

Edited by Margaret Alston



Women, Political Struggles and Gender Equality in South Asia

Edited by

Margaret Alston
Professor and Head of Department, Monash University, Australia





Editorial matter, selection, introduction and conclusion © Margaret Alston 2014

Individual chapters © Respective authors 2014

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2014 by PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-137-39056-1

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

Women, Political Struggles and Gender Equality in South Asia

Gender, Development and Social Change

Series Editor

Wendy Harcourt, Associate Professor in Critical Development and Feminist Studies, The International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University, The Hague, The Netherlands

Series Committee

Lydia Alpizar, Executive Director of the Association for Women's Rights in Development, São Paulo, Brazil

Srilatha Batliwala, India-based feminist activist and Scholar Associate with the Association for Women's Rights in Development, Bangalore India

Yvonne Underhill-Sem, Associate Professor of Development Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand

The 'Gender, Development and Social Change' series brings together path-breaking writing from gender scholars and activist researchers who are engaged in development as a process of transformation and change. The series pinpoints where gender and development analysis and practice are creating major 'change moments'. Multidisciplinary in scope, it features some of the most important and innovative gender perspectives on development knowledge, policy and social change.

The distinctive feature of the series is its dual nature: to publish both scholarly research on key issues informing the gender and development agenda as well as featuring young scholars and activists' accounts of how gender analysis and practice is shaping political and social development processes. The authors aim to capture innovative thinking on a range of hot spot gender and development debates from women's lives on the margins to high level global politics. Each book pivots around a key 'social change' moment or process conceptually envisaged from an intersectional, gender and rights based approach to development.

Titles include:

Margaret Alston (editor)

WOMEN, POLITICAL STRUGGLES AND GENDER EQUALITY IN SOUTH ASIA

Wendy Harcourt (editor)

WOMEN RECLAIMING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

Spaces Lost, Spaces Gained

Pashington Obeng

RURAL WOMEN'S POWER IN SOUTH ASIA

Understanding Shakti

Rekha Pande

A JOURNEY INTO WOMEN'S STUDIES

Crossing Interdisciplinary Boundaries

Gender, Development and Social Change Series Standing Order ISBN 978–1–137–03413–7

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

Series Editor's Preface

Women, Political Struggles and Gender Equality in South Asia, edited by Margaret Alston, is a key contribution to the Palgrave series on gender, development and social change. The collection illustrates how women's activism can in one generation bring about major changes that are transforming women's lives now and in the future. The case studies in the book from Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, India and Pakistan show how women have broken through cultural norms and values that have oppressed women for centuries. Women have entered local and national government, changed legislation related to property, resources and wealth, and challenged and changed patriarchal systems. The collective efforts of women from grassroots to the educated political class have devised new livelihood strategies which have opened up life chances for millions of women. While the book shows the positive achievements, it does not shy away from discussing the deeply entrenched violence that all women face in South Asia. It underlines that a major obstacle for women's greater engagement in public life is the prevalence of violence against women even as they call for justice. Through careful research and analysis, the book helps to break the silence around the many layers of violence women experience in the South Asian context. The chapters expose horrific practice of rape and honour killings, the continuation of child marriages, dowry payments, limited inheritance rights and reduced control of assets. While this shadow remains, the important knowledge contained in the book is that women, against all odds, have achieved significant legal, political, social and economic changes over the last decades and in describing these successes, it points the way forward for South Asian women's continued active engagement in transformative politics.

Wendy Harcourt

Notes on Contributors

Margaret Alston is Professor of Social Work and Head of Department at Monash University, Australia, where she heads the Gender, Leadership and Social Sustainability (GLASS) research unit. She has published widely in the field of gender, social work and rural social issues.

Sadhna Arya is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science, Satyawati College (E), University of Delhi. She has worked as Senior Fellow (On Deputation) with the Centre for Women's Development Studies, Delhi. She is actively involved with women's rights issues and has written and presented papers on issues concerning women. Her books include Women, Gender Equality and the State (2000), Narivadi Rajniti – Sangharsh avam Mudday (ed., 2001) and Poverty, Gender and Migration (ed., 2006). In 2010, in the Occasional Papers series, the article 'The National Commission for Women – Assessing Performance' was brought out by Centre for Women's Development Studies, Delhi. She is presently a senior fellow with the Indian Council for Social Science Research, New Delhi, and is working on a book provisionally titled 'The Changing Contours of Feminist Organising in India: The Post 1990s'.

Aruna Burte has an MA in English. She has been active in the banking workers' union, the left and democratic women's movement since the mid-1970s. She has worked and written on gender, informal education and secularism issues. She is a consultant in counselling at CEHAT Mumbai and a gender consultant at Halo Medical Foundation, Andur, Osmanabad, India.

Paromita Chakravarti is Director, School of Women's Studies and Associate Professor, Department of English, Jadavpur University, Calcutta, India. She completed her doctoral studies in English at Oxford University, UK. Her work in the School of Women's Studies has focused on education and sexuality. She has coordinated national and international projects on gender representations in school textbooks, sexuality education, women's higher education, women and HIV/AIDS, homeless women, children and HIV/AIDS. She has worked with the state and central governments, the Women's Commission (national and state) and HIV control boards on educational policy related to education,

health and trafficking. She has co-edited (with Kavita Panjabi) Women Contesting Culture, a collection of essays on women and culture in India, published in 2012.

Omar Tarek Chowdhury is a rights activist, published freelance author and translator. Among his works, translation of Michael Parenti's Against Empire (2000) and Black Shirts and Reds (2002) into Bangla has popularized Parenti's political analysis among Bangla-speaking readers. His books are being simultaneously published in Bangladesh and Kolkata, India. Recently he left Bangladesh Nari Progati Sangha after serving for five years as its director. Prior to that, he was heading the now defunct Institute for Development Policy Analysis and Advocacy (IDPAA). He contributes regularly in dailies and periodicals, in home and abroad, on issues that concern the common people.

Bidushi Dhungel is a human rights activist and researcher from Nepal, working on gender, health and human rights issues. She has previously been an editor and was educated at SOAS.

Alix Dolson has an MA in Human Security and Peacebuilding from Royal Roads University. She currently resides in Victoria, Canada, where she works in community development for a local non-profit. She spends her free time writing and volunteering with various organizations that work towards ending gendered violence.

Anusha Hariharan is an independent researcher based in Chennai and works on issues of gender, caste, labour and sexuality.

Mahmuda Islam, former Professor of Sociology and Women and Gender studies at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, is teaching as a part-time faculty member in Women's Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. As a feminist sociologist she has been involved in research on women and gender issues since the early 1970s and has more than 30 publications appearing in Bangladesh and abroad. She is one of the founding members of Women for Women: A Research and Study Group. Involved in feminist activism at both the local and global level, she has worked as an international consultant of the United Nations.

Rokeya Kabir is Executive Director of Bangladesh Nari Progati Sangha (BNPS), one of the leading women's organizations in Bangladesh. She comes from the generation of student activists of the late 1960s, the forerunner of the anti-Pakistani democratic movement. She joined the Liberation War in 1971 as a freedom fighter. She obtained her MA in Political Science from Dhaka University in 1975. She frequently writes on national and international political and economic issues and has several books to her credit: *Policies Budget and PRSP: Are They Promoting Women's Rights in Bangladesh?*; *Shahbag Projonmo Chattor: Tarunner Obisworoniyo Jagoron; Bangladesher Narir Ogrojatra O Protibondhokota.*

Bushra Khaliq has a master's in French Language and Literature, has studied law at the University of Punjab and has undertaken a Social Enterprise Management Program from Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS), Pakistan. She is currently Executive Director of Women in Struggle for Empowerment (WISE) and brings rich experience to the fields of human rights and development, with a focus on women, children and labour rights. With 15 years' experience as a rights practitioner, she has worked with national and international organizations, including the Asian Human Rights Commission, ILO, ActionAid, the Global Fund for Women (GFW) and the World March of Women (WMW). She is strongly linked to class and social movements across Pakistan.

Shashi Khurana is an associate professor at Delhi University.

Sneha Krishnan is a doctoral student reading International Development at Wolfson College, Oxford. Her current research examines practices of pleasure and the constitution of urban subjectivities among collegegoing women in Chennai. She is also interested more broadly in interrogating themes of youth, gender and sexuality in Tamil Nadu, India.

Nazmunnessa Mahtab is a professor in the Department of Women and Gender Studies, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh. She obtained a master's in Politics, with a specialization in Public Administration, from the London School of Economics in 1975 and her PhD from the University of Delhi in 1982. She also did her postdoctoral research as a Senior Fulbright Scholar at George Washington University, Washington DC in 1989, with a focus on women in administration. Her areas of specialization include women and poverty, gender and development, violence against women, CEDAW and women's rights, gender and governance, women in public policy and leadership and empowerment of women. She has published three books: Women in Bangladesh: From Inequality to Empowerment (2007); Introduction to Women and Gender Studies: Selected Texts on Issues and Concepts (2011); Women, Gender and Development: Contemporary Issues (2012). Forthcoming publications include a co-edited book provisionally titled 'Digital Public Administration and e-Government in Developing Nations' (IGI Global Publishers).

Kaushiki Rao is an independent researcher working with the Center for the Advanced Study of India, at the University of Pennsylvania.

Mary Hope Schwoebel is a scholar, practitioner and policy advisor in the fields of peacebuilding, state-building and development. She has a PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies from George Mason University's School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution and a master's degree in Adult Education for International Development from the University of California, Davis. When she is not working overseas, she teaches – as an adjunct faculty – peace and conflict studies, international politics, and international development at Washington DC-based universities. She lived and worked in South America for five years and in the Horn of Africa for six years, where she managed programs for multi-lateral institutions and nongovernmental organizations. In 1995, Somali women working for the UN asked her to oversee the research and writing for Somali women's paper in preparation for the World Women's Conference in Beijing. Most recently, she worked at the United States Institute of Peace, where she designed and implemented peacebuilding dialogues in war-torn contexts; trained hundreds of African peacekeepers in conflict resolution skills and protection of civilians in peace operations; researched and wrote policyoriented publications on a variety of topics, including women's roles and women's rights during the Arab uprisings.

Shaheen Ashraf Shah obtained her PhD in Women and Gender Studies from the University of Warwick, UK, and has other credentials in the field of gender and development. She served as a visiting research fellow to the University of Western Australia and Loughborough University, UK. She has worked as an independent gender and development researcher/consultant for range of national and international organizations including but not limited to: UNHCR Geneva, WSSCC/UNOPS Geneva, UNWOMEN Pakistan, Asian Development Bank, USAID, Rural Support Programs and OXFAM-GB. Her research and professional interests include politics, women and gender rights, equity and inclusion issues, food security and climate change.

Carol Wrenn is Gender Equality Programme Advisor for Trócaire. She has a PhD in Anthropology from the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, Ireland, and an MSc in Development Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. She has ten years' experience in working in local and international organiza-tions on gender equality, gender-based violence, policy and advocacy. Her research and areas of professional interest include women's rights, gender equality, gender-based violence and international politics.

Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CRO 4YY

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

Contents

Seri	es Editor's Preface	vii		
Not	es on Contributors	viii		
1	Introduction: Women, Political Struggles and Activism – Exploring the Lives of Women in South Asia Margaret Alston			
Sec	tion I Gender-based Violence in South Asia			
2	Responding to Rape: Feminism and Young Middle-Class Women in India Sneha Krishnan	19		
3	Gendered Violence: Forms, Incidence and Legislation in India Sadhna Arya and Shashi Khurana			
4	To Be a Woman in Pakistan: Stories of Struggle and Survival Bushra Khaliq	58		
5	Women in Bangladesh: Invisible Heroes in the Economy and Society Rokeya Kabir and Omar Tarek Chowdhury	72		
6	Intergenerational Prostitution in India: How a Cultural Practice Constitutes Sex Tratticking Alix Dolson	83		
Sec	tion II Activism, Resistance and Empowerment			
7	Powerful Predators: A Kathmandu Perspective Bidushi Dhungel	99		
8	Living on the Edge: Mapping Homeless Women's Mobilization in Kolkata, India Paromita Chakravarti	117		
9	Money Where the Mouth Is: Women, Capital and a Land Rights Movement Kaushiki Rao and Anusha Hariharan	138		
10	Linking Traditions of Resistance	155		

Sec	tion III	Politics, Leadership and Representation	
11	Women	tive Representation and Violence Against (VAW) in Pakistan <i>Ashraf Shah</i>	175
12	Pashtun	ersection of the Public and the Private for Women in Politics ope Schwoebel	193
13		g Spaces for Change: Santali Women's Role Level Politics in Rural India Trenn	209
14	Potentia	's Transformational Leadership in Bangladesh: als and Challenges messa Mahtab	225
15	Women Mahmud	, Politics and Patriarchy: A Case of Bangladesh da Islam	238
16	Conclus Margare		254
Ind	ex		257

1

Introduction: Women, Political Struggles and Activism – Exploring the Lives of Women in South Asia

Margaret Alston

On 16th of December 2012, in the late evening of a balmy Delhi night, a young physiotherapy student boarded a bus with her male companion after an evening out at the movies. She had her whole life and a long professional career ahead of her – a career made possible by the efforts of her family, who had sold their rural farm land to move to the city to enable her to pursue her education.

What followed was a crime so horrific that the whole world recoiled. For several hours she was repeatedly raped, beaten, bitten and brutalized, and her friend bashed to unconsciousness. When the ordeal was finally over she and her companion were thrown naked off the bus where they lay until a passer-by called for assistance. Her injuries were so extreme that despite her courage, determination and will to live and despite her family seeking medical assistance in another country, she died some thirteen days later – her passing mourned by people across the globe, overwhelmed by the brutality and senselessness of this appalling act.

Protests erupted across India; mass rallies called for an end to the constant and shameful harassment and violence against women. Tear gas and water cannons were used against the protesters, marches were banned in Delhi and government ministers called for calm. Although the young woman's name was suppressed, she became known as 'Damini' meaning 'lightning' – a reference to an early Bollywood film and also, one suspects, as recognition of her case becoming a lightning rod for activism and protest. On the occasion of her death the Indian Prime Minister, Mr Manmohan Singh, referring to the widespread anger and protests stated

It would be a true homage to her memory if we are able to channel ... these emotions and energies into a constructive course of action. (Aljazeera News 2012)

This book emerges in honour of Damini as a constructive avenue to discuss violence against women and girls across South Asia, to alert the world to this challenge, to analyse and critique the political struggles in which women in the region are engaged and to celebrate their activism. We call on the global community to support the women of South Asia in their quest for equality, dignity and justice.

South Asia

South Asia is a large contained landmass that is home to one-fifth of the world's population – approximately 1.6 billion people, forming the most densely populated region of the world. The extent of the area known as South Asia is disputed but arguably comprises the countries of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Iran, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and the Maldives (see Figure 1). The population is not homogenous across the countries that make up the region nor even within these countries' borders. It is an area that encompasses a complex diversity of geography, population, religions, customs, dress and circumstances.

Archaeological records suggest it was one of the first regions to be inhabited by modern humans, some 400,000 years ago and acted as a trade route to other parts of Asia and Europe (Majumder 2010; Mines & Lamb 2010). Its rich cultural history is evident from artefacts dating from approximately 2500 BC, and its vibrant trade routes are well-documented from 300 BC and beyond. Sanskrit - considered the oldest language in the world - evolved in this region at least 6,000 years ago, giving some sense of its rich cultural heritage. The key to understanding the area is the historical centrality of the trade routes through the region, both in ancient and more modern times, a phenomenon that has facilitated the transfer of ideas, language, culture, traditions and religion.

Religious diversity

Modern day South Asia is a mix of religions that either developed on the subcontinent or found their way to the region through the land and sea trade routes. Ancient Hindu texts written in Sanskrit confirm that the Hindu religion was prominent in the South Asia region from at least

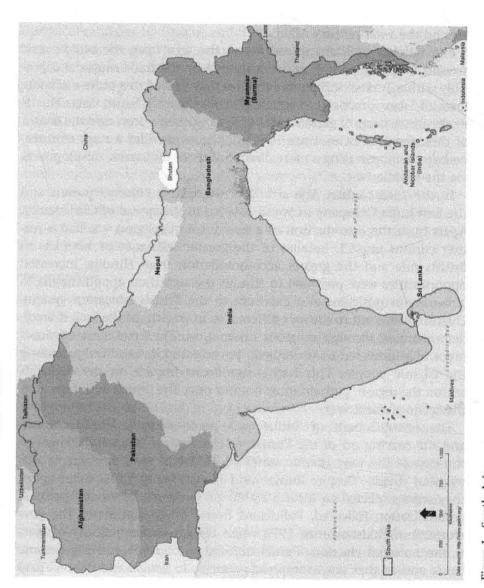


Figure 1 South Asia

2000 BC, and from the 5th to approximately the 14th centuries AD, Hinduism was the official religion in much of South Asia. Buddhism developed in the 1st millennium BC and coexisted with Hinduism for much of this period, becoming more dominant across South Asia from around the 14th century AD.

The religion of Islam spread across the area from the Middle East around the same period, again facilitated by the trade routes and possibly with a Turkish influence – a factor that has led to a more moderate form of Islam practiced in much of contemporary South Asia. This is evident in aspects of gender roles such as women's dress and the extent of their freedom of movement. Afghanistan provides a stark contrast, perhaps demonstrating a more direct influence on Islamic development via the Middle East.

In the 16th century, the arrival of the British colonial powers and the East India Company in South Asia led to the spread of Christianity. Apart from the introduction of a new form of religion – it had a further curious impact. Because of the greater resistance of Islamists to British rule and the greater accommodation from Hindus, increased opportunities were provided to Hindus through their appointments to government positions and exposure to the British education system. Over time this led to distinct differences in wealth, or the lack thereof, demonstrated through religious orientation. The systematic advancement of Hindus led to widespread poverty and destabilization among the Islamic people. This had a significant impact on the divisions within the region, perhaps most notable once the British withdrew after the Second World War.

The establishment of 'India' as a predominantly Hindu country and the carving off of the Punjab to the west of India and Bengal to the east as the new Islamic states of 'Pakistan' were artefacts of this religious divide. Despite Punjab and Bengal being 1,000 miles apart, they were expected to form a stable government. Inevitably political destabilization followed. Politicians from Punjab dominated the government of Pakistan until 1970 when Bengal won a majority of seats at the national election. Punjab refused to concede and a gruesome battle ensued that saw widespread genocide in Bengal and the rape and torture of hundreds of thousands of women. The entry of India to the battle against Punjab not only put an end to the war but also resulted in the separation of Punjab as 'Pakistan' and the establishment of the new country of 'Bangladesh' in the east, formerly known as Bengal. This is one of the most extreme evidences of simmering political tensions