





# COLLECTIVE

POLITICS ● CULTURE ● ORGANIZATION

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**What a year it's been so far!** We bore witness to a series of movements like #Occupy UGC, #JusticeforRohith, #StandWithJNU in the previous semesters and all the energy that these brought with them. The numbers that actively participated in these movements were unprecedented and what especially stood out was the spontaneity with which these numbers collectivized. In recent memory this campus erupted with creative forms of protest – from forming a campus-wide human chain, to graffiti, sarcastic cartoons and dubstep music made from slogans. The steadfast support from the JNUTA and its own initiatives opened newer dimensions to the protest gatherings at ad block as distinguished scholars held a series of classes on nationalism. This also pointed out a significant feature of the movement: how students' academic understanding of concepts like nationhood came to inform their active political participation and also how various kinds of tensions and contestations around such concepts were informed by one's' engagement with and experience of the movement.

While much was happening on our own campus through February and March, in other parts of the country various other battles were on: Soni Sori was attacked with a corrosive substance, journalists, lawyers were being evicted from Bastar – such targeting continues unabated till today. The Joint Police forces of BJP-ruled Haryana and Rajasthan were raiding homes, beating, arresting and hounding anyone 'who looked like a Honda worker' or seen supporting one. In March HCU students rose in protest against the VC Appa Rao's return to power even after a nationwide agitation against Rohith Vemula's institutional murder and Rao's complicity in it – in retaliation students were brutally beaten up by the police, water, power, internet and other facilities were cut off in the university campus – and all this far away from the eye of the media. Common people of Kashmir Valley were facing severe repression by the Indian state, an attack fortified by pellet-guns that's only escalated in recent months.

Needless to say, the campus was not insulated from these happenings outside – there were serious disagreements within the movement itself on how to articulate/disarticulate Afzal Guru's killing and the people of Kashmir's demands for *azaadi* in the ongoing protests. These confusions were emerging in an atmosphere filled with fear and foreboding as all activities on campus were closely watched by the media: photocopying *parchas* suddenly became a problem, hostels were raided to the point where a large number of Kashmiri students had to leave out of fear. Perhaps the situation held a potential for us, students, to grow more deeply aware of what goes on in areas under heavy military surveillance – where

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the terror is hundredfold – regions like the North Eastern states, Kashmir Valley, and also other campus spaces like BHU or even HCU that face perpetual threat of police action and do not receive the kind of media attention that JNU does.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is important to look into various dynamics of the #StandwithJNU movement, the ups and downs in spontaneous participation of students, the strength and limitations of the forms that were practiced, the mechanisms of decision-making within the movement and the possibilities of politics that the movement threw up. This calls for self-reflection on various points. Considering what a large number of students actively came out to participate in the movement, we feel there was a greater need to diversify the initiatives that they themselves could take. Perhaps our movement failed in large part to allow the creative potential of students who took part in it to blossom to their fullest,

these varied opinions/concerns, or even ‘conflicts of opinions’, should be considered in their best possible creative roles and not as disturbances in the way of smoothly executing some predetermined ‘correct path’.

In a context such as #StandWithJNU but also others – the struggle against changes made in the system of deprivation points last semester, or the recent tents@freedom square movement – we feel an urgent need to explore the potential of forms such as the “open house” more seriously, where students in their individual as well as organizational capacities can take stock of the progress being made in the movement and discuss how to take it forward. **The tension palpable in recent ‘open houses’ between ‘different modes of talking’ was also interesting. While some speakers focused more on communicating a ‘correct political position’, others spoke more out of a concern for collectively making some concrete movemental decisions. We hope that more democratic processes of decision-making will strengthen the multiple struggles that continue on campus on a daily basis; surveillance has been tightened manifold since February, holding public meetings has become a formidable task. Proctorial enquiries are becoming the new norm, whether students demand “hostel for all” or dare**

**Envisioning ourselves not only as ‘students’ standing in solidarity with other movements but also as ‘activists’ taking a stake in them directly can be one way to open up our own location of being students of relative privilege to challenges from without.**

reducing them very often to the role of listeners or spectators at ad block. **The usual method where the JNUSU president/office-bearers decide things, which boils down to the leading organization making most of the decisions of the students’ union, works differently during times of the ebb and flow in spontaneity. The representations made in decision making through elected councilors or the ‘All-organization Meeting’ were not sufficient to include the concerns and varied opinions of students active in the movement. More direct and inclusive practices of democracy within our movements should probably go hand in hand with ‘meetings of the representatives’, since a majority of the students who regularly come to these movements and who take initiatives do so, not always as ‘followers’ of any ABC organization but as participants of the movement itself. To collectivize their energies for the purpose of the movement and also for the movement to explore newer dimensions,**

**to openly critique the administration and right-wing governments.** There is no need anymore for violence or “unrest” for one’s actions to be declared “illegal” - so much as occupying a dorm-bed belonging to a friend can ensure that title – perhaps even invite a show-cause notice. Neither should such developments be viewed in isolation from the deliberate move by the administration to deprive more and more students of hostel every year and turn JNU into a “non-residential” campus where students merely gather to attend classes from nine to five and take no further social-political stakes.

There is a need to build more movemental energy around our struggles to oppose such repeated repressive measures taken by the administration– measures that go beyond the student community and affect workers such as the security guards on campus as well. We, as COLLECTIVE, have been trying over the past several months to devise ways to build wider campaigns through surveys, proposing open houses, pamphleteering etc. around issues

such as the sudden increase in emphasis on fluency in English in entrance exams for foreign languages, changes made in the system of deprivation points, the need to do away with the logic of merit in allocating hostel seats to students etc. Carrying our intention forward in a different way, in this issue we have tried experimenting with newer forms such as sketches and cartoons in an attempt to evolve a lively, more engaging political language. The tents@freedom square movement has brought fresh energy in its wake not only because of how burning an issue the hostel-crisis is, but also the unexpected form the protest took: of pitching tents and organizing community kitchens in front of the ad block, and its attempt to hold open houses in order to encourage a greater responsibility and expand the scope of participation by students.

There is no dearth of inspiration if we look around us – indeed, as far as movemental strengths go, we are living through exciting times. The movement of the security guards of JNU campus erupted suddenly and they stood up defying the fear of getting retrenched. In continuity with the Pinjra Tod movement and many other efforts to break the ‘curfew time’ for girls hostels and other gender-discriminatory rules in educational institutes, UGC has issued a notification curbing such rules. The government bodies and various college/university administrations however, are far from taking initiatives to implement this notification, even as the movement of women students continue. Honda workers are agitating for the reinstatement of more than 3000 terminated workers and the legal right to form their own union – this, in the face of nearly continuous threats and incidents of physical violence from the company management and the police. In Una we witnessed a militant uprising of Dalit toiling people. The huge scale of this mass movement not only exercised pressure on the government to temporarily go on a backfoot but also opened up newer, exciting possibilities for anti-caste movements in India. In our own campus debates have been raging in recent months, between the Left and Ambedkarite or-

ganizations. Such debates offer rich possibilities for us to evolve newer practices and theoretical articulations of problems such as discrimination along lines of caste within modern academic, even “progressive” spaces, the potential as well as limitations of political representation based on identity and so on. **A more sincere conversation about these issues, not limiting itself to the mere polemics of criticizing either the ‘left’ or ‘Ambedkarite’ tendencies, as they exist at the present moment, may enable us to develop a deeper understanding of how to establish an inter-relation among multiple axes of oppression like caste, class and gender as we imagine and struggle for a better society.**

We remember the support and participation that poured in from all quarters, during the #StandWithJNU movement. A pressing question that faces us as students of this campus, in the midst of all these developments around us, is how to engage more closely with them, how to resist mechanically “extending our solidarity” outside. **Envisioning ourselves not only as ‘students’ standing in solidarity with other movements but also as ‘activists’ taking a stake in them directly can be one way to open up our own location of being students of relative privilege to challenges from without.** A more determined participation in such struggles may change the very parameters of what we imagine ourselves, as students, to be capable of contributing in society. We feel that alongside attempts to build up more participatory forms of struggle within the campus, this may be an opportune moment to consider this question in all its seriousness. Especially since the #StandWithJNU movement alerted many of us to the perils of being marooned on our own island of political correctness – the danger of growing not merely isolated, but also myopic. ■



# HOSTEL MIL GAYA KYA

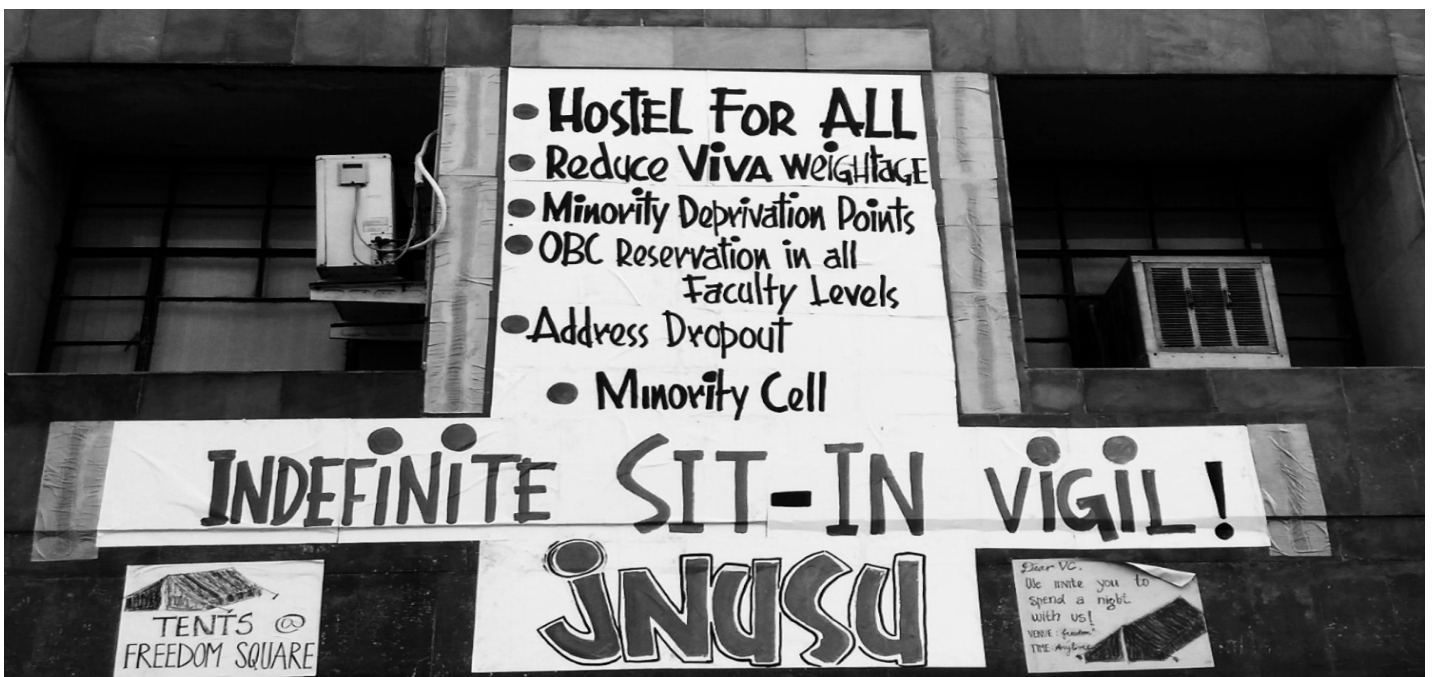
The problem regarding student accommodation has been steadily on the rise in JNU for the past few years. During COLLECTIVE's campaigning and interaction with students earlier this semester, a series of problems that students caught in the middle of the "hostel crisis" face, came to the fore which was very distressing. In this issue, we have sought to highlight some of them.

Not only is there mismanagement on the part of the Dean of Students' Office (DSO), there are routine delays in hostel lists, and faults of various kinds in the lists themselves. Besides, concerns about hygienic living conditions in the dorms are severely neglected. Dengue and other water borne diseases spread every year. On top of this, students are mentally and physically harassed by raids after midnight by hostel authorities and are forced to vacate their seats if they have been living in dorms "illegally". As one can see, instead of solving the students' grievances, the university and hostel administration subject them to mental and physical discomfort. Many a time, especially in the case of female students coming to Delhi with no prior acquaintances in the city, their pursuing education at the university depends entirely on their being allocated a hostel. We heard accounts from such students without hostels who came close to having to discontinue their studies due to severe pressures from home.



The DoS recently came out with a white paper that contained figures regarding the number of seats available in hostels vis-a-vis how many students have been allocated seats. One look at this so called "White Paper" reveals a lot of contradictory and wrong information. As part of the ongoing movement at Ad block -tents@freedom square - individual students as well as student organisations have pitched tents to draw the attention of the administration towards the severity of this issue so that some definitive action can be taken.

Yet we know that once the hostel is allotted, students face problems finding a room. No one is willing to share rooms with a new student. The whole process of "hunting" turns into a harrowing experience. Perhaps an experiential look at the abstract problem of "hostel crisis" can go some way to building greater solidarity among the members of the student community on this issue - among those who "have" a room as well as those who "haven't". Such solidarity must spring from an understanding that the lack of hostel accommodation is a political problem: integral to the kind of university spaces we wish to build and one that affects something as fundamental as the democratic access of students to education.



You only have 2 dormitories for men- Mahi-Mandvi and Damodar. To be honest, Mahi is not even a dorm. People who have nowhere else to go live there. It was actually a mess, and there are thirty or more beds and no privacy. I mean the whole street can see how people are sleeping on their beds at night. What is also dangerous is that the conditions are very unhygienic, anyone is this season can get dengue and this can spread easily. People have no place to keep their belongings. How can you actually call that a dormitory?  
Now Damodar is too far for students. I know that they have a wi-fi but without a cycle or a motorbike you can't live in Damodar. I don't see the point of making a dorm there.

Raj Kumar  
Centre for Political Studies  
MA Ist.

I think everyone is talking about hostels only for votes (are you guys also contesting?... ) If they really wanted to build hostels, they would do it. I don't think anyone is interested in getting the work done. The political parties need activists and the administration does not want to spend money on new hostels. So it's a joint alliance between the two, I guess. Forget about me, a lot of students who couldn't find seniors or dorms are living outside and commuting daily for more than 20 km. All I want is that all these political parties actually build some momentum and force the administration to construct more hostels.

Abhishek Vatsa,  
Centre for French and Francophone Studies, SL. BA Ist.

I think it has been normalized in the people that getting a hostel is a privilege. Because very few people get hostels in DU or other places, a feeling develops that chalo kuchh nahi se kuchh toh achchha hai. Especially the first year students. I can say that the day I entered JNU everyone asked my rank and category and all were like kam se kam do maheene lagenge. If this trend continues I think people will set up PGs in Munirka like they have in and around DU and a nice business will flourish. But then we won't have JNU like we have it today. It will be an entirely different thing.

Anjali Maurya  
Centre for Russian Studies, SL.



# STUDENTS' MOVEMENTS HAVE A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN UPENDING THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER ENTIRELY



An interview with *Karthik Bittu*, who identifies as a genderqueer trans-boy and has been actively involved with the transgender movement.

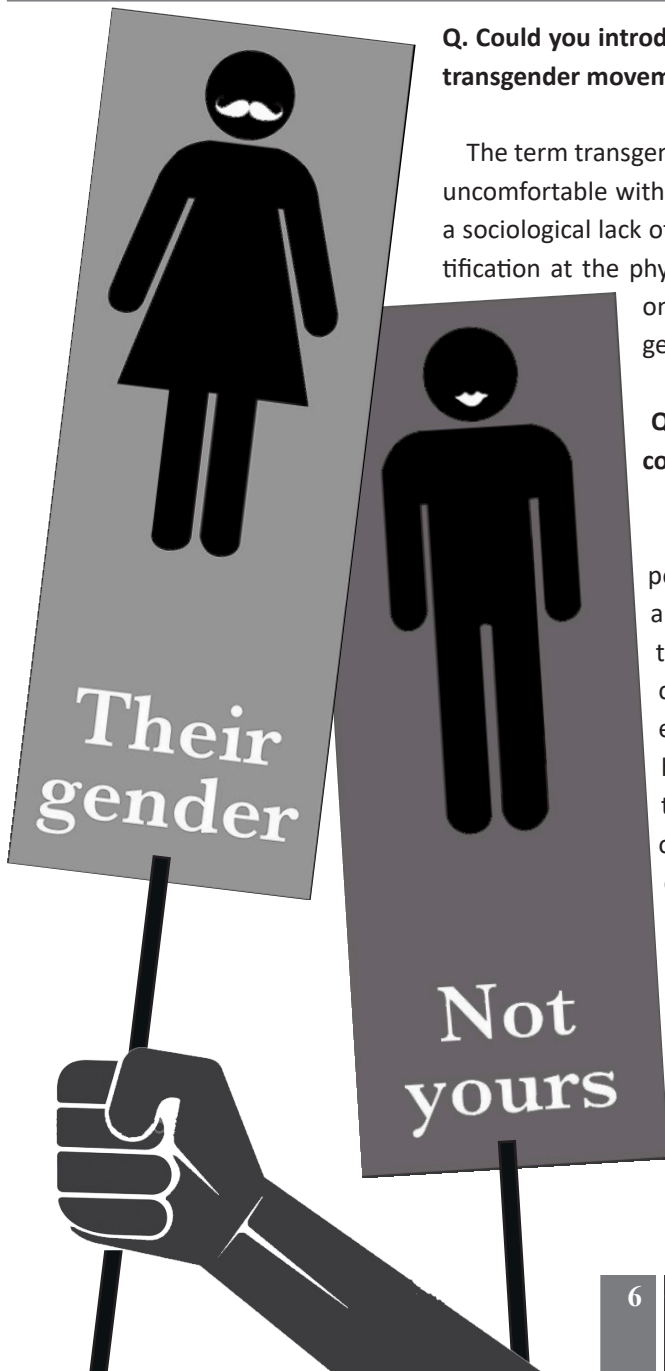
**Q. Could you introduce the term 'transgender' and explain how it has been used in the transgender movement in India?**

The term transgender, internationally speaking, is held to mean someone who is deeply uncomfortable with the gender that they were assigned at birth. Very often, this is both a sociological lack of identification with the gender assigned but also a deep lack of identification at the physical level with one's gendered body, with the way society genders one's body, or even in terms of how one self-perceives oneself as being gendered.

**Q. How do we understand the transgender movement in India and could you give a brief contemporary history of the movement?**

It relates to how the word transgender has been perceived by different people. In the context of the subcontinent we have the benefit of having a fairly robust history of transgender people being publicly visible. The traditional transgender communities which call themselves the Hijra communities in the subcontinent have a sense of their own history as extending very far back. So it's my impression from a general sense of history that the transgender movement has always existed, may have taken different forms and has had setbacks and made advances at various moments. More recently, in the context of the internet, new forms of networking have enabled minorities within the trans-community (such as transgender men and transgender boys in the subcontinent) to find existence as collectives. There are some subsets of the transgender community that are feeling themselves as a community, as a movement more so than earlier. This includes many communities of trans-women as well, in the West, among whom there hasn't been any form of organizing historically as we find in the subcontinent.

**Q. What has been the relationship of the transgender movement and the state, and what kinds of demands have been made**





## of the state?

The problem with demands partly pertains to how we understand the relationship between the state and the transgender movement overall-which I choose to locate in this traditional-old-network, which is also a network with rules, regulations and so on. This is because there probably always have been groups of people outside that network. Some of them also call themselves Hijras but are denied the use of that word by people who are firmly embedded within that traditional structure, because Hijra is not a word that simply means a trans-woman – it means a trans-woman who has joined the Hijra community through a particular process of initiation. In the

post-90s liberalization-privatization-globalization framework and in the HIV movement, a lot of money started to be directed towards trans-women sex-workers. And that has created particular fissures in this fluid realm of identification that had been set up by the more traditional movement. And those fissures are that people who are engaged in particular kinds of sex-work are more likely to be outside the havelis. And they are the group that has been mobilized by NGOs.

Kothis have also been mobilized by NGOs in the international framework of men who have sex with men (MSM), although several Kothis don't identify as men and Kothi identity can vary from "I'm a Kothi because I'm a bottom, in the context of penetrative sex" to saying "I identify as female or feminine because I'm interested in people as a woman" to just saying "even if there were no men in the world I would still identify as feminine". So that range is now cut up by NGOs into pieces for funding. A lot of people are pushed

into the MSM category although they identify themselves as Kothi community, relative to the strength of their interaction with the existing Kothi community and NGOs. Hijras, likewise. They are divided into those who are mobilized by the NGO network while those who are deeply embedded in the traditional structures still reject NGO funding and media because they live in a traditional structure which has some old property...they rent out some portion of it and live in the remaining portion of it and live simply, also do some begging but don't necessarily do sex work. They are invested in the politics of self-respect claiming that we are better off begging in a dignified way and we are not

enough. So they form a large pool of people who are dependent on the NGO and the NGO then decides what the demands are with respect to the state. No independent voice is allowed to arise from the community in a non-NGO-ized form. So demands would revolve around getting more funding for those NGOs.

**Q. When we think of the Transgender Bill, where is it emerging from – the movement or people in government policy circles?**

It is emerging from the movement. The movement is probably

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interested in portraying ourselves as victims towards either NGOs or the state. So that has been the attitude of the traditional haveli Hijras.

The people who are doing sex-work outside have largely been co-opted into the NGO structure in a way that makes them dependent on the NGOs. They get 2000-4000 a month to do their condom distribution, it's an extra source of income so they are dependent on the NGO but they can never leave sex work because the NGO doesn't give them

the strongest in Tamil Nadu. A very large number of these NGOs are run by men who are very often gay, sometimes identified as Kothi and so on, mostly from the dominant class and caste, who write a funding proposal, get money for it and administer these schemes. But a number of trans-women who have worked their way up those structures have now founded their own NGOs. And all three of the transgender bills have sought to route the state's welfare schemes through NGOs – that's been my critique of all of them. Part of the reason for this I think is also that India is starting to position itself internationally

as not underdeveloped and various forms of funding have been stopped. So there's a need for more funding and the state is seen as one possible source.

**Q. Could you give a more specific view on the latest bill which was introduced by the BJP government?**

The original bill proposed by Tiruchi Siva of the DMK had its roots in the movement in Tamil Nadu. The movement there had set up the the first Transgender Welfare Board and in general the movement for engagement with the state has been more vibrant over there. Some

Tiruchi Siva proposed that would clearly be unpalatable to a government such as the Modi government.

The first version proposed 2% reservation for trans-people. In the later versions, reservations were scrapped, educational benefits were scrapped, and a very watered down version of the bill was put up for comments in December last year (2015). Comments were sent and then the worst version was put up this year. Our comments were about how there was a complete eye-wash that there shouldn't be any discrimination, without specifying any penalty for it. The

women who work with external NGOs are behind this because people in the external NGOs are constantly irritated by the fact that the traditional haveli structures keep some of these NGOs out and in several places disrupt interactions between the state and the NGOs saying that these people are not hijras so how can you ask them to speak on our behalf. We feel that there is a need for the people outside to control the traditional structure and get back at it. They have all made statements that they are not behind it, but they are certainly not outraged about it, which is worrying. It is also the first time that I've seen any legislation around any trans-people that criminalizes begging, but not sex work. That's the clearest indication because all the people who are involved in NGO work are in sex-work too. So the fact that sex work has not been criminalized and that too by the BJP government, indicates to us that some of these forces are behind it – the forces of money, of NGO-ization and this kind of a clamp-down on the traditional structures. Another link between the NGOs and the state is that they don't necessarily want the community to progress in any way because if you deal with the source of the problem, then the NGOs have no money. The third link is Hindutva because the traditional structure has always been syncretic and has observed both Islam and Hinduism – in some cases in practice, leaning more on the Islamic side. Syncretism is always a mix, but young incoming Hijras who have been brought up in a Hindutva-ized context, sometimes come to the haveli and see this as a Muslim phenomenon and the insistence that everybody embrace both is seen as unfair. So, there is also an angle of Hindutva in terms of who chooses to stay with the NGOs.

**Q. You spoke about how there is no provision for educational benefits in the**



people have correlated that with the Self-Respect Movement and the way it recognized both gender and caste as areas in need of serious social change. Certainly there is evidence to suggest that trans-people participated in the Self-Respect Movement and that the movement recognized aspects of transgender living. So the first version of the bill definitely came from the push from Tamil Nadu. The second and third versions of the bill were brought out by the Modi government and there were several aspects of the bill that

new bill is problematic in several more ways. One is that it criminalizes begging or what it calls 'enticing to beg' with a jail sentence of six months to two years, which is quite a severe punishment. And the words 'enticing to beg' can be taken as implicating pretty much anyone in the traditional trans structures who begs and this is a possibility that is always on offer to all trans-people who don't have other forms of employment That's a very draconian provision. Some people in the traditional structure think that some trans-

**bill. How important is education – primary, secondary as well as higher education to the transgender movement? And, to extend that question, in specifically speaking of higher education, we find that within such spaces today there is a charged debate on the inclusion of marginalized communities – how do we think about the inclusion of the transgender community?**

Well I would say that in the absence of a mechanism that ensures that Hijra and transgender community people get jobs, education is pointless. And that I think is true for the education system more generally. Of course education holds some value by itself but there's a limit to what you can do with that in terms of sustaining yourself. We have a lot of trans-people in the movement who have Master's Degrees and no jobs, and who are doing sex-work – they are still doing work within the traditional structure. Higher education is also exclusionary on multiple levels, having to do with caste and class and the majority of the trans-community, like the majority of any community in the subcontinent, is working class. There is attrition of trans-people at every stage of education and if somebody has made it to higher education it usually means that they have dealt with harassment and humiliation on the way. But sometimes you have a situation where higher education starts to coincide with the age when people aren't able to take things anymore and start to transition. So people who have reached higher education are often people who act in ways that are not in conformity with the gender they have been assigned and have been teased for that but that's very different from the level of exclusion you'll face after making more willful expressions of gender identity and gender non-conformity. In that context it becomes important to think of

higher education as a site where gender non-conformity needs to be protected and where exclusions should not operate.

**Q. So do you think that student movements have a role to play?**

Absolutely. I think student movements have a role to play in everything and certainly they have a role to play in making universities more democratic but also more broadly, they have a role to play in making society less gendered. I believe also, as a neuroscientist, that we know how much cognition is affected by experience, so it becomes very difficult for all of us who have lived in a gendered world to think about how trans-identity would operate in a non-gendered world or in a less-gendered world. Having a world that's less gendered opens up the scope for how you can look, how you can behave and so on. At a social level it's always baffled me that people who are cis-gendered (a person whose self-identity conforms with the gender that corresponds to their biological sex) have not been interested in breaking the rules of gender, because these are extremely restrictive rules. So I think student movements have a very important role to play in upending the social construction of gender entirely.

**Q. Finally, if we have to generalize, and think about inclusion in a larger sense, how can we think of intersections between the transgender movement and other movements? How do you think these intersections can be forged?**

I think this answer is very specific to the particular movement -- for instance, with the anti-caste movement the connection is already very much there because the mode of hetero-patriarchy that operates here is very Brahmanical. Also, the association of traditional trans-communities

with begging, as a traditional occupation, is a very Brahmanical ordering. The combination of your gender and your resultant social class – not necessarily your birth caste – puts you into a particular form of stigmatized labour. In fact I think Brahmanism shapes a lot of ways in which trans-phobia works, the untouchability component of wanting to distance yourself from trans-people, not wanting them to live in your neighbourhoods, the politics of morality around sex-work. So there is no trans-movement without an anti-caste movement, in terms of successfully changing society, and successfully moving towards collective liberation. Also, if you just go to the network, you'll find that the majority of people are working class. In some areas, many of the senior gurus are Dalit or Bahujan. This doesn't happen everywhere but only in certain places and your seniority in community depends not on the caste and class privilege you bring in. Your dominance is a combination of your assertion and how long you have been there, how old you are, how many children you have taken in, how many people have joined your home and so on. There is a lot of Dalit-Bahujan leadership in the community and some of the intersections flow from that. Also, the trans-movement is mostly a working-class movement and so the connections with an anti-class movement are necessarily strong. And the pathologization of the trans-people by the medical community in terms of definitions of what is normal provide a possible source of intersection with the disability movement – although trans-people have rejected how they are seen as mentally unwell. That's one negative way in which the intersection has sometimes gone but it is important for trans-people to question the framework of mental health. ■

## REPORTING ON UNA MOVEMENT

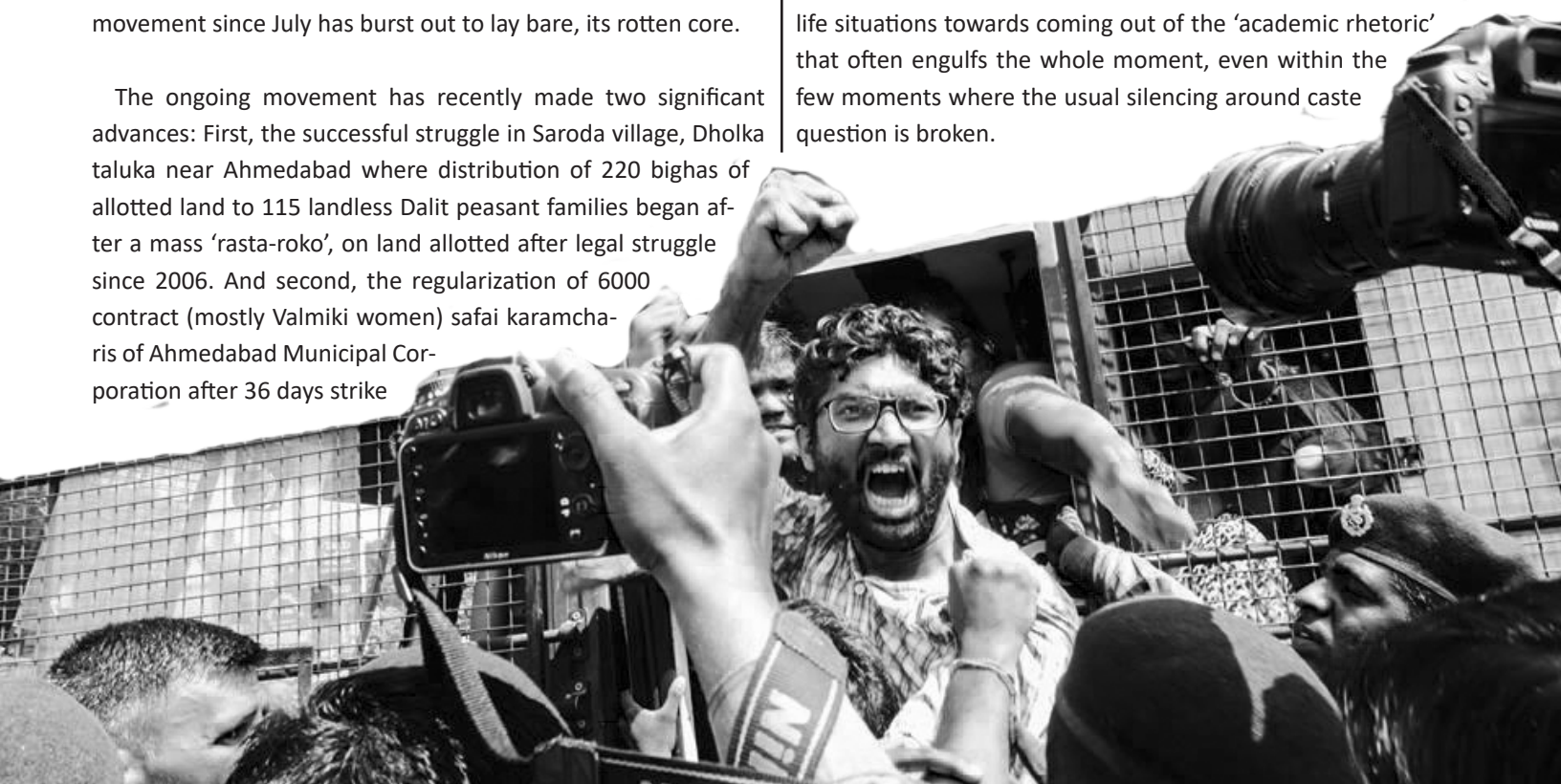
The merciless flogging and public humiliation of four Dalit youths by so-called 'gau rakshaks' in Una – in front of the Police Station, in front of the Ambedkar Statue, in front of the parents and the public – for 'skinning a dead cow' on 11th July, could just have been one of the thousands of cases of atrocities on Dalits every year in Gujarat itself. It could have been part of the 'normal' inhuman dominant caste affair, with their casteist patriarchal arrogance, their material power in the local areas and their grip in State power. But it was not. This was ensured by the outburst of mass anger on the streets, the many attempted suicides, the throwing of dead animal carcasses in front of Collectorate offices, the mass gatherings and rallies, and the slogan of this Dalit Uprising across Gujarat: 'Gai ki poonch tumhi rakho/ Hume Humari zameen do!'

Over 10,000 gathered in a Dalit Mahasammelan on 31st July in Ahmedabad, took a pledge against de-humanizing humiliating caste-based occupations enforced on Dalits, and for 10 days from 5th-15th August from Ahmedabad to Una, marched in strength in a call for 'Chalo Una'. In another assembly of around 10,000 Dalits on 15th August, the collective power of the Dalit Uprising roared its challenge to the historical and existing status-quo: stating an emphatic collective refusal to pick up dead animals, a permanent refusal of humiliating and alienating caste-based occupations, along with rejecting the 'Gujarat model'. In the 'model State' in the Hindutva laboratory thus, this radical Dalit mass movement since July has burst out to lay bare, its rotten core.

The ongoing movement has recently made two significant advances: First, the successful struggle in Saroda village, Dholka taluka near Ahmedabad where distribution of 220 bighas of allotted land to 115 landless Dalit peasant families began after a mass 'rasta-roko', on land allotted after legal struggle since 2006. And second, the regularization of 6000 contract (mostly Valmiki women) safai karamcharis of Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation after 36 days strike

and militant mass rasta-roko in Ahmedabad on 27th September. These two instances are huge advances by the force of the rising tide of the movement in a context where land alienation, resource grab and contractualization, informalization - which feeds on and consolidates existing caste hierarchies and caste-patriarchal-power - have come to be unquestionable rules by the regime, even as it plays all the communal politics of the 'Cow's tail'. The movement is at present in mid-October preparing to intensify the land struggle in Surendranagar and struggle for dignified employment in Bapunagar Ahmedabad in Gujarat itself, even as it seeks to inspire similar movements like 'Chalo Udupi' in Karnataka recently, as part of the struggle to annihilate caste.

Concerns have been raised regarding the present day relevance of the question of land, keeping in mind the un-sustainability of small holding lands and urban contexts, which the representatives of the movement have tried to answer in their ways. Concerns have been raised regarding the interrelation of left and Dalit movement, pointing towards ideological allegiances of the leadership of the movement. Concerns have been raised why the scale and kind of mobilization of Dalits that have happened during Rohith Vemula, particularly the mobilization of educated urban middle class Dalits as well as non-Dalits teachers, students, intellectual are not seen in case of Una movement. All these have created a more wide space to debate around caste and is helping to foreground the existing debates into real life situations towards coming out of the 'academic rhetoric' that often engulfs the whole moment, even within the few moments where the usual silencing around caste question is broken.



मजदूर एकता जिन्दाबाद

इंकलाब जिंदाबाद

होण्डा के मजदूरों का साथ दो

## होण्डा से निकाले गये 3500 मजदूरों की जनता से न्याय का गुहार

प्रिय क्षेत्रवासियों,

जैसा कि आप जानते हैं कि हम होण्डा टपूकड़ा के मजदूर पिछले तीन महिनें से ज्यादा होण्डा कम्पनी के अत्याचार झेल रहे हैं। आप सभी जानते हैं कि एक विदेशी कम्पनी होण्डा जो कि टपूकड़ा (अलवर) में पिछले पांच सालों से स्थित है ये कम्पनी मजदूरों की मेहनत के कारण दिनों दिन तरक्की कर रही है परन्तु अपने मजदूर को शोषित करती जा रही है। समय-समय पर इन्होंने मजदूरों को कम्पनी से निकाला पिटा व चोरी जैसे मुकदमें लगाकर मजदूरों का भविष्य खराब किया जिसकी वजह से सभी मजदूरों ने संगठित होने का फैसला लिया, 6 अगस्त 2015 को यूनियन की फाईल लगाई गई। तब से होण्डा मैनेजमेंट ने अपने अत्याचार बढ़ा दिये और दिन प्रतिदिन 10-20 मजदूरों को निकालना चालू कर दिया। फिर भी सभी मजदूर शांतिपूर्वक कार्य कर रहे थे, लेकिन हद जब हो गई थी कि 16 फरवरी को कुछ मजदूरों को कम्पनी के अंदर पिटा गया। जिसकी वजह से सारे मजदूर इकट्ठे हो गए परन्तु कम्पनी ने पूर्व रचित षडयन्त्र के तहत बाउन्सरो और पुलिस द्वारा लाठीचार्ज करके सभी मजदूरों को बाहर कर दिया।

### होण्डा प्रबंधन की दमनकारी नीत

--कम्पनी के अंदर प्रबन्धक के द्वारा मजदूरों के साथ गाली गलौच तथा मारपीट करना आम बात हो गई।

--नये लड़को को अच्छी सैलेरी और परमानेंट होना का झांसा देकर दूर दूर से लाया जाता है किन्तु एक या दो साल बाद बिना कारण बताये निकाल दिया जाता है।

--जबरदस्ती ओवरटाइम करवाना और समय पर भूगतान न करना।

--2005 में भी इस कम्पनी के मानेसर स्थित कारखाने में मजदूरों का बहुत खून बहाया गया था। और दर दर की ठोकरे खाने पर मजबूर किया था।

### जगह जगह पर लगाई न्याय की गुहार

सभी मजदूरों ने राष्ट्रपति, प्रधानमंत्री, मुख्यमंत्री, केन्द्रीय श्रम मंत्री, राज्य श्रम मंत्री, राज्यपाल एवं देश के विभिन्न जिला अधिकारियों व अन्य उच्च अधिकारियों से न्याय की अपिल की परन्तु अब तक मजदूरों को कहीं से भी इन्साफ नहीं मिला और आज 125 दिन हो जाने के कारण मजदूरों को परिवार चलाने व रोजी रोटी की दिक्कत उत्पन्न हो गई इसलिए हम सभी न्याय के लिए आम जनता की शरण में आये हैं और हम अपने परिवार सहित गुडगाँव हैड ऑफिस पर धरना देंगे। हमारा सहयोग करें।

### मजदूरों की मांगे

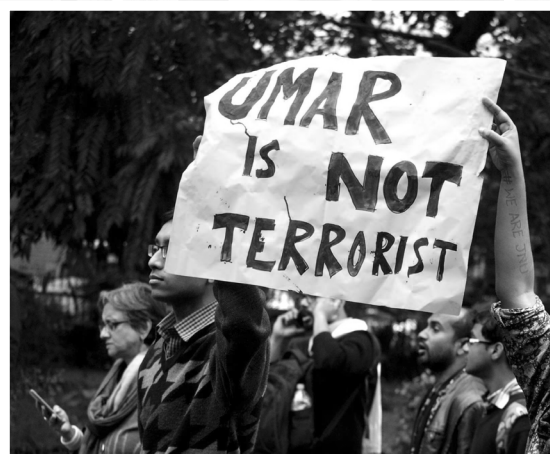
--निकाले गये मजदूरों को बिना शर्त काम पर वापस लिया जावे।

--झूठे मुकदमें वापस लिये जावे।

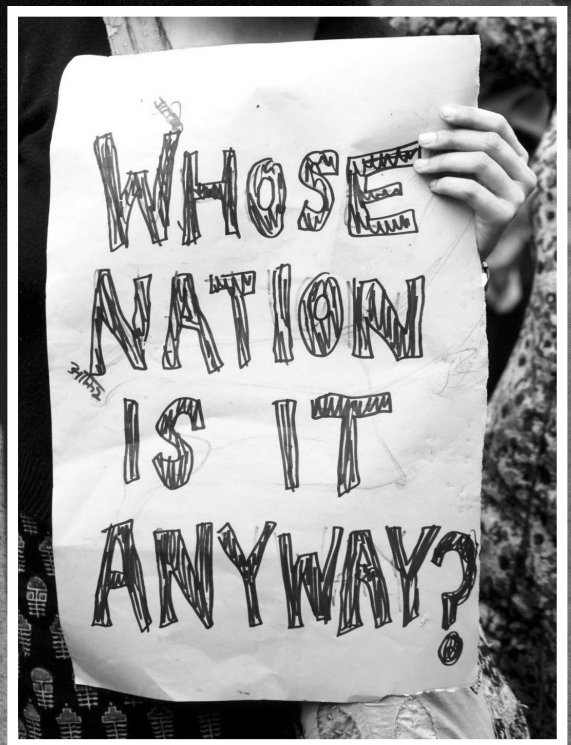
Leaflet by Honda Motorcycle & Scooter 2F Kamgar  
Samuh



# SOME GLIMPSES FROM



OM #STANDWITHJNU



For JNU

You can chew the sun here & spit it out,  
You can make the mighty eat dust,  
It is a university that we're talking about,  
Not a king's court where we must.

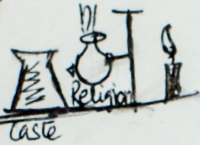
- Akhil Katyal

Ahem..!

LABORATORY OF AN EVIL SOCIAL SCIENTIST.



We have finally developed a slogan that we can use for ages, hegemonise and dominate social movements, also ignoring their context and relevance, and make them only secondary to ours!  
HUE HUE HUE HUE!!!



FEB 2016

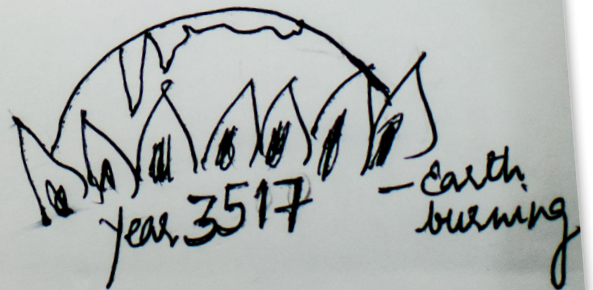
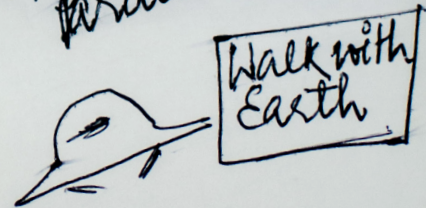
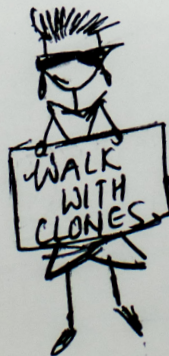


#Walk with ABE  
#Walk with XYZ  
#Walk with Parallel lines...

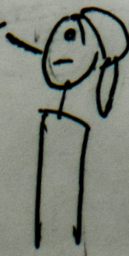
YEAR 2020



YEAR 2112



Whom all are we walking with again?



..... are we really?



## POETRY

Body

- Cheran

(Translated from Tamil

by Lakshmi Holmstrom, Sascha Ebeling)

A body by the sea,  
head split open.

In the straight glance of the eyes  
that refuse to close even in death  
there float: resistance, surprise,  
distress, struggle, agony, despair  
and an endless great dream.

समुद्र के किनारे पड़ी हुई एक लाश,  
विखंडित मस्तक।

आँखों के सामने, जितनी दूर तक दृष्टि जाती हो  
(वे आँखें जो मौत में भी बंद होने से इन्कार कर रही हैं)  
तैरता हुआ - विद्रोह, आश्चर्य, चिंतन,  
संघर्ष, क्रोध, निराशा  
और एक अनंत सपना ॥

अनुवाद: अन्तरा,  
MA, CES, JNU

नारी

हु मैं नारी यह शब्द है खाता मुझे  
मेरे मन में है झुलसाता मुझे  
मेरे तन की है कठोर  
व्यथा ना समझे तो  
समझाउ कैसे उस  
विलक्षण दोर से अब अपने आप को निकालु कैसे.  
विरान सि जिदगि है मेरी  
यह कोई समझाये मुझे  
क्योंकि लुटा हैं घर मेरा  
टुटे ख्वाबो को सजाउ कैसे  
ममता की चौखट पर लादते हुए गइ हु में  
पर मेरी ममता को चौखट पर लाया है तुमने  
विरान सि जिदगि है मेरी  
यह कोई समझाये मुझे  
काला है मन का अधेरा दिल मे चकीर हैं ठहरा  
लेकिन लाश ना बन जाउ  
उसके पहले कोई उठाए मुझे  
हु मैं नारी यह शब्द है खाता मुझे  
मेरे मन में है झुलसाता  
मुझे झुलसाता मुझे .....

मनीषा

PhD, CSMCH, JNU

Wounds by Somnath Hore

# "Academics is about power ... Some of it is very male power"

In the previous issue of *Collective*, we published the first part of an interview with *Ayesha Kidwai*, senior faculty member at the Centre for Linguistic Studies about some of the early defining moments in the formation of GSCASH. Here, we continue our conversation with her about the challenges that GSCASH faces, and its possible future trajectories.

**Q: How did the Faculty Feminist Collective (FFC) come about?**

It is always these cataclysmic events - like that 29th July attack - that precipitates such actions. Right now there is an amazing body of feminist teachers. There's the dealing with complaints of sexual harassment and all of that of course, but more importantly we see this as a body talking about feminist futures, or presents or realities through talks, through programmes - or just by being there as feminists, within an institution.

**Q: FFC had come out with a *parcha* "#NotInOurName" some time back ...**

Yeah, that was related to reports that some individuals were trying to interfere

with GSCASH cases through a public campaign. One big question for us to ask from the experience of the last 3 or 4 years is, what the role of unions and associations is in GSCASH and in the university body - because perpetrators are also their members. And frequently, the aggrieved woman is as well. So, it is a conflict of interest.

Our original conception was that, whatever conflicts you have, solve them in the GSCASH. If you disagree with the GSCASH findings, then disagree within the committee and after that, forever hold your peace. I don't think the students union plays the same role at all, because they have such a large constituency to cater to, that they can't be selfishly interested in just protecting the student. But certainly with employees, this has become a serious issue. Teachers have their voices in every institution that oversees the employment of teachers. It doesn't even have to be the teachers union; it can be the elected teachers' representative who, in the Executive Council, can start opposing the punishment you want to give. But if you say they shouldn't sit on GSCASH then that means they're never going to be educated, right? So we don't want this situation that there is something exceptional about teachers, that they'll always support harassers. I hope the FFC will play a part in democ-

ratizing, in a gender sensitive and plural manner the Teachers Union itself. "Not in Our Name" was I think our first venture in actively dissociating ourselves from a particular kind of politics which basically involves listening to a person whose voice you can already hear. And that is always the perpetrator. The anguish, the cost to the woman is rarely heard, because she doesn't want to do this public outcry. As a consequence, it is easy to portray her in a negative light- so that unlike the defendant, for the public, she doesn't have a career, she doesn't have a family, she doesn't have a wife who is crying, or a small child, she doesn't have all this. She is really absent. One achievement of the GSCASH has been that earlier people used to go after the character of the complainant, now they just go after GSCASH - it's "vindictive", "biased"... I think that's a great success!

**Q: Why do you think the guidelines that were brought out on the relation between student and supervisor are not taken seriously?**

It's appalling. Entitlement in academia and what is called 'professionalism' - these two things in an academic situation, the world over, both feed into patriarchal notions of ownership. The sense of entitlement of a teacher by which a student is expected to obey him. Add to it some feudal and caste sentiments and the teacher becomes a really pow-

erful male. Now, for such subjects, it's very easy to say 'I'm gender just! Look at my writings. Judge me by my words, not what I do. These are the qualities that I own being a great professor, great sociologist, great linguist... I encourage women, I treat them equally'. In such a situations recognizing that there is another person in the relationship, who is asymmetrically positioned but has all your abilities – the ability to make reasoned judgments, the ability to say No, the ability to do other things – this is unthinkable. One keeps

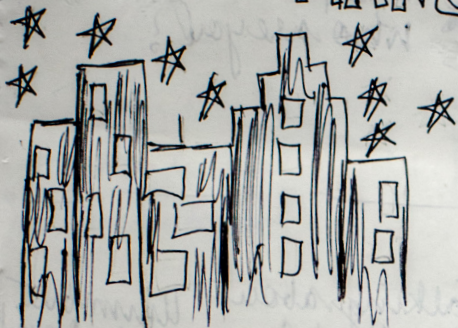
on hearing that the student is not committed to academics. Sometimes the student might be more committed to academics than the teacher. And it's not that you have rights as a consumer of education – you have rights as a human in the workplace. That's something the academia the world over does not recognise. There is insensitivity to the fact that this is a workplace situation whatever be the nature of your affective relationship. There can be great affection between the student and teacher; there can even be

great antipathy. But it's still a relationship that involves work. That's something people are not ready to admit.

Ever since these faculty cases have been brought to conclusions, they'll say 'Oh I'll have to put CCTV cameras in my office' because they believe their actions are misconstrued. This involves a construction of women in such a way that they actually should not be admitted into institutions, because they are completely hysterical! They have nothing better to

I

# ADVENTURES OF THE MANSPLAINING MAN



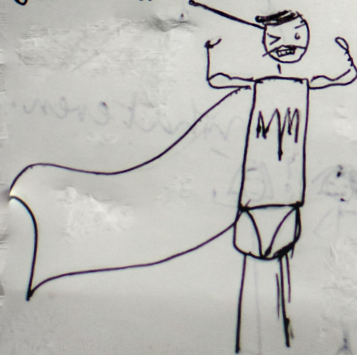
In the dead of the night...



When women can't "figure out" things...

ONE MAN COMES TO THE RESCUE

"Twice the Man"



do than make charges of sexual harassment. This invokes a patriarchal conception of women that is unspeakable. What we are seeking to do is safeguard a territory where you are in control. Academics is about power. And it's power diffused through various levels. Some of it is general power: knowing

more. Some of it is very male power.

**Q: There are also a huge number of women who have left education because of such issues, right?**

Yes, yes. At least from here they have. Especially when there are complaints against the

faculty it's very bad for the woman student because she is just isolated – she cannot talk about it to anybody – especially if the man is from the same centre as the student. Her friends would be working with that supervisor and faculty members would be asking what they know about this case. The woman feels surrounded by voices and questions and so she hides in her hostel room. And everything that happens around her, she construes as somehow pertaining to the case – you lose all balance, actually, this becomes the focus of your life – whether it goes on for two months or six months.

**Q: How can this be avoided?**

I'll tell you one way this can be avoided, and this we have to thank the History Centre, which has on at least two occasions officially forwarded the complaint of their students. However, this has always been against student perpetrators.

**Q: And there are some new recommendations that have come up as well?**

Because the rules are an open document, and now there's a Workplace Act, so you have to be in accordance with the act. GSCASH for a long time had what it called the complainant-screening procedure because many students didn't know what was sexual harassment and we used to

2

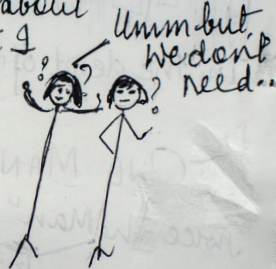
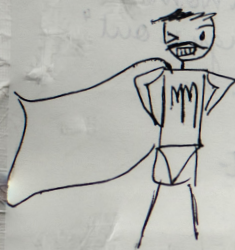
Hello ladies  
You all look perplexed.  
Need some help?



Umm, We are just talking about feminism and mansplaining but who are you?

YES! I heard you talking about some random thing that I should not concern myself with but I WILL because I AM THE

**MANSPLAINING MAN**



Umm but we don't need...

SHH.. Ladies, let me speak. I hope you know what feminism is. It is very, very fine for wome. It says it is inclusive but it doesnot consider the rights of men! Women face disscrimination, so do men! SO much pressure and repression at work and ....



whatever...

Enough of the cap.  
Let's just Leave



No fucks given

No ladies, WAIT!  
I was just coming to how much unpaid and unregistered labour men have to do AT HOME, how mansplaining is the right kind of explanation...  
Don't leave - LADIESSS...  
// // // //



3

use the screening process as a way of resolving a complaint so that the complainant could get some peace and also understand what was going on. This procedure is no longer allowed by the law, but also the JNU community doesn't need it anymore. Everybody knows what sexual harassment is, and we don't want a pre-enquiry procedure now to be the basis by which women's complaints will not be addressed. That's actually the doldrums that GSCASH was in - the pre-enquiry procedure took 2 years in some cases because the woman would be away etc. So I actually welcome this move, go straight to the enquiry! And even though the media is making such a noise, it's actually wonderful that GSCASH has had 51 complaints over 3 years which means that more and more people are saying no, don't do this - or people are being able to say "if you do this again I'll go to GSCASH", and the harassment is stopping. Because the goal of GSCASH is not to do more enquiries, it's to do less and less.

Where GSCASH does have a problem is that where it is bound by all these procedures, the bodies that take decisions on its recommendations are bound by none. The previous administration has instituted a 2 step procedure – the report is tabled at the Executive Council, then they all read it, and then they take a decision. I think that is completely inappropriate. The EC should read it in one sitting, and take a decision then. Right now, once the process finishes at GSCASH and goes to the administration, it has a hellish time. JNUTA can go campaigning against it, JNUSU can go campaigning against it, individuals can go campaigning against it, and the criterion of confidentiality doesn't apply to anyone anymore. As there are some 6 members from outside involved in the Executive Council, the facts of cases even

leave the institution. The university does not seem to understand that people who are not bound by an oath of confidentiality, whose opinions on gender justice we have no idea about – they should not be reading the report. So I must say this is a matter of great concern for me. When somebody tells me details about a sexual harassment case they are telling it to me because I'm on the GSCASH. 20 wise men and women from all corners of the world should not be seeing any of that.

plaint out of sciences generally and it's as though women are biding their time. Science establishments have to change and become more open to understanding that there are work relations and human rights involved there. Right now...quite bleak I think. Because I do not believe that they are institutions that are great havens of sexual and gender equality. Had that been the case we would have learnt something about them - their

**Where GSCASH does have a problem is that where it is bound by all these procedures, the bodies that take decisions on its recommendations are bound by none.**

**Q: What about the science schools? The work culture within the lab is so different – students are in much closer proximity to the supervisor and much more dependent because they have co-authorship of papers and so on.**

Yeah, there's no PhD if you're not in the lab. That's the problem for the science students. That if you're working in the supervisor's lab you can't leave, because it's not only your intellectual property. So it's a very difficult situation I think. From what I know I think there are no complaints at all from the science schools. I know it is very difficult to get a com-

would speak.

**Q: What makes JNU different from other universities when it comes to gender sensitivity?**

The backdrop of all this is democratisation. JNU, as an institution, is very powerful. There's a lot of respect between students and teachers on these matters. In JNU we know an institution like GSCASH can survive because there is no antipathy among teachers or students or a sense of ownership of general students. ■

practices

# इनफार्मल इकॉनमी : ज्ञान, सृजनात्मकता एवं इनोवेशन

1960 के दशक तक अर्थशास्त्रियों की यह अवधारणा थी कि भविष्य में जैसे जैसे पारम्परिक अर्थव्यवस्थाएँ आधुनिक अर्थव्यवस्थाओं में रुपान्तरित होंगी, खासकर विकासशील देशों में आधुनिक या संगठित श्रेष्ठ पारम्परिक या असंगठित श्रेष्ठ के मजदूरों को रोजगार के अवसर प्रदान करेगा। इसी अवधारणा को “the turning point” के नाम दिया गया। 1970 के दशक तक जापान, यूरोप एवं उत्तरी अमेरिका के लिए कुछ हद तक यह अवधारणा सही साबित हुई परन्तु ज्यादातर विकासशील देशों में यह “turning point” कभी नहीं आया। इसी दशक में सामाजिक वैज्ञानिकों को राज्य का नियन्त्रण सामाजिक सुरक्षा एवं रोजगार के आधार पर अर्थव्यवस्थाओं का वर्गीकरण करने में रुचि हुई। संस्थाओं, एजेंसियों और कार्य की प्रकृति के आधार पर कार्यशील समाजों को मोटे तौर पर दो रूपों में बाँटा जाने लगा- फॉर्मल एवं इनफॉर्मल क्षेत्र कहा गया। हालांकि यह वर्गीकरण (बाइनरी) पूर्णतः स्पष्ट नहीं था। ILO के अनुसार “असंगठित छेल का सम्बन्ध उन आर्थिक क्रियाओं से है जिनमें मजदूर वर्ग अपने काम को उत्पादन के विभिन्न स्तरों पर लगाए हुए है, परन्तु उसकी कोई पहचान, सम्मान एवं सुरक्षा नहीं है तथा राज्य का भी इस छेल पर नियंत्रण नहीं है”।

विकासशील देशों में एक तरफ जहाँ असंगठित छेल रोजगार एवं उत्पादन में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रखते हैं वहीं बाल मजदूरी, श्रम-कानूनो का उल्लंघन (violation) एवं पर्यावरण के प्रति संवेदनहीनता (insensitivity) आदि असंगठित छेल के अन्य लक्षण हैं। वर्तमान में असंगठित छेल policy makers और अर्थशास्त्रीयों के लिए “dilemma” के रूप में आ खड़ा हुआ है कि राज्य की ओर से इस पर नियंत्रण किया जाये या फिर रोजगार बढ़ाने, गरीबी कम करने के उपक्रम के रूप में इसे उदारपूर्ण तरीके से बढ़ाने दिया जाये।

भारतीय परिदृश्य:

कम उत्पादकता, निम्न कौशल विकास (low skill development), तकनीकी पिछड़ापन भारतीय असंगठित क्षेत्र के मुख्य लक्षण रहे हैं। यही कारण है कि जब भी असंगठित क्षेत्र या असंगठित मजदूरों के विषय पे चर्चा होती है तो सारी चर्चा इन्हीं मुद्दों तक सिमट कर रह जाती है जिससे इस क्षेत्र के लिए विस्तृत नीति-निर्माण नहीं हो पाया है। आज जहाँ भारत की 90% से ज्यादा कार्यशील आबादी असंगठित क्षेत्र

से जुड़ी हुई है और कुल घरेलू उत्पादन 60% से भी ज्यादा हिस्सेदारी है वहीं इस चर्चा को आगे बढ़ाये जाने की आवश्यकता है। मुझे लगता है ज्ञान, सृजनात्मकता एवं इनोवेशन जो इस क्षेत्र में दृश्य-अदृश्य रूप से मौजूद है उसपे और भी focus करने की आवश्यकता है।

यदि हम असंगठित क्षेत्र की सामाजिक संरचना पर नजर डालें तो पता चलेगा कि इस क्षेत्र में जुड़े मजदूर सामाजिक रूप से विस्थापित, दलित, अल्पसंख्यक, महिलाएँ एवं बच्चे हैं। इन सबका ज्यादातर हिस्सा कृषि, हतकरथा (handcraft), बुनाई, मिस्त्री व अन्य छोटे छोटे उद्योगों, दैनिक मजदूरी आदि से जुड़ा है। घरेलू स्तर पर कार्य करने वाले लोग जिसमें एक या ज्यादा परिवार साथ मिलकर उत्पादन की क्रिया में भाग लेते हैं वे इनफॉर्मल इकॉनमी का अभिन्न अंग हैं।

असंगठित क्षेत्र में ज्ञान, सृजनात्मकता एवं इनोवेशन:

असंगठित क्षेत्र में मजदूर वर्ग जिन परिस्थितियों में कार्य कर रहा है वह अत्यंत पीड़ादायक एवं कठोर स्थितियाँ हैं। इस वर्ग की दिन प्रतिदिन की समस्याएँ तक हज़ारों साल से जैसे की ऐसे ही बनी हुई है। उनका निवारण आज तक नहीं हुआ है। यह स्थिति अब और भी ज्यादा भयानक रूप तब सामने आता है जब हम भारत में असंगठित क्षेत्र का class के साथ साथ caste का चरित्र भी देखते हैं। जाती आधारिक कार्यों के इस मूल्यांकन ने श्रम के साथ साथ श्रमिकों को भी विभिन्न रूपों में बाँटा है। परन्तु खुशी की बात यह है कि अब यह वर्ग अपनी समस्याओं को खुद सुलझाने का प्रयास करने लगा है। National Innovation Foundation (NIF) जो भारत सरकार के विज्ञान एवं टेक्नोलॉजी मंत्रालय से स्वायत्त है, ने हज़ारों ऐसे इनोवेशन एवं आईडिया को आगे बढ़ाया है जो असंगठित क्षेत्र के लोगों द्वारा असंगठित क्षेत्र की दिन-प्रतिदिन की समस्याओं के निवारण के लिए किये गये हैं। यह सभी इनोवेशन एवं विचार (idea), ग्रामीणों, मजदूरों, कृषकों, महिलाओं यहाँ तक कि बच्चों द्वारा किये गए हैं। यह लोग अपने ज्ञान, सृजनात्मकता एवं इनोवेशन के द्वारा अपने आस-पास फैली लोकल समस्याओं के निवारण में मददगार भूमिका निभा रहे हैं। इन लोगों ने इस बात को प्रतिष्ठित किया है कि मजदूर सिर्फ मजदूर ही नहीं, ज्ञान, सृजनात्मकता का वाहक भी है।

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# मनमर्जी की डे-स्कॉलर

मुनीरका गाँव में मुझे रहते हुए एक साल हो गया है। इस दौरान खुद के नज़रिये में जो बदलाव देखा, उसे बताने से पहले ये बता दूँ कि मुनीरका में रहने का फैसला एक संजोग की बात थी। यह संजोग एक सोचा समझा फैसला कैसे बना वह यह आर्टिकल लिखते और इसके बारे में सोचते हुए मालूम पड़ा।

जे एन यू में एडमिशन लेने से भी पहले दिमाग में एक टेन्शन घर कर गई थी कि रहने का बंदोबस्त अब चुटकियों में ना हो पाएगा। नॉर्थ कैम्पस में तो पी-जीज़ के लाईनें लगी थीं, साऊथ देहली ठहरी अंजान रास्तों की अंजान जगह। जे एन यू में भी कोई ऐसा नहीं था कि जिसे ठोक-बजाके कह सकूँ कि, यार, थर्ड रूम-मेट बना दे, या कुछ बंदोबस्त करा दे। कोयना डॉरमिटरी का वह बेड सिर्फ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन से ही नहीं, बल्कि डी एस एफ से भी उधार लिया था। फिर अचानक एक लेट नाईट वार्डन चेक ने, और लगातार अनचाही पुलिटिकल नसीहतों ने बोरिया बिस्तर बंधवा कर खिड़की एक्स्टेन्शन शिफ्ट करा दिया, एक अपार्टमेंट में दो और लड़कियों के साथ। वह सिलसिला भी ज़्यादा दिन नहीं टिक पाया।

इस हेराफेरी में भी मुनीरका की तरफ एक बार भी मुँह मोड़कर नहीं देखा। बावजूद इसके कि वहाँ रहने का स्वाद कैसा होगा, मैंने जे एन यू एडमिशन लेने से पहले ही कुछ तीन कमरे देखकर चख लिया था। पहले कमरे में एक पी एच डी स्टूडेंट रह रहा था, अपनी किताबों के बीच टंगे गीले कपड़ों और अधूरी सी डिस्टेंशन के साथ। दूसरे कमरे में एक लड़का-लड़की अपनी ज़िंदगी एक दूसरे के साथ बाँट रहे थे। ज़रूर उस मोल के चूल्हे-चोके पर बनी चाय उस डबल मैटरस पर अपनी ख्वाहिशें ज़ाहिर करते पीते होंगे। तीसरा कमरा जब देखा उसमें कुछ ना पाया। वो लटकते हुए मकड़ी के जाले भी अजनबी अकेलेपन का एहसास दे रहे थे। उस खालीपन ने मुझे अब तक मुनीरका से दूर रखा था। मुनीरका में रहने का मतलब सब कुछ नाप सिर से शुरू करने का था। जे एन यू में कम से कम एक बेड़, साईड टेबल, बुक शेल्फ, और अलमारी तो मिलती। मुनीरका में बसना एक घर बसाने जैसा था। मुझे लगा कि मैं उसके लिए तैयार नहीं थी।

घर पे क्या कहती, कि सामने वाले कमरे में कोई लड़की रह रही होगी - इसकी कोई गैरंटी नहीं। क्या वे अपने आप से अंदाज़ा लगा लेते कि बाहर कमरा लेकर रहने का मतलब है कि लड़की के पास खुली छूट है कि जब मन करे किसी से भी मिले, कुछ भी पकाए, महीने का खर्चा अपने हिसाब से करे, चाकू-पोछा खरीदने से, पौधे उगाने से, कॉन्डम खरीदने तक की ही नहीं, पर कॉन्डम यूज़ करने तक की भी ढील है? क्या उन्हें इसका अंदाज़ा था?

शायद उन्हें यह अंदाज़ा था, इसलिए चाहते थे कि या तो मैं किसी ऐसी जगह रहूँ जहाँ और भी लड़कियाँ हों, या फिर हॉस्टल में रहूँ, वार्डनों और चौकीदारों की निगरानी में और महिलाओं के साथ। "कैम्पस तो फिर भी कैम्पस है"; "क्लास से हॉस्टल और हॉस्टल से क्लास"; "कैम्पस पर तो सब पढ़नेवाले लोग होंगे"; "कैम्पस

के अंदर अंदर रहना तो सेफ है, बढ़िया है"। बाहर रहने का मतलब: चौकसी से रहना, अपना ध्यान खुद रखना, लैन्डलॉर्ड से खुद ही निपटना, सिर्फ स्टूडेंट्स ही नहीं, बल्कि कई पेशों के लोगों के बीच में रहना। कैम्पस पर रहने के भी सौ झमेले हैं, पर पैरंट्स की नज़रों में सेफटी कैम्पस पर रहने में ज़्यादा है। छाल की पहचान को ध्यान में रखते हुए क्या ऐसा है कि फिर ज़िंदगी एक "कैम्पस" से दूसरे "कैम्पस" में शिफ्ट करते निकल जाए? वो आखरी "कैम्पस" कौन-सा होगा जहाँ इन "सेफ स्पेसिज़" की अदला-बदली रुक जाएगी? क्या इस अदला बदली पर छाल होते-होते रोक नहीं लगाई जा सकती? क्या ऐसा कहना गलत होगा कि एक लड़की के लिए "सेफ स्पेसिज़" की तलाश उसके ससुराल या उसकी शादी



जे एन यू रहते रहते भी अनेक प्रकार के इन्टरैक्शन होते, पर क्या वहाँ मेरी पहचान एक स्टूडेंट से बढ़कर होती? मुनीरका में सिर्फ एक जे एन यू स्टूडेंट ही नहीं, पर और कई पहचानों के साथ भी रह रही हूँ।

प र आकर दम तोड़ती है?

मुझे इस सवाल के बारे में नहीं सोचना था। लगता था कि पूछ के क्या फायदा, मुनीरका गाँव में परिवारवाले नहीं रहने देंगे, अकेले तो बिलकुल ही नहीं। पर हालातों ने, और जे एन यू में बनी सबसे पहली दोस्त (जो आज भी जे एन यू में सबसे प्यारी है) मुझे मेरे मन मुताबिक फैसला लेने पर मजबूर कर दिया। मुनीरका में उसके साथ रूम लेकर रहने लगी। कुछ दिनों बाद जब वह हॉस्टल में शिफ्ट हुई तो लगा कि मैं इन चार दीवारों के अंदर ही नहीं, बल्कि बाहर भी अपने मुताबिक जीवन जी सकती हूँ। मुझे समझ आया कि अगर मैं आँख मीचकर खुद पर भरोसा करके कैम्पस के बाहर रहना चाहती हूँ तो परिवार अपने आप मानेगा, और माना भी।

मेरे पढ़ने की जगह अब मेरे घर से थोड़ी कटी-कटी बन गई। मुनीरका में सिर्फ स्टूडेंट्स के साथ ही नहीं, पर और बहुत लोगों से इन्टरैक्शन बढ़ा। सामने रहनेवाली आंटी की लड़की, जिसे भी मेरी तरह पौधे उगाने का शौक है, झारखंडी आंटी की बेटी

रौशनी जो खाना डिलिवर करती है, ब्यूटि पार्लरवाली आंटी जिससे 9 फरवरी के बारे में कई बार चर्चा हुई, सूखे जोड़ से उमड़ती क्रिकेट खेलते बेफिक्र बचपन की गूँज। वह साथ जिसके हाथों में हाथ डाले कभी मुनीरका की लहरिया गलियों को देखा तो कभी वक्त के साथ बदली और नई उभरी, रंग बदलती, चौपालों में कम धूप में गुजारा करते पौधे उन्ही आँखों को दिखाए भी। और पता नहीं क्या क्या। खैर। दिलचस्प सवाल आते हैं मन में।

लिखाई पढ़ाई और रहन सहन की जगहों का आपस में टकराकर एक हो जाने का मतलब होता है? कि जहाँ आप रह रहे हैं वहाँ आप जैसे और पढ़नेवाले भी रह रहे हैं, मिलते खयालों और अनुभवों का आदान प्रदान। ये एक ऐसी चीज़ है जो खोलने के साथ साथ कुछ हद तक हमें बाँधती भी है। जे एन यू रहते रहते भी अनेक प्रकार के इन्टरैक्शन होते, पर क्या वहाँ मेरी पहचान एक स्टूडेंट से बढ़कर होती? मुनीरका

में सिर्फ एक जे एन यू स्टूडेंट ही नहीं, पर और कई पहचानों के साथ भी रह रही हूँ। हॉस्टल में रहा ही एक स्टूडेंट की हैसियत से जाता है। भतेरे खुलापन के साथ (यह खुलापन भी कैसे आदर्श और अनादर्श विद्यार्थी के घेरे में फँस के रह जाता है इसपर और लिखा जा सकता है, पर कभी और) जिसकी अपनी सीमाएँ हैं।

इस खुलेपन की आजमाईश तो तब हो जब यही खुलापन बाहर भी नसीब हो, बिना किसी शर्त के। ना मेरे नौकरी लग के अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो जाने की शर्त, ना ही मेरे शादी करके घर बसाने की शर्त, ना कोई बड़ा साथ में रहे इसकी शर्त।

इन सभी शर्तों को लाँघकर क्या अपना सा कोना इस दुनिया में खोजना नौकरी लगने, शादी हो जाने या और थोड़ा बड़ा हो जाने का मोहताज है?

Priya, MA, CES, JNU

ENCOUNTERS

## MOVEMENTS WITHIN: A LOOK AT THE REASONS BEHIND THE RECENT AGITATION BY SECURITY GUARDS ON CAMPUS

At around 5:30 am on 27 August, JNU security officer Suraj Prakash found BS Singh, a guard posted in the Paschimabad area, using his phone while on duty. As a 17-year veteran of G4S, the world's largest private security company, which was contracted by the university last year, Singh knew that using a phone was against the rules, that being caught doing so entailed a fine of Rs 1,400—four days' salary. But he didn't expect the brutal form his punishment would take.

the back of Singh's head, sending his mobile flying. As the guard turned around to protest, Prakash kicked the phone out of his reach and slapped him. Blood started streaming from Singh's nose. He grabbed the security officer's hands to prevent further assault. Prakash called out to Parveen Kumar, a supervisor with G4S. The two pinned Singh against a wall, taking turns to beat him up. When Singh attempted to file a police complaint, Prakash and Kumar threatened him with termination. It was

only when the JNU Stu-

Without a word of warning, Prakash hit





dents' Union mobilized support that the police lodged an FIR. Kumar was transferred away from JNU by G4S, while Prakash was sent on administrative leave until after the JNUSU election.

This assault was no anomaly. RK Patel, another G4S guard posted on campus, who has been most vocal about the oppression they face, alleges that Prakash has beaten up at least three other guards, who were then reassigned away from JNU to prevent them from speaking out. He is also known for arbitrarily inflicting demeaning punishments, such as making any guard he finds sitting while on duty run three circles around the building

to which they are assigned. There were cases filed against him last year with the Gender Sensitivity Committee Against Sexual Harassment, fol-

lowing which he had been suspended for six months, but he was brought back soon after vice-chancellor Jagadesh Kumar took charge.

The life of a security guard at JNU is not as easy... You are paid Rs 350 a day, which comes to some Rs 9,600 a month after deductions, barely enough to raise a family, leaving no savings for emergency expenditure. Some of the guards take second jobs to cope, but if the officers find out, they allocate shifts in a way that makes it impossible to do both jobs. If you happen to doze off because of the heavy workload, you're fined Rs 1,400. If you need to use the bathroom but can't find another guard to cover for you, you're fined Rs 1,400. If you don't salute an officer, you're suspended for three days. It gets worse if, unlike 90 percent of the guards and officers, you're not from Haryana; Patel alleges rampant regionalism by G4S management, who treat employees from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as inferior.

These conditions are perpetuated using the same tool employers all over the world used to disenfranchise workers in our time—a reliance on precarious contract employment, which prevents unionization and allows G4S to cajole and threaten its employees into submission. The unity among the guards after the 27 August incident has been eroded by appealing to region-

alism, as well as by raising the bogey that G4S's contract with JNU would be broken if they get too militant. Management has also prepared lists of the most outspoken guards, and is looking for any reason to oust them from campus.

Patel can be found most days on duty at the north gate, where he is made to stand for the entirety of his eight-hour shifts, with no breaks. He is convinced that if he is not transferred out before then, he is likely to spend most of the winter posted behind Brahmputra Hostel, the coldest spot on campus. BS Singh faces constant threats of transfer or termination; it is only because

the students took up his case that the management is reluctant to follow up on the threats.

For a university that claims to be

committed to ideals of social justice, it is incongruous to find G4S assigned to provide security at JNU. The company was, after all, nominated for Public Eye's World's Worst Company award for the many human rights violations carried out by its employees all over the world. These violations occur because of the company's questionable hiring practices, as a result of which poorly trained guards are made to work in appalling conditions for poverty wages. A 2012 investigation into G4S's labour policies in India by the UNI Global union accused the security firm of underpaying overtime, shortchanging pensions through creative accounting, lacking any job security, stifling dissent and a daily routine of poor conditions and humiliation.

Since the guards' employment is tied to G4S's contract at JNU, cancelling it might prove counter-productive. (However, many of the guards who worked for SIS were retained when that company's contract wasn't renewed, and the same could be done now.) What students can and should push for is for restraining the abusive behavior of security officers like Suraj Prakash as well as improving the conditions under which guards are forced to work. The protesting guards have repeatedly expressed their admiration for the concern JNU students show for the rights of the working poor. It is our duty to live up to their expectations.

**The life of a security guard at JNU is not as easy... You are paid Rs 350 a day, which comes to some Rs 9,600 a month after deductions, barely enough to raise a family, leaving no savings for emergency expenditure...It gets worse if, unlike 90 percent of the guards and officers, you're not from Haryana; Patel alleges rampant regionalism by G4S management, who treat employees from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as inferior**

## छात्र राजनीति में निर्णय लेने में भागेदारी: सामान्य छात्र, व्यक्ति और संगठन

छात्रों के बीच कुछ बातें प्रचलित हो चली हैं, जैसे कि 'राजनीति और राजनैतिक संगठन अपने आप में बुरे होते हैं, और खास तौर पर यूनिवर्सिटी में इनसे दूर ही रहना चाहिए'. मगर यह भी सच है कि अगर वास्तव में हम अपने लिए या दूसरों के लिए कुछ बदलाव चाहते हैं और कुछ बदलावों की जरूरत महसूस करते हैं तो सक्रिय भागीदारी की भी जरूरत है. यह जटिलता छात्र राजनीति के लिए कुछ बुनियादी और गंभीर सवाल पेश कर रही हैं. एक स्तर पर कुछ चर्चा और चिंतन की जरूरत भी महसूस हो रही है. एक प्रस्ताव है कि हम सब पीछे मुड़कर गौर करें कि हम लोगों ने किन आधार पर और किन प्रक्रियाओं से अपने आप को अब तक संगठित किया है? क्या एक सामान्य छात्र इस राजनीति से अपने आप को अलग थलग और

आन्दोलन, रायगढ़, नियमगिरी, कुडनकुलम के आन्दोलन इत्यादि. इन आन्दोलनों में लोगों ने आन्दोलन के अलग अलग रूप अपनाये. रोजाना आन्दोलन में आने वाले, लड़ने वाले और उसे आगे ले जाने वाले लोग जरूरी तौर पर किसी एक पार्टी के झंडे या निर्देश के अधीन नहीं थे. इनमें से बहुत सारे आंदोलनों को 'people's committee' द्वारा संचालित किया गया और लड़ा गया, जो कि किसी एक निर्धारित संगठन तक सीमित नहीं था. अगर हम मजदूर आंदोलन की भी बात करें तो पिछले एक दौर में नए औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में, अनेक सक्रिय आंदोलन स्वतंत्र रूप से लामबंद हुए हैं. यहाँ पर मजदूर अपने आन्दोलन अफसरशाही या पार्टी निर्देशित केन्द्रीय ट्रेड यूनियन के बाहर जाकर लड़ रहे हैं. अंतराष्ट्रीय स्तर पर भी देखा जाए तो अमेरिका में 'occupy wall street movement', लैटिन अमेरिका में जनतांत्रिक संघर्ष, चिली में छात्र आंदोलन आदि जनांदोलनों को मौलिक रूप से लोकतांत्रिक बनाने की कोशिश की जा रही है.

यहाँ एक स्पष्टीकरण की जरूरत है – इन आन्दोलनों का उल्लेख करने के पीछे हमारी मनसा ये साबित करना नहीं है कि संगठित 'पार्टी' या 'संगठन' निष्क्रिय या 'out of fashion' हो गए हैं. हम यह कहने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि ऊपर उल्लेख किये गए आन्दोलन संगठित होने और हिस्सेदारी बढ़ने के अलग अलग और नई दिशाओं की ओर इशारा करते हैं. हमें जकड़ कर रखने वाले सिस्टम के खिलाफ लड़ने के लिए और बदलाव ला पाने के लिए अपने संगठित होने के अन्य विकल्पों के बारे में और गहराई से चिंतन करने की ओर इशारा करते हैं. बनी बनाई पद्धतियों से बाहर जाकर संघर्ष के जमीनी स्तर से आन्दोलनों की दिशा को गहराई से जानने और तय करने की जरूरत है.

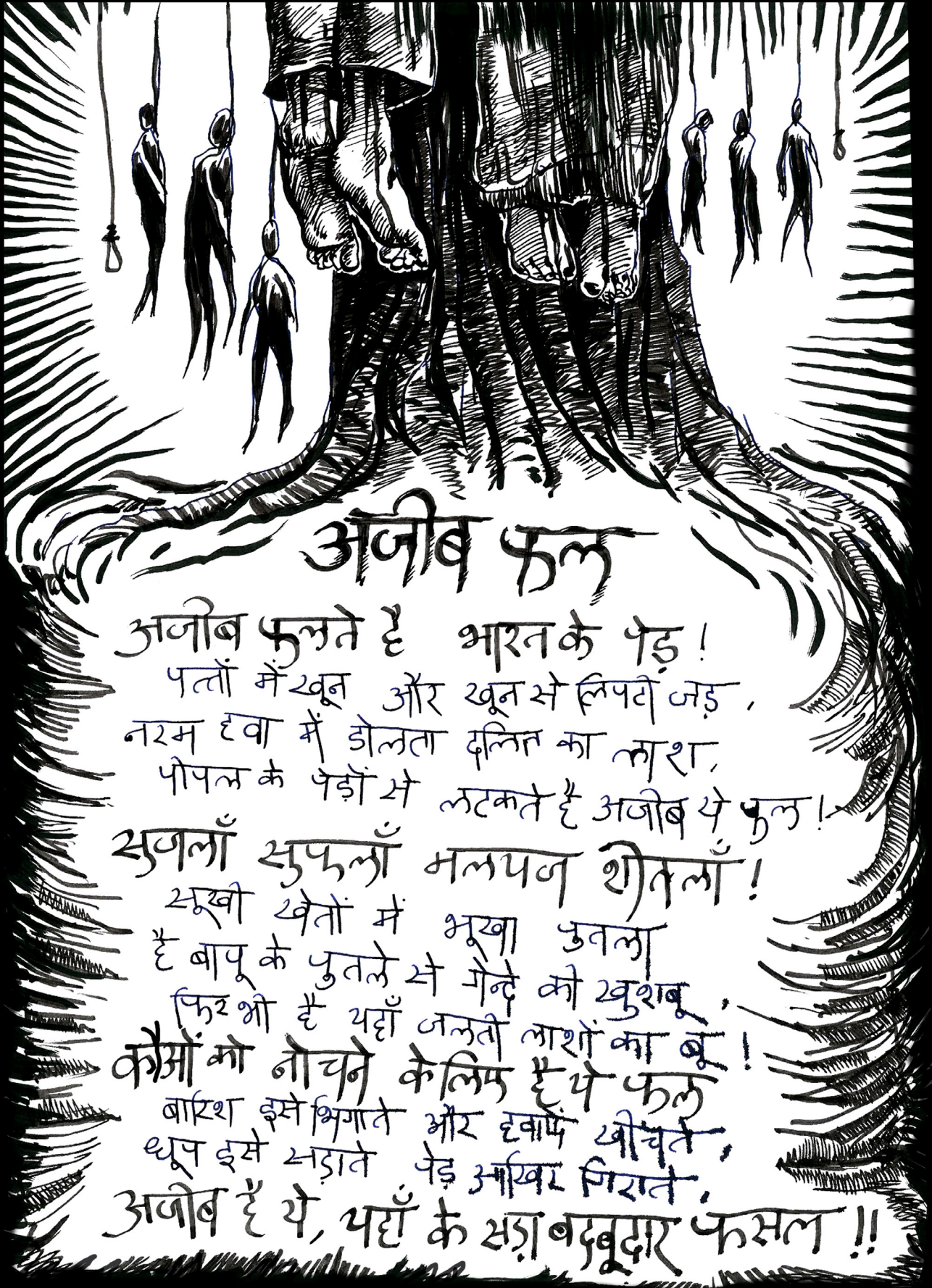
अगर हम अपने ही कैम्पस की बात करें तो यहाँ आमतौर पर हमारे आन्दोलनों के निर्णय JNUSU के office bearers लेते हैं, जो वास्तविकता में प्रमुख संगठन या संगठनों का निर्णय होता है. हमारा मानना है कि हमारे आंदोलन में अधिकांश छात्रों की भूमिका पूर्व निर्धारित निर्देशों के निर्वाहक से ज्यादा होनी चाहिए. आंदोलनों के हर एक मोड़ पर हमेशा 'all-Org' या 'council-meetings' पर्याप्त साबित नहीं होता, अलग अलग छात्रों के विभिन्न सुझावों और विचारों को शामिल करने में. इन meetings के साथ साथ आन्दोलन में नियमित आने वाले सामान्य छात्रों के विचारों को जानने और सम्मिलित करने के लिए और व्यापक और 'inclusive' उपायों के बारे में सोचना होगा. अगर मत-भेद भी हो तो उन पर गंभीरता से जनतांत्रिक तरीके से सोचा जाए, ऐसा करने पर सभी सक्रिय भूमिका के साथ हिस्सेदारी में आ पाएंगे.

हमें लगता है कि 'Open House' या ऐसे दूसरे classroom या centre level पर, जनतांत्रिक तरीकों से आंदोलनों की रूप-रेखा या छात्रों के भागीदारी के अलग अलग मुमकिन स्वरूपों पर चर्चा की जाए तो व्यक्तिगत और सामूहिक पहलकदमी बढ़ पायेगी और छात्र सामूहिकता का एक बेहतर आधार बन पायेगा. जैसे कि इसी कैम्पस में हमने 'deprivation point' के बदलाव के दौरान 'public deliberation' और 'open house' की प्रक्रियाओं से छात्रों को सम्मिलित बदलाव हासिल करते हुए देखा है. हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि जनतांत्रिक बातचीत और निर्णय लेने में भागेदारी बढ़ाने से कैम्पस और कैम्पस के बाहर हर दिन के आंदोलनों को और मजबूत दशा और दिशा मिल पायेगी.

कटा हुआ तो महसूस नहीं करता? आने वाले समय में हम अपने आप को संगठित होने के लिए किस तरह प्रेरित कर सकते हैं? क्या हमें और 'bottom-up' प्रक्रियाओं में और जमीनी स्तर से आन्दोलन करने के या संगठित होने के गणतान्त्रिक उपायों पर ज्यादा ध्यान और समर्थन देने की जरूरत है? केवल सोच माल के स्तर पर ही नहीं, बल्कि व्यवहारिक तौर पर भी क्या हम संगठित होने के दूसरे रचनात्मक तरीके सोच सकते हैं जहाँ अधिकांश छात्रों को केवल माल किसी पूर्वनिर्धारित 'सही राजनीतिक रास्ते' का मूक श्रोता या उपभोगता न समझा जाए? उसे केवल पहले से तय किये गए 'निर्देशों' का निर्वाह करने का माध्यम ना समझा जाए, बल्कि अलग अलग छात्रों के स्वतंत्र जीवित सोच को विकसित होने का अवसर मिले? क्या हम ऐसे उपयुक्त मंचों का निर्माण कर सकते हैं जिसके माध्यम से राजनीतिक पहल लेने में सभी छात्रों की सक्रिय भागीदारी बढ़ पाए?

हमारे सामने देश विदेश के अनेकों ऐसे स्वतंत्र राजनैतिक पहल और आंदोलनों के मिसाल हैं जहाँ आंदोलन किसी एक पार्टी या संगठन के बैनर के तले नहीं किया गया है. लोगों ने इस तरह के आंदोलनों में बढ़-चढ़ कर हिस्सा लिया है और अपनी लड़ाईयाँ खुद लड़ी हैं. हमारे पास हाल फिलहाल के बहुत सारे उदाहरण हैं, जैसे अगर छात्र आन्दोलन की बात करें तो जादवपुर यूनिवर्सिटी में #hokolorob आन्दोलन, पुणे में FTII, राँची यूनिवर्सिटी, सिक्किम यूनिवर्सिटी, या IIT रुड़की के आन्दोलन, या देखा जाए तो 16 दिसम्बर की घटना को लेकर दिल्ली में 'anti-rape आन्दोलन', 'kiss of love', सिंगुर-नंदीग्राम-लालगढ़ का संग्राम, जगतसिंहपुर में 'anti-Posco





## अजीब फल

अजीब फलते हैं भारत के पेड़ !  
पत्तों में खून और खून से लिपटी जड़,  
नरम दवा में डोलता दलित का लश्कर,  
पीपल के पेड़ों से लटकते हैं अजीब ये फल !

सुपनाँ सुपनाँ मलपज शीतलाँ !  
भूखी खेतों में भूखा कुतला

हैं बापू के पुतले से गैरे को खुशबू,  
फिर भी हैं यहाँ जलती लशों का बूँ !

कौआँ को नोचने के लिए हैं ये फल !

बारिश इसे भिगाते और दवापें खींचते,  
धूप इसे सड़ाते पेड़ आखिर गिराते,

अजीब हैं ये, यहाँ के सड़ा बूढ़ेदार फसल !!