence and commercial levels, we find their involvement. Since, saffron is a labor-intensive crop, women are considered an essential part of the saffron agricultural labor force.

Rural women in saffron growing villages of Kashmir valley in general and Pampore in particular every so often bring about multidimensional household tasks and follow manifold living strategies and one of the important strategies is growing and selling of saffron. Their activities of saffron classically consist of producing a saffron crop, harvesting or picking saffron with extra care, nurturing or treating saffron by putting it in the basket, drying saffron, and using it in food and other useful activities and occasions. Given the fact that they do so much so that they create value additions in saffron at different levels (household and market in particular), their role remains somewhere neglected which reflects clearly through unpaid work.

In Jammu and Kashmir, the well-being and progress of saffron households are directly or indirectly linked to the development of supply chains of horticulture in contemporary times which in turn has been accompanying with uninterrupted constructive kit or special impact for pastoral women and compact gender inequalities in rural areas. Research studies find that women take advantage more from their engagement in comprehensive plantation production and processing that is agro-manufacturing in nature and somewhat less from smallholding high-value contract-farming where large scale unpaid work is found. There are much better opportunities for women in saffron cultivation in Kashmir valley that will for sure end the gap for the betterment or upward mobility. In view of this, the present study will highlight their role in saffron farming.

10.11 Social Reproduction and Brahminical Patriarchy: A study of women employed in low paid cleaning work

Deepa

Whereas in the women's labour force participation in urban India is declining or becoming stagnant, there seems to be simultaneous increase in women's participation in certain low paid informal work. The census (and sample survey) of a slum with 1981 households in Chennai also shows a similar pattern. Most of the women are employed in what we term as cleaning work within 'reproductive' work. Around 65 percent of women doing paid work are employed in cleaning work, while for men this figure is around 2-3 percent. These women are mostly from Dalit Bahujan social background. However, although we observe a clear caste hierarchy in relative concentration of women in housekeeping work, we do not observe similar pattern in paid domestic work. In housekeeping relative concentration of SC/SCA./ST women is highest followed by MBC and BC women. No women from FC is employed in cleaning

work. In fact, the presence of FC households in this slum is very low. The analysis of sample survey helps us to understand not only the high concentration of women in these cleaning works but also the possible reasons for difference observed between housekeeping and paid domestic workers.

In the literature, mostly the concept of social reproduction and intersectionality have been used to analyse these patterns. In this case too, we find social reproduction theory useful in understanding the high concentration of women in cleaning work. However, as far as the differences observed between paid domestic work and housekeeping are concerned, we need to invoke the concept of patriarchy. Whereas social reproduction theory "provide a robust explanation of how oppressive relations" like patriarchy and caste "are part of the very nature of capitalist society", it is unable to capture the nuances of brahmanical patriarchy. The operation of brahmanical patriarchy within home is different from outside home. In case of paid domestic work, home itself is a workplace which is not so for housekeeping. The way brahmanism and patriarchy unravels within home and employer's home - as analysis of sample survey data reveals - are quite different from outside home. This paper would delve into these specificities to bring out a more nuanced picture by incorporating perspectives from literature on brahmanical patriarchy in the social reproduction framework (SRF). This paper using the insights from SRF regarding the "necessary but contradictory relationship between production and reproduction" would also look into ways in which women engaged in low paid work negotiate, bargain and resist brahmanical patriarchy within home, outside home and at employer's home.

10.12 Modern subjects, Conservative views: Women IT professionals in the 'Ready to Wait Campaign' in Kerala

Divya G.S

As part of the global restructuring of capital under neoliberal conditions, there have been shifts in economic production in India since the 1990s. India's participation in the global knowledge economy led to the emergence of new workspaces, work cultures and labour regime purportedly based on meritocratic, performance-driven and gender-neutral values characterized by flexibility, individualisation, and self-regulation. Several Information Technology (IT) parks were established in different parts of the country and Kerala too set up few IT parks to promote the employment opportunities in the state. Even though, the female work participation remains low in a state with high female literacy and education, professionally qualified women show better work participation. The changing middle-class notions of female employment, the relatively higher salaries in the IT sector, the globalised nature of work and the social status attached to it seem to inspire young women professionals to seek employment in this sector.

When in 2018, the Supreme Court of India overturned the restriction on the entry of menstruating women (age 10-50) to the Sabarimala temple in Kerala, declaring it to be unconstitutional and discriminatory, the state of Kerala witnessed a huge amount of protest, violence and mass mobilization challenging the court verdict. The ironical fact was that women themselves of all ages organized and came into the street against the verdict which uphold constitutional fundamental rights. By and large, they endorsed the idea of ready to wait campaign which started in 2016 as an online campaign by a group of women who stood for the rights of the devotees proclaiming, 'we are ready to wait till the age 50 to enter the Sabarimala temple'.

In the above two contexts, this paper attempts to understand the apparent contradictory subjectivities of the women Information Technology (IT) professionals who endorsed the ready to wait campaign embracing religious practices and faith above

constitutional rights and gender equality. The women IT professionals are significant in the study as their subjectivities are perceived to be shaped by the intersecting discourse of neoliberal workspaces and gender ideologies of the vernacular context. Based on the interviews of women IT professionals, the study looks at the ways in which women use education and employment to navigate the neoliberal work culture and conservative patriarchal structures centered around family and religion and how women's positioning act upon the patriarchal arrangements within family and religion.

10.13 Unpaid Work and Time Use Patterns of Women Workers in North East India

Ellina Samantroy

The recent report of the ILO on Care Work and Care Jobs: The Future of Decent Work (2018) emphasize that care work, both paid and unpaid is crucial to the future of decent work, particularly in countries that experience low labour market participation of women and women's secondary status in the labour markets. The declining female labour force participation and gender differentials in employment have been a matter of serious concern for policy makers in India. Also, women perform a large number of the unpaid and non-market economic activities performed within households which remains largely undercounted in National Accounting Statistics.

The present paper is contextualized within the north eastern region of India which has displayed tremendous diversity in terms of caste, religion and ethnicity, yet women of the region have been the victims of poverty, unemployment, inequality, despite their significant contribution to the economy. Further, women perform a large number of economic activities in this predominantly hilly and mountainous region yet, their economic contributions are underestimated and there is underreporting of their work. Lack of recognition of women's work in statistical sources, additional burdens of women's unpaid responsibilities and social and cultural practices constraints them from accessing social protection and social security provisions available in the country. The over representation of women as unpaid workers makes them vulnerable in terms of their socio-economic status depriving them of many rights. It is also important to find out the willingness of women to participate in labour force and if they are unable to do so then what may be the reasons?

In this context, the present paper tries to analyze the gendered dimensions of employment in North East India and provides an insight into women's unpaid work with a focus on capturing the time distribution patterns of women in hills and plains in region. It aims to address the invisible dimensions of women's work and highlights on the importance of capturing household and related work adequately in National Accounting Statistics. The paper is based on both primary and secondary data. The employment data from the National Sample Survey office for the 15-59 age group and the concept of Usual (Principal subsidiary) status has been taken into consideration in various years. The paper is based on the state (Tripura) of the north eastern region and the sample survey included 250 households from rural and urban areas of Tripura. Data was also collected from the members from Non-Governmental Organizations and representatives from local administration through focussed group discussions (FGD). Time distribution patterns were captured through a 24-hour time diary with time slots of 30 minutes each provided to capture all activities in the day.

(*) Usual Status is for a reference period of one year and includes principal status (PS) and subsidiary status (SS) as per the National Sample Survey Office.

10.14 Legislative Protection and Safety - An Empirical Study of Awareness through the Lenses of Working Women in Coimbatore, Tamilnadu, India

Grace Ruth Lomath, K. Mangayakarasi

Legislative Protection and Safety in ways of Sexual harassment at workplace is neither new nor rare, yet it is not reported or even talked about enough. It is a recurring problem around the globe. Most working women face sexual harassment at workplace in some form or the other. It is often seen how women are usually targeted in the society. Different States have taken measures to deal with the consequences of such a problem and continuous development of policies is observed. Employers are dealing with the topic by either reacting or pro-acting to the salient situations. Coimbatore is not different than any other state. Therefore, this research attempts to close such a gap. This paper explores sexual harassment in the workplace within selected organizations. Patriarchy reigns control by ensuring that women do not have equal access to available resources in the society and that they have restricted mobility and reduced efficiency, leading low or poor employability. A questionnaire has been developed and circulated to that purpose. The organizations contacted comprised of one hotel, hospital, restaurants, Shopping Mall, and a university. The high response rate (76%) has enabled a comprehensive and reliable information resource to be created, hopefully to enable application in terms of on-the-ground practice and levels of awareness and action in the stated regions. This information is considered particularly timely as it reflects the current position in Coimbatore. The expected outcome of this paper is the development of policies and creation of awareness which build on the findings of this research. Finally recommends that the need of hour is to take a close look over the issue and provide the preventive measures that could better assess the situation. Findings are also expected to contribute to defining future research work in Coimbatore Zone, Tamilnadu.

10.15 The 'Superwoman' Phenomenon: the Case of Urban Women in Formal Employment

Ishita Paul

As per the last Census (2011), women's workforce participation in the Indian economy is at an abysmal 26% against 53% for men. Furthermore, the National Sample Survey 2009-10 revealed that, women's work participation continues to be higher in the sectors of informal employment, viz. agriculture and industry. The alarmingly low number of women formally employed in the services sector (a mere 15%) presents a sorry picture of gender inequity; this in itself makes a case for further inquiry into what inhibits formal employment of women? Is it that, the nature of socio-cultural expectations with respect to gender roles comes into conflict with the demands of formal employment? This is what this paper tries to understand through lived experiences of women who have been or are working in the services sector. Data for the study was gathered through semi-structured interviews of twenty women in paid formal employment who hail from urban, educated and middle-class backgrounds of Kolkata and Hyderabad.

The study reveals that, the two most important structures or institutions which women have to 'balance' on an everyday basis are 'family' and 'work' (paid employment). On the family front, sexual division of labour (including both housework chores and mothering) has undergone hardly any reform; the significant change is substitution by paid care work, that is, domestic helps and ayahs/nannies. On the work front, women in this meritocratic sector are pitched on a 'level playing field' with their male counterparts. The women are faced with the

dilemma of being a 'good mother' versus a 'good employee', which is only aggravated by children often taking them on a guilt trip for prioritising career over family.

The idea of the ideal woman in the urban, middle class context, is no more restricted to the one who excels in the private sphere of the family and the household. Changing

definitions now dictate that women need to excel both at the home and the work front to prove their worth; the general feeling among all the participants was that, a 'working woman' is more valued and respected both within the home and outside. Though, the given societal construct is that, the new age 'working woman' manages the 'home' and the 'office' with equal ease, yet, when it comes to prioritising between the two, she chooses the family first. Majority of the participants, took pride in being able to manage both "office work" and "house work" well. To quote them, "I do everything.": one wonders if it is valorisation or internalisation of their prescribed gender roles.

It is this compulsive need in women to excel at both their productive and reproductive roles, that reinforces the perpetuation of the 'double burden' of work for women and forms the crux of what is termed as the 'Superwoman' syndrome. Apart from negatively affecting the ease of participation in paid work, it is the cause of immense mental and emotional stress.

In a small way, this paper hopes to contribute to extant research on urban women in paid employment and their work-life balance. It also hopes to add to the discourse on redefining social norms of gender and building a stronger family policy framework in India.

10.16 Changing Pattern of Health Care Services and the Role of Women Health Activist: A Case Study in Dalkhola Municipality, Uttar Dinajpur, West Bengal

Jayita Chattopadhyay

The right to health is generally State's obligation to deliver affordable and accessible health services to all. It is believed that increasing access to health care services plays important role to promote and improve the condition of health of rural people and reduces health inequities. National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) recognises the importance of health as contributor of social and economic development of the society. In this regard, women health activist play important role to promote health care at household and act as the interface between the community and the public health system. The objective of this paper is to find out a scenario of changing pattern of health care services given by the women health activist in West Bengal in general and in Dalkhola Municipality in particular.

10.17 The Precarities of Nursing

Madhurima Majumder, Jenny S

This paper attempts to draw linkages between the kinds of disciplining and gendered script of work that is entrenched in nursing with the kind of exclusion and everyday vulnerabilities that nurses have to face. Care work, especially nursing has historically been seen as a feminine job. Women are traditionally seen as being more suited to nursing jobs because of their perceived feminine qualities.

There is a huge gap in perception between those in this profession and those outside. Those in this profession see this as skilled job whereas society at large perceives nursing as unskilled job. This paper looks at how women in nursing are disciplined in a certain way, wherein they become obedient feminine care giver with little or no demands, so much so that often senior nurses glorify the structural or personal issues they had to face.

Florence Nightingale during WWII refashioned nursing as a profession worthy of middle class women owing to their virtue of code honour and self-sacrifice. The public perception of this profession is either glorification (angels in uniforms for example) or defamation as 'loose women' who touch the body of 'other' men. However, in India nurses especially those from lower class/caste or religious minority are often seen as women with loose morals as they work late hours and are required to touch bodies of all genders. There is a clear difference between women from minority community who come to this profession from aspirational middle class women from dominant caste communities. This hierarchy on the lines of respectability is reproduced in the distinction between government vs private nursing jobs, between nurses with BSc degree vs ANM and GNM degree, and so on. The story of nursing services in India has primarily been that of caste, class, religion, devalued and feminized work.

This study is based on the lived experiences of women working as nurses, why they choose to do it and how they see their profession, how their work is perceived by the society, the structural issues, daily harassment they face and how they negotiate them. The fieldwork was conducted in Bangalore and Delhi through open ended, detailed interview. Next, we review the policies and acts that have a bearing on their lives such as Indian Nursing Council Act 1947, The Karnataka Nurses, Midwives and Health Visitors Act, 1961, The Delhi Nursing Council Act, 1997 as well as Essential Services Management Act (ESMA), 1968. Thirdly, we try to unpack the underlying ethics by looking at nursing lessons taught in classrooms, advertisements of nursing courses along with the rules and restrictions they have to follow in their residential hostels.

The intent is to analyse the gendered ethics of this profession and its caste and class biases that has a bearing on their work conditions. Foregrounding the narratives of women nurses working in the hospitals of Bangalore, the paper attempts to look at the flaws in policies and laws related to their work. Examining their everyday work as the starting point of understanding the exclusion, social, legal, and pedagogical; the paper attempts to understand how exclusion is entrenched in nursing as a profession.

10.18 Re-ordering of Public Space: Emergence of Women Traders in the Rural Markets in Assam

Kanki Hazarika

A rural market is a significant form of public space and one of the prime sources of livelihoods. In patriarchal societies, more often than not, the market is dominated by men in terms of access and use. This gendered nature of the market space restricts women in exploring various economic opportunities and affects their productivity. This paper explores the re-ordering of rural market space from a gender perspective and the emergence of women traders from the Bodo community in Assam. Based on the fieldwork done in the Chirang district of Assam, the paper looks into how Bodo women have managed to create a space in the market that was formerly dominated by men. For them, market space is not only a source of livelihoods or economic activity but also a central place for socialisation. It is a space for them to negotiate and strengthen their bargaining power. Apart from the commercial or financial aspects of the market space, it has sociological, cultural and political connotations as well. Ethnicity, language, religion, class, and other elements play a critical role in the market place. The paper also looks into these multi-dimensional aspects of the market and locates gender within these arenas.

With the influence of globalisation, capitalism, and land becoming a scarce resource, people in rural areas have been exploring other livelihood opportunities wherein agriculture is no more a primary source of livelihoods. Many people have given away their agricultural land

on lease and for sharecropping. In such a scenario, while men have been migrating or shifting to other formal and informal jobs, Bodo women have been able to capture the market space as petty traders dealing with vegetables, forest products, garments, and so on. It was observed in the field that women have outnumbered men traders of their community. They constitute a significant part of the rural and informal economy. However, the market is not only for those women who occupy physical space but also for the women who do economic transactions in the market without occupying physical space. These women lend money to the traders at a minimal interest. While there has been a gradual increase of women traders, nevertheless, gendered hierarchy still prevails in the economic spheres. The distinction between men and women in terms of production of cash crops and subsistence farming reveals the dominance of men. Moreover, businesses done by women is seen as an extension of domestic duties. Market women need to do their activities within the socially defined space without transgressing their social boundaries and keeping in mind men's rights.

10.19 Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment and Employee Empowerment: A Gender Based Statistical Interrogation

Komal Chandiramani

Employment not only means financial stability but it also defines an individual's identity. Besides the structural resources, employees are one of the most important determinants that determine the success of an organization in a competitive environment. Psychological empowerment refers to employee's perception about their roles in an organization. It is seen as intrinsic motivation within the employees that aims at overall organizational growth and development. Job Satisfaction involves specific beliefs about one's job, behaviour intentions and feelings about it. It refers to how people feel about their jobs and various different aspects to it. Organizational commitment refers to relative strength of an individual's identification with and involvement in a particular organization. The construct plays an important role in goal achievement, innovation and stability of an organization. Both the constructs (job satisfaction and employee empowerment) have an important role in predicting organizational commitment and therefore greater success at work. An individual who has a positive psychological functioning and is satisfied with job would perform his/her duties well and would be committed to his/her organization. The objective of the present study was to explore gender differences and understand the predictors of organizational commitment in Indian IT sector. It was hypothesized that there would be statistically significant difference between males and females on the measure of job satisfaction, employee empowerment and organizational commitment. Moreover, it was also hypothesized that employee empowerment and job satisfaction to be significant predictors of organizational commitment. To answer the above hypothesis, the study population consisted of males and females working in IT sector at Delhi/NCR. The data was collected using a purposive cum convenience sampling technique. The size of the total sample was 200 aged 20-50 years. The participants were administered Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (Mowday, Steers & Porter, 1979), Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (Hirschfeld, 2000) and Measuring Empowerment Questionnaire (Spreitzer, 1995).

Descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) were used to analyze the data. Independent T- test was used to analyze male and female group differences on the measures of psychological empowerment, job satisfaction and psychological commitment. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were used to specify the relationship between the variables. A multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine the proportion of variance in the dependant variable (Organizational commitment) that is predicted by the independent

variables (Psychological Empowerment and Job Satisfaction). The above analyses revealed a number of significant findings between the above constructs. Statistically significant and positive correlations were found between organizational commitment, job satisfaction and employee empowerment. Moreover, t statistic revealed statistically significant group differences between genders on the above constructs and their dimensions. The research was concluded by briefly foregrounding some of the study's implications and future directions.

10.20 A study of domestic workers of Mughal, Colonial and Globalised India

Krupa Mary John

Domestic work has a long history in India with both men and women working in households. This relationship of master and servant runs along the line of loyalty obligation and patronage. The paper focuses on an array of workers that existed across periods in India. A study that reveals the gradual urbanisation and sexualisation of the category of paid, underpaid and unpaid continuum of domesticity. It is an acknowledgement of the 'voluntary modern slavery'. Though domestic work is not new in India, it cannot be viewed as an extension of 'historical feudal culture' where the royal class employed servants, but also as the 'colonised' and 'globalised' version where workers are undervalued, abused and invisible.

10.21 Women's labor and the systemic question that plague them

Manjushri Madhukar Landge

Since Indian society is basically a caste framework, Indian women face many questions. Whether it is rural areas or urban areas, whether educated or uneducated they have to deal with endless questions. There are differences in the nature of these questions but root of those questions in the caste patriarchy of this society.

Unemployment in the society is increasing day by day due to the changing form of the government as well as depressed employment policy. This rising unemployment is also leading cause of social family depression, addictions and violence against women. At this level it is permissible to consider the labor and the wages that women receive.

Women do this double labor, but this double work of women was seen in a visible and invisible form. Due to the division of this work, women have to face many levels of hostility both in private and in public sphere. Due to the problem of increasing agriculture, women in rural areas migrate more to the livelihood issues, it is a fact today that highly educated women are seen as employed in a large contract manner.

This paper will attempt to shed light on how the patriarchal system of this society looks a women's work. Also, this study will focus the labor of women in organizes and unorganized sector. This study will attempt to present the truth using a descriptive and analytical research method.

10.22 Understanding work through personal and intergenerational narratives of women

Megha Marik

Being in the limelight quite recently, it is necessary to look at the various issues related to women's work. One of the earliest theorisations of work was brought forth by the functionalist school of thought in Sociology. Accordingly, the functionalist school first explained work through the functions of the body. Eventually, it was through different

conceptualisations by the functionalist school, that the concepts of 'specialisation of work' and 'labour' were developed. The division between the private and the public was ideated through Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy. Largely absent from the conceptualisation of work, was the work performed to run the household. This loophole was later picked up by feminist scholars and highlighted in their demand for equality.

Culturally, most Indian women matured with the goal of being future manager of the household, also responsible for childcare. Newer opportunities for women was brought by economic liberalisation. Now, education and employment was possible beyond the household, boosting women's aspirations. Interestingly, due to the rise of the market economy, work bearing monetary compensation was idealised as relevant. More women now found avenues to venture into the economy and participate in paid work. The resultant devaluation of what was recognised as 'women's work', that is-household work-was what followed. Increasingly, women seemed to identify themselves with 'skilled work' which helped them earn a remuneration. The identity of women however was still associated to their domestic roles, giving rise to the question of how the non-domestic work of women be defined?

The Indian women's movement critiqued the bureaucratic concept of work, helping women realise the patriarchal oppression faced by them with respect to all societal institutions. Feminists highlighted how women and their work within the household was as relevant as the work performed by men outside in the economic sphere. They also indicated how women were responsible for reproduction and socialisation and care of the future generation of workers, which was an added responsibility.

Although women's participation in the economy through paid work is mapped through different studies, household work remains largely unaccounted as most studies are focused on the macro-economic aspect. A recurring theme, is a concern with the declining work force participation of women. A comprehensive understanding of how women develop an outlook towards paid employment might be developed by shifting the focus of the Indian perspective from the macro to the micro. Studies performed in western countries, reflect an intergenerational attitude transmission between mothers and daughters, related to work. Literature also suggests that perceptions of individuals are largely conceptualised through socialisation and transference from one generation to the next. This research attempts to understand the conceptualisation of work amongst working women through an intergenerational perspective.

Aiming to raise a discussion on work, working women, women's work within the household and its significance in society-through in-depth interviews-the study attempts to discern the concept of work amongst working women and whether it develops through interaction with their parents.

10.23 Solidarity networks and modes of organising: discoursing gendered labour in RMG industry of Bangladesh

Mitaja Chakraborty

With the expansion of the global market, the era of globalisation and post liberalisation have provided access to a space for human rights campaigns to emerge and form a network of activists to work together from across the world. The emergence of transnational activist networks that counter the hegemony of capital through a variety of methods locates the shift from traditional modes of organising. The transmission of testimonies is one such powerful tool that have been used to garner support for rights at the workplace by the international campaigns. While it has been critiqued for eclipsing the discussion on labour rights with the stress on human rights, it has also shown the need to move beyond the traditional modes of

organising to challenge power from the grassroots. At the same time, the lack of response towards the effects of gender relations in the workplace and the rampant sexism and misogyny within the organisation documented in feminist critique of trade unions reinforced the need to focus on the grassroots

The Readymade Manufacturing Garments (RMG) industry in Bangladesh has undergone several watershed moments from intense militant protests a little more than a decade back to threat on organising and deteriorating terms of employment in the recent years. After a series of grave industrial accidents, many international human rights organisations and networks based in the global north have entered the labour rights discourse in Bangladesh. Inevitably many independent unions were formed which work alongside and in a network with the international human rights organisations. The framing of demands of garment workers struggle based on the particular needs of the women garment workers in the workplace and outside, in the community and family was representative of the shifting discourse on gendered labour. The illustration of this shift can be seen in the current demand for ration and accommodation facilities along with the facilities for child care and proper medical care articulated by the garment workers and activists. In this context, this paper seeks to look at how the transnational network intervenes and changes the landscapes of power in the local and effects the local activist network when a serious threat on unions persists. It also seeks to locate the shifting discourse on gendered labour with respect to the local activist networks and their programmes to respond to the crises faced by women workers in a society that detests women who protest.

Taking from feminist scholars from and based in Bangladesh, the paper locates the study in the gender development and empowerment debate which alludes to the NGO-isation and problems of state sponsored empowerment programmes in the context of Bangladesh. It is also pertinent to look at the role of the state, while acknowledging the term 'thinned/weak state' emerging in the literature by Networks of Labour Activism (NOLA) scholars, in mediating between both the networks of global capital and labour activists. This paper thus seeks to look at gendered labour and its crises through the network of activists, both global and local, functioning in a globalising economy with a large female workforce and ineffective laws. This paper responds to the question of recognition and representation of gender in local labour activist networks within Bangladesh.

10.24 The Expatriate Glass Ceiling: A Stumbling Block to Women Career Advancement

Monika Khemani , Sabiha Hussain

The world is bumping into a swift transformation under liberalization, privatization and globalization regime. Women today are moving towards a circumstance where they are expected to play different roles both in public and private domain. Though women's education and employment has reduced the patriarchal control to some extent but in our society women have been assigned secondary positions as compared to men. Women's partial commitment to the employment reflects their domestic obligations. Male dominance and traditional gender roles in the patriarchal society are the critical barriers to women achieving the top positions.

Glass ceiling is an obstacle which is artificially created by the top management in any organisation that restricts women to be ranked at more elevated levels regardless of their qualifications or achievements. Female employees face the hurdle in their career progression and experience barriers that hinder their way to progress. The glass ceiling as a concept initially appeared in 1986 in a 'Wall Street Journal' entitled 'The Glass Ceiling: Why Women Can't Break the Invisible Barrier that Blocks them from Top Jobs' (Hymowitz & Schellhardt,1986). There are numerous factors which encumber the professional growth of the women such as

biased promotion policies, absence of legitimate policies to assure women participation, insufficient training and opportunities for career development growth for women, lack of motivation to accept challenges to go up the ladder. Further more women have restricted exposure to the informal networks that exist in organizations and therefore experience constrained access to top most positions.

However, they may also face a second level of stumbling block i.e. 'The Expatriate Glass Ceiling' that prevents them from receiving the international management assignments which are crucial for promotion to the top level echelons of the management hierarchy. Women do not get their fair share because organizations often wrongly think that women are not interested in international assignments or that they will not be accepted in certain international locations. This expatriate glass ceiling multiplies the impact of the glass ceiling in curtailing a woman's chance to be at the top level positions. Expatriate assignments are fundamental for women's career advancement. These jobs are imperative for multinational organizations and for women who are applying to top positions of the management hierarchy.

The objective of this research is to conceptualize the glass ceiling practices and explore the reasons why women fail to pursue their career as seriously as men do. This paper aims to develop an understanding of barriers that may limit women's expatriate career opportunities. We also propose several strategies for breaking the expatriate glass ceiling. The breaking of the expatriate glass ceiling lays in the hands of the two principal participants i.e. women managers and the Multinational Corporations. Both need to be aware of the biases and limitations that exist against women managers regarding expatriate assignments and must also develop strategies to overcome these limitations.

10.25 What Kind of 'Work' do SHG Platforms Generate: NRLM and the Promise of Livelihoods

Nilanjana Sengupta

In a situation of public disinvestment, declining workforce participation rates and deepening agrarian crisis, the National Rural Livelihoods Mission (NRLM) and its earlier avatar of the Swarnajayanti Grameen Swaozgar Yojna (SGSY) focused on self-employment/micro entrepreneurship development through Self Help Groups to generate livelihoods for rural women, especially in the non-farm sector. This paper examines how far such livelihoods have been created under the aegis of NRLM. Based on qualitative research in South 24 Parganas of West Bengal, this paper argues that rather than sustainable microenterprises, what has been partially successful are part time paid work generated through convergence of the NRLM with other schemes such as MGNREGS and Mid Day Meal. Some SHG leaders have also been able to access work as frontline workers. There are also instances where SHG members have provided cheap labour for an enterprise run by select influential leaders. SHG members are also observed to participate in short term, unpaid or poorly paid Government work such as surveys, immunization drive, awareness generation programmes etc.

Instead of becoming successful entrepreneurs, are these women serving as a cheap or unpaid labour force for various public works? With the increasing focus on SHG Federations taking on responsibility for social change and enabling poor women's access to public entitlements, are these bodies becoming replacements for what should have rightfully been the Government's role and responsibility? What drives SHG members to participate in such programmes? Do the barriers to women's paid work disappear or operate differently in the case of such Government sanctioned work? The paper examines some of these questions through a review of existing literature as well primary research in West Bengal.

10.26 Women Hawkers in Trains- Understanding The Predicament of Women Hawkers in Mumbai Local Trains

Pallavi Wardhan

This paper intends to highlight the living conditions of women hawkers, in Mumbai local trains. For some, railway hawkers are a menace, while for others, they are of great help; a wonderful resource of affordable shopping, without having to spare separate time to purchase stuff. Mumbai local train is city's lifeline, as most working class population use the local train for commutation, on a daily basis. As Mumbai continues to become overcrowded by day, the number of people commuting in local trains has also increased. Through this crowd and chaos, train hawkers manage their way inside the trains. But more often, the hawkers are treated as insignificant human beings, who are capable of creating an unsafe and unhygienic atmosphere in the train. Women hawking in trains lead vulnerable lives because a) they are illegal vendors. If caught, they have to pay hefty fines. b) the profit margin from selling in train is bare minimum. c) like every other public space, women are unsafe even in this field of employment.

The hawkers selling in Mumbai trains fall under unorganised / informal sector. The term unorganised sector is described as "... consisting of all unincorporated private enterprises owned by individuals or households engaged in the sale or production of goods and services operated on a proprietary or partnership basis and with less than ten total workers." This sector is not directly monitored by legislative intervention. In India, 95 per cent or around 195 million women are employed in the unorganised sector or in unpaid labour.

This paper focuses on their daily life struggle as women from marginalized communities and the business structure of the hawkers, while highlighting the issues of labour market, legal status of the train vendors, safety concerns etc. For marginalized populations, public space is often a place of discrimination, ignorance and violence, even when they heavily rely on these public spaces for their living. Each city subtly tells its people which part of the city they belong to and in which part they will remain unwelcomed. This paper will make an attempt to learn and understand the functioning of public space, particularly in context to women hawkers in local trains.

Women in the development procedure remain invisible, in spite of their presence here since ages. More often, women's nature of work is majorly informal. Thus, they remain unpaid or are considered a cheap source of labour, their work stays unrecognised; pushing them away from standard employment indicators. In unorganised setting, women work in inferior conditions to the organised sector, which lacks financial and legal security.

It is necessary to acknowledge the passion of women hawkers to be financially independent, even when they know that their survival is merely hand to mouth. Apart from low earnings, they also have to be utmost careful about not losing their earnings to authorities. Their unrest with the system remains constant, with their right to survival at stake. Old and middle aged women, teenagers, girls, married women are most commonly found in female hawking category in trains. Some of these women take up hawking profession as a tradition or an easy way to look after the kids when at work (many of them carry their children along; jumping from one local to another). Their daily routine is a challenge. This paper would look to uphold the divide in the job quality between formal and informal sector, examining the existing gender inequality in employment field which in its true characteristic way is discriminatory. Research methodology used for research will be descriptive and correlational model, with ethnographic method and focused group discussions. In conclusion, the paper would make an attempt at criticising the existing policies and system's interventions, and also suggest ideas for bettering the employment conditions of train hawkers.

10.27 The 'Miyah' Women in the city's Neighbourhood: Negotiating Domestic work, food and casteism in Guwahati (Assam)

Pooja Kalita

The women belonging to the East-Bengal origin Muslim community in Assam are derogatorily termed as the 'Miyah' women. Most of them work as domestic helps in the urban neighbourhoods in the city space of Guwahati. They bear the double burden of their gender as well as their belongingness to a community whose citizenship in Assam is being constantly questioned. The recent mechanism of the National Register of Citizens (NRC) shows that they are victims of islamophobia prevailing in the state of Assam coupled with their vulnerable class position. However, a large population of the 'Miyah' community migrate to the city of Guwahati in Assam, where they become sources of cheap labour. They are under-paid and have to suffer inhuman working conditions in the city. On one hand they are regarded as the 'other' in the hegemonic casteist, sexist and elitist discourse of 'Assameseness' and on the other hand their labour is exploited by the privileged section of the 'Assamese' population. Thus, this paper is based on the experiences of the 'Miyah' women who work as domestic helps in the household of an urban neighbourhood, L.P colony (name changed for reasons of confidentiality) dominated by elite, Hindu, Upper-caste Assamese people. However, they are not simply passive victims of the discrimination they face but are also active in negotiations with their elite upper caste employers, thus defying the image of the 'passive' female victims from the third world.

While taking recourse to feminist framework and ethnographic methods, this paper attempts to answer the questions: How do the 'Miyah' women who work as domestic helps negotiate their 'place' in an upper caste elite neighbourhood in the city space of Guwahati? How do the informal groupings among these women in this neighbourhood help in their survival strategies in a city that questions their belongingness to Assam in the first place? How do these women negotiate boundaries of religion, caste, and class through their labour as domestic workers? How do they experience belongingness and non-belongingness to Assam and Guwahati in particular in contemporary times while working as domestic workers in such neighbourhoods?

10.28 Women's Education Outcomes and Long Term Impact on Women's Employment

महिला शिक्षा के परिणाम और महिला रोजगार पर दिर्घकालिन प्रभाव

Prajakta Sureshrao Dhone

सेन्ट पीतर्सबर्ग के बेस्टुझेव पाठ्यक्रम की एक छात्रा, १८८०

स्त्री शिक्षा स्त्री और शिक्षा को अनिवार्य रूप से जोड़ने वाली अवधारणा है। इसका एक रूप शिक्षा में स्त्रियों को पुरुषों की ही तरह शामिल करने से संबंधित है। दूसरे रूप में यह स्त्रियों के लिए बनाई गई विशेष शिक्षा पद्धति को संदर्भित करता है। भारत में मध्य और पुनर्जागरण काल के दौरान स्त्रियों को पुरुषों से अलग तरह की शिक्षा देने की धारणा विकसित हुई थी। वर्तमान दौर में यह बात सर्वमान्य है कि स्त्री को भी उतना शिक्षित होना चाहिये जितना कि पुरुष हो। यह सिद्ध सत्य है कि यदि माता [1] शिक्षित न होगी तो देश की सन्तानों का कदापि कल्याण नहीं हो सकता। Only not boy / man has right to education. Girls has also this right but no one could understand. In today's modern era it is very important for a girl to be educated.

शिक्षा रोजगार में महिलाओं की स्थिति सुधरी, महिलाएँ आज हर क्षेत्र प्रगति कर रही हैं और किसी भी मामले में पुरुषों से कम नहीं हैं, समाजशास्त्र ओका भी मानना है कि महिलाओं को शिक्षा और रोजगार में समान औसर दिये जाने के मामले में लोगों के नजरियों में काफी बदलाव आया है, हालाँकि सांस्थिक दिशा में अब भी काफी कुछ किये जाने की जरूरत है ।

10.29 Does Women Wage Depend upon the Social Hierarchy? Exploring Work and Wage Discrimination in India

Pushpendra Singh, Archana

Indian society is one of the most unequal societies of the world and divided into the different social hierarchy, known as caste, class religion etc. Caste is the determinant of power, economic inequality, poverty, and discrimination in contemporary India. While it comes to women, they face the dual burden of discrimination, first on gender-based and second caste-based. However, the practice of discrimination also continued among Dalit/Tribal and upper-class women, but still, Dalit women are trying to come out of this unequal treatment. Hence, this study investigates the magnitude of women workers among the social hierarchy and relative factors responsible for workforce discrimination. Furthermore, this study examines extent of wage differential between Dalit/Tribal and upper-class women workers. This study has used the data of 50th Employment and Unemployment Survey to Periodic Labour Force Survey from 1993/94 to 2017/18 by National Sample Survey Office (NSSO). In the first part of the analysis, this study explains how and why the women workforce is decreasing, particular in Dalit/Tribal women. Subsequently, the relative contributions of socio-economic conditions in women workforce have been assessed by using logistic regression. However, the second part of the study examines, wage differential in General and Dalit/Tribal women and the extent of wage discrimination by using the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition method. Study reveals that, women workforce has been consistently declining and vulnerability intense into Dalit/Tribal women. Further, it has been observed that, the social hierarchy (caste) is a decisive factor for the remuneration (wage) in labour market and over the period of study, the wage discrimination among Dalit and upper-caste women has significantly increased.

10.30 'Doing' and 'Undoing' Gender at Workplace: A Study of Perspectives & Experiences of Women Employees in IT Industry of Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu

Sayani Das

The proposed research paper is based on the empirical study of gender equality and women empowerment at workplace with special reference to IT industry in Coimbatore. India's IT industry currently employs nearly 3.9 million people, of which over 34% are women (~1.3 million). While this percentage is much better than the overall female share (24%) of India's total workforce, and an analysis indicates that over 51% of entry level recruits are women; over 25% of women are in managerial positions but less than 1% are in the Top-level or C-suite (NASSCOM, 2017). The majority of women working in IT in India are under the age of 30 years and unmarried (National Sample Survey, 2011).

Due to growing access to higher education for women in India, a quarter of them graduate in STEM disciplines and join IT industry through on-campus placement. Therefore, in past 10 years, there is rapid increase in the number of women employment in the IT industry in India. This contrasts with stagnation or decline in the participation of women in IT in many Western countries. Men and women start their careers in IT companies at similar ages and have similar levels of qualification at each stage of the career ladder within IT companies in India. But women progress more slowly, so men at senior positions are often younger than women at a similar level. This in the mid-career level is due to the problem of 'Leaky Pipeline' (marriage and child-birth leading to a fall in return-to-work and if woman returns, there is an imbalance between work and family responsibilities). At senior or top-career level, women face the problem of 'Glass-Ceiling' (patriarchal bias in leadership roles) in India.

The aim of the research paper is to understand the progress made towards gender equality and women empowerment at workplace. The specific objectives are to identify the gender-unequal and gender-equal workplace issues. The research paper particularly deals with two research questions: First: What are the prevailing gender inequalities in IT industries? Second: Do the adopted gender equality policies and practices influence women empowerment at workplace? A Mixed Method Research design is employed for the empirical study conducted in the IT Parks in Coimbatore.

The research paper applies a combination of Sociological and Feminist/Gender Theories for the study of workplace gender in/equality. The research paper cites the Gendered Organization Literature, Diversity Literature, Feminist Studies Literature to make an intersection of arguments. Sociological theory of Symbolic Interactionism is used to describe the gender relations in everyday life at workplace. Judith Butler's Gender Performativity implied that 'doing' gender can result in gender being 'undone' and this concept will be used to explain how women IT employees perform their gender in a particular way in order to gain workplace inclusion against exclusion. Dorothy Smith's Women's Standpoint Theory and Ruling Relations will support the narratives of issues and experiences of women employees at workplace, shaped by their subjective knowledge of gender inequality, which is constructed in ruling relations at workplace and reflected in their personal understanding of 'gender equality'.

In the outcome, the research paper describes the struggles of women employees to challenge the socially sanctioned gender inequalities in IT industry and explores women's agency through the notions constructed by women employees themselves.

10.31 Caste and women's labour: A view from a Privileged site

Shraddha Chickerur

The paper examines Chitpavan Brahman (CB) women's negotiations with work within and outside the home. CB women are located at the interstices of caste and class privilege along with gender regimes which these structures impinge upon their lives. The 'woman' of the nationalist imagination as well as early feminist analysis in India was upper caste, upper class and Hindu. Social reforms and changing socio-cultural norms from the mid nineteenth century onwards facilitated CB women's entry into the public sphere, including access to education and paid work.

Changing trajectories of women's negotiations with work presented here are drawn from life narratives of CB women in Pune city collected as a part of an ethnographic study. These trajectories bring out the material privilege (of hiring domestic help) and cultural capital but also the complexities of gendered 'balance' between work within and outside the home.

The paper questions a solely monetary analysis of work through categories of paid and unpaid work, which can only accommodate sexual division of labour. This allows for an

analysis of caste in the gendered process of social reproduction. CB women have the privilege of caste capital in negotiating their way through marriages and the various kinds of labour expected of them. In the process they also represent a progressive collective identity for their caste. In so doing, the paper contributes to the under researched area of privileged women's labour.

10.32 Gender Norms, Entry into Paid Work and Child Care: Negotiations by Women in Low Paid Occupations in the National Capital Region, India

Shraddha Jain

This paper is based on sample survey and interviews conducted among 75 women employed as domestic workers, construction labourers, housekeeping staff, security guards, factory workers and drivers in the National Capital Region of India. It examines how social and gender norms structure process of women's entry into paid work, their choice of occupation, child care arrangements and process of negotiation over distribution of care responsibilities. Relative resource perspective is akin to intra household bargaining literature in economics which suggests that an individual's bargaining power is influenced by tangible and institutional factors. However, this literature lacks an understanding on negotiation as a process and on situations when individuals lack bargaining or exit options. We also critically analyse time availability and doing gender perspectives for low earning occupational class in urban context. We draw from Bina Agarwal's (1997) framework on sequential bargaining, iterative bargaining and how social norms directly and indirectly influence nature and process of bargaining. Moreover, she highlights that outcomes of bargaining need not result from an explicit process of negotiation. Parties may enter an implicit process of bargaining. These processes are conditioned by marriage, fertility, migration, economic needs and aspirations. We examine how negotiation over entry into paid work is related to negotiation over distribution of care responsibilities. Choice of occupation, nature and regularity of employment is determined by complex interplay of potential earnings, social networks and care responsibilities. However, women possess a common class character marked by early marriages and child bearing, migration, caste/class norms about paid work and care. Moreover, the study is contextualised in an urban space with different economic needs, inadequate state support and sporadic low cost paid services. Since women have low educational attainment, imparting good education is prime responsibility. Being migrants in cities, parents strive to provide decent neighbourhood to for their children. Economic compulsion, exposure to working class and aspiration for class mobility lead to women's entry into paid work. However, some may have to juggle between aspiration for upward class mobility and status production through seclusion of women. Low age at marriage and gender norms about care restrict women to aspire to participate in work force. Women entered work force at different stages of life-cycle, with many entering after reduced burden of child care. Many asserted that women should join or re-join paid work after their children attain certain age and understanding. The process of negotiation has also been observed to be influenced by men's attitude about women's paid work and care responsibilities. A section of women could negotiate work timings with their husbands while others themselves choose timings that could suit their child care responsibilities. We observe that both implicit and explicit bargaining define the terms on which women engage in paid work. Many couldn't negotiate for contribution of men in household chores as they perceived that it would be socially inappropriate. Some were fearful about conflict with husbands if they were asked for help. A section of women received care and contribution from men only during emergency such as sickness and child birth. In everyday life, very few men contributed to tasks like washing utensils and washing clothes. Women's

work and domestic lives are contextualised in a social environment which is perceived to be unsafe for women with possibilities of unsolicited engagement with other men.

10.33 (Under)Paid at Work: Dynamics of class, caste, gender and ethnicity in non-recognition of Domestic Workers

Sophy K.J.

Domestic workers, the largest 'footloose' women workforce, have been underpaid, undervalued and undignified for their arduous work. The study problematizes non-recognised status of women domestic workers, reducing their labour to non-skilled, natural, casual and light work. This is selective undermining of status of women domestic workers as against the idea of 'the historical reorientation of work and workers' status'. The idea is explained by Henry Maine through the framework of 'Status to Contract' that new socio-political and economic transition has progressively led to the shift in relationship from master-servant/slave to employers-workmen. But, historically domestic workers were constantly devalued for laboring within the private sphere of the family-'out of sight-out of mind' of the state. This purposive disdain intertwined with 'miscognition', in Bourdieu's perception, is created by holders of power for their advantage though their capacity to control and through language of subjection. It is evident in Indian context as the domestic workers are not only discriminated on the class line, but also it is deeply ingrained on caste line. The patriarchal 'no problem rationale' states conventional wisdom that household work is not detrimental to the health of working women being inside the home and it engage them in learning skills of marriage and family duties. Moreover, majority of domestic workers being migrant women, they face multiple risks, insecurities and discriminatory practices on the basis of their regional ethnicities. The paper would attempt to locate these multiple layers of intersected identities to analyze subjugation of women domestic workers as secondary workers and their non-recognition of workers' status within the legal framework. Intersectional feminism/dalit feminism discourse would be used as conceptual tool to study 'invisibility' of women domestic workers within rights framework.

10.34 Unpaid Care Work: Regulatory Mix of Law and Welfare Schemes in India

Sreerupa

Unpaid care work is "the work that makes all other work possible". Yet it is one of the most invisible and undervalued forms of women's reproductive labour, performed in bearing and raising children, maintaining households and socially sustaining labour daily and intergenerationally. In India, carried out typically within the institutional domain of marriage, women's unpaid care work has largely remained one of the least studied forms of reproductive labour. Nonetheless, India presents a unique context to research women's unpaid care work. India has a residual welfare state that overly relies on "gendered familialism", the societal norms normalize unpaid care and undervalue it, there is near universal marriages, challenges for and disempowerment of women who get out of marriages. Also of interest are the Indian state's landmark initiatives like the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme, one of the world's largest community based programme, and the Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens(MWPSCA) Act 2007 (Amendment 2018) which reveal elements of social reproduction. The paper tries to problematize these diverse interventions which have varied implications for women's unpaid care labour whether by virtue of recognition and redistribution or by entrenching invisibility while simultaneously laying claims over this crucial labour. Given such context, the paper critically evaluates the regulatory mix of law and

welfare schemes in India, in the field of child care and elder care, to examine how they fare to support recognition, reduction and redistribution of unpaid care work and women's economic empowerment.

10.35 Narratives of Working Women: Forms of Negotiations and Emerging Trends of Discrimination in Urban Delhi

Srishty Anand, Poulomi Pal

The paper is based on an exercise of the sense-making of the current female labour force participation and sociological trends in the realization of livelihood aspirations of working women in urban location of Delhi NCR. This exploration begins with delving into the lives of women who are working in, both, female and male 'concentrated' sectors and roles, for example, cadre of female health workers is perceived as female 'concentrated' and service sector is perceived as male 'concentrated'. The term 'concentrated' is used to emphasize on the dominance of gender in terms of workforce participation in the sector.

There is copious amount of the data and literature present in different field of studies- economics, sociology and political science- that discusses and expounds on the falling rate of female labour force participation in India since 1991-92. The most commonly discussed and cited factors are education, income and unpaid care and domestic duties of women, amongst many others. This declining trend has aggravated given the demand side factors like declining demand of labour and low absorption of labour in agriculture. Keeping in mind the existing literature, the paper derives from a study that foregrounds factors that shapes women's participation and constitutes spaces where negotiations around their economic and social roles are made. It stresses the fact that the negotiations are closely related to factors determined and controlled by household, community and the state. The study expands on the current nature of participation using the tripartite lens of household, state and market with a keen focus on four select sectors- apparel manufacturing, health, information technology and retail. The paper, therefore, is primarily based on an understanding what constitutes the 'world of work' for women working in these sectors in varying roles in the interstices of the three broad spheres of household, state and market.

The paper will firstly, focus on how opportunities for both men and women within the same sector and role is gendered and the factors that creates the barriers for women are both structural and linked to the life cycle of women i.e., puberty, marriage, child bearing and family planning and so on. This will inadvertently also bring into focus the kinds of gender-based discrimination and covert ways in which is practiced. Secondly, the paper will link some of these barriers to limitations in existing workplace policies making and comment on assumptions that underscore it. Overall, the paper will barriers for women workers with respect to entry and sustenance in their work.

This methodology of the paper is based on deductive qualitative analysis of key person interviews of stakeholders that contribute in influencing the working conditions in different sectors and inform policies, like, representatives from government, bilateral agencies, trade unions/ associations, training/skilling institutions and subject matter experts. In addition to this, the qualitative data analysis includes responses from key person interview and in-depth interview of working women and representative from community of co-workers. The primary research is also supplemented by quantitative analysis of three rounds of NSSO data from 1991-92 to 2011-12 and literature review of peer-reviewed articles and books and programmatic evidence to develop a grasp over segregation, conceptual frameworks and discourses around male and female 'dominated' sectors. This paper is part of a project undertaken by the International Center for Research on Women.

10.36 An institutional understanding Sexual Harassment at Workplace and functioning of ICC: A Case Study of IISER Mohali

Sukhraj Kaur

The lines across which justice is drawn are the mirror of social power structures. It carries along the prejudices of prevalent notions and oppression of social hierarchies. To understand the stigma associated with freedom of women in India, it is important to construct the ideology from a far behind time. The subordinating structures are backed by the discriminatory aspects associated with various forms of graded disciplines that not only control the functioning of oppression but also justify and reproduce it. One factor which lies common in the graded social system is the control over women's individuality. The patriarchal norms which ensure the both compliance and submission of women, also makes it possible to grade itself on the lines of caste and class. The result is the in the form the multifold oppression faced by the under-privileged. The understanding of such peculiar characteristics of Indian society can help to take a pragmatic look at the social and judicial reform movements. The study is an attempt to analyze the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 in the light of social and judicial prejudices.

The study aims at developing a institutional understanding of the law at place and how it is at work in educational institutions. I have conducted a survey based analysis in IISER Mohali with triple objective of: to understand the community perspective on the issue, to understand the structure and function of legal framework at place abiding to the norms of Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 and thirdly to study the functioning and limitation of ICC framework in educational institutions.

With the urgency under which the Act came into force, the horrors of women outside home was again brought on the table and made us realize the discussions that come into picture only when a gruesome incident of rape or violence present a gross violation of fundamental rights of the few. In that context this way of reminding us the need of such conversation, is subtle. To approach the problem of due process in justice and the understanding of sexual harassment I started with issue of power hierarchies. I firstly approached the gender issue in regard of the origin of gender based inequalities. Next was the attempt to understand various forms of intersections at play in the social structures that are hand in hand with the power hierarchies. I have looked at caste and religion, and how they become a crucial problem specifically in context of women. I have found it important to lay down the chronology of feminist movement of India, which reflects the background of present level of discrimination in society and law. Then I have proceeded with the major work of familiarizing with the remedies in law in the arena of sexual harassment. The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 was the prime focus to study the effect of a present legislation in the conversation of gender based discrimination. The work of developing my insight on the present form of Act, was accomplished by two reports suggesting recommendation in the Act, namely Jc Verma Committee Report and Saksham Guidelines. To get a view of the actual position of academic institutions on such a peculiar issue, a study was conducted in form of a survey in IISER Mohali campus. This on one hand brought to light the need of sensitization and on the other hand became in itself a source for igniting the same discussion. Conclusively, the results in the form of suggestions towards a just approach in line with gender justice.

10.37 The Question of Women's Work in Coal Mining Towns: A Case Study from Talcher Coalfields of Odisha

Suravee Nayak

Coal mining has been very central to both colonial and independent India's economic activity. Given the widespread coal extraction in order to fuel rapid industrialization and energize the country, dispossession is an inevitable consequence witnessed in rural India due to large scale land acquisitions under Coal Bearing Act of 1957 and Land Acquisition Act of 1894. A large body of literature has explored the impact of dispossession on the rural households in coal bearing areas (tribal and non-tribal areas), considering the rural communities as homogenous. However, there has been a recent and growing focus on the differentiated impact of dispossession in different contexts across heterogeneous social groups. In particular to coal mining, there are evidences of gendered consequences including reduction in women's mobility and change in power relations between men and women along with other social impacts.

Given this context, this paper attempts to further the discussion on the gendered consequences of coal mining by exploring the different challenges faced by rural women with respect to their livelihoods through analyzing the intersections of caste, class and gender and by focusing on the impact of dispossession on women's work. This paper categorises women's narratives primarily into two groups, that are, women who belong to land owning families and women who belong to landless Dalit families. The paper is based on two rounds of fieldwork carried out in Talcher coalfields of Odisha, India.

It has been argued in the paper that before dispossession, women belonging to land owning families were engaged in agricultural activities, contributing to the household income. However, dispossession significantly impacts their working lives in two ways: first, few women are employed in the coal mines through compensation packages in specific spaces of the industry such as blasting, canteens, workshops, offices only; second, remaining women are not employed in the coal mines and are now restricted to the domestic duties only. Women belonging to landless Dalit families who used to work as agricultural labourers before dispossession are engaged in precarious works such as construction works, cleaning and collecting coal. Finally, the paper reflects on the complex picture of changing livelihoods of women in rural areas and also, contributes to the debates on differentiated impact of dispossession.

10.38 Work-Life Balance: A Qualitative Study of Women Working in a Non-Governmental Organization

Suryakant

Work-life balance of women worker has gotten to be a critical subject since the women are effectively included within the financial commitment to their particular families. Presently in current time, the work settings have broken even with space for women populace with men. But the suggestions and complications the women should confront in associations are particular when compared to working men. The tragedy is that after all the work in office she must look out of the house and family individuals. The most noteworthy challenge for women is the way to adjust the demands of family and calling. Women are presently a day's comparable sharing the procuring commitment with respect to the advancement of their family. (Kumar A. J., 2017).

The time that women used to spend in housework in 1966 has increased to 30% in the year of 2005. Working parents whose children are under 18 years old tend to have more demanding family responsibilities than employees with adult children or without children. Even though women participation in the workforce is widely accepted, the majority of the caring responsibilities of the family lie with the female sex. Though the phenomenon has global relevance, the issue is more significant for a developing country like India. Working mothers always have been struggling to find the balance which is needed to find in between while they deal and handle the demands of both work life and home life, making the topic of work-life balance significant for many women who are constantly facing these struggles.

NGO community workers are genuine performing artists within the NGOs' exercises. NGO field workers are actually the front-line staff of the nongovernmental organizations. (Siddique, 2009).

The community workers who working the grass root level has a major role in the running of the NGO. The job of a community worker can require regular unsocial hours including evenings and weekends. In the present study, the researcher looks into the work-life balance among the married working women of the NGO sector in Bangalore city. The researcher has looked into the perception of the work-life balance by the married working women, the influence of the socio-demographic variables, the role of the support system and the coping strategies.

10.39 Exploring Unorganized Labour Markets in India: Women's journey of her Survival Strategies

Sutapa Majumdar

"I studied till class ten and didn't want to continue education. My father works as a security guard and so we do not have a lot of money. One day one of my friends who stayed few lanes away from my house told me to attend the beautician course organized by the local club. It was free of cost, so I went and took training for three months. I was given a certificate at the end of my course and I started working in this parlor Butic. A degree helps. I want to work in a bigger parlor and hence I am saving money to do the international certification course" (Priya, Butic, Pashan)

"I am the eldest of the five siblings and we were very poor. Although my parents did own a small piece of land, the land was no use to us as we didn't have resources to grow crops. So, all of us worked as daily wage labourers. We did whatever work came our way. We had no option". (Female Sex Worker, Budhwar Peth, Pune)

The quotes above was recorded as part of the primary data collection among women who have been working in the unorganized sector labour markets. Women in India have little option but to work in the unorganized sector since they often lack the training whether educational or otherwise. Poverty in the rural and urban areas as well as gender inequality drives them to earn a living for survival and prepares them to develop surviving strategies in the labour markets which are harsh in terms of gender discrimination.

To explore the nuances of women's participation in the unorganized labour markets three specific areas were identified: The beauty therapists or workers in the beauty sector, Women who offer sexual services for payment or paid sex from an Indian perspective and the Kantha workers (embroidery workers) from around West Bengal.

This research highlights the socially reproduced visible and invisible labour that women in the unorganized labour markets engages in and rests on deep ethnographic research adopting the techniques of life narratives to discuss the diverse aspects of women's lives as workers in the labour markets. Some of the questions that the present research explores are -how do

women enter the unorganized labour markets? What are the options before them when they begin looking for work in their immediate vicinity? What are the possible incomes they can draw from their work? To what extent do women have a say in that income? To what extent does the woman's work get recognized?

10.40 Weaving a Living: Women Weavers' Experiences of the Shifts in Labour in the Banarasi Weaving Industry

Suveera Venkatesh

Labour, like that of fertility, sexuality and reproduction is seen occupying a special space of being liberating while also debilitating in many ways. Women as a category have been historically socialised to adhere by a very common phrase of "Silence being Golden" and as a result have never felt comfortable neither forthcoming with sharing or discussing their experiences. This is magnified, when it comes to domains of labour, which women are made to feel a dissonance to.

Scholarship by Maria Mies (1981) further speaks of the ways in which the mystification around women as non-workers is maintained to keep them unorganised and atomised. This peripheralization and invisibilisation of women's labour especially in industries and areas where their skill wise contribution is not valued, keeps them within the cycle of unpaid and unvalued labour. Historically, weaving has been assumed as a sphere for men, therefore when carried out by women, often gets associated with "A lack of enterprise, ability, and opportunity". Further its association as being a job done within the home, prevents women from marking their presence within the public sphere thereby perpetrating the inequalities faced by women within labour markets.

This paper is thus aiming to bring to the fore the dynamics of labour of women weavers where the broader weaving contexts, the social structures of the family, community and the market work together in perpetuating the performance of gender, gender roles and dynamics of sexual division of labour. In a setting such as this, the idea of weaving being a "valuable enough" form of labour resultantly becomes a matter of speculation rather than assertion. This prevents them from act as active agents particularly as weavers in the world they live in.

It attempts to unfold, the dilemmatic continuum of unpaid and paid work where the transitioning nature of labour has coaxed women to stumble into the hands of another source of control- the market. Further the barrage of external market forces such as corporate social responsibility initiatives is seen changing the concept of labour as was previously understood.

The paper aims to thus understand the shifts in labour within the weaving process, with a focus on women weavers experience of it in two villages of the Varanasi District. The paper aims at exploring the major themes of Labour, the Self, ties within the Household and Community and the Dynamics of the Market. This is through placing the views, perceptions, and negotiations of women who weave at the epicentre of it all. It also details and explains the changing perceptions of women towards their own labour, their family and community and their contributions towards weaving. It also will explore the way in which an integration of their labour into a system of capital accumulation has possibly changed the way they view it. Lastly, the research paper looks at the various factors that have precipitated the current scenario, to be able to develop an understanding of what the contemporary relevance and influence has been on the weavers as a community today.

10.41 Women Bureaucrats in West Bengal: Interactions with Women in PRIs

Trijita Gonsalves

Post the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act in India in 1992; women have entered politics as panchayat functionaries (Gram Panchayat Pradhans, Panchayat Samiti Sabhapatis and Zilla Parishad Sabhadhipatis). Since then, there have been definitive changes in the mindset and attitudes of villagers towards women as leaders not only in village politics but also towards women as administrators at various stages of the rural bureaucracy and administration. In this paper, we have attempted to explore the changes that have occurred at the village level with respect to women functionaries post 1993; and changes in the politics - administration interface, if at all. We have tried to find out whether the female bureaucrats who work at various levels of the rural bureaucracy find themselves more comfortable in working with the female political representatives whose numbers have significantly increased since the 1992 Act. This paper finds that interactions between the female bureaucrats and female political representatives have time and again, depended on the nature, attitude and power of the woman concerned, rather than with her 'gender'. Both bureaucrats and political representatives - even if they are women, rarely think of themselves as women first and are much more conscious of their offices from which they are speaking - when they interact with each other; sisterhood comes much later.

10.42 Women's Work and Opportunities in Public Sector in India

Varsha Gupta

Female Labor Force Participation (FLFP) in India has been declining since the 1970s. In 2017-18 it has further gone down-particularly in rural India. This is despite the reduced inequality in education and higher educational attainment outcomes since 2010 (owing to the implementation of RTE Act). The decline in female employment has been attributed to demand and supply side factors in the literature. This paper focuses on the demand side and builds a case for opportunities for women in the Indian public sector.

Previous research has highlighted that there is a direct correlation between women's employment in the public sector and women's labor market outcomes (Rosen 1996). Countries like Greece and Serbia, where men make up the majority of employees in the public sector are characterized by low female participation in the formal labor market. On the contrary, Canada, UK, Australia and France, where women make up the bulk of the public sector, labor market outcomes appear more favorable for women. Furthermore, female participation in the public sector may also entail lower gender wage gaps (compared to the private sector).

In India, the public sector provides the largest number of regular salaried jobs to females (38 percent in 2017-18). It is also a large employer of 'general purpose' graduates. Exploration using PLFS data reveals that there has been an upward trend in female employment in the public sector, employing 20.2 percent of the female work force (a rise from 16.8 percent in 2011-12). The rise has been sharper in rural areas (by 4.8 percentage points). A gender decomposition presents that 30 percent of the total public sector workforce comprises of women (up from 24.8 percent in 2011-12). However, in the past decade, the sector has experienced a slowdown and systematic reduction in public sector employment; at a time when the supply of educated youth has increased.

Given this premise, this paper attempts to analyze the role of the public sector in enhancing female employment opportunities. Using PLFS data, the industrial composition of females in the public sector is determined. Results show that the top three industries in the

public sector, where women are employed as regular salaried workers are education, public administration and defense; compulsory social security and human health activities. Further, GOI reports are used to explore the extent of vacancies that persist in these industries. Findings reflect opportunities for expanding female employment in those industries. For instance, 23 percent of the sanctioned posts in the public education (secondary and higher secondary) are vacant as on July 2019.

Therefore, the paper aims to show that public investment in basic social infrastructure and services such as health and education are of critical importance in the process of gender equality in women's employment. Specifically, investment in social infrastructure not only provides women with opportunities of work but also reduces the burden of unpaid care work, which in turn allows them to re-enter or remain in the workforce.

10.43 Women and Employment: A Qualitative Analysis on Accessibility and Employment Rights

Vibhuti Kapila

As more and more women claim workplace - spaces every day, the question of mobility, and accessibility rise, with much focus on the unjust-unlawful exclusion from these spaces. While some studies imply otherwise, and appears to be development on the surface; one must ask and intervene: does increase in number of such participation indicates more socio-economical growth?

When public spaces of Higher education are made accessible, even after tackling socio-economic, political situations, the relevant skill sets that are given for an open labour market which is supposed to make them upwardly mobile against socio-economic parameters- however the same is not reflected in the academic labour market. Class - caste struggles that are reflected majorly in women employment and category of jobs available, a lot of them are left out due to reasons concerning sexuality, socio- political issues. In most situations, Women's preference is overwhelmingly tilted towards the former employment opportunities as compared to the latter, due to flexibility of work and possibility of working from home, given certain socio-cultural constraints and poor working conditions in other sectors.

Recently, with the #Metoo campaign in India, many women came out to reinforce transparency in workplaces. At the same time, The popular press and the visual media completely failed to register the gaps between promises of women's empowerment and the reality of the movement. Another failed instance comes from the implementation of NREGA, in which, according to a survey, "women prefer to work more at their house, or other daily wage sites, because women workers are, 'as a rule', paid less than their male counterparts in rural and urban casual wage work." Another example explains Delhi, as an accessible city through Safer Communities Model, which puts forth a vision of making public spaces safer through activities, land use, social mix and involving users in designing strategies and initiatives for safer public spaces. The safer communities initiatives emphasize "activity, land use and social mix. With an engaging model, cities are made to be seen accessible if they are feminized. City Planning and Urban City planning lack women labor forces as policy makers. Their role hardly influences the on-going planning and thoroughly reflects on the basic ill-management and sonority of the male (patriarch) counterparts.

This paper is an in-depth study of the employment terms and conditions of various categories of injustices and designed hegemonies for women along with accessibility in other sectors for women. Due to laxity in implementing labour laws and standards, they often work for less than the minimum wages and in dismal work conditions. It is important to note, that

the theme of paper deeply argues with the nature of work women are assigned with; which can range to and from Type C to limited availability of work.

10.44 Rural Labour Markets and Women's Work in India

Yogita Dineshrao Zilpe

सारांश

महात्मा गांधी राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार योजना (MGNREGS) के तहत ग्रामीण महिलाओं की आकांक्षाओं, तेजी से शिक्षित और भुगतान किए गए श्रम अवसरों के लिए उजागर, परिवार के खेतों पर अवैतनिक कृषि कार्य से अधिक औपचारिक, भुगतान किए गए कार्यों की ओर स्थानांतरित हो गए हैं।

ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में पर्याप्त औपचारिक क्षेत्र की नौकरियां उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। श्रम मांग से संचालित कार्यक्रम MGNREGS, प्रति वर्ष सार्वजनिक निर्माण परियोजनाओं पर केवल 100 दिनों का भुगतान श्रम प्रदान करने तक सीमित है। एमजीएनआरईजीएस के अलावा कुछ पेड, फॉर्मल जॉब्स उपलब्ध हैं, जो डिग्रियों के साथ पुरुषों और महिलाओं के पास जाते हैं, महिलाओं को लिम्बो में माध्यमिक स्कूल स्तर तक शिक्षित करते हैं - ऐसे कौशल के साथ जो उन्हें गैर-कृषि कार्यों के लिए अर्हता प्राप्त करते हैं, लेकिन कुछ ऐसी नौकरियों के साथ मैरीलैंड विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा एक 2018 के अध्ययन के अनुसार।

महिलाओं की श्रम शक्ति की भागीदारी में गिरावट हो रही है। बढ़ती शिक्षा के कारण ग्रामीण महिलाएं शहरी की ओर स्थलांतरित हो रही हैं।

भारत में लिंग के आधार पे काम दिया जाता है। जबकी आज पुरुषों की तुलना में महिला सक्षम हैं। ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में महिलाओं को कृषि का काम पुरे साल नहीं मिलता इसलिए ये महिलाएं काम कम करती है इसलिए ग्रामीण श्रम बाजार में घट हो रही है इसकी तुलनामें शहरी महिलाएं पुरे साल काम करती है। और अन्य व्यवसाय भी करती हुई दिथाई देती है । आज ग्रामीण और शहरी भागो में महिलाओं का सहभाग जादा दिखाई देता है।

11 Contested Contours of Cultures/ Cultural Texts

11.1 Revisiting Howrah Bridge: Disenfranchised Dancers at Calcutta Nightclubs

Aishika Chakraborty and Utsarjana Mutsuddi

Released in September 1958, *Howrah Bridge*, a Bollywood crime thriller directed by Shakti Samanta, was an instant box office hit, the plot of which revolved round the murder of a man from Rangoon and his missing family heirloom. Located at a shady nightclub in postcolonial Calcutta, the drama soon unfolded a dark and secreted nexus between crime, immigration and transnational smuggling and performance when Rakesh (Ashok Kumar), the brother of the murdered man, arrived in the city in search of the killers. Teamed up with his new-found love Edna (Madhubala), a cabaret dancer-cum-crooner, and the pub owner, Joe, Rakesh chased the villains and exposed them all. Choreographed by Surya Kumar, the film was remarkable for a number of hit dance numbers including the sensuous “*aiye meherban*” played by Madhubala and the breezy dance number, “*Mera nam Chin Chin Chu*” by Helen, the future cabaret queen of Mumbai film industry. With a club singer as its female lead, *Howrah Bridge* also presented a wild variety of nightclub dancing embodied by trans-local and transnational dancers, both in their real and reel roles and images.

This paper takes its cue from the cinematic representation of *Howrah Bridge* before going for a dip into the underbelly of urban nightlife of Calcutta, highlighting the exotic/erotic dancing bodies that thrive at the intersection of entertainment, performance, sexual labour and trafficking. In our research Calcutta, the exclusive winter’s city of the Empire, emerged as the quintessential site of dance, desire, as well as of freedom and modernity of the city elite. Suspended between its historic past and the unanticipated future, how the city develops new cultural trends while retaining the baggage of old colonial club culture? How does an alternative performance culture destabilize the hierarchic divisions of race, class, caste and gender? Locating dance within the shifting spaces of cultural geography, this paper will map the dynamic interplay of colonialism, post colonialism and patriarchy in constructing the gendered bodies of exotic/erotic dancers in the newly emerged city space.

In recent times, feminist scholarship on bar dance has foregrounded the interplay of caste, livelihood, trafficking and sexual labour while underwriting the violation of constitutional rights to a vast majority of marginalized dancers. In this paper our focus will be on the disenfranchised dancing body that inhabits, migrates, straddles across and also gets evicted from the myriad liminal spaces of work/performance. Adopting a feminist ethnographic methodology, this paper will privilege the voice of Bengali bar girls, as our case-studies unfold intriguing narratives of their roots, identities, and disparate socio-economic conditions that routed them to end up in the forbidden world of bar dance.

11.2 Ambedkarite Marathi Songs and the Constitution of India : Reclamation of Republic by Dalits

Ajinkya Chandanshive

Ghatnechya Pahilya Panavarti Gajtay Mazya Bheemach Naav

My Bheem's name is famous on front page of Constitution

Dalits in Maharashtra, especially Mahar and Mang castes have been associated with caste occupations related to singing, dancing, drum playing and other forms of entertainment labour. Traditional forms of caste entertainment labour were not just of physical labour but also of sexual labour. After emergence of modern social revolutionary movements of Phule and Ambedkar, they changed contents and forms of their songs and folktales. These songs became songs of resistance even in 21st century. Ambedkarite song culture is always being informed with or is in touch with popular technological advancements of contemporary times. For example when cassette culture came in 1990s, Ambedkarite song culture tried to cope up with it. Same in the case of MP3 and VCDs. Contemporary Ambedkarite song culture is mostly influenced by DJ culture. It is not surprising that most of the DJs in rural Maharashtra are Neobuddhists and Dalits. On 16 May 2015, a Dalit youth was beaten to death because his phone had the ringtone of a song praising Babasaheb Ambedkar - *Tumhi Karare Kitihi Halaa, Lay Mazboot Bhimacha Killa* (attack as much as you may, long live Ambedkar) Therefore DJ or ringtone of mobile phone does not remain a sound, it becomes an assertion of subalterns who otherwise have no means to assert themselves in caste society.

Ambedkarite audio-visual song culture has legacy of 19th century Satyashodhak Jalsas and 20th century Ambedkarite Jalsas. Satyashodhak Jalsas restructured the folk form of Tamasha into more radical form of Jalsa. After emergence of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in political sphere in Maharashtra, Ambedkarite Jalsas were written, sung and performed by Dalits. In those Jalsas, there were many themes related to everyday struggles of Dalits, their socio-economic condition and ways to transform themselves into ideal society. These Jalsas were like mouth pieces of Ambedkarite movement. They used to translate Ambedkar's thoughts, speeches and work in simple language through songs and *vaga*. (a traditional form of drama) One of the major themes of songs in these Jalsas was of Pune Pact of 1932. Through these songs, they articulated new meanings of Pune Pact between Gandhi-Ambedkar and claimed Ambedkar as life saver of Mahatma.

In Post-Ambedkar period, Ambedkarite song culture transformed itself into gayan parties, audio cassettes, VCDs, DJs and nowadays even YouTube. On the one hand Ambedkarite singers, shahirs praised Babasaheb and on the other hand they critiqued politics of Republican Party of India. One of the major themes of praising of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is that he wrote constitution of India, that he is the maker of the republic. Constitution of India is part of Ambedkarite Counterpublics. Ambedkarites started celebrating constitution day on 26th of November, later it was coopted by government. They have portraits of preamble of constitution in many Buddha Viharas. They have started to circulate/donate copies of constitution on special occasions like Ambedkar Jayanti, Mahaparinirvan Din and even on their own wedding functions.

Constitution and its values are major part of Ambedkarite song culture. Through songs on *Sanvidhan* or *Ghatana* (Marathi words for constitution) Ambedkarite writers, singers and shahirs reclaimed the republic. Many songs reiterate that constitution i.e. law of land is written by our father therefore don't mess with us. These songs reject the identity of downtrodden and assert dalits' rightful claim of power. However there are differences between men and woman singers and shahirs in imagining of republic. These gendered notions are articulated sometimes through obvious choice of words and sometimes through more subtle symbolic articulation.

Through this paper, I will try to analysis Ambedkarite Marathi songs and their claim on republic of India through the method of discourse analysis. Through discourse analysis I will not just analysis words or lyrics of these songs but the context in which they were written, sung and performed. I will also focus on gendered notions of republic imagined by Ambedkarite men and women writers, singers and shahirs – their differences and similarities in the imagination. I also try to analyze presence of hyper-masculinity in these assertions. I will primarily use VCDs, Audio Cassettes, MP3s and YouTube songs for this research.

11.3 Exploring Ideas of Desire through the Reading of Street Magazines in Mumbai

Amrapali Mondal

The paper draws from my MPhil research focuses on the lowbrow Marathi and Hindi erotic street magazines from Mumbai. The paper explores the mediation of the street magazines with the larger institutions that organize sexuality – the state, market, the law, and the public. It highlights the centrality of ‘public’ and ‘private’ in people’s capacity to be sexual and also explains the impact of spatiality and power relations in public spaces in relation to questions of sexuality. The research paper locates the magazines in terms of their cultural as well as physical location and develops the layers of ‘public’ for the magazines. The public that I want to discern includes the city of Mumbai as a public, the space of the sale of the magazines as a public space, the publishers of the magazine as creating a public and the reading public, that is the readers of the magazines.

The paper engages with the ephemeral nature of the magazines, of its publishers and its sellers, who belong to the unorganised sector. The magazines are sold near the various railway stations and local bus stops, in highly populated markets, near slums and local markets in Mumbai. The sale location and the language of the magazines make it a representation and expression of desire that belongs to the migrant population who are engaged in the informal and unorganised sector and come both from within and outside of Maharashtra. Thus, there is physicality and spatiality involved in this form of urban sexually explicit material. Both the readers and the sellers of the magazines are a cause for anxiousness for the neoliberal agenda of the state. With the increased focus on the sexual safety of women in public spaces, a stereotype of the ‘dangerous’ man who is a threat to women has risen. It is the working/ lower class, non-urban, low caste man who rapes and poses a threat to the middle class urban women. Mumbai with its ever increasing inequalities in terms of social, economic and political power is tilted in a way that disfavour these social groups. The research paper then questions the implication that the imbalance particularly with regard to space and livelihood has on the lives of those engaged with selling and publishing the magazines.

Since the magazines are meant for erotic and sexual pleasure they are a part of a reading which does not lead to a Habermasian conception of critical reading practices. The publishers also engage in cultural production through constantly imagining their target customers, creating fictional consumers to whom they hope to appeal to and rely on these constructed images of their customers in designing the magazines. This paper is particularly interested in the publishers’ imagination of the ‘public’ which on one hand imagines a reading public for the magazines that is largely the informal migrant worker while simultaneously presenting itself as being distinctly ‘Indian’ and publishing the magazines for the ‘public good’, to avoid sexually transmitted diseases and to shield children from harmful practices. I open up these categories to show how the publishers place sex, sexuality and sex-education within the stronghold of the family and avoid the formal charges of obscenity by referring to different court cases. The first pages of the magazines then frames sex strictly in the sense of sex education which is aimed at eliminated sexually transmitted diseases in the society which

makes this concern a form of concern for public good. Thus learning and spreading information about sex is rearticulated as questions of safety and not about pleasure, desire, consent or satisfaction.

11.4 (Not) Here and (Not) There: Narratives of the Siddi Community in India

Ann Mathew

Siddis are the Indo-African community who have been part of the Indian socio-cultural fabric since the 7th century, a group of diasporic Africans who settled in India after being brought as slaves by the Arabs, then Portuguese and the British. Although free African mercenaries, sailors and merchants conducted economic transactions, the current Siddis recognise their ancestry from the enslaved ancestors. Colonised from the East African ethnic group of Bantu, they are densely populated in the Indian states of Karnataka, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Recognised as a Scheduled Tribe, they have been part of the Indian nation for several centuries, yet harrowing experiences and lack of educational and socio-economic opportunities severely hinder their development in the country, including their visibility. Their history positions their vulnerability and the assumptions about the community in the broader public mind often see them as “demons”, adding to discourses of global racial discrimination against Black communities.

In the 1980s, the Indian government introduced SAG (Special Area Games) under the Sports Authority of India (SAI) where an athletic program was introduced to test the racist theory about Africans being athletically superior to other races. The program provided qualifying athletes with education, nutrition and athletic training which benefitted the Siddi community as they were taken out of poverty. In the similar timeframe, Bosco Kaweesi, a Ugandan national who came to study about the Siddis in India was shocked to find that none of 50000 Siddis was educated. Ashis Nandy has claimed that such deprivations are a result of the misconception that the Indo-African community excel mostly in sports and music. Considering the tiring efforts for Siddi visibility by the former SAG athlete Juje Jackie Harnodkar Siddi and the disproportionately small discussion of their needs and conditions, this paper shall analyse the media narratives of Siddis and select interviews with members of the community. It will use the framework of critical discourse analysis to understand the language that describes the community in the light of a socially constructed context and thereby draw out their complex relationship with the nation.

By analysing these narratives, it is important to recognize the means with which a minority group is excluded in many fronts, in spite of being Indian citizens and how their lives subvert the democratic values of the nation and citizenship in a manner that lacks equality provided in the Constitution of India. Their assimilation to Indian life is complete and their hybrid identity has uniquely evolved. Globalisation in the contemporary has brought greater freedom in terms of gaining education and youngsters moving away from their settlements for better opportunities or returning to their communities for work among them. However, new narratives show that younger Siddis like David Bastian, who was pressurised into dropping out of college in India believe in better opportunities and livelihood, including education and the right to own property, in his perceived motherland of Kenya than India. Thus, dislocations become multifaceted and this diasporic community finds the lack of connection. Though they belong to a particular geographical area and labour in the land, adding to their centuries of emotional and cultural bonding, they are marginalized continuously in multiple spaces, generating a hierarchical relationship between Indians and the African Diaspora (Davis 242). Girija P. Siddi and her sister Geeta P. Siddi are performing artists who dance the Siddi tribal dance *Dhamami* and are always preoccupied with the yearning to belong to the land due to lack

of acceptance from the Indian community (Perkins n.p.). Thus, this heterogeneous Siddi community carry contours of citizenship that are based on the different power relations, identities, belonging and their plurality and diversity that needs more iteration in Indian public space and politics.

11.5 Mapping the Archiving of Gastronomic Culture in India: A Study of the Food Culture of Dalit Communities from Gender Perspective

Anwasha Sarkar

In contemporary discourse, food as an element of culture holds an important position in India. However, it showcases Hindu upper caste food culture as the dominant food culture. Dalit food history which is also a history of the denial of right to food and water, is at the margins of this discourse. It is hard to know about the uncommon Dalit cuisine which is primarily based on uncultivated food. Uncultivated food is a mode of survival in extreme conditions of poverty and has been brought to the fore in the course of research on the Dalit communities, specially the Dalit women.

Dalit food connotes a sense of untouchability. Food memory of a Dalit is a memory of trauma, struggle and survival- a testimony of caste violence in broader terms. The human brain/body itself is a moving archive although it tends to dismiss archiving the culture of the lower caste. It is essential to recover these memories that characterize not only the food cultures but also the associated memories of denial and discrimination of a large section of India's population. In recent times, different methods of archiving have been employed to document these memories. It is worth mentioning that in 2009, studies on Dalit Food conducted by four Masters Degree students, named 'Isn't This Plate Indian?' (Gender Studies: Project Series) validated the relation between food and caste. Young artist Rajyashri Goody in her exhibition displayed her family photographs celebrating food, five recipe booklets prepared by herself from Dalit literature (Sujatha Gidia's 'Ants Among Elephants', Urmila Pawar's 'Aaydan: The Weave of My life', Omprakash Valmiki's 'Joothan', Bama's 'Karukku', Laxman Gaikwad's 'Uchalya: The Branded'). There are several examples of these types of research both in academic domain and social media.

In this paper, the researcher aims to study how the food culture of Dalit communities has been archived in different forms using different media including digital media. What have been the recent trends of archiving these cultures? What do these archives tell us about Dalit women's lives, livelihoods and cultures? How can food history give us insights into lived experiences of struggle and survival, hunger and foraging? This paper thus revisits food history both from the perspectives of sociology and gastronomic culture in India in order to unveil the century long discrimination endured by the Dalit communities.

11.6 Islam and Muslim Women: A rereading of Islamic Feminism

Aswinah Zeenath A

Religion plays a vital role in shaping the lives of individuals. Across cultures, religious norms and beliefs hold significance to society. Islam, the second largest religion in the world, has been shaped by its Arabic origins. Today Islamic society is one of the most devout societies across cultures. Studying Muslims and Muslim societies is a growing area of research interest. The question of gender in Islam is currently a debate ground for both Islamic and non-Islamic scholars and is vital in order to understand the various trends in Islam. The Quran talks of man and woman being spiritually equal in the eyes of God. Yet, there are definitive roles for men

and women and these roles are to be followed diligently. Islam mandates women to always pledge her duty to her father before marriage and husband and children after marriage. This duty shall be secondary only to the responsibility to God. This promotes a sexual hierarchy in Islam. The Quran, Hadith and certain conventions appear progressive and benefitting Muslim women. The common notion of Islam being patriarchal and backward is contradictory to some of its practices. In Khula divorce the woman can go for a divorce without divulging her reasons for requesting divorce. A Muslim woman has the right to inherit her parental property and it is guaranteed by the Sharia law. ‘Mahar’ is a mandatory payment (as cash or asset) to the bride from the groom that becomes the property of the wife. Though these practices or rules seem beneficial to women, they are rooted in a male dominated Muslim society which is not as friendly to women as the Quran portrays itself to be. When the question of gender and women is raised in Islam, the main argument by the Islamists is that these concepts are western and not indigenous to Islamic culture. This view is predominant to the political Muslims and to their advantage. In India, interpretations of the Quran come from only a certain section. Most of these interpretations are to the advantages of these interpreters. This is where the Islamic feminists take off from and is against what it saw as Western feminism’s lack of diversity in perspectives. Proponents of Islamic feminism see the justification for their fight for women’s rights and gender equality in their own interpretation of Islam’s sacred text. Islamic feminism critiques the patriarchy inherent in Islam by historicizing and contextualizing the religion. By doing so the Islamic feminists contextualize their legal consequences, thereby deconstructing the legitimacy of the traditional ‘patriarchal settlement’ crystallized in the form of certain key concepts such as that of *qiwâma* (*male supremacy*). Positioning themselves as a marginalized social group, Islamic feminists claim their right to choose their identity rather than suffering it, and to maintain multiple self-awareness both as *women* and as *Muslim women* facing a variety of forms of oppression.

The paper traces the gender stereotypes and gendered norms in Muslim communities and how the reinterpretations of Islamic feminists are beneficial or disadvantageous to the Muslim women. The paper tries to understand the drawbacks of using religion as a base for gender equality in the long run.

11.7 ‘What the Constitution Means to Me’ – Analyzing Aspects of Censorship of ‘Unfreedom’, ‘India’s Daughter’ and ‘Lipstick Under My Burkha’ in India

Sanket Sakar, Bharti Sanskriti

“Literature and film, in my opinion, are like saloons where bottles have no labels. I want to taste each one myself and figure out which is what. If I’m denied this by labelling, then my entertainment is considerably lessened.” (Saadat Hasan Manto)

Censorship in Indian movies, unlike the voracious attention given to it by media in this decade, is not such a novel phenomenon. Reports suggest a two-month ban on a movie (*Neel Akasher Neechey*) in as early as 1959, 18 years after the first color film (*Kishan Kanya*) was released in India. Shortly after, Deepa Mehta’s *Fire* was withheld to release and sent back to Censor Board owing to its “mentally polluting” (as claimed by Hindu fundamentalists attacking theatres) lesbian-sex scenes, in 1996. It got released a while later with no cuts from the Board. But the draconian fundamentalist mindset grew incessant and went on to ban movies like -*Paanch*, *Gandu*, *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* among others which tried to put forward questions of sex, gender, and sexuality without patriarchal prejudices.

However, if one has to pick up a single event that changed the discourse around gender in this decade, it ought to be the Nirbhaya Rape Case. The gruesome incident bought people to streets and allowed the space for questions of gender and sex to come to an open forum viz.

Delhi Queer Pride march of 2012. Under such a context of shifting women's discourse, it will be interesting to see the censorship of movies like *Lipstick Under My Burkha*, *Unfreedom* and *India's Daughter* released post-Nirbhaya and pre-Me too, which were withheld on the accounts of sex.

The paper, through a careful analysis of the texts of these three movies, will try to study what propels a representational institute of culture with powers vested by the Constitution of India, such as, The Board, to put a censor on these content. Is it solely the uncomfortable questions of sex and nudity or the politics of censorship also allays itself to the nuanced question of nation's image building, homophobia and 'otherization' of minority communities in the country? This paper will show the paradoxes of the State's gaze and paternalistic behavior about the questions around sex, violence, culture, freedom, and sexuality. The paper will also examine the reception of the censored content. And will go on to argue that the hype around censorship, despite its own problems has certainly helped these movies garner eyeballs which they otherwise wouldn't have been able to catch considering their targeted audience and minimal budgets. That's why a movie like *Unfreedom* will boldly relay phrases like "Banned in India" and "They don't want you to see" as it's USP in the trailer. In this context, we will examine the censoring/banning of these three movies so that the 'shift' and 'change' that came about post-Nirbhaya case can be understood. The paper thus, in the endeavour to understand censorship on movies on sexual grounds, from the two-thronged approach of representation and reception will seek to create a fair discussion on women's question: their voice, silence and resistance, post-Nirbhaya case, in the realm of cinema and law, both hitherto coded in male patriarchal language.

11.8 Babasaheb Ambedkar in Bengali Dalit Women Writings

Debasmita Deb

In pre and post-independence era, the Dalit Bengal, Dalit literature and culture grew from a social, political and religious consciousness: something which was counter to the mainstream culture. It is this culture of resistance which celebrates 125th birth anniversary by paying their tribute to the liberator of Dalits in India Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. As the editorial of the Bengali Dalit Feminist journal *Neer* observes, the 'progressive', 'meritorious' Bengalis did not want to waste their precious time by thinking about celebrating someone like Babasaheb Ambedkar. The Bengali Dalits took it upon themselves to commemorate Babasaheb by writing about his life, works and ideas.

Babasaheb's relationship with Bengali Dalits is unique in a way. Historically it dates back to his camaraderie with Mahapran Jogendranath Mandal, the popular Dalit leader in pre-independent India. Both of them fought for liberty, equality and fraternity. It was due to Jogendranath's efforts that he was elected to the constituent assembly. This makes the Dalits in Bengal feel more affinity for Babasaheb. Time and again their writings on Babasaheb reiterated his chief ideas, liberty, equality and fraternity.

As a feminist research student looking at the intersection of caste and gender studies in Bengal, in this paper my aim is to study what does Babasaheb mean for Bengali Dalit women writers? What and why do they write on Babasaheb? How do they commemorate him in their writings? How does Babasaheb's idea of liberty, equality and fraternity shape their understanding of caste and gender? In other words, how do the Dalit feminists of Bengal reclaim Babasaheb for themselves? Is their reclamation of Babasaheb different than other Dalit feminists in India? If so how? One of the aesthetic theoretical basis of Dalit literature in Bengal (like in rest of India) is Ambedkarism. However it would be interesting to study if Bengali Dalit feminist reclamation and understanding of Ambedkar is different from Bengali male Dalit writers.

In order to address these research questions, I am specifically looking at the edition of Bengali Dalit feminist journal *Neer* which commemorated the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar. I will also look at other texts where they have written on Ambedkar like in *Chaturtha Dunia*, the bi-monthly journal published by *Bangla Dalit Sahitya Sanstha* (Bengali Dalit Literature Organization). A review of these writings is expected to lead us to understanding Dalit feminist reclamation of Ambedkar for contemporary times. As scholars like Rege (2013) have reminded us, feminist reclamation of Ambedkar is necessary in the light of how Ambedkar's writings attacked brahminism and its twin patriarchy. This is the theoretical context in which the importance of studying Bengali Dalit women writing on Babasaheb is based.

11.9 Claiming and Construction of Identity: Cultural and Labour Practices Interlinkages

Deepa Tak

The manual scavenging community is known as migrated community from North India to other parts of India in colonial time. These communities are known as a Bhangi, Mehtar, Lalbegi etc. and occupy lowest position in social hierarchy as they are night soil removers. Today even the practiced of manual scavenging is criminalized by our government but still government only employ these people as sweepers. So even if today they are not picking up night soil/human waste barely from their hand, bhangis mainly get appointed as sweeper. The stigma of untouchability which is attached to their body still get continued even if they don't perform this task. In rural area they are forced to live in isolated areas and in city not necessarily they will live in isolated areas but it doesn't mean the stigma will go away rather the nature of untouchability one can see in a different form

Scholarly work which talk about these communities from different framework of Identity (Harijan/Valmiki- connection with Valmiki), Development (exclusion), State policy (Swachh Bharat Abhiyan), labour (Caste or class)-occupation and social mobility etc. Recent scholarship on dalit and specifically on Bhangis has also pointed out that struggles or resistance by community to the oppression which is face by them for many decades. In the context of Bhangis who started claim from 1990 that Valmiki (who has written Ramayana) our ancestor hence acquired upper status in the society. So to change their stigmatized status community used the cultural ideologies.

So in this broader context I wanted to locate my study and focus on the cultural practice which is performed by communities "Bagad Mahotsav" which is celebrated in the name of Gogadev. The ideologies behind this celebration is " Sarv Dharm Sambhav". To understand the how Valmiki construct their identity? Why and how they celebrate this festival? And importantly locate on the site of family and specially women in terms of what and how they make sense of this practice. There are very fewer studies which look at the family as a site understand Valmiki/Bhangi's culture practices and identity formation. Hence the interlink ages between culture and labour practices which constitute their identity.

The paper will also highlight the celebration of Valmiki Jayanti and Naval Sahib Jayanti which are community organized program to see how they construct their collective identity through celebration of this.

11.10 Gendered Cinematic City: Domesticity, Career and Tradition vs Modernity in Telugu films

Deepthi Krishna

Telugu film industry is the largest after Bollywood (Hindi Film Industry) and Tamil film industry in India, sometimes surpassing both in annual film production. The Telugu film industry is based from Hyderabad which is a capital of Telangana state in South India. It was from 1990s, the start of liberalisation in India, the representation of women in the city increased but within the confines of patriarchal ideology. In this background, this paper analysed the representation of career women in Telugu films released from 1990 to 2000. The paper applied spatiality using Semiotics and Discourse analysis methodology in analysing the meanings the spaces acquire with respect to gender (women and city's relationship not just physical aspect). The built environment, social and cultural dynamics of the Hyderabad city's space directs and dictates social structuration. The paper also applies theories from the literature derived from Michel De Certeau's and Henri Lefebvre's works

The debates of modernity vs tradition and outside vs inside regards to women's role at home and outside are unravelled. Also, the issues of social evils and injustices meted out to women under the patriarchal ideology found representation in the films. The paper attempts to understand the meaning of home for women, especially in India (daughters are called other's wealth in India) who move from their parents' home after marriage to the in-laws' home, and what 'belonging' means to her. The journey from one home to another and the navigation of women through the city spaces as working women and the complexities of her everyday practices in these spaces are mapped from the films. The risk for women from outside spaces in the city had been subverted and the questions of safety are further discussed in the paper. The paper also tries to understand how women compromise, confront, negotiate in these gendered spaces of Hyderabad.

11.11 Contested Terrain of the *Jatra* in Deccan: Cultural Contexts of the Relationship between Caste, Gender and the State

Firdaus Soni

This paper will explore the annual fair (*Jatra*) held in Malegaon village, Marathwada as a site of cultural production and contestations. The *Jatra* of Malegaon is 'infamously' referred to in common parlance as *Hijre chi jatra*. The *Jatra* is a site that is stigmatised by the brahminical gaze of 'high culture', but nevertheless it continues to thrive and only grow bigger every year. The fair is embroiled in a history of productive relations of the settled and nomadic peoples and the cult of a 'shudra' deity- Khandoba.

This paper will examine the '*Jatra*'; fairs of pastoral and agrarian communities of the deccan. It seeks to traverse the historical and contemporary contexts in which the *jatra* thrives, the distinctive concepts of sociality and sociability that underwrites this site and finally mark the contours of fraught egalitarianism that are produced within it, manifested through the various cultural expressions that constitute this space.

The socio-economic landscape of Deccan has been organised not just along agrarian and 'tribal' modes of life, but continues to be inhabited by pastoral and nomadic modes of life. It has also been well established and acknowledged by now that these various communities did not exist in isolation with each other but have historically interacted and subsisted off one another. *Jatras*, *yatras*, *uruses* and *melas* had long been an essential feature of the historical landscape, central places of exchange and of religious activity in Deccan at large and in our

context, Marathwada in particular. When one speaks of the *Jatra* of Malegaon we speak of an event, that has had a continuity over decades and also an event that changes from year to year.

The fair is organised around the folk deity Khandoba- the deity of the hunters, merchants, shepherds, cattle herders. It lays claims of being older than 600 years. It is spread over 200 acres and Lakhs of people congregate every year, annually for almost a month to partake in the *jatra*. The people who gather here, subscribe to the cult of Khandoba at varying degrees.

There are a multitude of activities that are a part of the *jatra*. For the purpose of our understanding we can delineate these activities as 1) religious - that are directly related to the ritual and sacred domain of the temple and the deity. This includes various rituals of feasting, mass scale animal sacrifice, devotees who come from long distances, especially women to make vows to the deity etc, non-Brahmin priests etc. 2) Socio-cultural- this milieu comprises of the now-banned caste assemblies or *jat panchayats* of the pastoral/nomadic and peripatetic communities that are held at the *jatra*, the Tamasha, Jagaran and Gondhal- dance and music performances by the folk artists, mainly women and *Muralis* (also known as devadasis in other regions), stalls for local herbal medicines, various animal shows, ‘black magic’, wrestling competitions etc. 3) Economic and trade related activities- a huge market of animal trading that includes donkeys, horses, mules, dogs, monkeys, cats etc. There is a separate market for cattle trading, trading of agricultural products, metal works etc. 4) Political aspect by which I indicate direct intervention of political parties to mobilise the site of the *jatra* for their own purposes, the political mobilisation of demands by various communities who gather at the *jatra* etc.

State powers from historical times have always entered the *jatra*. In the contemporary time, the state is present in the form of policing the activities of the people who were ‘criminalised’ up till 1952. The ban on caste panchayats, the intervention in sex-work, in cultural activities delegitimised by the state, and the constant civilising interventions through various government arbitrations.

Malegaon *jatra* constitutes the scene of our ethnographic investigation, where I argue that the *jatra* is part of what scholars of cultural studies have called ‘popular culture’. The *jatra*, owing to the people who inhabit and make the space, the socio-cultural/religious/economic activities that thrive in this site constitutes what I call ‘non-brahmin assemblies’. The paper, based on these ethnographic narratives will explore the contours of what this ‘non-brahmin assembly’ means. The site lies outside the Brahmanic sense of purity and pollution, and the ideas of community, transaction and exchange are ordered outside of this logic. With a focus on how community and gender is ordered in the space of this non-brahmin assembly, the paper will unravel the ‘uncivil’ space of the *jatra* that is also a site of thriving cultural production and the many ways in which power is mediated in this site.

11.12 Campus Suicide in India- An Intersectional Feministic Reading

Harishma

Article 21 of the constitution of India, read as: “Protection of Life and Personal Liberty –No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.” This indeed is the most fundamental of all right that the Indian Constitution gives to its citizens. But sadly India, the world’s second most populous country of over 1 billion, has the highest suicide rates among those aged 15 to 29 and accounts for over a third of global suicides among women each year. This happens to be a startling statistical data when you identify, India as a country where more than 50% of the population is below the age of 25.

Each individual’s participation is very important to the development of the society, necessarily the young minds. But today we find a number of youth in India being eliminated

by their choice (as suicide is often defined). Student Suicide is drastically increasing day by day and there is an invariable need to understand the several invisible factors that are unread between these lines. According to latest available data from the National Crime Records Bureau, a student commits suicide every hour in India. Student Suicides begin in school, continue in college and into the late 20s which points into the problem within the system itself.

This paper tries to analyse the Student Suicides (focusing mainly on Campus Suicide of South India) for the past one year and tries to reiterate the invisible expressions that these young minds have left behind. In a preliminary study for the paper suggested the data to be politically charged, as the number of suicide from the subaltern or unprivileged section of the society is more when compared to the general. In a country where Reservation system works hard to bring the backward section of individuals to strata of educated and enlightened adults, you find a major gap that knowingly or unknowingly eliminates them from the higher education system. This area would be studied in detail to process the gap in our education system with caste and also about the institutionalisation and normalisation of suppression and oppression inside the same.

Limiting suicide as a personal act had always caused in not addressing the issue of student suicide in the larger canvas. This paper also tries to read suicide as a cultural text which had to be discussed in an intersectional environment so as to effectively deconstruct the stigmatisation of the phenomena.

11.13 Rituals, Son Preference and Dogra Women: A Study in Jammu

Hema Gandotra

The common held idea in patrilineal India regarding the roles of father and mother in procreation is that man provides the seed- the essence- while the woman provides the field which receives the seed and nourishes it. Social kinship rules mean that only boys remain in the lineage; clanship is strictly through the male line; girls or women can rarely inherit land; and sons are the predominant providers of old age support and economic security and culturally mandated to perform this role. Thus, women and girls have value only for their productive and procreative roles. The present paper is an attempt to look at the various rituals, ceremonies and practices among the dogra women of Jammu city which have led to the construction of the notion of son preference. The paper will look at both the pre-birth and post birth rituals performed for the child to understand the nature of son preference. The pre and the post birth rituals will specifically look at fasts and *sukhans* kept for the child, restrictions during pregnancy and after the birth of a child, birth announcements made at the time of the birth of the child, celebration of birthdays and mundane ceremonies. Also, through these rituals one will try to look at the status a woman occupies in the society.

11.14 Shifting Narratives of Identity: oral traditions in the indigenous cults of the Kullu Valley

Ishita Mahajan

The villages in the Kullu valley are populated by local cults of *devi/devtas* form a vital part of the unique cultural wealth of the region. These deities are form a cult based on dialogue between the human and the divine through instituted mediums or shamans, and divine chariots or *rath*. This dynamic feeds into the sense of pride that the locals take in their culture which showcases how the human and the divine can coexist and interact. This has earned these communities a lot of attention for their complex and fascinating religious traditions. However,

when it comes to understanding their past, due to the lack of documented history, these communities rely on the local oral narratives or *dant katha* to create a sense of the past and of their own identity. Over the last few decades, there has been a lot of focus on the local narratives from the point of view of incorporating them into the mainstream Brahmanical narratives endorsed by the Hindutva brand of nationalism. Indigenous cultural texts which form an important part of the community's identity are gradually undergoing change, which, in many cases, means complete effacement of certain narratives. I seek to argue that this change is gaining momentum and is largely spurred by the growing influence of the Hindu nationalist ideologies which are actively working towards coopting the local narratives into their existing larger, right-wing, and narrative. While some communities welcome this transition as a way of gaining greater visibility and acceptance, others resist it in the fear of losing their authenticity or identity to a homogenizing phenomenon which neglects important aspects of their culture. However, this process of cultural cooption is happening, starting from the grass-route level and, through my paper, I wish to highlight the power structures at work in the local and national level which seek to propel this change.

11.15 Questions of knowledge and power: Contestations with special reference to Doudinis of Assam

Madhurima Goswami, Ivy Daimary

This research paper attempts to explore the notions of knowledge and power in the traditions of *doudini* (female shaman) of the Bodo tribe of Assam, North-East India. The present paper tries to argue that though a *doudini* possesses the traditional knowledge and supernatural power, she is deprived of the Constitutional principles of justice, equality and liberty. Article 15 is a fundamental right that prohibits the discrimination by the state against any citizen on grounds of religion, caste, race, sex and place of birth. The *doudini* plays the role of a mediator between the people and the gods. The raw blood of the sacrificial animals is consumed by her in the Kherai festival, an important ritual of the Bathou religion. She is then charmed by the incantations of the priest and falls into a trance and transforms into a spiritual being. A Bodo woman in her mid to late sixties performs kherai ceremony or can be properly said as is danced, for her. The community addresses her as *nasoni* (dancer) and some as *doudini*(spirit), depending on the status ascribed to her in the particular society. Defining her role as a social role involves many parts and each of these different parts are presented by the *doudini* on a series of occasions to the same kind of audiences. Though the ritual is performed both by female shaman and male priest there is no equal division of labour as *doudini* has to perform more acts compared to male priest. The *doudini* does not enjoy liberty throughout the entire process of the ritual as she is bound to perform every act set by the system so much so that she has to forego her dignity in front of the public which also violates the criminal act, 2013 offence of 354C Voyeurism.

This paper will also look into the notion of self-representation that can elucidate performance, more particularly dance. In dance, of course, the notion of literally freezing anything or anyone in time is illusory, limited to a momentary choreographic maneuver. Dancers acts of self-representation, which are and are not like written acts, create meaning in the framework of live, rather than written/ read performance. An attempt has been made here at *doudini*'s (shaman dancer) role in the Kherai ritual which is a realistic portrayal of the spirit and the self and has emerged from the longstanding practice of the tradition. One of these is the collective self, the community and other is the individual- self through dance. This ritual creates a self- representational model which foregrounds the notion of community, and creates a powerful envisioning of the individual (*doudini*) who emerges from within the collective.

The present study has made a critical analysis on the role of *doudini*, discriminated on the ground of gender and questions her status based on the constitutional principles of justice, equality and liberty.

11.16 Understanding Cultural Hierarchy and Politics of Culture

Kanchan Jadhav

Culture is not a homogeneous category. There are different types of cultures, graded into hierarchies. Some cultures are considered superior to others. Many scholars have tried to show the relationship and complexity between culture and power relations. According to Raymond Williams, culture is the norm. When the culture of daily life in society becomes a culture, it divides the culture as 'high culture' and the 'low culture'. Power relations and politics of culture establish the hierarchy between different cultures. It brings to mind the overall culture and the changes in Indian culture. In pre-global world folklore, folk tradition, folk art was part of folk life. The folk tradition was a part of ritual practices and influenced the way of life of a larger section of society. Some of these folk traditions are on the verge of extinction, while some are trying to innovate and preserve them. At the same time, Indian culture seems to be divided into 'elite culture' and 'folk culture / popular culture'. It is important to look at the politics and the power relations behind this division.

Generally, folk culture/ popular culture belongs to marginal communities of any society. This leads us to understand the difference between the dominant culture and folk cultural forms in Maharashtra. Some marginalized communities like the *Kolhatis*, *Dombaris*, are known for being the proponents of *lavani* and *tamasha*; the two most well-known folk cultural forms in Maharashtra. Similarly, the *Gondhali* community is known for *Jagran-Gondhal*.

With the advent of globalization, there is commodification of folk art and culture. The classical forms of art are considered to be superior to folk art. Since they are "pure" and they need not be modified for making it better. Within this context, this paper is an attempt to critically analyze this hierarchy within cultures. What makes folk culture an "inferior" form of culture? Why is folk culture more prone to commodification? What is the cultural politics behind creating the hierarchies between mainstream culture and folk culture?

This study is based on secondary sources and qualitative methodology. Secondary sources such as studies on folk culture, testimonials of people belonging to folk culture have been critically analysed.

11.17 Narratives from Sexual Cultures: A Study of Nude Art Models in Mumbai

Lavanya Shanbhogue Arvind

Drawn out of my M.Phil research, this paper is centred around the narratives of women who work as nude art models in art school. Hailing from extremely vulnerable socio-economic backgrounds, the models in question form part of the urban poor and facilitate art education. However, the model's position in art schools is that of a rank outsider. Nude art models exist in the liminal spaces between art education, art production and the artist. Artworks made in her likeness do not belong to her, while the artist whose art education she facilitates is neither protégé nor employer. She is neither artist nor curator, neither connoisseur nor hobbyist, and yet without her labour, art education remains incomplete. Her unique position as an enabler of art education requires a labour that is hard, stigmatized and devalued, rendering her vulnerable.

Although she labours behind closed doors, to the people outside the sanitized spaces of the art world, there lingers a perception that she is in fact “doing dirty work.” While both male and female models, model for art, the moral connotations associated with women, sexuality and nudity makes female models more vulnerable. There are occupational vulnerabilities associated with art modelling owing to its seasonal and partially regulated nature; there is stigma associated with nudity and semi-nudity and there is sexualisation associated with notions of posing in the nude.

Although nude art modelling is an economic activity, it may not be declared as a livelihood owing to the cultural operationalization of social taboos, impositions of morality on women and the many associations, both semiotic and cultural, between nudity and the act of sex. There is therefore an irrefutable linkage between this economy and culture. Therefore, an alternative terminology ‘sexual cultures’ becomes the starting point. A sexual culture is beyond economy, it is beyond a marketplace; it not only includes the world of labour of these models but also extends to include the beliefs, values and the materiality and non-materiality of the lived experiences of these women. This research argues that there is an interconnectedness between economy, labour, art, culture, and since the social shapes the sexual and perceptions of the sexual, the boundaries of the sociology of sexuality has to be widened to include narratives of nude art models into the discourse on sexual cultures. This is owing to connections between: nudity and art, nudity and sexuality, sexuality and pleasure, art and pleasure, art and sexuality, nudity, art, sexuality and the notions of intimacy.

In this regard, this research attempts to locate the art model as a political subject caught in the web of many discourses including labour, labouring in the nude, the materiality of the model’s bodily experience that brings about art production, perceptions of both the self and the external about this form of labour, public opinion that affects labourer psyche as well as the daily occupational vulnerabilities associated with nude art modelling. Their labour is seasonal and there is no social security for them despite labouring for years. Since the institutionalised space of the art school does not provide them with any reprieve, the cause must be taken up by feminist art activism.

As a movement, feminist art activism sought to celebrate women artists and aimed to bring about more visibility to them by gendering art history. Feminist themes of violence against women, essentialising the female body, the status of women in society, depictions of housekeeping and child raising and representing these bodies not as sexualised objects but as human beings, became its preoccupation. This paper argues that the labour of nude art models too must be a feminist fixation and feminist art activism must extend to include the rights of these models.

11.18 The University Campus Today: Reading the Protests

Madhumeeta Sinha

Institutes of higher education have been in news for one reason or the other in past five-six years. This melting pot of society is also being perceived as the site of wasteful expenditure of taxpayers’ money or an inefficient draining of national resources. The opinion that issues of courtesy and respect require unquestioned following of rules and ideals seems to be gaining the common sense ground and there is common belief that education should be isolated from critical thinking, questioning and produce law abiding citizens. In this backdrop, I attempt to look at some of the struggles in various universities across India like ‘*Hok Kolorab*’ at Jadavpur University, protests against sexual harassment in Banaras Hindu University, the struggle for justice for Rohith Vemula, the fee struggle and other earlier protests in Jawaharlal Nehru University and other universities across the country, etc. My effort is to look at the media

responses around these and to see what kind of public discourses do these events these generate to produce new readings of the university. How do these protests and movements give rise to questions like: what is knowledge? Who constitutes it? And what does the domain of knowledge conceive as acceptable and non-acceptable?

11.19 ‘Forbidden Literature’: Adivasi Women, Exploitation and Agency

Mohan Dharavath

Hansda Sowvendra Shekhar’s collection of short stories *The Adivasi Will not Dance* (2017) was banned from circulation by the Jharkhand state government when the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, led by Sita Soren and other tribal groups alleged pornographic and disrespectful representation of Adivasi women in the book. The ban was however lifted in December 2017, and since its free circulation, the book has received positive critical reviews. In the context of the ban and the allegations of “pornography” raised by the protestors, this article attempts to undertake a critical analysis of the narrative and the ways in which it seeks to represent and locate the Adivasi woman within the context of historical injustices and oppressions that the Adivasi community in India has been subjected to. It will also undertake close textual analysis of select stories from Shekhar’s aforementioned collection to understand the ways in which categories of class, gender and socio-cultural marginalization intersect in the lives of adivasis, especially of Adivasi women. It refers to popular journalistic discourses to understand the nature of criticism against the book’s contents and to argue that the political potential of the subjectivities of Adivasi women remains not in their depiction as victims of the complex of oppressions that are part of their lived experiences. We then recognize in Adivasi women the potential to be agents of their own destiny and determination despite of exploitative structures and practices.

11.20 The Telling of Two Tales: The Production of Jain Identity through Food Culture

Nupur Jain

Multiple interdisciplinary perspectives have emerged to map out food culture and food practices as an important aspect of state functionality in societies. Some have examined ‘gastropolitics’ by looking at food as the medium and sometimes the message of conflict in societies, while others have linked it to politics and culture, caste and identity; to arrive at an understanding of how food intersects with various social, economic, cultural, political and religious registers. The significance of one’s social position plays a pivotal role in determining food and taste, and the dynamic interaction of food with history, memory and knowledge production narrates how food cultures have moved across time and space.

In this paper, I address the question of food practices in the contemporary Jain community in India by exploring two engagements. I begin by looking at the discourse around ‘Meat ban’, which continues to be imposed in Maharashtra during the Jain festival of Paryushan Parva since 1964, as a process of state authority. I take forward my inquiry by linking the discourse to a recent incident at Nagpur where a flight exporting sheep and goats to United Arab Emirates was called off in response to a collective public protest by the Jain community. In doing so, I am attentive to the non-monolithic structure of the community across the country, and also cognisant of the complexities in which it continues to exist today.

It shall be my endeavour to suggest that the tradition of meat ban and the subsequent cancellation of the export project both need to be placed in the larger frameworks of state authority, religious morality and caste hegemony, registers that are reiterated as grounds for

demanding vegetarianism through state machinery, to then arrive at a question of the production of the 'Jain identity'. I emphasise on how the study of food in the community acts as a window for investigating the most pressing issues around power and hegemony in society, and how through the narratives involving food, the Jain community actively engages in the processes of meaning shifting and identity formation.

I hold caution against categorising the two inquiries as mere disparate eruptions of sentiments and anger to comprehend how locating them in the processes of public spaces and state authority along with the everyday ways of conforming to religious norms and culture around food, might allow one to speak to the question of identity. The discourse around meat ban and the incident in Nagpur both lend themselves to a delineation of state power wherein the demarcation of public spaces as legitimate for raising everyday concerns of specific anxieties linked to one's cultural and religious worldviews, suggest that these spaces can be seen as intense moral realms.

I expand my inquiry by centring on how the community not only has a strong presence in the wider processes of economic and political changes with a narrative of commercial ethic tied to it. The contemporary food practices in the community fall under the rubric of what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar calls 'the food hierarchy', which segregates people into different identities. Contemporary 'everyday' of the Jain community subsequently then, is also linked to the function and maintenance of the caste structure. The interplay between social and ritual hierarchies and the question of purity/pollution establishes how a substantial part of the community's everyday social interactions are governed by the norms and restrictions around food.

In the backdrop of the current political instability in India, which has rendered certain cultures and communities powerless by, case in point, either questioning the necessity of eggs in meals for school children or banning beef (which has led to multiple cases of lynching), I believe the question of identity integrated with the culture of 'food' in the Jain community speaks to the larger question of inclusivity, recognition and representation in India.

11.21 Subaltern Feminism in India: Re-reading the Feminist 'Archive' to Understand Resistance

Prakriti Prabhat Sharan

Recent and past mainstream feminist movements in India have maintained a hegemony of middle class, urban representation and articulation. Subaltern voices have, by and large, been excluded, ignored and therefore unheard by feminist movements that intent on occupying the position of representing women's issues and causes, through the perspective of this position of dominance. This paper aims to centre 'subaltern feminism' as a concept in its analysis of decolonisation as a living and ongoing process of feminist consciousness of Revolutionary writers who are also activists through their authored memoirs. I focus on the writings of women who are or have once been active in social and political movements in the early sixties and the seventies in India as a means to understand the articulations of feminist subaltern subjectivities that have their imprints in contemporary India.

One of the central aims of my study is to trace a subaltern feminist consciousness through experiences documented in form of memoirs of revolutionary writers/ activists who have/had participated in political struggles and to a substantial extent even shaped the social and political movements. In this paper I am studying the memoir of Ajitha in *Kerala's Naxalbari Ajitha: Memoirs of a young revolutionary translated by Sanju Ramachandran* with an aim that this will hopefully add to the literature dedicated to accentuating the presence and agency of the subaltern women subject. Subaltern Feminism as a definition does not exist;

drawing on from the methodological and the theoretical approach adopted in this study, it conceptualises Subaltern Feminism as a particular mode of sensibility or a way of regarding human condition, the dictum that runs through an existential perception(as a living reality, ‘it is “I” who give meaning to my existence’) which is to assert the sense of anarchy while rejecting the bourgeois complacent acceptance.

This study will develop a line of enquiry into how such voices have been marginalised from changing mainstream feminist and women’s movements in India and what these voices articulate as a political project of asserting agency. My methodology will employ feminist standpoint approach employing the analyses of memoirs, hence trying to build a ‘ *subaltern feminist archive*’. This paper aims to study the following questions; how does this genre of reading the memoir help us in grappling with the question of resistance? How does the ‘feminist archive’ reflect on revolutionary writers/activists and resistance?

Archives; in terms of who and what is included and which registers are deemed worthy of being archived predominantly, tends to reflect the dominant ideology whereby the opportunity of being represented as agential subjects is denied to the marginalised sections. Re-reading the archives, unravelling the truth between the lines is now being considered a feminist project that has been undertaken by feminists across the globe. The ‘archive’ in this study is not just a construct of the ‘state’, of the event occurred but that which operates, as an ideology, narratives, depicting a political past stemming into the present and the knowledge produced through it could be then classified as subaltern feminist epistemology.

The ‘Archive’ I intend to create in this study does not only attempt to decolonise the narratives of the state but makes an attempt to (re) define the concept of the archive by including memoirs authored by dissenting individuals as an authenticate means of knowledge production. The ‘archive’ in this sense then ceases to only be a dominant narrative but literature authored by women to understand the kind of revolutionary ideals that transpired their life.

11.22 Mapping (Queer) Celebratory Moments: Necropolitics or Substantive Democracy

Pushpesh Kumar

Using the theoretical framework of queer necropolitics indicating the negation of subjecthood to trans-queer of colour while assimilating white privileged gays through homonormative gestures like marriage and domesticity in the USA, the paper compares the diverse reactions of the Indian ‘urban corporate gay’ constituency and the marginalized transgender communities following the legalization of ‘homosexuality’ in India recently. Through an analysis of social media texts from the former and reflections of the latter, I propose a ‘critical intersectionality’ to politicize the idea of queer community mobilizations in India. While critically reflecting on the limits of ‘consumer citizenship’ of the privileged gay, the paper attempts to foreground the voices of transgender ‘counter-publics’ to draw attention to problematize the idea of ‘community’ (re)iterated through popular and legal discourses.

11.23 Negotiating Ethnic Masculinities within the Space of School: The *Bihari* /*Bhadralok* Divide

Sangeeta Roy

This paper engages with the ways in which adolescent boys from migrant *Bihari* families in Kolkata negotiate with conflicting constructions of *Bihari* and Bengali *Bhadralok* masculinity within the environment of the government school. Drawing from a larger feminist ethnographic study that engages with gendered schooling experiences of adolescent *Biharis*

from poor, migrant contexts, this paper explicates boys' experiences of schooling at the intersection of two ethnic cultures that connote conflicting representations of masculinity. This paper explicates the ways in which *Bihari* boys understand hypermasculine identifications of themselves by the Bengali *Bhadralok* authorities of the school. It explores also the range of ways in which they respond to pejorative cultural characterisations of themselves in favour of their schooling. This paper thus emphasises that violation of constitutional principles of equality occurs within the school environment in many mundane ways drawing upon pejorative ethnic / ethnosexual identities of second generation migrants.

Bengal and Bihar are neighbouring states in eastern India, and populations from Bihar constitute the largest numbers of migrants in Kolkata, West Bengal, according to birthplace statistics of the 2001 Census of India. Derogatory construction of *Biharis* have been informed, among other causes, by labour migration from Bihar to colonial Bengal over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries . The term 'Bihari' by the mid-20th century "...had already acquired pejorative connotations...." among the *Bhadralok* or the genteel classes of Calcutta who perceived them as "... rustics, crude and uncultured labourers, 'outsiders' from rural upper India..." despite their contribution in building the infrastructure of the city.

Thus primordial definitions of ethnicity prevalent in contemporary global political discussions inform the term 'Bihari' in the popular imagination of the city. This obfuscates the social constructionist perspective of ethnicity that can be relevant to understand the experiences of young people at the intersection of two ethnic groups, such as the participants of this paper. The term 'Bihari' thus continues to connote everything that is not *Bhadralok* (read not civilised, not cultured and not capable of erudition). In fact the complex processes involved in the development of the *Bhadralok* class and *Bhadralok* masculinity per se as the representative of intellect also at once indicate why the poor labouring migrants from Bihar in search of livelihood in Kolkata are deemed incapacitated to exercise the intellect / mind .

This paper delineates the ways in which boys negotiate competing cultural definitions of masculinity drawn from rural Bihar and *Bhadralok* Kolkata, within the environment of the school. It explicates that along with pressures from the family and the school to perform appropriate forms of boyhood, social and economic circumstances of the boys also compel them into particular performances of masculinity. This article explicates the nature of everyday interactions within the school, that evince a range of attitudes and emotions through which boys confront pejorative hypermasculine constructions of themselves, in favour of their education. In fact their many assertive demeanours are also an expression of resistance against normalised forms of violence by *Bhadralok* teachers. Pertinent also is that in the effort to resist essentialised definitions of a *Bihari* boyhood, they inadvertently affirm a hypermasculine personhood reinforcing the *Bhadralok* discourse of the cultural inadequacy of *Biharis*. Interestingly, any effort at performing a characteristic Bengali *Bhadralok* boyhood is also flawed. This is because *Bhadralok* hegemony is consolidated in the very construction of *Biharis* as the ethnic 'others'. Thus any effort of *Bihari* boys to emulate dominant constructions of boyhood can never reach the normative *Bhadralok* contours. Also, while the resources to access *Bhadralok* boyhood are available at the school and in the city, these may not be useful resources for their survival.

This paper explicates these cultural contentions that are an outcome of schooling experiences of adolescent boys of migrant *Bihari* families in Kolkata. It draws attention to normalised forms of violence against young people at the intersection of two ethnic groups that contravenes national educational frameworks that draw from the constitution.

11.24 Songs and Sojourns: An Exploration of Baul Ideology and its Gendered Iteration

Shilanjani Bhattacharyya

The presentation will attempt to explore lived experiences of 'Baul' women of the Indian state of West Bengal in the sphere of the syncretic spiritual tradition they engage with, through an examination of the songs that are scripted by them as well scripted about them. The 'Baul' philosophy reflects aspirations of an egalitarian social order, while aiming towards the recognition of the divine in all human beings regardless of caste, class, gender or religion. Baul songs are the associated cultural texts which are lyrical articulations of esoteric humanism, delineating a consciousness of the structures of society that the Baul ideology aspires to challenge and be critical of. The Baul songs encapsulate spiritual knowledge that is disseminated to the masses through lyrical rendition by the Baul practitioner. Just like ritual sexual practice, Baul songs are yet another site of spiritual practice, requiring perfection and dedication as well as spiritual knowledge and understanding of the meanings of the songs. The question of gender is crucial in the exploration of Baul philosophy and its practice. As reflected in the cultural texts of the Baul songs, the Baul spiritual philosophy upholds an aspiration of the subversion of normative gender roles and mainstream views of sexuality through the rampant usage of enigmatic metaphorical language, which encapsulates ambiguous double meanings. These songs also capture lived experiences of women and their accounts of how they make meaning of the Baul path, in context of what they aspire to socially subvert or assert. Thus, my presentation is a quest to examine meanings and metaphors that emerge through an analysis of Baul songs, which I argue, offer a more complex, nuanced and feminist exploration of gender roles, relations and assertions of the Baul community as the performance of the songs coalesce with the performance of Baul spirituality in the sphere of the everyday domesticity. It is imperative to also highlight the potential of such an analysis to disrupt the understanding of the endurance of gender as a binary in the Baul tradition through exploring the Baul spiritual proclivity of transcending distinct categories of gender, to a state of fluidity and genderlessness. Thus, a significant line of examination of Baul songs is the analysis of metaphors of Baul songs through the lens of gender and its deployment, as mediated by the diverse locations and contexts that Bauls largely inhabit. A critical analysis of such metaphors paves way for construction of Baul identities and their gendered experiences, within the framework of the lyrical renditions that they compose. Thus, such an analysis will attempt to critically locate and understand how Bauls conceptualise gender and aspire to transcend it in various ways as a means to confront orthodoxy and hegemonic structures of power. A feminist analysis of the gender question as emergent in the metaphorical employment of Baul songs will be embedded in such an analysis of gender being a site of contestation of hegemony and power through its reconstruction and variegated performances. The presentation will also engage with a critical discussion of the 'Baul' philosophy, while proceeding to understand the position of 'Baul' women in the claim of egalitarianism of the 'Baul' spiritual path. To this effect, voices and experiences of 'Baul' women, gleaned through an in-depth analysis of Baul songs, collected through ethnographic fieldwork, will be presented in an attempt to understand how their agency is exercised and their identities cultivated and negotiated in their daily lives vis a vis what is portrayed and upheld in the ideals of 'Baul' philosophy. The lives of

'Baul' women, as informed by cultural texts of Baul songs as well as personal field notes, will also be juxtaposed against the enduring hetero-normative structures of the mainstream Bengali society they are situated in, to explore the variations or similarities that emerge in their lives, by the virtue of being 'Baul'. Thus, through an analysis of various 'Baul' songs, especially those written and practised by 'Baul' women, the presentation will explore

the domain of what they sing in relation to how they live and create meaningful lives for themselves in the social and spiritual contexts they inhabit.

11.25 Etched into the City: Examining the City as a Text, Archive and a Map of Caste and Segregation

Shruthi Parthasarathy

The 21st Century city is, most commonly, represented and consumed as the bastion of modernity and development. Modernity and the way it is operationalised potentially places the burden of erasure of systemic violence squarely on the shoulders of those whose experiences and narratives are situated at the margins. To elaborate on this further, however much cosmopolitan modernity has provided it has also failed to account for the systems that remain entrenched within it, particularly of caste and gender. As Guru writes ‘Modernity has not generated new spaces (territorial) which could give Dalits a sense of dignity and equality. It has offered only a crippled and fragmentary sense of time and corresponding notion of freedom to Dalits.’ The modern Indian city acts as an interesting receptacle that carries within it rather coherently, politics and practices that seem to be in contradiction with one another.

In this paper I hope to examine the city space as a cultural and political text so as to ‘read the landscape’ and to understand the legacy of caste based socio-spatial segregation and to complicate the hegemonic narrative of the city as a “modern” site . I will be focussing on Chennai city, particularly the older villages and agraharams of Mylapore and Triplicane, and the spatial coding of caste based segregation within it by doing a comparative study between the pre and post-independence eras of urbanity so as to examine the lasting impacts of colonial and caste segregation that have persisted and mutated into newer, nuanced and insidious forms of violence. I will be critically examining how Brahminism has utilised space, judiciary and wealth in the production and perpetuation of a caste segregated city. To do so I borrow the tools provided by cultural geography that enables researchers to not only look at the very landscape as text but also to juxtapose it with varied other cultural texts . I will be examining the physical, legal and cultural transformations that have occurred in these sites to understand the complex nature of Brahminism, casteism and segregation, which have significantly impacted the physical layout and plan of the city and thereby the networks and relationships between communities. This ‘blueprint’ of the city functions both as a text and as a repository of memory, as an archive and as a map of contemporary manifestations of casteism.

Which knowledge becomes archive and memory is a question that is central to the understanding of which narrative is essential to the maintenance of the politics and image of the city. Brahminical hegemonic knowledge and memory making is not about learning or knowing but about disciplining bodies and punishing transgression . When one turns to look at recorded and documented history, infuriatingly enough the stories are of the privileged, the oppressors and the victors; however what one does encounter when these histories are read critically is a history of oppression and a history of caste. Brahmins attain the dignity of having memory become history but that history is never at the receiving end of dissection. Brahminic and institutional recognition and sanctioning of certain things as knowledge does not mean that other knowledges and the systems that produce them are invalid . It is historic and incidental why certain memories become knowledge and others remain memories or are erased. This brahminical narrative persists due to the exacting nature of caste, as Ambedkar writes, ‘But what annoys one is the intolerance of the Brahmin scholar towards any attempt to expose the Brahmanic literature.’ (Ambedkar, 1948).

In this paper I hope to critically re-read and re-examine the city and its cultural contours within the framework of caste, memory and space. This normative Brahminical narrative of

modernity and of the city has to be countered by reading between the lines, lanes and roads of history, to use narratives and memory as a tool to counter the normative histories of caste and urbanity. If one has to locate the origins of caste or untouchability in the urban it will have to be done through an imaginative rereading of the landscape and of the archive of the city.

11.26 'Nritically Yours': Critically Looking at Bharatanatyam from the Lens of Gender and Caste

Shwetha Gopalakrishnan, Vaishnavi K

Nritically Yours is an initiative by performers to create a space to talk about Bharatanatyam from a critical lens of gender and caste. Through the tool of performance, we have tried to critically look at the form, content and the politics of the dance form of Bharatanatyam. We intend to see, if we could talk about the "other" (narratives pertaining cis heterosexual brahmin men) narratives through this dance form, just to realise the rigid and restrictive language of Bharatanatyam. We also think the appropriation by the Brahmin community of the dance form has a huge role to play in this.

The existing choreographies and the language of Bharatanatyam emphasises glorifies the Brahmin community and its practices. To take a few examples, there aren't any pieces of choreographies which show the assertion and power of the marginalised communities. Women and people from the oppressed caste communities are just shown in the light of victimhood or as inferior.

The dance form also has failed to contemporarise. The language of dance still is feudal in its nature. We realised this as we made more choreographies around the issues that need immediate attention. For example, as we decided to talk about the rising pollution levels and global climate crisis and the need for state interference in this matter, we found a dearth of language which talks about the current issues which pertain this century. There aren't any symbols which show the state, or factories or democracy and so on. So, the intent is that through this space, we try to introduce new words and meanings in the context of Bharatanatyam. Like the role of the Brahmin and upper caste households' has been to perpetuate the caste system through the norms of sexuality being one of the main means of control, Bharatanatyam continues this conditioning in performance spaces.

As Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar talks about the individualisation of property as one of the reasons why caste would continue to exist, we see a relation of this idea in Bharatanatyam as well. Bharatanatyam is being currently held by some people of the Brahmin communities (the Gurus of the dance form). The art form needs to be owned by the masses so that new language could be introduced which would be understood by as many as possible. These debates and engagement with critical texts read in context of Bharatanatyam also raised important questions for us.

We have attempted to carefully look at unlearning these learnt gestures, ideas and to identify how our bodies are "Brahminised" through this dance form. The idea of any art is often associated with liberation. We began asking few questions related to Bharatanatyam and the politics behind this "classical" art form, how caste and patriarchy play out in creating "ideal bodies" through the performance of this art form. It is paradoxical that a dance form is further conditioning us to be the ideal woman, which Brahminical Patriarchy has created for us.

We also think the idea is then to see if we can break these conditions and still keep our art form? With these changes, would it still be accepted by all as Bharatanatyam (or any other classical dance) or would it shape into something else? Multiple webs of questions pertaining to the content, training and access to this artform emerged out of our creative endeavours. We decided to put forth these questions and create a space to talk about them through an online

Instagram page. We want to engage with the art form with the lens of gender and caste further through its performance and discussions. For further reference: <https://www.instagram.com/nriticallyyours>

11.27 Analyzing Cultural Politics through the ‘Dancing Body’: A Study of Assamese Item Songs in India

Simona Sarma

“Item songs” as they are popularly called, refer to a segment in mainstream Indian cinema that comprises of an item girl dancing to erotic lyrics emphasized through not so subtle imageries. Although present in Hindi cinema since the 1950s, the term ‘item song’ has come into cinematic vocabulary since the 1990s. Sparking off debates on sexuality, body and censorship, such songs have been understood from a variety of perspectives. While on the one hand they are criticised for catering to voyeuristic male pleasure, on the other hand they are seen as offering space for the expression of female sexual desires that can create moments of resistance against the patriarchal order. By exposing censorship politics, item songs show how Indian films address the disciplined and regulated national subject by playing on their spectatorial pleasure and desire. Here, one can also see Althusser’s notion of ideological apparatus (that includes media and popular culture) failing. According to Althusser, the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) work in tandem with the ruling class’s ideology. However, the negotiated strategies of Bollywood (one of the most influential popular cultural media) to keep the audiences in their loop, point towards a possible disjuncture between ISA and State power.

Interestingly, one can observe a much stronger ISA in the form of moral policing within regional spaces where such songs have started to emerge. For instance, the Assamese music industry has seen the emergence of item songs in Assamese cinema and in independent music videos during the last five years that garner wide views on You Tube. Songs like *Maatal Hol Ei Rati* (Drunk this Night), *Voltage Besi* (Increase in Voltage) and *Gulabi Bai* (Pinkish Bai), are some common Assamese item songs. These songs are reconfigured in local ways. It is the force of globalization/digitization/hybrid economy and culture that has augmented the movement of this genre across time and cultural boundaries. Given the level of eroticism that is part of such item numbers, I will specifically explore the means of surveillance and control that these “non-normative” cultural texts are subjected to within a local spatial context. Deconstructing this inter-cultural movement of performance will reveal whether and how cultural appropriation of the “mainstream” by the “periphery” functions to keep the power dynamics of gender, caste, class and national/sub-national identity intact. Based on visual methodology and textual analysis of Assamese item songs, the paper will theorize how ‘item song’ as a genre gets continued ascendance through bodies and their movements. However, critically examining which bodies are “allowed” to move/groove and which bodies are allowed to embrace the change, the regulation of bodies in these spaces will become clear. For instance, *Disco Bhonti* (2016), an independent Assamese music video that uses the tune of Bihu, the traditional folk dance of Assam, along with disco beats and visuals, is a video-song where the male voice keeps telling the girls to not dance on “disco” and rather indulge themselves with Bihu. This points to the regional identity politics that is being produced via a negation of ‘sensuous dancing bodies’ within local regional spaces. Ironically however, it is the medium of “disco” that is used to denounce the “girls in disco”. Hence, understanding this renewed relationship between music and bodies in a new context will help us comprehend the gendered nature of body-space politics through item numbers. While, on the one hand, the *dancing body*

has the capability to subvert gender norms, on the other hand, the same dancing body is often controlled through hyper-nationalistic imaginations.

Accordingly, this paper will look at how cultural production of local item numbers impact body politics in a way that some bodies come to be regulated through popular culture to ascertain an “authentic” culture devoid of impure elements. Hence, the link between the “obscenity” discourse and the tradition-versus-modernity debate will be further explored.

11.28 Resistance in Words: Tracing Nirmala Putul’s Poetry

Sonam Kumari

In this paper I am going to talk about the cultural text of resistance with respect to the poetry of Nirmala Putul. ‘Nirmala Putul (Murmu) was born in Kurwa village, Dumka, Jharkhand, in the year 1972. She gained recognition as tribal poetess in 1990. She writes in Santhali and Hindi too, her work has been translated in various other languages, such as Hindi, Urdu, Korean, English and Marathi.’ Her poetry not only deals with eulogy of nature in specific but also talks about the effect of market on the community, its culture and nature. She goes on to criticize the feminists of ‘other world’ as well in one of her poetry. She doesn’t stop at the criticism about the destruction caused to her community and culture by others, but also very categorically questions the problems within the community.

The method I am using is Textual Analysis; looking at one of the book which is poetical Anthology (**नगाड़े की तरह बजते हैं शब्द**) written by Nirmala Putul which has been published by Gyanpith. The other works I am largely drawing from are the work by Ganga Sahay Meena who is Adivasi Literature Critic and has prominently got the discourse of Adivasi Literature in Hindi.

The questions that I am going to deal with in my paper would be what consist of cultural text for adivasis (santhali in specific), further if we interrogate into this idea, how is a culture formed or created within that society? Is the culture static? If not then how did the Santhali culture change and what are the changes that occurred? How did Nirmala Putul show does cultural changes in her poetry, what are the views Adivasi women had for these cultural changes? During this change and exchange of culture many Adivasi women found their way out to resist in words, how is the space of poetry used as a tool of resistance for the community and also a space for women which Nirmala Putul calls as her ‘alternate space’. How do these spaces find its existence with the Cultural practices which a woman resists.

It is necessary to do this kind of work to break the myth which has played out in the core about the periphery that, Patriarchy doesn’t exist within the community, but an Adivasi women out rightly breaks these myths in her text and call out to the men within the community causing problem to the women and how the power hierarchies exist there as well. She also counts the power relation which has been exercised by the women from outside the community which breaks the stereotype that patriarchy is only practiced by men. She breaks the binaries and talks about power affecting her, her community, her culture, her environment from both within and outside the society.

Poetry has remained a language for woman, especially for women from marginalized section of society. Nirmala Putul is one of them and there are many others who have been named and many who remain unnamed. I am using the poetry written by her since it is not only about her account but serves as an immortal account of woman who have been killed in name of ‘witchcraft practice’, the women who have been sold out in market in name of ‘marriage’, the women who have been paraded naked in the society for raising their voices against men in the community. Poetry then no longer remains a question of imagery or forms but becomes evidences of these killing and murders which gives a lens to open up and question the society.

This paper will also show that cultural changes do occur and they also occur due to the resistances put up by women and these texts immortalizes it.

11.29 The Greenhouse of Misogyny

Suraj H.

Before I dwell into the concept and purpose of my research, allow me to help the reader locate my position as a *savarna* queer, born, brought up and lived in Mumbai, Maharashtra for 23 years. I promote the anti-caste movement as an ally and centre my politics on Love and Empathy. This is important as this helps the reader to understand the researcher's ontological position. The researcher is a student of M.A. in Sociology and Social Anthropology at TISS-Guwahati campus, an elected member of Women and Gender Development Cell and a student representative in Internal Committee (for cases of Sexual Harassment).

Misogyny through the intersections of structures and institutions just like power is coercive. Misogyny is not limited to hating women or having prejudice against them, it's also in the systemic exclusion of women and exclusion of femininity (femme) and production of a culture of misogyny. The word 'Greenhouse' in the title literally means a structure which creates an atmosphere as such to conserve, cultivate and produce plants. The construction of TISS's image as the flag bearer of liberal studies provides a hotbed, a structure, an atmosphere which controls this (public) image. This study centres misogyny within TISS, the very same Greenhouse-like structure which allows misogyny to exist and systemically grow at the very core of TISS.

The purpose of the research is to revisit academia through the lens of gender and (symbolic) violence, the production of knowledge, the labour produced, the responsibility of the intellectuals, course design and structure, (neo-liberal) architectural and infrastructural construction of campuses and the administration of Tata Institute of Social Sciences. This, as the researcher has found, allows TISS to be exclusionary - gender centring class, caste, race, ethnicity, tribe, disability and sexuality - and also (structurally) promoting gendered violent cultures.

11.30 Neo Buddhist Women: Identity and Cultural Practices after Neo-Buddhist Religious Conversion

Suvarna More

This research attempts to understand the religious conversion in India broadly and how the practices and identity shapes over time particularly. To understand the process in depth this study is mainly focusing on Neo-Buddhist Religious Conversion. As one knows that Ambedkar's religion 'Navayana Buddhism' (Neo-Buddhism) was/is a transformed Buddhism and its philosophy is based on the book 'Buddha and His Dhamma', which was written by Ambedkar. One can see that over the last 60 years the Dalit communities who converted to Neo Buddhism have undertaken an arduous journey of accepting the new religious traditions which goes beyond the faith related components and are now known as Neo-Buddhists. As Neo-Buddhists come from Hinduism, they neither really bypass their Hindu practices nor easily adapt new traditions prescribed by Neo-Buddhists philosophy. It is only a small section of Neo-Buddhist communities that are trying to bring new practices against older ones. So, this paper is trying to understand the journey of conversion and how the practices shape and are shaped by the entire process. This study also inquires that whether Neo-Buddhist women have contributed a lot in the making of such new communities.

This study mainly focuses on the everyday practices of Neo-Buddhist women and argues that the theoretical context where the differentiated gendered effects of conversion to Buddhism have been largely ignored in the writings about these communities. It describes at length about the identity and the possibility of emancipation of the Neo-Buddhist women of Pune, Maharashtra. Using ethnographic method, observation and interviews as the main tools the researcher have tried to explore how Neo-Buddhist women construct their identity and investigates the everyday practices of the Neo-Buddhist women by focusing on their activities and presence at the 'Buddhist Organisation'(public space). The researcher will also attempt to explore how these women understand becoming a Buddhist and/or the process of religious conversion and uncover certain dimensions of building the converted community. It tries to document minute details about how women contribute to the formation of the Neo-Buddhist identity in the public sphere and how they articulate such identity.

After conversion to Buddhism people create their new Buddhist identity/culture based on Navayana Buddhism. Most of the studies till now have discussed about the practices of whole community and how it develops the identity/culture through Ambedkarite movement. This research will try to explore the formation of the Neo-Buddhist women's identity in the public sphere and will attempt to describe their idea of space and agency in the 'Buddhist Organisation' (public space).

The paper is situated in the contested histories of religious conversion in India where it is being seen as a way of escaping and challenging the inhumanity of the caste system by the scheduled caste. It argues that the women from these outcasted communities try to craft a new public identity through everyday inhabitation and diligent organization of the activities and participating in the rituals of the Neo-Buddhist 'Buddhist Organisation'.

11.31 Mukta Salve's Essay: A Text of Resistance

Swarali Patil

In the feminist movement, it was widely assumed through 'trickle down' model that feminism was introduced by white middle class feminists at first and then it has travelled to black women and then to 'third world women. Many black feminists have argued this. In India also, it is argued that upper caste middle class women introduced feminism and then post 1980s Dalit women become feminists due to women's liberation movements. However, it has been challenged by many Dalit feminists in India. In 1990's independent dalit women's organisations were started in Maharashtra in particular and India in general. They have questioned the dominant upper caste feminism in India. They have also reclaimed many histories on the backdrop of Ambedkarite movement in Maharashtra. They have shared their experiences and argued that dalit women experiences are different from upper caste women. They called Savitribai Phule, Tarabai Shinde, Mukta Salve as their icons in a fight against caste and patriarchy. In this backdrop Mukta Salve's essay is crucial and considered as a text of resistance. Mukta Salve was granddaughter of Lahuji Salve one of the social revolutionist from Maharashtra. She was from 'Matang'(Scheduled castes) community. At the age of fourteen-years studying for three years and studying in third standard in school of Jotirao and Savitribai Phule, was honored for the best essay in school by Major Candy. In reply to Major Candy she said, "Sir, give us Library and no chocolates." Her essay on "Dharma" (Religion) was read in front of 3000 people in presence of Major Candy. Mukta Salve's essay 'Mang Maharachya Dukhvisayi (About the grief of the Mangs and the Mahars) was published in Marathi magazine 'Dnyanoday' in 1855. Mukta Salve (a student in Phule's school) in an essay entitled 'About the Girls of Mangs and Mahars' draws attention to the deprivation of lower castes from their lands, the prohibition of knowledge imposed on them and the complex hierarchies wherein even the

lower castes were stratified into more or less polluting. She then compares the experiences of birthing for lower caste and brahmin women, underlining the specificities of experiences of lower caste women. Mukta argues that only Brahmins can read Vedas and Shudra's can only see it. It means that Shudra have no religious text or Religion for that matter. She pointed out that Brahmins and untouchables do not have similar religion. This question of Mukta Salve 'what is the religion of untouchables' gave rise to different socio-religious and political trajectories of anti-caste movement in Maharashtra and later on in India. In her essay she wrote about the differential experiences of colonialism to different people of India, particularly Shudras. As question of religion, or different experiences of women it is important to understand this essay of Mukta Salve. This text is considered as a resistance in many anti caste movements. So I will try to analyse this essay and will try to elaborate its connections with the broader questions of religion, gender and caste.

11.32 Biopolitical Bollywood: Sexual Violence as Cathartic Spectacle in *Section 375* and *Article 15*

Swatie

This paper will discuss the representation of sexual violence in two recent mainstream Bollywood films, *Section 375* and *Article 15*. Both films comment on events based on real life which were depicted in the media, such as caste politics and the #metoo movement. Both films make use of a representational poetics of sexual violence. However, both films problematically align themselves with the status quo.

The paper uses Laura Mulvey's argument about the production of visual pleasure. Laura Mulvey states how the male gaze of the camera makes invisible, and produces as reality, the objectification of the woman and the identification of the audience with the male performer. ("Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema") This paper uses these findings to state how the male gaze is used to identify with the male protagonist in both films in order to create an identificatory politics. It uses, what can be termed as, "a pathos of familiarity": both the familiar and the familial are used to create a sympathetic gaze towards the male protagonists in both films. Further, the paper argues that the use of media and the regime of the visible is used in both films in order to enable the production of a 'biopolitical gaze'. The paper detours to elaborate on Michel Foucault's use of the term biopolitics and its relation with the State/sovereign power.

This biopolitical gaze shows how the patriarchal state uses public penology in rape trials or uses statist machinery in investigating sexual violence in order to pursue and maintain its own ideological apparatuses. It points to the films' use of techniques such as the depiction of the angry activist crowd or the fiery romanticised activist (the voice of conscience) in *Section 375* and *Article 15* respectively. These devices are used to disrupt and affectively regulate the viewers' emotions towards a biopolitical logic of the goodness of State machinery. It argues that it is a male gaze that affectively controls its viewers and aligns them with statist ends. The films, the paper argues, also act to perpetuate 'rape myths' (Joanna Bourke, *Rape: A History from 1840 to the present*). These are fictions with a repetitive force behind them that seem to pass off as truth in the context of rape trials and investigations. The first film acts as a misogynist cautionary tale about the excess of power accorded to feminist rape laws. The second film imbues its audience with a Brahmin-patriarchal saviour complex. The production of emotions of 'fear' (*Section 375*) and 'pity' (*Article 15*) leads to a cathartic manipulation by these films. In this manner, the paper examines the scopic regimes within these two films that help produce biopower as "public penology" (Baidik Bhattacharya) in the postcolony. By

closely reading these two films, the paper seeks to highlight the profilmic text as the means for producing an affective justification of statist machinery.

11.33 Politics of Web-Comics in the New Media: Analysis of ‘Inedible India’ and ‘Royal Existentials’

Tanuja Bhakuni

The web-comic series titled ‘Inedible India’ created by Rajesh Rajamani attempt to satirically comment on the contemporary socio-political and economic scenarios however what is interestingly different about these are backdrop on which these feature which include the famous paintings of Raja Ravi Varma, the celebrated Indian painter and artist of colonial era. This idea of using of famous painting of Raja Ravi Varma instead of drawing or sketching resonated after he came through the web-comic series by Aarthi Parthasarthy named ‘Royal Existentials’ which illustrates contemporary angst engaging with the issues of gender, democracy, dissent, class and caste hierarchies, personal existential crises via comic strip on a backdrop of Mughal miniature paintings. The title ‘Inedible India’ somewhat mocking the idea of ‘Incredible India’ i.e. Government of India’s international marketing campaign for promoting tourism in India to a global consumer, Rajamani clearly remarks his work in terms of ‘social inequalities and eccentricities in India, which one couldn’t and shouldn’t digest’. Both the web-comic series ‘Royal Existentials’ and ‘Inedible India’ attempt to bring together the artistic traditions of Mughal Miniature and Raja Ravi Varma with the popular form of comic as well as magazine art.

The question here to ask is how does one read these politically charged web-comic strips? What does this socially satirical comic strip or magazine cover which are engaging with numerous issues including gender inequalities and class, caste hierarchies as well as democracy on the backdrop of Medieval Miniature paintings and Raja Ravi Varma’s painting which include the ‘feminine’ images which becomes part of the mass-produced ‘calendar’ pictures particularly in the latter suggestive of? What do they attempt to achieve? The paper attempts to look into how the politics of caste, gender, class and sexuality are (re)organised and disrupted through practices of visual cultures. Also, importantly how the coming of different visual and verbal (format) mediums lead to the transformation of the text completely which then circulate via digital media. In the paper I will unpack these questions through a critical reading of the few selected images from ‘Inedible India’ and ‘Royal Existentials’ (will be looking at few images from ‘Inedible India’ and ‘Royal Existentials’ web-comic strip).

11.34 Revered Geographies as Cultural Texts: Analysing the Inter-Relationship between Cultural Economy of Vrindvan and Social Construction of Widowhood

Urvija Priyadarshini

Social construction of gender identities relies on investigation of social institutions such as family, community, religion, market, law and so on to understand their influence on constitution of culture and context specific femininities. This paper intends to examine the social construction of Hindu widowhood identity through a gendered examination of the context of the city of Vrindavan, a town considered holy in Hinduism due to its intimate association with the life and activities of Krishna; a prominent Hindu deity. For a long time Vrindavan has been, and continues to be a site of significant inflow of widows from different parts of the country. Widows are brought to Vrindavan as well as they come to the city seeking not only a means of survival but a renewed sense of purpose. Having spent the majority of their

lives in poverty and under the close guardianship of the patriarchs of the household (husbands, sons and in-laws) the ascribed status of being a widow after the death of the husband means a significant change in the concept of self, one's subjectivity, identity and relationships. Widowhood in Hinduism is governed by the prescriptions of religious texts and social norms that have taken shape in a specific community over a long period of time. The contribution of a certain geography shaping the widowhood identity has been given limited thought in past and current scholarship. This paper seeks to establish the interlinkage between women's self-identity as a widow and the space and place of Vrindavan and its associated religiosity. From the moment of a widow's arrival in Vrindavan her life is fraught with questions of figuring out a space to live and earning a livelihood to fulfill her life's necessities. Further, she needs to mould herself as an 'appropriate' Hindu widow suitable to the cultural-religious ethos of Vrindavan. This means modifying her lifestyle including dress code, food habits, religious practice, way of presenting herself to the world and her very structure of language. In this regard, the socio-cultural and economic milieu of Vrindavan constitutes a governing and modeling force informing her existence and conduct in the city. It acts as an enabler for widowed woman's continued survival. Their ritual lives and social interactions take place and is shaped by the context of Vrindavan. Women, in turn, negotiate their ways of being to further their subsistence and attain the goals that they deem appropriate for themselves. In the process of negotiating with the demands of socio-economic and cultural realities of Vrindavan, norms of widowhood are reaffirmed and sometimes reconstituted ensuring the continuance of the idea of the 'Hindu Widow'. Narratives of widows living in Vrindavan collected through in-depth unstructured interviews will be used for the purpose of analysis in this study.

11.35 'Aao Aao Natak Dekho': Women and the politics of Delhi University Theatre Circuit

K Vaishnavi

The Delhi University Theatre Circuit (DUTC) is a group of Dramatics societies of various colleges across Delhi University. Both in terms of form and content, theatre being practiced within DUTC has been influenced by the politics of Delhi University. The DUTC, like most other spaces is dominated by the politics of hegemonic gender and caste identities.

Through this paper, I want to highlight how the art form being practiced within DUTC has been impacted by major factors. The first being the rise in extreme Hindutva politics on campus and second, the culture of competition between street plays in various fests in the DUTC. I would also highlight the effect of these factors on participation and role of women performers in the circuit.

Street theatre has been used in India by various stakeholders for mobilisation and spreading their propaganda. From being used during the pre-independence period to protest against the establishment, to spread awareness about social issues to being used as a tool by various political parties in the post-independence period. These tendencies also informed the culture of theatre among the colleges of the Delhi University from time to time.

With the rise of Jan Natya Manch during the late 1970s in Delhi inspired by the ideologies and work of Indian People's Theatre Association (I.P.T.A) and the parallel rise of the mainstream women's movement, street theatre seems to have gained popularity in the University. More women started to come out and perform on the streets. Delhi University Street theatre was also strongly influenced by these changes.

During this phase, colleges like Miranda House and Deshbandhu College (which have been a part of the Delhi University) which were strongholds of the Students Federation of India, started critiquing the government through its theatre societies. In 1971, the Akhila Bhartiya

Vidhyarthi Parishad came to power in Delhi University. With financial assistance from the Bhartiya Janata Party and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, ABVP started to advocate the policies of the Jan Sangh through rallies and cultural programs.

The politics of the Right continue to affect the University campuses and also the theatre societies. In the time frame during which this research was conducted, There have been a series of bans on plays started specifically from 2015 when Delhi University Students Union demanded an immediate ban on the annual street theatre production of SGTB Khalsa college's dramatics Society which mocked the rise of extreme Hindutva forces in the country. This incident being a direct attack on the Delhi University Theatre Circuit has affected the teams in multiple ways.

In this context, as women from across communities as performers, perform unapologetically questioning the forces which limit them, they face various forms of violence and censorship. Women performers asserting agency over their bodies and using their bodies to challenge the power structures through street theatre is also being seen as a threat to the ideas of "Nation" and the politics of Nationalism which the Right wing preaches. This shift in politics has led to different kinds of responses of women performers of the circuit as well as a shift in the content of the plays. The paper tries to elucidate and understand these responses further.

The second part of the paper aims to analyse the effect of this political economy of different colleges especially the women only colleges. The political economy of the fests has also led to a major shift in the form and content of street theatre being practiced in the University circuit. The paper also tries to understand this closely. For the purpose of this research, there were 12 semi structured interviews of women artists of the DUTC were conducted. The tool of participant observation as well as a content analysis of 11 street plays between the 2016 and 2018 were also used.

11.36 Homosocial desire in Malayalam Horror Cinema

Vineetha M

Same sex desire is a constitutive element determines gender and sexuality. In the histories of gender women were defined in relation to men. In this paper I am specifically focused on same sex desires in Malayalam cinema. Muraleedharan(2010) argued in his work, "Malayalam cinema is undoubtedly a male-centered space, where the conventional concepts of masculinities and femininities are reiterated. However, the female romantic friendship is significant and has an inconspicuous presence in the Malayalam cinema" Do these representations of same sex relationships subvert the conventional gender, sexual normativity? Cinema as a space of constructs often represents dominant values, norms and ideologies. Even though cinema as a complex space represents the dominant modes of expression of desires and pleasures, it also makes possible multiple meanings. This paper explores the subtexts that make possible queer imaginations in Malayalam cinema.

The paper looks into the non-normativeness within the heterosexual matrix. Using the term 'homosociality', to better understand the different kinds of relations. I look at the representation of female homosociality and its interchangeability with the homoerotic and the homosexual in Malayalam cinema. Homosociality is not necessarily dichotomous with homosexuality. Rather, the lines between the two categories are blurred and at times even fluid.

I explore the complex range of slippages that allow readings of queerness in select Malayalam films, which prominently carry elements of horror. I explore queerness in the cinema settings within the frame, and the complex expressions of queerness that circulate through and around the figure of the *Yakshi* (female spirit). In the folk tales *yakshi* is represented as one who survived death to transform to *yakshi*, in order to accomplish certain

unfulfilled tasks, to tell some stories, and to give some explanation to revenge. Here I discuss mainly two Malayalam films namely, *Manichitrathazhu* (The Ornate Lock,1993) and *Ennu Swantham Janakikutty*(Your's Janakikutty,1997). My paper analyses how certain romantic/visual codes operate in these films so as to express queer desires.

Here it is noticeable that how homosexuality presents itself in the horror genre through sub-textual or connotative way. The representation of same sex desire is allusive and it presents itself at the edges of the text and the characters rather than presenting directly. Same sex desire is subtle but undoubtedly present as a signifier.

11.37 Gender Construction by Islamic Neo-Revivalism and Educational Campuses: Case Study of Religious Schools and Secular Campuses in Aligarh City

Zeba Aslam Khan and Shadab Bano

With resurgence of Islamic revivalism in recent past, in the post Gulf-war, 9/11 scenario; the appeal in a section of Muslim society is gaining ground to strive with greater urgency for the 'rule of Allah on earth,' and to follow the prescribed way of life, so that Islam governs every aspect of individual's life, and that of the family, community. The one perception that the 'wrongs' to the community and the present onslaught on Muslims in the Islamophobic world has been on account of the deviance of Muslims from the Islamic ways and the corruption that had set in. The task therefore is to revitalize the community and build up its strength in all its aspects, so as to deal with the moral decay 'from within' and the persistent onslaught 'from without.' In doing this, the values and principles from religion gets invoked to the total overlooking or even denial of the constitutional principles at times. The negation of the constitutional principles of gender equality and justice becomes all the more pronounced while invoking the ideology of 'private sphere' guided by religion/Islam alone. With the more extremist among them claiming to be guided by Quran and Sunnah (Prophet's sayings) alone, and all else becomes *biddat* (forbidden).

This recent neo-revivalism (as one could notice the differences from the revivalism in the Colonial past) has moved aggressively to the educational campuses through publishing and circulation of their literature, capturing the discursive spaces, contesting the liberal-secular discourse and cultures of the campus, as well as teaching through a rigorous Islamic curriculum in the Islamic schools that had sprang up in a big way in the city. This paper looks at the rise of the Islamic revivalism in these contemporary times, its gender ideology as well as identity construction through the study of their literature and their 'missionary' work at the secular educational campus as well as through their pedagogy at religious schools in the Aligarh city.

12 Special Session on Jharkhand

12.1 The Gender Politics of Plough: Asymmetrical Taboos and Santal Women

Amita Kumari

All societies have had taboos since time immemorial. Taboos, the unwritten social norms meant to be stringently obeyed, are actually symbolic expressions of a society's belief system. They reflect the subconscious fears for elements that a society might believe to be dangerous, unclean, mysterious or sacred. But taboos have a gendered meaning too - they unravel a society's perceptions and prescriptions regarding the desired gender roles and equations. Hence a gendered interpretation of taboos may help us understand the workings of gender politics in a particular society.

This paper seeks to make a gendered study of plough taboo, a prohibition confined only to women, in Santal society. The Santals are an Adivasi community who reside in Jharkhand, Bihar, Assam, West Bengal, Orissa, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh. They are considered to be the largest homogenous and the most integrated tribe in India. Like other societies, Santal society is also deeply patriarchal and practices several women-only taboos. The strictest of these taboos is the one related to plough - Santal women are forbidden from even touching the plough. This paper seeks to go into the gender politics that gets played through the 'forbidden plough'. In the light of a discussion on women specific taboos and restrictions, their diverse interpretations, customary laws and Santal folktales, the paper endeavours to explicate the deeply embedded nature of the taboo within Santal society and the manner in which it seriously handicaps Santal women. It argues that such asymmetrical, female-only taboos are not mere symbolic expressions of a community's belief system. They are veritable patriarchal controls meant to ensure the complete dependence of women over men. The paper explores similar asymmetrical taboos in other societies to emphasize the point that such female-only taboos are associated with the crucial elements of one's survival and hence are grave handicaps for women, in particular the single women. The taboos serve as effective tools to control and manipulate single women and their resources, which may, sometimes, be conveniently used to evict them from their property.

The paper has been divided into three parts. The first part goes briefly into the several asymmetrical, female-only taboos prevalent in Santal society. The second part takes a look at the "forbidden" plough and the related customary laws, traverses its history through Santal folktales and evaluates the several interpretations offered as explanations. The third and final part attempts at delineating the actual lived in experiences of Santal women with the taboo.

This paper is based on a study of the ethnographic accounts on Santals, the Santal folklores and customary laws, and a fieldwork of five villages in Dumka district.

12.2 A Study of the Impact of Development-induced Displacement in Jharkhand on Tribal Women

Basavi Kiro

Development means the advancement of economic and social conditions of any given society. After independence, India adopted a model of development broadly based on western ideas which had counter effects to states like Jharkhand which have a unique, indigenous and diverse culture. It has been observed that the mainstream development model has induced displacement of the natives at a mass level. Women, in general, and specifically, tribal women have been the silent but worst sufferers of the violence of development in these areas. It has had multi-pronged effects on them.

For instance, in Ranchi District, Heavy Engineering was established due to which 32 villages were uprooted. Latma is one of them. People of this village are starving and suffering from many diseases. Women, especially, are facing multiple atrocities due to industrialization and forced migration. At the outset, it is hypothesized that 'Development-induced displacement in Jharkhand has completely destroyed victim tribal society and women; uprooting human relations, language, culture, tradition and religious practice. Women have borne the worst impact of it all, surmounted by indescribable misery and pain'.

In this paper, an attempt will be made to study the individual, social, cultural, health, human and psychological impact that development-Induced displacement has brought upon them post-independence. The broader Research Methodology that will be adopted for the study of the proposed topic would be descriptive, correlational, explanatory, as well as quantitative and qualitative. As the chosen topic requires a multi-disciplinary approach, it would so be dealt with. Selected sites of projects-industry, mines and dams, would be visited. The displaced people would be sampled and interviewed on a set of questionnaire duly prepared for the purpose.

12.3 Food for Footloose: How Participation in the Dal Bhat Yojana Affects the Lives of Women and the Footloose

Preeti Singh Gautam, Anjor Bhaskar

Prevailing nutritional emergency in Jharkhand and slower progress of development indicators prompted its government to introduce a specially designed scheme to look after the nutritional needs of urban poor-migrants and homeless as early as 2011 when even the National Food Security Act wasn't enacted in the country. This particular programme gained immense popularity across the state because it addresses food insecurities of those vulnerable sections who otherwise remain excluded of the PDS system due to continuous to and fro between their source and destination locations (in case of migrant workers) and their inability to produce official documents required to avail benefits of public welfare schemes. Under the scheme, a person is eligible to get a plate of cooked rice, dal (lentils) and sabji (soybean or chickpea curry mixed with vegetables) for five rupees. The food outlets locally called Dal Bhat Kendra (henceforth DBK) are run by women SelfHelp Groups (SHGs). Initially, NGOs were entrusted with the responsibility of managing DBKs, but within a year, Jharkhand Government decided to transfer the ownership of DBKs to women SHGs. Thus, the intervention aims to achieve the twin objectives, first, to protect the right to food and adequate nutrition of the cities' mobile population, and the second is to secure livelihoods of women and empower their lives by

providing them employment opportunities. More than 400 DBKs have been operational across different parts of the state. The Jharkhand Government buys rice from Food Corporation of India (FCI) and sells them to women SHGs at one rupee a kilogram. Its Food and Public Distribution department buys chickpeas and soybeans from private contractors and provides to women SHGs free of cost. Each DBK gets 24 quintals of rice, 80 kilograms of chickpeas and 60 kilograms of soybeans every month. Ration is delivered to every DBK by private contractors and DBK owners (women SHGs) are required to pay them transportation costs in cash. They also pay cost of rice in cash to the contractor. Kendra owners buy vegetables, pulses, oil and other cooking items (like spices, cooking coal, firewood, etc) from market. A typical DBK should sell a meal containing 200 grams of rice, dal, vegetables curry (mixed with soybeans or chickpeas on alternate days) for 5 rupees. The programme is poorly implemented on various grounds yet owing to its very cheap price, is a hit among urban poor. Customers' profiles include rickshawpullers, casual wage laborers, security guards, carpenters, rag-pickers, beggars (old, disabled, mentally ill) with an overwhelming majority of men among the customers. As many as 80% of the respondents felt the quality of food is satisfactory. It can be safely said that customers have made peace with the quality of food they are served even if its way below the acceptable level. There is no provision of clean drinking water. Each meal contains 40-50 grams of rice against the stipulated quantity of 200 grams of rice per beneficiary. Hygienic and cleanliness levels are extremely dissatisfying in all the centres. Meals are cooked using unhygienic practices and cooked food is stored in large uncovered containers with filthy flies hovering around them. Most of the DBKs are operating in abandoned, dilapidated government buildings or in makeshift spaces which become practically non-functional during rainy season. Among customers, a greater preference to chicken, egg, fish and other protein-rich non-vegetarian food options was found. Because of this, most of the Kendras sell additional appetizing food items and charges rates equivalent to that of street food outlets. All the centres fudge numbers to show higher number of customers coming to their centres. None of the centres are visited by Marketing Officers (MOs) who are entrusted the task of keeping a check on quality and hygiene standards to be maintained in community kitchens. Migrant workers who constitute of vegetable sellers, casual wage laborers, helpers in local shops, carpenters, street vendors, etc. are regular customers to DBK. These set of people leave very early from their villages and find the easily available street food to be expensive and unhealthy. Although street food offers a greater variety, but Dal Bhat meals are easier to digest, cheap and comparatively healthy. The scheme was launched hastily by the then Chief-minister of Jharkhand without paying adequate attention and funds for the scheme yet it proved to be beneficial in providing immediate short term benefits to people on the grounds of securing food insecurity. However the study has also reported that the effect of the scheme on women is minimal. Most of the community kitchen is run by the women who are the secretary of the SHG. The Jharkhand government expressed its willingness to empower SHG women members as the second aim of launching the scheme and therefore transferred the ownership and management of community kitchens to women SHGs within few months of introducing the program. Such decision had been taken with the assumption that the horizontal network of relations among SHG members would facilitate in the redistribution of resources, finances and power, providing a certain equal level of financial autonomy to women that will ultimately uplift their respective positions and would empower them. But by transferring the functions and everyday responsibilities of community kitchens solely to the SHG operators without compensating them, the government itself has paved the way for the creation of a vertical network among SHG members vis-à-vis distribution of power and resources. Consequently, finance largely accrues to one or two already financially sound members, the other members being SHG operators only on paper.

The entire question of poor implementation at the ground level in the context of Dal Bhat scheme boils down to the question of strong political will because that translates into a well-designed and adequately funded program. The study concludes by making a strong case for introducing innovative and well-thought out mechanisms at the level of policymaking borrowed from successful experiences of other community kitchens program which will help produce desired outcomes at the ground level.

12.4 A Girl in the City: Higher Education Related In-Migration of Young Women in Ranchi City

Tanushree Kundu

The uneven spatial development and the increasing polarization of infrastructural development in the major cities of India in general and Jharkhand, in particular, are at the core of augmented city-ward migration. The geographical peripheries are also the peripheries of economic development in Jharkhand and therefore the remote regions experience age-and gender-selective out-migration. The young women are increasingly preferring to migrate to the inner-city areas to avail educational amenities and occupational opportunities which are either absent or insufficient in the peripheral regions. Ranchi, being the capital city of Jharkhand, has a concentration of some of the best educational institutions in the state which acts as a major pull-factor for the aspiring young women from the surrounding peripheries including both small towns and villages. The city of Ranchi is also an important hub of private coaching institutions which train students for competitive exams. This acts as an additional factor for education-related in-migration of young women in the city.

The main purpose of this study is to undertake a systematic analysis of the causality and ramifications of city-ward migration of young women mainly for the purpose of attaining higher education. The study proposes to capture the motivating factors for city-ward migration of young women along with the challenges they face of being a migrant girl in the city and the vulnerabilities that the new life in the city confers upon them. The study further proposes to comprehend the various coping mechanisms that the young migrant women employ to adjust to the city life and to what extent they are able to overcome such vulnerabilities.

The findings of the study are based on the focus group discussions and case studies conducted among the young migrant women, belonging to different socio-economic background, and their perceptions and experiences captured during the process. While the causality of migration may be contextualized within the dearth of opportunities in the source areas which are mostly the peripheries that are devoid of economic and infrastructural development, the challenges and vulnerabilities that the city life pose for them may be broadly associated with gender-based discrimination coupled with ethnicity and religion-based discrimination for the tribal women and those belonging to minority groups. Access to basic amenities including housing, health care facilities, social protection and personal security can be major areas of concern for the young migrant women who are at risk of exploitation, both financial and sexual, as well as psychological harassment. Insufficient institutional facilities like provision of girls' hostels and associated amenities pose a serious challenge for these migrants.

The primary cause for city-ward migration for attaining higher education was the availability of better institutions of higher and technical education as well as coaching centres for competitive examinations and availability of library facilities in the city as compared to the native villages and small towns of Jharkhand from where these girls out-migrated. More than the pull factors of the city life, it was the push factor of their native places, i.e. lack of good

educational institutions, that remained the prime factor for migration. The main source of motivation for these girls were fellow girls from their native places who had migrated to the city for higher education. Their experiences of living an independent life in the city and the sense of freedom associated with staying in a city also motivated the prospective migrants. The gender-selective restrictions imposed upon these girls at their homes and native places such as restriction on their movement, going out alone, interacting with the opposite gender etc were at the root of their motivation to break away from these barriers and lead an independent life in the city. Most of the girls noted that it was their own decision to migrate to the city for attaining higher education.

The restraints against migrating to the city were partly based on financial concerns and were majorly based on security concerns. While the financial inability of the family to support higher education of a girl in the city formed one of the bases of restraint against city-ward migration, the persistent prejudice against the city life, which was imagined as 'vicious' and 'distractive', was at the root of most of the restraints faced by these girls during migration. The context of 'distractions' for young girls in the city precisely revolved around interactions or association with the opposite gender, which was considered as a social taboo in the villages and small towns in this region across social groups, and was supposed to have direct implications on the 'character' of these girls as certified by their society. These social taboos and prejudices were ingrained into these girls during their upbringing, so much so that these became a part of their personal belief system. They had believed these social taboos as norms and had accordingly imbibed them as personal moral codes or personal taboos which they were apprehensive of violating while living in the city.

The initial problems that the young women mainly faced after their in-migration into the city were selection of a good college, finding a suitable private accommodation for themselves in a safe locality and availing local transportation. There were no provisions for a common counselling centre to guide these prospective students. Some girls complained about the delay in academic sessions at the university which compel them to extend their stay in the city further increasing the financial burden on them. One of the key problems that the girls persistently faced in the private hostels was obtaining healthy food at economical rates. They reported facing health problems either due to not receiving timely meals or due to unhealthy food provided by the private mess. The migrant girls reported the high cost of living in the city as one of the most discouraging factors. The private accommodation facilities were expensive and so was obtaining food from private messes. While few girls were able to sustain through scholarships received from their colleges, others had to take up part-time jobs to bear the cost of living in the city. Eve teasing was among the commonly faced problems reported by most of the migrant girls. These girls had accepted eve teasing as a 'normal' phenomenon whereas it is only a 'common' phenomenon which is far from being 'normal'. The social upbringing of these girls has been such that they had learnt to accept and adjust even if it was beyond justified. The girls had their own set of personal fears which made them vulnerable while living in the city. As most of these girls had restrictions on moving about alone in their native places, the fear of travelling alone in a big city without any companion had initially gripped them hard. Due to the deep-seated social taboos, the girls were initially apprehensive of interacting with boys. They were hesitant of speaking with strangers and reported low levels of self-confidence during their initial days in the city. The girls reported experiencing higher levels of air pollution in the city and were unable to adjust to the physical environment of the city.

The most commonly reported medium through which the migrant girls could overcome their problems and challenges was the new friends they acquainted in the city. As the problems they faced were mostly common, the migrant girls helped each other. They reported that they always stayed and moved within a group of girls to overcome their sense of insecurity. They also reported that the non-migrant city girls were smarter and more confident and their

company helped them to overcome their apprehensions. Owing to the social upbringing of girls, which was often marred by numerous restrictions, the independent life in the city bestowed upon them the emancipation and opportunity to break away from the barriers of social taboos and norms. They also noted that it eventually depended on the individual how she utilized the opportunity and freedom and that the life in the city itself was not 'distractive' or 'vicious'. The city life made them self-dependent and has enhanced their capability to deal with their problems. The sense of freedom and self-dependence improved their self-confidence. They gained mental strength and became headstrong which aided them in overcoming challenges. Some of them also reported their enhanced capability to counter eve teasing.

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