Discourse of Citizenship in Assam

LEAD ESSAY:

- Discourse of Citizenship in Assam

HEADLINE OF THE WEEK:

- India’s interest rate cut debate intensifies amid currency ban

SECTION 1: ECONOMY

- New norms hit airlines' ancillary revenue; India Wholesale Inflation Unexpectedly Eases Before Rate Review; India’s interest rate cut debate intensifies amid currency ban; How Demonetisation has Affected Rural Areas; Demonetisation: Now, a tool to find ATMs with money across India; In Tamil Nadu, a court case has highlighted misuse of farm land – and brought real estate to a halt; BJP's curious China syndrome; Demonetisation Will Hit Agriculture, Informal Workers Worst: Study (But It’s Good Idea); Double Whammy for Microfinance

SECTION 2: GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT

- Health: Diabetes Kills More Girls Than Boys; Indians may have to pay more for medicines as drug pricing policy is set for overhaul; Could bio-toilets solve India's sanitation problems and save the Yamuna river?; Demonetisation: Public Health System Ill-Equipped and Unreliable; Is the US DSA Ignoring Illegal Health Claims?
- Agriculture: Demonetisation hits PM’s flagship crop insurance scheme
- Law and Justice: The Condemned: India's overcrowded prisons desperately need reform; India’s Long History of Television Censorship

SECTION 3: SOCIETY

- Gender: Improve Women’s Participation in the Workforce, Boost India’s Income by 27 Percent: IMF Chief; Domestic Labour and Female Labour Force Participation Rate; Triple Talaq Debate is Bringing Out Multiple Shades of Patriarchy
Discourse of Citizenship in Assam

Introduction:

The debate over nationality, citizenship and anti-foreigner movement in Assam has a long history. With a unique social matrix, the recent citizenship issues also touch upon the age-old nationality question as well as the anti-foreigner movement in Assam. During the last monsoon session of Lok Sabha, the Citizenship (Amendment) Bill 2016 was introduced to amend the Citizenship Act 1955. The Bill has echoed intense response from adherent Assamese nationalists. The greatest indictment of some Assamese intellectuals and organization regarding the proposed legislation is that it will liquidate the indigenous language and culture of the state including the violation of the historic Assam Accord 1985 as well as citizenship act 6A itself which is specified only for Assam. The All Assam Student Union (ASSU), Asom Jatiyatabadi Yuba Chhattr Parishad (AJYCP), Krishak Mukti Sagram Samiti (KMSS), left and democratic parties of the State—the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the Samajwadi Party, the Janata Dal (Secular), the Liberal Democratic Party, the Forward Bloc and the Revolutionary Communist Party of India—have strongly opposed the Bill and demanded that Assam be kept out of the purview of the proposed Act. Nonetheless the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) allying Asom Gana Parisad (AGP) also stands against the proposed legislation. Indeed, the present situation in Assam seems to redeem the ‘80s-like-agitation’, which has been compelling to retrospect the age-old Assamese nationalism and the outrage of Assam Movement.

In the present article an effort has been made to analyze the Assamese nationalism and the contemporary citizenship issues in the context of its reflection in Assamese identity and community issues. The second part explains the evolving nationality in Assam since the colonial period. Third part analysis the citizenship questions in the state and in fourth part NRC issue related to Citizenship Bill 2016 is explained. Fifth part concludes.

Evolving nationality in Assam

The closed economy of Assam open up to the immigration during the period of 1826 to 1873 which was the transition period of Assam’s pre-capitalist economy into its colonial phase (Guha, 2006). To sustain the British capitalistic set up, the economy of the state was infiltrated with not only capital and infrastructure but also professionals from other part of India as agent of British-Indian administrative system. At this point, the dilapidated Assamese intelligentsia of the time initialized them as extraneous minority. As Guha (2006) mentions all the inputs of production for expanding the exotic British economy were brought from outside the state except land, which made the start of a false modernization with complete lack of urbanization in the state. In such dualistic situation of tribalism and feudalism coexisted with capitalistic relationships, the traditional peasantry unaccustomed to any kind of money taxation and land revenue started protesting against British.

The abhorrence and objection of the Assamese people against then Government of India was further fueled by the incorporation of Sylhet into the province of Assam in 1874 (Guha, 1980, Misra, 1981). The transfer of Sylhet was not only opposed in Assam but also in Bengal due to the backwardness of the state of Assam. However, the Bengali speaking population of Sylhet started outnumbering the Assamese speaking population in the newly created province due to the fact that Sylhet was about half as populous as then Assam. During the years 1874-1905, Assam had no legislature of its own and the people there had no opportunity of participating in legislative activities of any kind (Guha, 2006).
Moreover, the traditional Assamese society of the nineteenth century was greatly touched by the contemporary immigrant Hindu society. Under such circumstances, the Assamese nationalism has been developing in a two-track process (Guha, 1977). One was the all India cultural homogeneity as well as anti-imperialism shared by the common Indian population and other was the regional-cultural homogenieties. Guha (1977), defines the second as little nationalism, “a spiritual sentiment that holds together a group of people claiming a common cultural-regional identity (to distinguish themselves from the other groups) and desirous of a degree of autonomy within the larger nation-state.” Although, Assamese little nationalism developed as a comprehensive ideology based on the language issue, but it gradually included the issues related to job and land.

The pre-1947, nationalism was basically more of an influence of Indian nationalism than of the regional nationalism. As Guha (1977) mentions the post- independence Assamese society became stronger economically, politically and socially. In 1947 partition, Sylhet, the most populous Bengali-speaking district was separated from Assam. Independence and partition made the Assamese society numerically and politically stronger in post-colonial Assam (Hussain, 1993). However, the political mobilization took place on the basis of language, tribe, caste, ethnicity and class. Under such circumstances, the demography of the state also had gone through sharp transformation from a land abundant, thinly populated state to a land scared thickly populated state (Hussain, 1993). According to the 1971 Census, the density of population in Assam per square K.M. was 186 as against the all India average of 177. Moreover, during the 1971 liberation struggle in Bangladesh also made the state a host of large number of refugees. According to Hussain (1993), there is no precise estimate of how many Bangladeshis nationals went back to Bangladesh and how many stayed in Assam illegally after liberation. In 1972, AASU organized a movement demanding Asamiya (Assamese) as the only medium of instruction together with English for college education under Gauhati and Dibrugarh Univeristy, which apparently turned into the Asamiya-Bengali conflict and later to historic Assam Movement. According to the AASU leadership of the so-called Assam Movement of 1980s, the main cause behind the movement was the problem of infiltration by illegal foreigners from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and to a less extent from Nepal, Bhutanand Burra, which led to the abnormal increase in population of Assam (Hussain, 1993). ‘Assam movement’ affected all social aspects of the state as well as the question of nationality. In fact, the movement was more of a nationality question than the question of foreign nationals in Assam, which came to an end after signing a Memorandum of Understanding, known as Assam Accord 1985 on 15th August 1985 (ibid).The accord assures that that all “illegal migrants”, irrespective of their religion, who have entered Assam after the cut-off date of March 24, 1971,are to be identified and deported. Clause VI of the Assam accord promises constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards to protect, preserve and promote the cultural, social and linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people. To implement these agreements the citizenship act of India was amended and includes provision of Article 6A especially for Assam which aim to protect Assamese identity.

**Citizenship Issues**

In Assam, the term ‘Bideshi’ (foreigner) and ‘Bohiragata’ (outsider) were used interchangeably in 1978-79. However, Assam Sahitya Sabha, the intellectual wing of the state, intervened to narrow down the meaning of the term to post-1951 immigrants from foreign countries with questionable citizenship status (Guha, 1977). The leadership of Assam Movement 1985 also demanded 1951 as cut-off years for detecting and deportation the foreign nationals, which finally came to accept the 1971 as the cut-off year for determining the foreign immigrants in the state. On the other hand, the section 2(1) (b) of Citizenship Act 1955, defines an “illegal migrant” as a foreigner who entered India (i) without a valid passport or other prescribed travel documents, or (ii) with a valid passport or other prescribed travel documents but remains in India beyond the permitted period of time. However, the Amendment Bill 2016, mentions that the persons belonging to six minority communities – Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Christians- in Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan, who have been exempted by the Central government by or under clause (c) subsection (2) of Section 3 of the Passport (Entry in India) Act, 1920, or from the application of the provisions of the Foreigners Act, 1946 or any order made there under, shall not be treated as illegal migrants. The Bill also proposes to reduce the aggregate period of residential qualification for citizenship for those eligible from 11 years to six years in the case of non-Muslim migrants.
Those opposing the Bill feared that it would not only disturb the age-old communal harmony in the State and leave a long-term impact on the identity, culture and economy of Assam\(^1\). State BJP Minister Himanta Biswa Sarma has clarified the party policy to differentiate the Bangladeshi migrants on the religious affiliation and the legislation would result in an increase in the population of Hindus in the State which will prevent Muslims from becoming the majority community in the state. However, the government has nothing to do with linguistic and communal identity of the Assamese citizen, which Mr. Sarma denied by the fact that there is no analysis regarding question of Assamese community becoming a linguistic or religious minority in the state\(^2\). The proposed legislature is a clear agenda of making India a “Hindu Rashtra”. The constitution of India never defined India as a Hindu Rashtra rather India is a Sovereign, Socialist and Democratic Republic

Nevertheless, the fear of becoming the linguistic minority as result of the proposed legislature is not groundless. The evidences of replacing the Assamese language with Bengali language during colonial period and the evidences from Census data make the Assamese civil society to fear the of becoming minority in the state.

**National Register of Citizen (NRC) updation in Assam**

NRC is the register containing the names of Indian citizens. According to the Office of the State Coordinator of National Registration (NRC), Assam, the updating process basically means the process of enlisting the names of those persons (or their descendants) whose names appear in any of the Electoral Rolls upto 1971, 1951 NRC or any of the admissible documents stipulated. The office also mentions that the NRC will be updated as per the provisions of The Citizenship Act, 1955 and The Citizenship (Registration of Citizens and Issue of National Identity Cards) Rules, 2003 (As amended by 1. G. S. R. 803(E), dated 9th November, 2009 (with effect from 9/11/2009.) 2. Ministry of Home Affairs (Office of Registrar General, India), Order No. S.O. 596(E), dated 15th March, 2010, published in the Gazette of India, Extra, Part II. No. 504 S.3(ii), dated 16th March, 2010 p.1.). As per the two statutes, the eligibility status would be ascertained based on the NRC, 1951, Electoral Rolls upto 1971 and in their absence the admissible documents upto 24th March (midnight) 1971. The updated NRC shall contain names of persons eligible for inclusion in updated NRC by virtue of being original inhabitants of Assam.

But the recent proposed Bill is a likely challenge to the ongoing process of NRC in Assam which is going to be implemented in Supreme Court monitor. The cut-off date for inclusion of names in the updated NRC is the March 24, 1971 as Assam Accord 1985. Under such circumstances, the clarification is needed whether to include the illegal Hindu or other non-Muslim migrants entering Indian state of Assam after 1971 in the updated NRC or not. Secondly, what happen to those who have already registered as illegal migrants under the condition that they inter Assam from outside the country before 1971.

**Conclusion**

The situation in Assam, from the upsurge of *little nationalism*\(^3\) of colonial period to the contemporary apprehension in the State related to citizenship question has in common the frustration outraged by the regional and communal identity. Taking note of the problem of citizenship in Assam, the state should be kept out of the preview of the Bill and there should be some permanent solution to the Indo-Bangladesh boarder migration issue. Otherwise, in the political as well

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2. Ibid
as economic arena, the Indo-Bangladesh border migration issue of Assam has disposed of the other contemporary problems of the state, which also need serious attention.

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Rajkhowa, J.P. (2016), India moving towards theocracy, The Sentinel


Headlines

India’s interest rate cut debate intensifies amid currency ban
(Anirban Nag and Manish Modi, Live Mint, November 15, 2016)

A Bloomberg survey of 12 economists is split through the middle on whether India’s move to invalidate more than three-quarters currency in circulation will dent demand, lowering both inflation and growth. Disappointing economic data could push the central bank to reduce the benchmark rate as early as next month, some said; others maintained that Patel would wait for more evidence of a slowdown.

Read More: http://www.livemint.com/Politics/8GsIx3eigYI0icGm1nThvK/Indias-interest-rate-cut-debate-intensifies-amid-currency-b.html
Date Accessed: 15.11.2016
Economy

**New norms hit airlines' ancillary revenue**

In June, DGCA had said under no circumstances could cancellation charges be more than the basic fare and that carriers could not levy additional charge to process the refund. In the case of checked-in baggage, the airlines would be charging Rs 100 a kg for baggage weight in excess of 15 kg till 20 kg – significantly lower than the Rs 300 a kg used to be levied on every kg of baggage beyond the 15-kg limit. To bring in the new measures, the regulator made changes to three civil aviation requirements and to an air transport circular, which have been legally challenged by major airlines.


Date Accessed: 15.11.2016

**India Wholesale Inflation Unexpectedly Eases Before Rate Review**
(Vrishi Beniwal, *Bloomberg*, November 15, 2016)

Economists are concerned that Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s surprise cash clampdown will slow both growth and inflation in the $2 trillion economy. The softening price pressures will boost calls for monetary easing and investors will closely watch gross domestic product data due Nov. 30. Paté’s rate-setting panel, which lowered the benchmark repurchase rate to 6.25 percent from 6.5 percent in October, is due to review policy Dec. 7.


Date Accessed: 15.11.2016

**How Demonetisation has Affected Rural Areas**
(Yerram Raju, *Moneylife*, November 14, 2016)

By any standards demonetisation of 86% Indian currency that affects the wallets of 125 crore population is no ordinary decision. The Union Government sent shock waves among not just the hoarders of unaccounted money but also among the state governments and the huge political constituency. The measure may have precedence but the dimension of the effect has no precedence and therefore, economic historians are watching in gaze for generating a new script.

Read More: [http://www.moneylife.in/article/how-demonetisation-has-affected-rural-areas/48809.html](http://www.moneylife.in/article/how-demonetisation-has-affected-rural-areas/48809.html)

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**Demonetisation: Now, a tool to find ATMs with money across India**
(The Indian Express, November 14, 2016)

Now, CMS Info Systems, one of the companies managing ATMs in India, has created a tool to help people figure out machines that are dispensing cash at the moment. The simple tool lets users select the state and the city in which they are trying to find a working ATM. The link is available at: atmfinder.cms.com/atmfinder/ATMStatus.aspx “Even as we are working round the clock to get as many ATMs as we can filled with cash, here’s another quick step from us to make life easier for all concerned. We have created the CMS ATM Finder. It’s a ready reckoner of all the ATMs we manage that are dispensing cash,” said a note from the company.


Date Accessed: 15. 11.2016

**In Tamil Nadu, a court case has highlighted misuse of farm land – and brought real estate to a halt**
(Vinita Govindarajan, *Scroll*, November 15, 2016)

During his many travels across Tamil Nadu, Advocate G Rajendran would pass by fertile fields of full-grown paddy, pulses and chillies, ripe and ready for harvest. But just a month later, he would find piles of construction material covering the ground where the crop had stood and large machines laying out a gravel road, stifling the fertile soil.


Date Accessed: 15.11.2016
BJP's curious China syndrome

(Latha Jishnu, Down to Earth, November 15, 2016)

The ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)’s big guns have launched a campaign to boycott Chinese goods, it is time we got the basics right. First, the big picture. China is India’s largest trade partner, sending us goods worth US $61.7 billion in 2015-16. This means a sixth of India’s imports are Chinese, up from a tenth in just five years. And what of India’s exports? These have plummeted and so sharply that it is just half of what it used to be in 2011-12: a paltry US $9 billion. Next, the range of goods that pours in from the dragon: cellphones, laptops, medicines (yes, medicines to treat TB and leprosy), solar cells, fertilisers, industrial hardware, communication equipment and shipbuilding equipment. That is not a complete list and there isn’t enough space to include the projects that the Chinese are setting up here.

Read More: http://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/bjp-s-curious-china-syndrome-56234
Date Accessed: 15.11.2016

Demonetisation Will Hit Agriculture, Informal Workers Worst: Study (But It’s Good Idea)

(Abhisek Waghmare, India Spend, November 15, 2016)

While the short term impacts will be pronounced on the brick-and-mortar retail sector like kirana shops, vegetable and fruit vendors, long-term negative impacts on the real-estate sector are possible, the Deloitte report said.

While the short term impacts will be pronounced on the brick-and-mortar retail sector like kirana shops, vegetable and fruit vendors, long-term negative impacts on the real-estate sector are possible, the Deloitte report said.

“As far as the real economy is concerned, there is going to be huge blow to purchasing power. All kinds of people who were accepting notes are going to refuse to accept the notes,” economics writer Swaminathan Anklesaria Aiyar, told the Economic Times.

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Double Whammy for Microfinance

(The Tribune, November 13, 2016)

The microfinance industry is cash-intensive. Most of the borrowers take loans in cash and they repay loans in cash, particularly in Rs 500 or Rs 1,000 notes. Even many of the borrowers who have bank accounts do not know how to transact through them. Thus, cash transactions in the rural economy, where most of the MFIs operate, become inevitable.

MFIs record a repayment rate of 99 percent but it took a blow after demonetisation. The sector is worried about taking the business forward in view of the increasing risk of defaults.

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**HEALTH**

**Diabetes Kills More Girls Than Boys**
(*The Scroll*, November 14, 2016)

Even with growing awareness, doctors predict that in the years to come, many more girl children in India will lose their lives to type 1 diabetes, due to ignorance and social prejudice. The disturbing fact is that type 1 figures across the world are surging year after year. As of 2011, there were 500,000 children with type 1 diabetes under the age of 15, out of which, 97,700 of the cases were in India. Every year, the number of children with type 1 diabetes continues to rise by 3%, and alarmingly enough, nobody quite knows why. For every parent who decides to take the disease head-on, there may be many others who choose to let go of their girl child.

Read more: [http://scroll.in/pulse/821445/no-insulin-for-girls-diabetes-kills-more-girls-than-boys-in-india](http://scroll.in/pulse/821445/no-insulin-for-girls-diabetes-kills-more-girls-than-boys-in-india)

Date Accessed: 15.11.2016

**Indians may have to pay more for medicines as drug pricing policy is set for overhaul**
(*Jyotsna Singh, Indian Express*, 7 November 2016)

Medicines may become more expensive in India as a result of the major overhaul of the drug pricing policy that is being planned, activists fear. The changes in the prices of medicines are being considered by a government committee set up about a month ago. "We are working with the aim of 'ease of doing business' and 'Make in India',' said health secretary CK Mishra, who heads the committee. "The new pricing policy of drugs will be in tune with this."

Read More: [http://scroll.in/pulse/820756/indians-may-have-to-pay-more-for-medicines-as-drug-pricing-policy-is-set-for-overhaul](http://scroll.in/pulse/820756/indians-may-have-to-pay-more-for-medicines-as-drug-pricing-policy-is-set-for-overhaul)

Date Access: 15.11.2016

**Could bio-toilets solve India's sanitation problems and save the Yamuna river?**
(*Priya Chacko, Georgina Drew, Justin Brookes, Down to Earth*, 15 November 2016)

Can massive amounts of human excreta be transformed and used to tackle waste management challenges? India is currently addressing this issue by channeling it into composting systems through the use of Biodigester toilets (also known as bio-toilets). Interest in the production of bio-toilets has spiked in recent years with private sector companies, the Defence Research and Development Organisation and non-governmental organisations entering the market. These are cost-efficient means of reducing water consumption because they do not dilute raw sewage with water. Bio-toilets allow bacteria to decompose human waste in a vacuum, creating a source of gas that can be stored or burned as energy. The Indian Railways is now adopting the widespread use of bio-toilets in recognition of their affordability, ease of maintenance, and water savings.


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**Demonetisation: Public Health System Ill-Equipped and Unreliable**
(*Kundan Pandey, Down to Earth*, 14 November 2016)

On November 9, Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced to withdraw legal tender on Rs 500 and Rs 1000 notes, effectively demonetising them. While the government tried to cushion the shock by permitting public utility centres like government hospitals to accept old notes, the decision has led to chaos. Due to lack of valid notes, people have failed to reach hospitals on time, in some cases, causing loss of life. Private hospitals and chemists have returned patients empty-handed in spite of carrying Rs 1000 or Rs 500 notes. Such incidents have been reported from across the country. As per a media organisation, total 16 people including an infant and elderly have died in last five days due to refusal of health services. The Kerala Human Rights Commission has issued notice to the state government about readiness of dealing with people who approach government health facilities.


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Governance & Development

**Is the US DSA Ignoring Illegal Health Claims?**
*(Truthadvertising, Moneylife, November 15, 2016)*

Despite declarations by the Direct Selling Association (DSA) that it is committed to business ethics, a TINA.org investigation has found that 97 percent of DSA member companies selling nutritional supplements have distributors marketing their products with illegal health claims. Not only are distributors making dubious claims but TINA.org also documented DSA member companies making health claims that violate the law.

Read More: [http://www.moneylife.in/article/is-the-us-dsa-ignoring-illegal-health-claims/48811.html](http://www.moneylife.in/article/is-the-us-dsa-ignoring-illegal-health-claims/48811.html)
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**Agriculture**

**Demonetisation hits PM’s flagship crop insurance scheme**
*(Sharad Vyas, The Hindu, November 15, 2016)*

Lakhs of farmers, who are already reeling from drought and crop failure, have reportedly missed the deadline to avail themselves of the scheme, which ended on November 9. The worst hit are the horticultural farmers. Though the deadline was extended to November 10, most of them missed the deadline to pay the premium as they were unable to withdraw cash from banks. On November 12, the State government held an urgent meeting with registered insurance companies to help farmers avail themselves of the scheme.

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**Law and Justice**

**The Condemned: India’s overcrowded prisons desperately need reform**
*(Mohit Suneja and Aparna Alluri, Hindustan Times, November 13, 2016)*

2,82,076- about 70% of India’s prisoners are undertrails. Due to this reason, the Indian prisons are overcrowded. The Indian Prisons are short of 27,000 staff. There is only one doctor for every 638 prisoners.

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**India’s Long History of Television Censorship**
*(Bhairav Acharya, The Wire, 12 November, 2016)*

The one-day ban on Hindi channel NDTV India has refocused public attention on the government’s anachronistic power to censor television channels. This power has been used several times by many different governments but never has it been used so forcefully against a major Indian news channel. This may have been a step too far.

There is a difference between the content of speech and the manner of its carriage. Content refers to words and carriage to the medium by which the words are transmitted. Freedom of speech covers both content and carriage. But depending on the medium of its transmission – television, radio and so on – speech is regulated differently. Cable television is a particularly heavily-regulated medium and a brief background is necessary to understand why.

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GENDER

Improve Women’s Participation in the Workforce, Boost India’s Income by 27 Percent: IMF Chief
(The Scroll, November 15, 2016)

India’s national income will climb by 27% if women are allowed participation at par with men in the workforce, International Monetary Fund Managing Director Christine Lagarde said on Monday. “Empowering women can be an economic game changer for any country,” she said. “For instance, if women were to participate in the labour force to the same extent as men, national income could increase by 5% in the US, 9% in Japan and 27% in India.”

Date Accessed: 15.11.2016

Domestic Labour and Female Labour Force Participation Rate
(Sirish C. Naidu, The Economic and Political Weekly, November 5, 2016)

The declining female labour force participation in India alongside high economic growth is puzzling. Increasing educational enrolment, and higher household incomes have been offered as hypotheses to explain the decline in women's participation in work. Increasing participation in domestic activities has been considered "status production," and as evidence that economic growth has been beneficial. However, these explanations do not fully account for why women from households with lower incomes and fewer assets are leaving the labour market. National Sample Survey Office data on "domestic activities" reveals that a significant proportion of women are working to ensure the daily survival of households. It is argued that the shift of women's labour to domestic activities may in fact be a strategy to cope with the immiserating tendencies of the Indian economy.

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Triple Talaq Debate is Bringing Out Multiple Shades of Patriarchy
(Zakia Soman, Noorjehan Niaz, The Wire, 9 November, 2016)

In our campaign for the abolition of triple talaq we have come face to face with a complex range of patriarchal responses. From the obvious personal law board members to people in academia, from the women members of patriarchal bodies to at least one feminist lawyer – all have painstakingly tried to argue that the Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan's (BMMA) position is wrong. These responses have sought to negate or trivialise the lived realities of Shayara, Afreen, Ishrat and other triple talaq survivors who made bold to go to court. It is sad that most of these status quoists have been silent all these years when gender justice principles were routinely being violated in our society. We for one, are happy that we have upset so many patriarchal boats.

Read More: http://thewire.in/78626/triple-talaq-debate-bringing-multiple-shades-patriarchy/
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