



# Newsletter

**IAWS**  
Indian Association  
of Women's Studies

September 2001

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## Editor's Desk

Dear Friends,

This issue is woven around the theme of 'Globalisation and its impact on Gender'. 1991 onwards a qualitatively different phase of globalisation began in India. The rapid growth of IT and the increasing power of economic and financial transnational actors are major features of this difference apart from the increasing armamentisation and militarisation. Gradually the euphoria over globalisation and free market system is dissipating. The processes of downsizing, rationalisation all over are making it clear that this is not an isolated Asian problem but a structural problem of the World System.

Women in India are experiencing intensified subjugation and exploitation through unemployment, loss of livelihood, increase in contract work, homebased production etc. We need many more micro-studies and empirical data to exactly understand this complex situation. Reports of 'Regional workshops of the IAWS' which were aimed at understanding the more localised implications of globalisation further underline the need for micro-level data. The globalisation of poverty, the ever expanding zone and techniques of 'violence', nauseating levels of consumption, the glocalising culture industry, the strengthening partnership of market and global fundamentalisms – need further addressal. Collective resistance to these forces – both at the local and international levels offers 'alternative visions of globalisation and new utopias for all of us to strive for!!'

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It does not have a very deep and consistent gender perspective, but it comprehensively surveys all sectors of the economy and allows for specific observations on how the present policies affect women.

To begin with, the report exposes the claimed improvement in growth rates, foreign exchange reserves and slower inflation as more cosmetic than real.<sup>4</sup> The macroeconomic progress reports leave out decisive components like poverty-ratio, employment and labour participation rate in general and specific to gender and age, informal sector size and performance, woman-headed households and their income status, changes in consumption spending and its size-class distribution. Apart from the fact that the unemployment statistics have deteriorated (4.1 crores registered job seekers as of Nov. 1999 vis-à-vis 3.92 crores in 1997/98), the concept of wage employment itself is inadequate. 92% of the Indian working class work in the unorganised sector (according to NCL, 88% according to National Sample Survey)<sup>5</sup> and the proportion is growing, as public sector enterprise gets privatised and the trend towards casualisation of labour goes on. This increases competition for women, as 94% of working women are in the informal economy (vis-à-vis 83.3% of male workers). Even within the informal sector, casualisation is on the increase and is higher for women than for men. This not only makes the economic situation more precarious but also makes organisation of workers more and more difficult. Poverty among casual labourers is increasing, there are more women below poverty line, than men and women headed households and girl children are in the most pathetic situation.<sup>6</sup> Women are concentrated in low-skilled and low paid jobs (with lower wages than men) and state spending on education to upgrade skills is on the decrease. State expenditures on social sectors as proportions to total budget are on the decrease, budgetary allocation for Department of Women and Child Development has decreased over the past five years, non-plan allocation to programmes for child welfare shows negative growth in the 2000-01 budget.<sup>7</sup> These overall trends clearly outweigh some of the marginal gains of some newly created jobs in export processing units. Generally

speaking, women's employment in India, during this century, was concentrated only in four manufacturing industries,

- a. food, beverages and tobacco
- b. textiles
- c. wood and wood products
- d. ceramics,

accounting for 30% of women's employment in manufacturing covering the period from 1911-61. During the 80s, employment of adult women declined and employment of adolescent girls and child labour increased. The traditional employment went down and some new industries like chemicals, metallurgical and engineering fields emerged.<sup>8</sup> Some researchers suggested that globalisation brought casualisation and thus feminisation of the labour force and thus, despite being exploitative, has some emancipatory potential for women. This has been contested by feminist researchers. Ela Bhat, the founder of SEWA, has pointed out as early as 1992 that women will be hardest hit by SAP.<sup>9</sup> It is clear that the organised sector is disintegrating and that therefore even temporary gains which women workers make are not going to last. Besides, women have only access to the less skilled and underpaid jobs. Sexual division of labour in the home as well as in the labour market accounts for a continuing dis-advantage which ultimately serves the casualisation of labour and makes organisational strategies more difficult.<sup>10</sup>

On the one hand, skill training for women will be needed, on the other, only organisation of the labour force in the informal sector can assert some basic rights. To enable women's participation in trade unions in the informal sector, community kitchens and balwadis will be needed which permit women

4. Kamal Nayan Kabrar, *ibid*, p. 11.

5. Narsharan Singh, *ibid*, p. 125.

6. *Ibid*, p. 126.

7. *Ibid*, p. 127.

8. *Gender and Poverty in India*, A World Bank Country Study (Washington, 1991). The report quotes on p. 83 Maithreyi Krishnaraj's paper of 1985 on *Women's Position in Export Oriented Industry: The Cost of Female Preference in Employment* and Nirmala Banerjee's paper, "Some Recent Trends in the Economic Activities of Women" on p. 85.

9. Ela Bhat, "Structural Reform: View From the Other Side", *The Economic Times*, Jan. 15, 1992.

10. An extensive discussion of all these trends can be found in "Structural Adjustment, Feminisation of Labour Force and Organisational Strategies" EPW, Apr. 30, 1994, WS 39-WS 48 by Nandita Shah, Sujata Gotheskar, Nandita Gandhi and Amrita Chhachi.

greater mobility. Such social facilities require funds which are nowadays scrapped as wasteful social expenditure. The vicious circle closes in.

Generally speaking, the new emphasis on cost-efficiency in different fields leads to more exploitation of women's labour. e.g. hospitals becoming "more efficient" means that patients are discharged earlier, medicines are not freely available, and women's invisible family labour is compensating this situation. As some authors have pointed out, the stretchability of this invisible labour resource has its own limits, as women's health gets ruined. Women face lack of access to resources or outlets outside the household, inner-household markets are biased against women and intra-household distribution of income and decision making of expenditure is distorted.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the traditional social discriminations are not automatically broken down by the new development but may be accentuated unless tackled separately. At the same time, the spaces for organising women are also narrowing.

The onslaught on Agriculture and Food Security is the most disturbing feature in the present situation. Agriculture is the traditional stronghold of women's labour either as wage labourers or as family labour on small holdings. Agriculture accounts for about 25% of Indian GDP at present – having come down from 44.5% in 1970-71 but gives employment to about 70% of the working population and to 84% of all economically active women. While India is still self-sufficient in food production, vast stocks of the Food Corporation of India lie unused for lack of buying power and according to the FAO, 20-34% of the population was undernourished during 1995-1997.

The effects of the opening up of the markets can be acutely felt all over the country. Since 1st April 2000, 729 new commodities can be imported unrestrictedly, among which about 240 agricultural commodities including rice, bone meal, meat, milk powder and many other. On 31st March 2001 import of over 700 new commodities will follow.<sup>12</sup> We are all familiar with the crashing of prices for cash crops like rubber, coconut, cardamom, pepper in Kerala. The workers and owners of the plantations in the Nilgiris have been fighting desperate struggles against

imports. Women have been brutally beaten up by the police in these struggles.

Side by side, the public distribution system (PDS) is being dismantled step by step so that urban workers in the unorganised sector as well as slum dwellers and rural poor are more and more in danger of starvation.<sup>13</sup>

It is therefore imperative to unleash a campaign for the protection of agriculture, agricultural labour, food security, life and livelihood. Numerous peasant organisations are fighting against the new import regimes imposed by WTO, like e.g. the Karnataka Rashtra Rayatu Sangham, the Andhra Pradesh Vivasaya Viruthitharula Union. The Tamilnadu Peasant Movement (Narayanan Sami Naidu/Dr. Shivasami) in South. Side by side, numerous agricultural labourers organisations are raising the struggle for a national legislation to protect and regularize agricultural labour.

On September 13th and 14th 2000, a statewide conference of Dalit women in Madurai attended by about 5000 participants raised their voices against Globalisation and Communalisation of politics. The conference highlighted the deteriorating situations in the countryside, the need for alternative agriculture and food security, the political process which communalises daily lives and aggravates caste clashes.

One important aspect in the present situation is the increase of violence against women. Two examples come to my mind. The first is the violence meted out against the whole Dalit community of Cuddalore district during the September 5th elections of 1999 of which women have had to bear the brunt. While much of this is fanned by political parties, the underlying economic competition between Vanniyars and Parayars in the struggle for survival and some minimum prosperity became very tangible in the public hearing held by the National Commission of Women in Chennai in late December 1999.<sup>14</sup>

Another example which comes to my mind is the increase in violence against women which has

11. Diana Elson and I. Palmer, *op.cit.*

12. See Ajit Pillai, "The Trade Locusts" in: *Outlook*, Feb. 12, 2000.

13. See Gabriele Dietrich (ed), *Perspectives on Food Security and Survival*, Madurai: AIWS and CSA, Jan. 2000, especially Utsa Patnaik, "Globalisation, Poverty and Food Security".

14. See my paper "Violence, Dalit Feminism and the Healing of Fragmentation", presented at AIWS Biannual Conference at Hyderabad in Jan. 2000.

been vigorously fought by different women's groups in Kerala. While Kerala is the only state in India with a favourable male-female sex ratio and has also very good indicators in terms of women's health, and education, the incidence of rape, molestation, dowry deaths, and sex rackets is alarmingly on the increase. This has a clear connection with migration to Gulf countries, enhanced consumerism, cultural uprootment, penetration of flesh trade into the bureaucracy, political parties and police apparatus. Poverty, unemployment and lack of support are in conflict with display of consumerism, video-parlors and erosion of



values which the activist researchers dealing with the problems have clearly identified as being connected to globalisation.<sup>15</sup>

Another form of violence is no doubt the deterioration of the health system under globalisation. It has been pointed out<sup>16</sup> that investment in health has been going down in favour of investment in "family welfare" since the eighth plan and it is acknowledged that communicable diseases and poverty based morbidity are on the increase. Malaria, tuberculosis and leprosy are again spreading. Privatisation of health services has disastrous consequences regarding availability of hospitalisation for the poor. Assistance for hospitalisation of the poor has decreased from rupees 25 crores in 1997-98 to rupees six crores in 2000-2001. Compared to 378 drugs under price control in 1978, only 73 drugs remained under control in 1994.<sup>17</sup> It is therefore not surprising that numerous organisations were coming together in Dec. 2000 for the National Health Assembly in Calcutta and the World Health Assembly in Dhakkin order to take the governments to task on the promise of "Health for All in the

Year 2000". While health is neglected in favour of "Family Welfare", the item given most attention under this heading is provision of contraceptives (30-34%) while only 52-5% is available for other services like maternal care, child survival, adolescent health, counselling services. Besides, the National Population Policy has once again re-introduced incentives and disincentives which link even the provision of continued facilities for urban slum dwellers to terminal methods of contraception. This is not only coercive but also can have epidemiological consequences.<sup>18</sup> Most disturbingly, the very space to live and work is withdrawn from the urban poor in favour of parking spaces and fly overs.

## II Dams and Bombs – Militarisation and Communalisation of Development:

The speech of the Home Minister during the heightening of Sardar Sarovar Dam on Oct. 31st, 2000, following the Supreme Court Judgement of Oct. 18th significantly exposes a development trend, which is technocratic and violent and thus life-threatening. He spoke of the three great achievements of his government, namely Pokhran II, the Kargil victory and the Supreme Court Judgement on Sardar Sarovar. He also pointed out that it was no coincidence that the people against dams were also against bombs and bracketed them as being "against national development".

The Supreme Court had virtually become an arena of warfare on the Indian people, especially the Adivasi population. This trend was counter-balanced in the speech of the Dalit President of the Republic during Republic Day 2001 calling to protect the constitution as well as the rights of the Adivasi population, for which he was attacked by the rightist press.

Arundhati Roy in her book "The Greater Common Good"<sup>19</sup> has shown the magnitude of the displacement through big dams in India in the range of 50 million people and the clash between technocratic development and the self-reliance of Adivasi life. Sanjay Sangvai<sup>20</sup> has made visible the monstrosity of the whole planning process and the tenacity of protracted struggle to protect a self-reliant economy and unique culture of solidarity.

15. Aieyama Vijayan and Sandya, J., "Violence Against Women. The Case of Kerala" in: *Violence Update* No.1, April 2000 (Centre for Social Research, Delhi).

16. See Alpama Sagar and Imrana Quadeer in *Alternative Economic Survey*, pp. 138-142.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

19. Arundhati Roy, *The Greater Common Good*, Mumbai: 1999.

20. *The River and Life*, Pune: 2000.

The Narmada struggle shows in exemplary way the destructiveness of a technocratic growth concept, which was imposed on the people with World Bank aid and led to such levels of displacement and struggle that the bank itself had to withdraw in 1993. In Nov. 2000, when James Wolfensohn visited Delhi, he promised in front of 5000 Adivasis not to invest in any project in the valley. The project which comprises 30 big dams and 135 medium sized ones, destroys life and livelihood of the people and drastically alters the whole character of the river and the valley. The people of Bhargi near Jabalpur have been displaced twice and the unfinished right bank canal which abruptly ends after two kilometres, makes a mockery of the intended irrigation by silently seeping into salinated fields.

Maheshwar Dam in the Nimad is an assault on a prosperous peasantry and threatens to destroy precious historical moments. Being built as a private dam by the S. Kumars, the struggle has left a trail of finance companies and banks who had to withdraw support. In his article "On the Annals of the Laboratory State", Shiv Vishwanathan had pointed out the commonality between dams and bombs even before Arundhati Roy brought it to the fore.<sup>21</sup> He had borrowed the French concept of triage (selection) in order to express the selective annihilation which a laboratory centred science brings about. This preparedness to dispose off a whole population shows a genocidal stretch involved in growth at any cost. This is in painful contrast to people's tenacious struggle for their land rights<sup>22</sup> accompanied by constructive work. The tendency of triage also manifests itself in the selective annihilation of communities in caste clashes and communal conflagrations. It becomes more and more difficult to assert community rights over the resources and to hold on to a self-reliant culture.

It appears to be difficult to grasp the survival rights of local communities, especially in the adivasi areas because the conditions are very different from what is considered "normal" in our society.

- The land is not private but belongs to the community.

21. In: *Carnival for Science. Essays on Science, Technology and Development*, OUP, 1997.

22. Gabriele Dietrich, *Dams and People: Adivasi Land Rights*, in: EPW, Vol. XXXV, No. 36 Sep. 16th 2000, pp. 3378-80.

- We see an economy in which money is not at the centre but exists only as a supplementary means of exchange.
- The adivasis strive not to subjugate nature but to befriend her.
- People use a different type of small scale technology, derived from local conditions, bottom up instead of trickle down.

Such a culture indeed preempts bombs and warfare and safeguards against communal solutions in politics. It was therefore deeply meaningful that the struggle of the NBA in Delhi during Nov. 11-17th 2000, took place parallel with the MIND conference which attacked nuclear weapons and was attended by 60 delegates from Pakistan as well. Participants commuted between the disarmament conference and the adivasi camping in Rajghat.

The argument is not for a return to the forest, but for a re-invention of artisanal rural industries which have been destroyed under colonialism and can provide labour which supplements agriculture. Different eco-regions can bear different types of rural industrialisation, in harmony with the natural environment. This would be worlds apart from the capital intensive, labour saving hegemonic development model. But it will only be viable if caste discrimination and untouchability can be overcome. Therefore, Dalit struggles against violence are crucial.

The struggle against WTO, which went on in Seattle in Dec. 1999, shows clearly that trade cannot rule the world and that globalisation is not the last word. It is not accidental that women have been in the forefront of the Narmada Struggle as well as in the battle of Seattle. The hegemonic development concept annihilates nature and indigenous people, while the struggle together with constructive work projects a life style, which is far removed from large-scale industrialism.

This approach rests on multi-culturalism, protecting bio-diversity and cultural diversity at the same time. It is therefore significantly different from the RSS position, which proclaims anti-colonialism in the name of Hindutva and tries to encourage indigenous capitalists to flood the world market with competitive export articles. It is feminist in the sense that it focusses on production of life and livelihood

and is not determined by forces of the market and the primary logic of profit. It is secular and respects people's cultures and religions without ideologically appropriating them for reasons of state or of political parties. It is non-violent, yet militant. It is anti-caste and untouchability and refuses to be subsumed into the logic of caste-hierarchies.

### III Conceptualisations of Feminist Alternatives: Subsistence Approach and Production of Life and Livelihood:

Feminists have been focussing on Production of Life and Livelihood as opposed to the production for profit since about 20 years. This approach has been consistently developed over the years in order to incorporate women's invisible labour in the household as well as in the informal sector, to make visible the labours of nature which are often not seen as a form of productivity,<sup>23</sup> to make visible the labour which is needed to sustain nature and to prevent that renewable resources become non-renewable, to make visible the knowledge systems of traditional and artisanal communities and their blending with appropriate modern technologies and to expose the violence of the hegemonic development concept which destroys the resource base and the cultures which were trying to sustain it. Maria Mies and the Bielefeldt school have exposed the connection between patriarchy and accumulation on a world scale and the internal colonisation of women and indigenous communities.<sup>24</sup> Vandana Shiva has developed the approach further by deepening the feminist critique of Western science and technology and attacking especially the so called gene-revolution and bio piracy<sup>25</sup> and stating emphatically that life cannot be "made" nor "owned". The nurtur-

ing aspect of women's labour has been worked out by Chhaya Datar, Nalini Nayak and myself.<sup>26</sup>

This perspective has been deflected to a large extent by the whole rhetoric on Women and Development, Women in Development, conceptualisation on gender, practical and strategic gender needs and the manifold attempts at "women's empowerment".<sup>27</sup> The gender and development debate was launched side by side with the structural adjustment Programmes and women's "empowerment" got deflected into "self-help-groups" comprising small saving schemes and health groups working on "reproductive rights".

While some of these attempts are of a certain use for women, the fundamental questions of access to land, water, food, shelter, education and right to work, were often not seen in their wider context. Globalisation has brought more and more market fundamentalism and speculation in finance markets. Production for profit and even profit without production have gone to extremes. In the face of this trend, subsistence production has been seen as primitive, backward and unviable, a "back to the trees" approach. Gail Omvedt,<sup>28</sup> who has taken to a blatant pro-globalisation line, argues vehemently for "development of productive forces" along very traditional sounding Marxist lines, without critiquing capitalism nor admitting to the destructiveness of the industrialist paradigm. She glosses over the contradictions between the nuclear lobby and small peasants. In a recent book on the Subsistence Perspective, Maria Mies and Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen have tried to

23. Shiv Vishwanathan has drawn attention to the fact that the obliviousness of the productivity of nature is closely connected with the present trend towards species extinction, *op. cit.*

24. Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale. Women in the International Division of Labour* London: Zed Books, 1986).

25. Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive. Women, Ecology and Survival in India*, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1988.

Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies, *Eco-Feminism*, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1993.

Vandana Shiva, *Bio-piracy: The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge*, London: Green Books, 1998.

26. Chhaya Datar, *Nurturing Nature. Women at the Centre of Natural and Social Regeneration*, Bombay: Earthcare Books, 1998.

Nalini Nayak and Gabriele Dietrich, *Transition on Transformation: A Study on the Mobilisation, Organisation and Emergence of Consciousness among Fish Workers*, ICSSR, 1989.

Gabriele Dietrich, *Reflections on the Women's Movement in India: Religion, Ecology, Development*, (Horizon India Books, 1992).

27. Overviews over this trend can be found in Neila Kabir, *Revised Realities. Gender Hierarchy in Development Thought*, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1994. Chhaya Datar, *In Search of Feminist Theory. Subordination of Women's Labour and Environmental Degradation*, Ph.D. Thesis, SNTD Women's University, 1995.

28. Gail Omvedt, "Marx and Globalisation", *The Hindu*, March 2, 2001.

envisage a new society beyond the present globalised economy<sup>29</sup> and have shown how the visible economy of capital and wage labour reflected in the GNP, is only the tip of the iceberg which consists of home workers, informal sector, child labour, subsistence peasant work, housework, internal and external colonies and the labours of Nature.

They sharply critique the unlimited growth concept and the "eight articles of faith" of neo-liberalism which equate growth and development, believe in trickle down effect, advocate integration into world economy as "progress", seek "comparative advantage" in the international division of labour, believe that liberalisation of capital flows is leading to better allocation of means of production and see technology as being able to compensate for ecological loss, see private property as the ideal system and expect the nation state to be per definition less efficient than private enterprise.

Beyond these "articles of faith", Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen raise other fundamental Questions like the relationship between productive activity and consumption and the relationship between needs and wants. They expose the contradiction between standard of living and quality of life and propose decentralized cycles of production and consumption. They advocate people's access to land, water, forest, bio-diversity and knowledge. They critique the assumption that techno-logical progress will compensate for ecological loss and that physical labour will be made obsolete by machines. Even computer chips still presuppose the invisible labour of women.

They raise the question what an economy would be like in which human beings women, children and nature matter. Subsistence work needs to be at the centre of the production system as it is the base for extended production. The limits of nature need to be respected and the economy would be just one sub-system of society and not the dominant one. The economy would then be serving the core life systems like food, housing, clothing, shelter, health, education, transportation, communication. It would be decentralised and regional and would be based on self reliance in food production. Trade would not destroy bio-diversity, the commons would be reclaimed and

29. Maria Mies and Veronika Bennholdt Thomsen, *The subsistence Perspective. Beyond the Global Economy*, Zed Books, 1999.

money would be a means of circulation, not of accumulation. This requires alternative marketing as well as the re-invention of the commons. The authors being situated in Europe, the book does not focus too much on how the enormous onslaught of globalisation on the Third World can be resisted. It focusses, more on re-introducing subsistence production even in societies where this has already been destroyed. This is a progress compared to earlier writings which were focussing on consumer resistance only. Consumer resistance and constructive work on subsistence



are indeed a necessary combination in any society. But it is for us to envisage the struggle dimension side by side, as it is visible not only in the Narmada valley and along our coasts but in our countryside and cities as well.

#### Conclusion:

It is evident that the present trend of globalisation works in the opposite direction of what was envisaged as subsistence approach. Life and livelihood get uprooted and destroyed. In India, the onslaught of agriculture is about to wipe out the strenuously built up food security. The Narmada struggle has shown that dams cannot be fought in isolation but that the battle is against the development concept itself and the international finance and marketing institutions. The forces which proclaim a second freedom struggle are on the rise. This requires indefinite mobilisation against globalisation. Women, Dalits, Adivasis are primarily affected by the destructive growth concept. Dalits lose reservations through privatisation. They lose access to the resource base on which they have been dependent. All of us together are in danger to lose the fundamental protection of democracy enshrined in our constitution. We are already losing the protection of the labour-law. The Industrial Disputes Act gets amended to render our struggle illegal (section 5/A) and the Contract Labour Act is amended to allow contract labour even in core sectors.

Continued on Page 15



## Globalisation of Psychiatry

Bhargavi Davar

On July 22nd, over a 100 grass-roots organisations from around the world protested the globalisation of psychiatric oppression and demanded human rights everywhere for users of psychiatric services. The protest was co-ordinated by international networks of users such as 'Support Coalition International'. The protest was staged outside the venue of the meeting of World Federation of Mental Health, a world coalition of psychiatrists.

Two important aspects of this protest may be mentioned: 1) The phenomenal power of multinational pharmaceutical giants in giving shape to the 'mental health' agenda world over and 2) A recent World Bank 'template' for a predominantly psychiatry driven mental health services all over the world. The concern about the globalisation of psychiatry is therefore very real and urgent.

Globalisation cannot be discussed without linking with the economy of colonialism, when most sciences were received. Psychiatry as a discipline was received in India from the west around the early 1900s, even though asylums have been there since the 18th century, run by police and army officials. The asylums were constructed by the colonisers to primarily incarcerate the wandering 'lunatic' soldiers of the Empire though 'native' wings were also there.

As with other disciplines, psychiatry was received by an elite class of upper caste men and was universalised through rhetoric as a science. Even a casual glance at the early literature shows that the so-called 'comparative psychiatry' was very much brahminical. Psychiatry was one more way by which brahminism consolidated its own hegemony through the late colonial years. This value system has so far remained uncontested and there are worries about the many 'traditional' spirituality cures on offer today for psychological difficulties.



The Kraepelinian categories of mental disorder were few in number, covering mainly 'imbecility' and 'insanity'. These categories were embodied as definitional in the many legal and policy instruments effected by the British Raj. In contemporary psychiatric practise and in law, we literally run into the 'colonial mentality' on an everyday basis. Like the colonial policy, the professional approach and the policy/law approach to mental illness has been mainly one of custody. Persons with psychiatric disability are not citizens, as nearly every civil statute in India robs them of civil liberties (marriage, adoptions, wage earning, voting, contracting, etc. etc.) The mental health law, which is not very different from the colonial law, also does not grant any positive rights.

DSM or the 'Diagnostic and Statistical Manual', the standard (American) manual used for making diagnosis of mental disorder, is a product of the post-war period. The manual, having seen four revisions so far, has greatly expanded the range of behaviours that are to be seen as 'mental disorder'.

We may identify three phases in the growth of the DSM. Phase I is the post-war period when, in the aftermath of war, states were left with shell shocked soldiers and out of order communities. Order had to be established at the *community* level. The mental hospitals were proving to be 'unsustainable' for the bankrupt states and cheaper alternatives had to be



found. Psycho-pharmacy was growing into a 'science' and drug cures for mental illness were being invented. This facilitated a community-based control of deviance. Behaviours not considered as mental disorder before (e.g. war neuroses) were included and shell-shocked communities were pathologised.

Phase II saw the phenomenal growth of bio-medical research and the establishment of pharmaceutical cures as standard practise during the 70s and the 80s. The 'de-institutionalisation' process was complete, and thousands of 'ex-patients' were released from mental institutions. This had its own economic impact. Not backed by change in policy or social attitudes, these people were left fending for themselves on the streets without care or support. Homelessness, joblessness, poverty and insecurity increased multifold. The state offered the cheapest cures, viz. drugs, and established routes for bringing in these people within the state policing net. Organised activism against psychiatric coercion is largely the result of mobilisation of ex-patients.

The 1990s, i.e. phase III, has seen two major revisions of the DSM. The professionals have responded to social problems such as ethnic conflict, disaster and social insecurity by bringing in more diagnostic categories. With economies liberalising world over, drug cures have become established as the sure cure for mental illness. Indian professionals push the mental health agenda by claiming that drugs today are cheaper and more effective than before. The recent major interest of Indian professionals, who have hitherto been defensive and self-effacing, is to reduce 'stigma' of mental illness. Visibilising psychological difficulties also means creating a larger 'consumer' population for the drug industry.

In community based work, we often face the dilemma of understanding and dealing with social deviance and are forced to use the 'mental health' language. Using it however comes with many limitations as people centered alternatives are few. Turning to or collaborating with mainstream means drug treatment. The Indian Psychiatric Society, like its counterparts elsewhere in the world, is heavily funded by pharmaceuticals. Recently they had their Annual Conference in Pune. Every major five star/three star hotel was booked for months in advance by drug companies. The companies were highly visible, and

➤ Continued on Page 22.

## In News



Prof. Ram Bapat releasing the Amnesty International Report: Crimes of Hate, Conspiracy of Silence. Also seen are from L to R, Manisha Gupte, Dr. Kapase, Prof. Bapat and Dr. Amar Jesani. For details see the report on page 18.



Ms. Nirmala Sawant, former Mayor of Mumbai addressing the participants on the 23rd of June 2001 during the anti-arack state-level meet held in Pune.



A public meeting to protest against cultural terrorism was organised on 29th June 2001. 'Representatives of the Students' Federation of India, Satyashodhak Vidyarthi Sanghatana and Choukasha spoke on the occasion.

All photographs in the 'In News' photo-feature published in the April 2001 Newsletter, were by Ms. Vidya Kulkarni.

## Globalisation: Gender, Caste and Environmental concerns

Ram Bapat



Capitalism till today never possessed a vision of liberation of women from servitude in its structure or practice. It did not ever result in such liberation. Women's power was understood only as an additional source of labour power to be tapped whenever necessary. Women who worked outside the home only found secondary, monotonous, physically and physiologically oppressive jobs; unequal and lower wages for work similar to that of men; and a total absence of necessary general facilities and security. The political economy of capitalism values the work of women confined to household labour as worthless. The woman domestic worker became the human female counterpart of the draught ox.

Imposition of systemic subjugation comprehensively exploited women in the first stage. In the second stage, particularly after the Second World War, women came into the public sphere but again as citizens on a lower rung.

The cohabitation of capitalist patriarchy and the patriarchal behaviour of capitalism continues to date. Most men and women under the influence of patriarchy do not go beyond a consideration of woman as a resource.

Even in this case the progressives either took a class reductionist position or a sentimental, maudlin, romantic one. Objectively they joined hands with capitalism, particularly in the post war period.

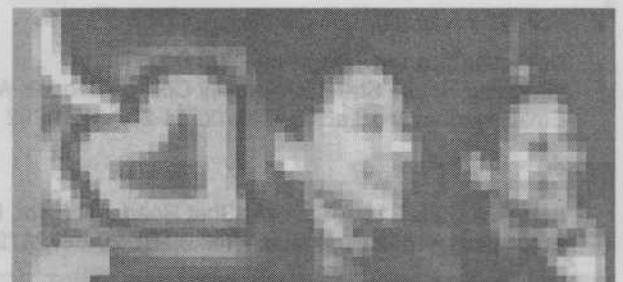
The various areas in various concerts in the economic, political or intellectual fields today show a preponderance of the words 'globalisation, liberalisation, de-regulation, marketisation, modernisation, rationalisation', etc. The reality represented by these words is basically arid, insipid and atonal. These meets, therefore, also rely on the essences, perfumes and intoxicants provided by the phrases, 'decline of nationalism, imminent demise of the nation state,

retreat of the state, end of ideology' and quite recently 'end of history'. The belief behind these regal orchestras is that they will cleanse the soot on perspectives and render them clear and bright once again.

Globalisation is no longer a mere theoretical concept or construct. Development of hi-tech and various other factors have made it a bold and — due to unfamiliarity — dazzling reality. As a result it affects all aspects of contemporary human life. Institutional frameworks, life and spheres of discourse in all sectors are, hence, in a turmoil at national and international levels.

The supporters of the market therefore can tolerate wars that any way help to bring the economy out of recession but not the environmental movement that creates an unnecessary external impact! (Our own progressives too find the environmental movement an obstacle. They also, however, find it a blessing that can disguise their own failures and lay the blame at the doors of the middle class.)

Even the so called progressive rights-based liberals, including John Rawls, define self as an unencumbered self. This self is taken to precede the aids and roles of each individual. The communitarian liberals are even more progressive. Their leading spokesperson Michael J. Saunders defines the self as a social self. This social is not, however, the voluntary and participatory social of the progressives but the varied, given social inherited at birth.



The biological distinction between men and women is entangled with human created social gender distinction since birth. It is clear why feminists of various persuasions who have realised the difficulties in removal of the socially constructed gender distinctions reject the above definition of the social self. The artificial social construct called caste also embraces a child since birth. That is precisely why all freedom oriented castes reject such birth given social constructs and seek a new socialisation based on democratic consensus and participation of all.

The capitalist order thus makes such gross mistakes in comprehension of human nature and human socialisation. Its history so far indicates the problems contained in its hi-tech atmosphere in the stage of globalisation.

*Extracted in 'parts' from a translation by Dr. Sandeep Pendse of Prof. Ram Bapat's Presidential speech on New Capitalism and India at Vichar Vedh Sammelan, Nasik, December 1996.*

III



## 2-Day Seminar on Caste, Communalism and Discourses of the Mind

December 2002, Pune, India.

### Call for papers

In India, the knowledge/power dimension to the social-psychological, mental and behavioural sciences is presently under scrutiny. Counter-discourses to mainstream ideologies are gradually but steadily being articulated. We plan this seminar in continuity with recent foundational questioning of these sciences where issues of culture have been prominent axes of analyses. The objects of our study are the following disciplines: psychology, psychiatry, medical anthropology/sociology, narratology, social work, cultural and feminist studies and *Dalit* scholarship. Through the seminar, we aim to show, yet again, that discourses of mind, those that promise healing and self-realisation, are also *political* discourses. We invite a group of inter-disciplinary researchers, scholars and activists to explore the psycho-social world of vulnerability, resilience and resistance with respect to caste. We invite you to share your research with us on any of the following themes:

- Looking at *Dalit* literature, autobiographies, narrative writings and making thematic and critical linkages with psychological concepts.
- Is there a *Dalit* psychology? Notions of 'Stigmatised identities', vulnerability, resilience and resistance.
- Is caste-ism a cultural or collective mental health pathology?
- Gender, psychology and caste.
- *Hindutva* & *Brahmanism* within mental health sciences and professions.
- Colonialism, cultural revivalism and discourses of the mind.
- History of institutions, the 'native' asylums and caste.
- **Research and Interventions in psychology for 'scholastic backwardness'**.
- Caste as experienced and "managed" within the psychiatric/service regime.
- Psychoanalysis as a location for discussion and critique.

*For initial enquiries, please contact:*

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## Globalisation and the Issues of women in Kerala

Aleyamma Vijaya



Globalisation refers 'primarily to the widening and deepening of international flows of trade, finance, information in a single integrated global market'.

The main features of the NEP and how it has affected the state and especially women is worth exploring.

The fiscal changes due to the NEP affected education, health, food subsidy and rural development in Kerala.

With the focus of education shifting to IT and such specialized sectors, the percentage of girls in technical education is merely 35%.

In Kerala, the PDS has been implemented with earnestness. Its dismantling has been devastating for the poor. The introduction of targetting has led to large-scale exclusion of the poor and vulnerable sections. The worst affected in this process have been women. With less food available the women will be forced to cut down their own consumption.

The government has withdrawn from the health sector leading to increasing privatization. This has led to increase in cost of medical care. The removal of controls on drug prices has severely affected the poor, increased morbidity and particularly maternal morbidity.

Another serious impact of the economic crisis is the increasing number of suicides. Kerala stands second highest in India for the rate of suicides. In the last five years 42,000 persons committed suicide out of which 12,569 were women.

Creation of airports, harbours and tourism development by private companies will lead to large-scale displacement, environmental degradation and will affect masses of poor.

Neo-liberal policies focus on liberalisation of imports and encouraging capital import. Import of coconut oil and rubber has affected the state, which produces 45% coconut in India and has a surplus production of rubber. It has led families to suicide.

High use of pesticides and fertilizers like 'decafol' and 'endosulfan' have severely affected the health of the people, especially women. Breast cancer is on the increase.

Due to structural adjustment policies, employment opportunities are reduced. In Kerala, which has the highest registered unemployment, 54% of whom are women, it has created further problems. Thrown out of employment, women have to seek work in the unorganized sector e.g. prawn processing, which is least protected and highly exploitative.

Globalisation also has an impact in the cultural realm. Literate Kerala is a prominent consumer market now for jewellery, household gadgets, etc. cosmetic industry and beauty parlour culture has penetrated even the villages in Kerala.

The commodification of women has resulted in escalating dowry demands. Kerala has become notorious for very high dowry rates. There is fourfold increase in domestic violence in the State, in the last decade.

The picture is very bleak, but there are signs of hope in the resistance being built up at different levels of people's organizations and networks. These efforts need to be strengthened to challenge the disastrous effects of neo-colonialism.

*(Extracted by Sadhana Natu from a more detailed paper presented by A. Vijaya at IAWS meeting - South Zone, Madurai)*

III

## Report of the Regional Conference on 'Globalisation and Women's Identity in Orissa'

Special Reference to the Rising Violence Against Women.

The conference was organised by the IAWS  
and School of Women's Studies, Utkal University  
on 13th & 14th March 2001



The opening session was short, it provided the background to the seminar and aims and objectives it wanted to achieve. Dr. Asha Hans, Director, School of Women's Studies, Utkal University welcomed the participants and provided the thematic perceptions for the meeting and the expectations from the meeting. Prof. Jashodhara Bagchi, former Director of the School of Women's Studies, Jadavpur University and member of the IAWS provided an illuminating discourse on globalization and its linkages to violence and women's identity. She remarked that globalization has always been recognized across the ages and that capital has always searched for global market and has been linked to the worst forms of coercion as in slavery, to the most sedative appeal of its cultural artifacts. She also stated that it was to capture the regional looks of the situation that the Indian Association of Women's Studies had decided to analyse deliberation in five regions in India, the north, south, west, east and the north - east. As co-ordinator for the eastern region she had broken this up even further and the first regional workshop was held in Jharkhand. Smt. Jayanti Pattnaik, the key speaker provided an overview of globalization and the concurrent violence associated with it. She provided a detailed analysis of the role of media in this context. She felt that the non-availability of data for analysis has made the assessment of the impact of globalization difficult. Her views on the globalization of media was linked to seeing India at the receiving end of a number of foreign television channels via satellite. As media perpetuates gender stereotypes it assists in strengthening the invisibility of women's contribution to society. She further provided data on women working for Doordarshan and their confinement to lower levels in the organization.

In the first session Dr. Kishor Samal began by defining the concepts of globalization and liberalization. He traced the reasons for the emphasis on

opening of economies in the 1990s. He questioned the process of globalization itself by making differentiation between physical, financial, human, social and natural capital. After an extensive discussion of the international changes, he discussed the place of Orissa in the globalization process. In this he laid emphasis on dis-investment policies and their impact on wages, privatization and its impact on education and health. In this context he studied three issues - 1) privatization and its impact on small scale industry and cottage industry. 2) The shrimp culture in Chilika, the Gopalpur Tata Steel Project and 3) at Kashipur Multinational Aluminum giants. Finally he provided a sweeping look at the process of people's movements in protesting against globalization in Orissa. Dr. Bijay Bohidar's presentation was linked to globalization, protests against it in Orissa and the women's movement. He argued that Orissa has witnessed a large number of protest movements but these are largely localized and present a fragmented picture. The marginalized in Orissa including, tribals, Dalits and women constitute the largest number but are the most marginalized. As issues of social reform, caste etc. are not components of any of these movements, the dominance of a patriarchal ideology dominates. If any women's movement he argued has to come about we need to address the prevailing religious conservative ideology. Renowned social activist Vidhya Das of Agramee, presented a paper on Globalization and Human Rights of Tribal Women In Orissa. Vidhya Das emphasised that the women's issue is not only a gender issue, but also an issue of racism, casteism, and discrimination.

In the second session, Dr. Paula Bannerjee presented the other side of globalization where finance capital and its movement across borders is not the issue. Here are refugee women and children who constitute approximately 80% of people who cross borders because of political reasons. These women

and children constitute a marginalized body of people whom no nation wants to pay attention. Nations have been responsible for increasing conflicts across the globe due to sale of large-scale armaments and increasing arms budgets. She underlined the role of a number of women's groups such as the Naga Mothers which have tried to bring about peace in the region. Amrita Patel's paper began with an overview of the New Economic Policy initiated in 1991 in India. In the paper she presented the crime rate and the reported crimes (such as rape, dowry murders, dowry torture, dowry suicides) against women for the last one decade (1989-1999) for Orissa. She concluded that liberalization, access to foreign media, increasing alcohol consumption etc. are some of the possible causes for the increasing crime rate against women of Orissa. Mamata Tripathy, in her presentation cited some of the violation of rights of women inhabiting Bhubaneswar slums in the globalized economy. Their right to health, education and livelihood which is at risk in the liberalized market system comprised the core theme of the discussion.

In session three, Kasturi Mohapatra spoke of two major issues, child protection and sex education for adolescents. Manisha Mazumdar's paper was based on globalization and prostitution and trafficking of women and girls in Orissa. She presented findings of a study that the Task Force on Women and Violence undertook on trafficking and prostitution of girls and women in 15 selected districts of Orissa. Session four was on "Displacement and other grass root impact". Sandhya opined that natural land, forest and water are the foundation of human civilization which is at stake due to globalization. Sandhya shed light in her presentation upon the negative repercussions of displacement not only on the human resources but also on the natural resources. Suman Jhuria and Mukta Jhuria, workers in the Kashipur area and leaders in the agitation against the Alumina giant narrated their perceptions of globalization.

In the fifth session Manipadma Jena began by analyzing the role of media in India, in the context of globalization. She suggested that what we needed to analyze was its positive and negative aspects. Manipadma's paper accentuated different types of media and its affect on women's lives in Orissa. Her paper was divided into five parts and covered electronic, print media, advertisements, as well as films. Navaneeta Rath presented a paper titled 'Impact of globalization

on women workers in the handicraft sector', a study of the female applique workers of Orissa. Dr. P. Yashodhara presented a paper on "Feminization of Poverty and the wage inequality in the unorganised sector". Manjulika Ghose presented the changes that globalization might have brought about in the employment opportunities of women and their perceptions of themselves divorced from the 'other', which represents the male and the society at large. Dr. Urmimala Das spoke on Contextualising Voices of Women Against Globalization and Violence in Kashipur, Orissa. In her paper she discussed the developmental projects and the fights against it by the indigenous tribals.

In the Round Table Discussion, Tapasi Praharaj of AIDWA, Orissa argued that in the context of Orissa modernisation of mining activities has affected the women of Sundergarh and Keonjhar mining areas. The so-called health sector reforms have levied fees for health care and increased the cost of life saving and essential medicines. Dr. Asha Hans was the first person to initiate the round table discussion. She argued that Orissa is going to be the center of the globalization process and we have a long battle before us at all levels. Dr. Kamala Das, Hon'ble Minister of Women and Child Development, Govt. of Orissa, was the chief guest of the valedictory function.

III

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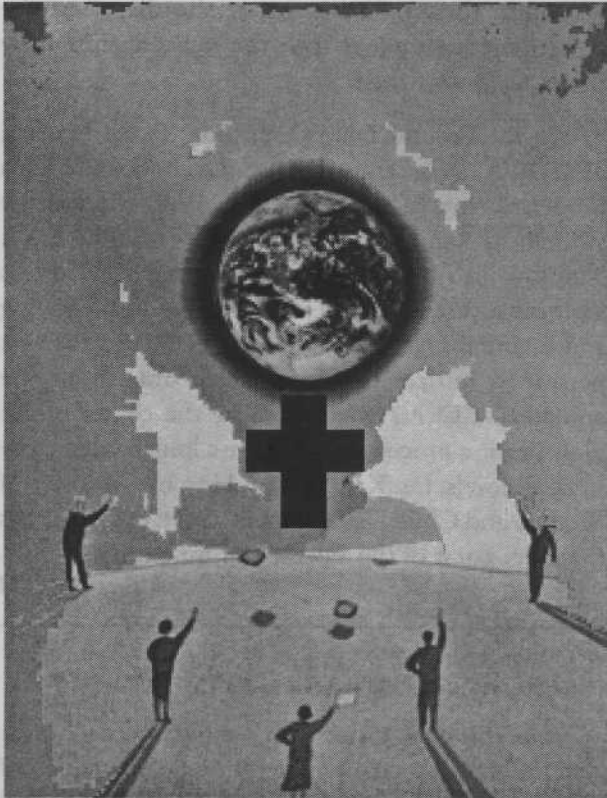
Continued from page 8  
(Globalisation and Women in India...)

The struggle is not only against the economic system, it is also against the cultural dominance of the market and against the subsumption of local cultures under religious totalitarianism. Women's movements have to align with unions in the unorganised sector as well as Dalits and ecological struggles. As globalisation also dismantles the labour laws, new alliances between workers in unorganised and organised sector will have to be forged. Likewise, alliance between workers and peasants will become unavoidable. Under the onslaught on agriculture, agricultural labourers and small farmers will have to come together despite of centuries of caste conflicts. While the dominant trend is still to co-opt women as well as Dalits into globalisation under the heading of "entering the mainstream", the volatile situation becomes more and more visible. People are rising up in the second freedom struggle.

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## Globalisation, Identity Politics and Rising Violence

Abridged Report on the IAWS Regional Workshop at Gandhigram Rural University, Political Science Department, co-organised by the Centre for Social Analysis, Madurai – March 24/25 2001



The workshop was attended by 43 participants, 26 from Tamil Nadu and 15 from Kerala and two from the Institute of Social Sciences, Bangalore.

The rationale of the workshop was to assess the impact of globalisation on women in the southern states and to create a dialogue between researchers and activists. There is a need for in-depth discussion between people who see decentralisation which comes with liberalisation of the resource base and those who see universal market penetration marginalising and dis-empowering women more than ever.

After a brief and cordial welcome by Dr. Palanidurai, D. Gabriele explained the history of the IAWS with emphasis on the long term commitment to secularism and social justice, highlighting some of the major discussions over the years, especially, the debates on communalism in Yadavpur, the first assessment of globalisation in Mysore and the growing awareness of ecological issues in Jaipur and Pune.

Ms. Nalini Nayak, a veteran in the fishworkers' movement in Kerala and at global levels, and also involved in building SEWA Trivandrum, gave a conceptual introduction into the workshop topic. She questioned the breaking of national barriers by global capitalism and went into the history of nation state formation and its connection with identity politics (largely along the lines of Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*).

She recalled the struggles of the "old feminist" generation against the hegemonic development, while the younger generation has had to face a situation in which welfare measures were already dismantled, the state had abdicated its responsibility and only some left over "safety nets" were made available, while military expenditure has gone up drastically.

She went into the conceptualisation of Herman Daly of "entropic throughput" – which implies the need to recognise the first and second law of thermodynamics and to calculate the energy-consumption from start to finish. She also elaborated on the crisis in fisheries, forestry and small-scale industries.

The second paper of this session was presented by Padmini Swaminathan of MIDS on "Globalisation, Employment and Women's Health". She pointed out that there is nothing inevitable about globalisation and that 1991 onwards only meant wholesale globalisation while the process itself had been going on much longer.



Padmini provided insights into export oriented projects in Nasik, Mumbai slums and in Chengleput.

The second session dealt with micro experiences. Ms. Gokilavani of Women's Studies Department, Alagappa University Karaikudi presented a study on Producer's markets (Uzhaivar Sandai) in Madurai and Dindigul.

Ms. Uma, research student at the Department of Political Science, Gandhigram University shared the experience of four years involvement with women in Panchayats.

Mary Sebastian from the Centre for Rural Management, Kottayam, presented a paper on seven years of work with self help groups, describing in detail, procedures of weekly meetings, promotion of saving habits and thus breaking the power of the money lenders.

In the fourth and final session of the day, John Jayaharan, doctoral student from the Centre for Social Analysis, presented his research project on "Dalit Culture and Reconstruction of Life After Violence", which he has started in Chingleput district of Tamilnadu.

He counterposed this trend with the heritage of a life-sustaining culture among Dalits in which birth and death were crucial events because of lack of access to properties. He also connected this heritage with the remnants of Buddhist culture, which are present in Chengleput district. He critiqued the gap between Dalit Movements which compromise with opportunistic political forces and project a violent rhetoric and people's life centered culture which he felt, could more easily connect with an alternative development paradigm centered around life and livelihood.

On the second day, the first session dealt with contested perceptions of "Development". Parvatha Varthini from the Sociology Department, Fatima College, Madurai, presented a paper on Globalisation and NGOs.

The Action Groups of the 70s saw themselves as forces of overall transformations. Now many NGOs see globalisation as a fact and are adopting a social welfare line to compensate abdication of responsibility by the state. Varthini critiqued this trend and pleaded for the building of micro level alternatives.

The second paper in this session was by Darley Jose from CDS Trivandrum on: "Bio-diversity in Traditional Agriculture - A Gender Approach". This was an extensive paper based on over eight years of research. It made fascinating observations about the crucial role of home-gardens for the preservation of bio-diversity in Kerala.

The second session of the morning dealt with problems of violence. Ms. Guruvammal of Gandhigram University (Tamil Department) presented a spirited paper on eve teasing and also pursued the problem of violent and insulting language.

Ms. Siva Sakthi, research student at Gandhigram presented a paper on domestic violence.

Renowned trade unionist Gita Ramakrishna from Chennai who is the National Joint Secretary of Nirman Mazdoor Panchayat Sangh and one of the leading spirits behind the Women's Struggle Committee in Chennai drew attention to the epic struggle of Gram Swaraj Movement against aquaculture, which involves large number of women.

During the final session, a collective summary was drawn. It was felt that women's studies had focussed on labour participation during the 70s and on the "double burden" and intra-household discrimination in the 80s, while the 90s, under impact of globalisation, had opened up the destruction of the resource base, property rights and the interplay of caste-class and gender. It was felt that women's studies faced new ethical challenges in this situation and needed to probe into the political role of women's movements and committed academics. There was a need to cope with a receding state, expanding markets and uncertain family and community structure. There was also a great need to sensitise teachers and students to the gravity of the situation and to equip them for critical research.

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#### Next Issue - Call for Papers

Our next issue is going to focus on 'Indian Women in the Political Process'. We invite responses from our readers in the form of articles, reports and experiences. Kindly send us your contributions not exceeding 1000 words and not later than 15th Nov. 2001.

Editor

## Crimes of Hate, Conspiracy of Silence: A Report By Amnesty International



Friends of Victims of Torture, Mahila Sarvangeen Utkarsh Mandal (MASUM) and Organized Lesbian Alliance for Visibility and Action (OLAVA) recently organized a poster exhibition, book release and talk on the human rights perspective of violence and torture. The event took place on June 25, 2001 at the Agakhan Palace, Pune.

Dr. Satyaranjan Sathe, eminent constitutional lawyer and human rights activist, inaugurated the poster exhibition. Manisha Gupta, Co-Convenor of MASUM, Dr. Kapse of Friends of Victims of Torture, Professor Ram Bapat, a senior scholar, Dr. Amar Jesani, Founder Trustee of Center for Enquiry into Health and Allied Themes (CEHAT), Dr. Satyaranjan Sathe, and Chatura from OLAVA addressed the audience. Dr. Amar Jesani chaired the session.

Professor Ram Bapat released a report by the Amnesty International entitled "Crimes of Hate, Conspiracy of Silence-Torture and Ill treatment based on sexual identity" which speaks of human rights violations and killings of sexual minorities around the world.

Torture is the intent and strategy to break a person's will and her power, whether it is torture of a woman in the home, torture of sexual minorities by society and the state, or state and police torture of people who present challenges to the status quo. Although forms of torture differ, they are part of a systematic attempt to subjugate dissent and difference and to preserve the power of dominant groups. This is why diverse groups such as Friends of Victims of Torture, which is a group of doctors who stand against state and police torture, MASUM, which works in the area of women's health and its links to violence, and OLAVA, a lesbian, bisexual and transgender women's group working to end discrimination and violence against the community, came together to host this event.

The talks covered topics such as violence against women, violence against sexual minorities, custodial killings and torture, and the role the medical community plays in violence. Violence, such as battering, abuse and rape is used to subordinate women and to limit their power. Most violence against women occurs within the home and because the home is seen as a "private domain" interventions are considered inappropriate and the rights of women are continuously violated. Similarly, lesbian, bisexual, gay, transgender and kothi people are criminalized because of their very identity, because their sexual practices are viewed as "unnatural" or perverse. Although we believe that there are only two sexes, male and female, in reality a number of different sexes exist. At present, we see these sexes only as "deviant" and we stigmatize them for their difference. People who are born as members of one sex and who identify very strongly with another in their appearance and mannerisms (such as transgender or kothi people) often become victims of violence and torture.

The medical community has also often colluded with the state to protect the police and other authorities in matters of custodial killings and torture. Doctors and medical practitioners have an important role to play in terms of identifying violence and torture and thereby holding perpetrators accountable. There is a need for the medical community to take a stand on these issues, to review their own roles in this regard and to take some action.

In conclusion, it was recognized that we cannot truly secure the rights of one group, without also securing the rights of every other. Nobody can be "left out" of a human rights framework for it is universal and guarantees equal respect and dignity for all, irrespective of social location, gender or identity. We must stand up against every kind of violence and respect the human rights of all people.

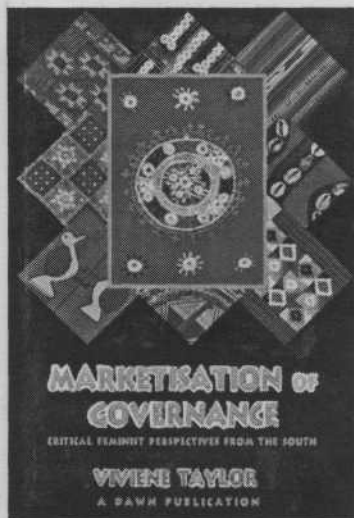
III



## Book Introduction

**Marketisation of Governance:  
Critical Feminist Perspectives from the South,**  
Vivienne Taylor, DAWN, 2000.

**Vidyut Bhagwat**



In 1996, DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) initiated the theme of Political Restructuring and Social Transformation (PRST) under the leadership of Vivienne Taylor. The negative fallout of economic restructuring on goals of gender equality and poverty eradication was the central concern of the debates around PRST. The research process began with a concept paper developed by Vivienne. The process brought together perspectives of women researchers, activists and feminists of the South as DAWN sought to reframe the debates on governance and politics from a feminist perspective. More than 150 women were involved in the discussions and debates and 30 research papers were generated as a part of this collective global exercise. Vivienne Taylor distilled the analyses and debates into a book titled "Marketisation of Governance: Critical Feminist perspectives from the South" which was launched as DAWN's platform document in Geneva in June 2000.

The book interrogates both the mainstream discourse on governance as well as the underlying reasons for the way in which this discourse is constructed and promoted. Effort is made in this book to present a view of governance and of political and social transformation that would be different from the male dominated, conventional approach.

The book is divided in six chapters taking into consideration the following issues:

In South Asian regions the dilemmas that are faced during the period of globalisation by the states and civil society are (a) growth dilemma resulting into joblessness and unsustainability or (b) control dilemma resulting into centralisation through global networks or (c) the work role dilemma resulting into inability to supply an adequate number of meaningful work roles for people. In order to promote social development the book has suggested strategies that challenge the structures, systems and processes that reinforce underdevelopment and poverty. Chapter two of this book provides a critical analysis of the state, politics and state power and examines the objectives of states in relation to women and what the nation and practice means in the context of the persistent denial of rights of women. The next chapter highlights the marketisation of state functions, and points out the flipside of the WTO, World Bank and the IMF which provide a 'one policy' fit for countries in the South resulting into the privatisation of essential services and utilities becoming outside the reach of the poorest citizens. Since governments instead of providing for citizens are concentrating on how to secure foreign investment and markets, most of the women are becoming a marginalised group.

Chapter four discusses the issues of marginalisation, deepening poverty and different forms of violence experienced by women in the South and underlines the need for political alternatives.

The DAWN group from the South has examined the political and social spheres as a shifting terrain and has provided in the fifth chapter an analysis of the feminist movement, social movements and the state. It also raises the key issues related to the distribution of power, resources and the ongoing dilemma of working with and outside of the state. The conclusion of the book confirms that global economic institutions, informed by neo-liberal policies have led towards marginalisation of women, increasing violence against them, militarisation of states and deepening poverty and growing inequality.

The book concludes in these words – “The feminist movement and progressive organisations need to push to the centre of debate the issue that there are certain non-negotiables and these non-negotiables are the fundamental basic needs of people to survive. This is core to reclaiming and transforming the state of people centred development. What are the needs that should be met within our governments? These are the needs for survival, food security, health care, education, the right to participate in decision-making that affects every sphere of our lives, work that is humanising rather than dehumanising that values one’s contribution – no matter where one is located – are important considerations when we challenge the state.

We need to challenge the culture that dominates the governance debates and actions at every level in these processes. We need to understand the rules of the games that bring about winners, gainers and losers. And in our instances, women in the South have been the losers, in the tradeoffs that have taken place in the WTO and the economic systems of governance at the global level. As we reclaim governance and ensure that states act in the interests of their citizens we realise that the whole terrain is a shifting site of struggle. But as we engage in this process we need to ensure that the objectives of our collective struggles are not diffused and weakened. We reassert that the state is not a monolithic structure and that governance systems can be changed so that the dream of attaining personal liberation as well as national an international liberation can be achieved.”

III

## Globalisation: TONGUE in Cheek

**Nothing official About It.  
Some New Facts on Coke and Pepsi**

Guess what happened at a competition organised in a college in Delhi – to search for the one who could down maximum number of Cokes? The winner – who gulped down eight bottles of Coke – fell down – unconscious. The Reason – the percentage of carbon dioxide in the blood had shot up. Result – A ban imposed on soft drinks on the campus.

It you could spare a broken piece of your tooth or bone for a bottle of Pepsi – and keep it in the bottle for 10 days – you will find that it dissolves completely. If this is what Pepsi & its constituent chemicals do to our teeth & bones, the stronger of our body organs – one dreads to think what they do to our delicate intestines!!

Try looking at the list of ingredients on a Pepsi or Coke bottle. One of the ingredients is Phosphoric acid, which is known to be harmful for health ‘Ethlene glycol – the other ingredient is added so that the drink does not freeze even at 0° C. Note that Ethlene glycol is comparable to slow poisoning chemicals like arsenic.

Want to clean the stains on your dirty toilet? Try pouring a can of Coke on it – keep it for an hour – just flush – and watch the stains just disappear ‘Dhoondthe Rahejaoge?’

Having problems opening old rusty bolts on electrical gadgets? Just dip a piece of cloth in Coke and wrap the bolt in it. Just watch – the rusty bolt open – ever so easily!!

Its now an open secret – that just as Pepsi and Coke are ‘cool’ drinks, their effects for our health are real ‘hot’. In fact these companies should be placing a statutory warning – but we guess that in times of ‘competition they will not do so. Atleast we can save ourselves!!

Translated from ‘Gudiya’ – newslite,  
July-Sept. 2001, Vol. 7, No. 22

## Structural Adjustment Policies and the Social Sector A Select Bibliography

Extracted from A Select Bibliography by  
Dr. Laxmi Lingam, Dr. Vrinda Datta, Dr. Maveen



Samuel, John (1998): In the Name of Globalisation. *Advocacy Perspectives*, National Centre for Advocacy, Studies, Pune, Working Paper Series No. 10, April.

Globalisation is marked by the spread of consumerism and the western popular culture. It is marked by the spread of market tentacles to every nook and corner of the work, spreading production and capital across the nations of the world, by transnational corporations.

This paper examines the dynamics of globalisation and spreads out its contents into four sections:

1. Whose Globalisation?
2. Politics of Globalisation
3. Global Hegemony and Manufacturing Consent
4. Mirage of Globalisation

Vikas Adhyayan Kendra (1993): Structural Adjustment Programme. Who pays and at what cost? *Vikalp Alternatives*, Vol. 2 (2 & 3).

This issue of VIKALP is devoted to the state of the Indian economy and its people under the regime of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Analyses of the conditions under which the then Indian government opted to seek aid from the World Bank and IMF and the impact of this on the economy, polity and the people, especially women, are all discussed in some detail.

Rajput, Pam and Swarup, Hem Lata (eds) (1994): Women and Globalisation. Reflections, Options and Strategies. Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi.

This book focuses attention on the IMF/WB structural adjustment conditionalities imposed on

debtor nations and their adverse impact on women in particular and the poor in general.

Dietrich, Gabriele (1997): Effects of IMF/WB Policies on Women in India. Globalisation and SAP. Vikas Adhyayan Kendra, Mumbai, 141-150

India is third among the most indebted countries of the Third World, right after Brazil and Mexico. The author points out that once debt servicing surpasses 30% of a country's expenditure, it is caught in the debt trap and has to incur new debts in order to deal with old ones. While the earlier loans from WB/IMF were called soft loans, the present loans have come along with the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which means that crucial decision about the country's economy are no longer in the hands of the government but are virtually dictated by the WB.

In this paper, the author examines some of the general features of SAP and their effects on women and then goes on to identify more specific problems in rural and urban sectors.

Ghosh, Jayati (1994): Gender Concerns in Macroeconomic Policy. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 29 (18), ws2-ws4.

In the wake of stabilisation measures by the Indian government to tide over its economic crisis of 1990-91 and consequent liberalisation measures initiated in the Indian economy, the author raises the issue of how such macroeconomic changes stand to affect the Indian woman. She also forwards an alternate economic strategy to ensure a life of dignity to all citizens of India.

Dewan, Ritu (1999): Gender Implications of the "New" Economic Policy: A Conceptual Overview. *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 22 (4), 425-429

The "New" Economic Policy of 1991 consisted of a package of reforms comprising four strategies: devaluation, privatisation, liberalisation and globalisation. The implications of globalisation in the context of the "New" Economic Policy in India assumes great significance in the reality of Indian women, particularly in the wake of increasing feminisation of poverty, displacement of women from the organised workforce and resultant expansion of female headed households to almost one-third of the total rural households in the country.

This article demonstrates the impact upon women, and how policy makers take for granted that the burden of social services can be "costlessly" transferred from "productive" economy to the "non-productive" economy, i.e. to women within the household.

Shah, Nandita *et al.* (1994): Structural Adjustment, Feminisation of labour force and organisational strategies. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 29 (18) April - 30, ws 39-ws 48.

This article outlines the impact of New Economic Policies (NEP) and structural adjustment programmes (SAP) on women workers. The authors focus on the feminization of the labour force under SAP and finally present their suggestions in relation to women's paid and unpaid labour to improve the quality of their lives.

AIDWA (1999): Women in the New Economic Order. Series no. 3 AIDWA Publication Series, January.

All India Women's Democratic Association (AIDWA) presents in this series, extracts from reports and commission papers presented at national conferences which has served as the basis for ongoing discussions and understanding about the roots of women's oppression and their struggle for emancipation.

Murthy, Ranjani K. and Rao, Nitya (1997): Addressing Poverty: Indian NGOs and their Capacity Enhancement in the 1990s. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, New Delhi, 416.

This book discusses the role of NGOs in poverty alleviation and more generally the role of civil society in development. The book is based on an empirical survey of NGOs across India and takes an analytical look at reports and secondary literature on the subject. It concludes with concrete and specific recommendations regarding the training and capacity enhancement needs of NGOs.

(Copies of this Select Bibliography will be available from Tata Institute of Social Science, Mumbai 400 088, India)



Continued from page 10  
(Globalisation of Psychiatry...)

had set up a huge and opulent *pandal* in the venue displaying their goods and offering many expensive gifts. Pharmaceuticals in India organise patient and carer groups, bring out self-help booklets, disseminate information on mental health and drug treatment, and glibly talk about the right to care for yourself. Some multi-nationals such as Eli Lilly (the makers of PROZAC) are also going into research collaborations with Indian institutions to test some of their newer anti depressant drugs. These trends are dangerous.

While making an 'agenda' of women and mental health, we need to share news and experiences about these larger questions. Other than being watchful and documenting pharma activities, we must demand professional transparency on drug monies received. How economics works in the mental health domain requires urgent attention. The major task is of course to create drug-free and woman-centered services in mental health.

## Call for Papers

Special Issue of  
**International Sociology on Globalisation,  
Gender and Social Change in the 21st Century**

*Call for Papers* (<http://www.ucm.es/info/isa>)

This special issue of *International Sociology* is planned in conjunction with the XV ISA World Congress to be held in Brisbane, Australia, July 7-13, 2002, with a special relationship to RC32. Our Opening Session at Brisbane is co-organized by Esther Ngan-ling Chow the editor of this special issue, and has the same title as the issue.

The journal issue is aimed at promoting scholarship and research that emphasizes the centrality of gender in studying social change associated with the process of globalisation. The overall theme is framed broadly enough to include a variety of critical issues, debates, and problems as well as transformative practices at the local, regional, national and global levels.

### Specific objectives are:

- To promote scholarship about important women/gender issues, growing concerns and new problems worldwide at the dawn of the 21st Century.
- To analyse systematically and critically the emergent patterns of global structuration and process at the political, socioeconomic, and cultural levels and their impact on women and men in different historical times, societies, and cultures.
- To study how women and/or men face the challenges of globalisation in terms of opportunities and risks; how they struggle for basic rights, equality, sustainable development, and peace; and how they engage in activism and resistance movements, demonstrating their agency working for empowerment, global justice, and humanity.
- To seek understanding of the intricate linkages among theory, research, and praxis by developing a transformative scholarship within sociology in the new millennium.

Articles exploring in-depth case studies, ethnographic field research, historical/comparative analyses, and

reflective/theoretical think pieces are welcome. Topic is entirely open as long as it relates to the relationships between gender and globalisation. The centrality of gender in theorizing, analysis, and praxis in the process of global changes may cover one or more of the following areas:

- \* Global economy, restructuring, and poverty
- \* Development, inequality, alternative models
- \* Trade, financial crisis, loan burdens
- \* Labour market and formal/informal sectors
- \* Household and family dynamics
- \* Modernity, diversity, and culture
- \* Migration, urbanization, and global cities
- \* Social institutions, gender relations, and identities
- \* Women's movements and political activism
- \* Environment and global justice
- \* Upheaval created by and resistance to globalisation
- \* Racism and ethnic conflicts in world development
- \* The role of the state, international organisations, and policy
- \* Media, technology, and science
- \* Trafficking of women and child prostitution
- \* Nationalism, politics, and democracy
- \* Colonialism, post-coloniality, and re-colonialization
- \* Human rights, feminist jurisprudence, and legal theories
- \* Fundamentalism, religious movements, and institutions
- \* Militarization, armed conflicts, and peace

All papers submitted will undergo refereed views. Guidelines for contributors:

Two copies of the paper, typed and double-spaced, should be submitted by June 1, 2002 to : Esther Ngan-ling Chow,  
Department of Sociology,  
American University, 4400  
Massachusetts Avenue,  
N.W., McCabe Hall,  
Washington, D.C. 20016,  
USA

For more information, please contact  
Esther Ngan-ling Chow  
Email: [echow@american.edu](mailto:echow@american.edu)

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