

COMMUNALISM AND WOMEN THROUGH A LENS OF MIXED MARRIAGES: CASE STUDIES FROM POST-1980 INDIA

A Thesis Submitted to

**Tilak Maharashtra University, Pune
For the degree of M. Phil
Sociology**

Under the Faculty of Social Sciences

By

Sumati Unkule

Under the Guidance of

Dr. Robin Tribhuvan

June, 2009

Statement by the Candidate

I hereby declare that, this dissertation is a bonafide record of research work carried out by me and that no part of the dissertation has been presented earlier for any degree, diploma or similar title of any other University.

Signature of Candidate,

Sumati Unkule
(Research Student)

Date: June, 2009

Place: Pune

CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that, the dissertation entitled “*Communalism and Gender through a Lens of Mixed Marriages: Case Studies from Post-1980 India*” submitted by Ms. Sumati Unkule was carried out by candidate under my supervision. Such material as has been obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged in the dissertation. To the best of my knowledge and belief the work incorporated in this thesis has not formed the basis for the award of any Degree or similar title of this or any other University or examining body.

Place: Pune

Date: June, 2009

Dr. Robin Tribhuvan
(Research Guide)

AFFIDAVIT

I, Ms. Sumati Unkule, solemnly declare that this dissertation titled “***Communalism and Gender through a Lens of Mixed Marriages: Case Studies from Post-1980 India***” which I am submitting to Tilak Maharashtra University for my M. Phil degree, has been entirely prepared by me. All the information included in this dissertation is mine. Wherever, I have borrowed from other sources such journals, books, and articles and among others, I have acknowledged the same in the dissertation duly.

Dr. Robin Tribhuvan
(Research Guide)

Ms. Sumati Unkule
(Research Student)

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I thank my guide Dr. Robin Tribhuvan, without whom this research would not have been what it is. His constant support and his nature to remain open to ideas have made this research journey very smooth and enjoyable. He has supported me in every possible way.

I thank Dr. Anupama Keskar, the Head of Sociology Department, Tilak Maharashtra University. She was generous enough to give me her valuable time and I benefited immensely from the discussions with her.

I also thank Vishal Jadhav, lecturer of Tilak Maharashtra University for his constant support and friendship.

Dr. Shurti Tambe from University of Pune extended her support to me whenever I needed. The feeling that I have someone to lean on was reassuring. She has always been an inspiration in my life.

I owe special thanks to Anurekha Chari who not only taught me Sociology of Gender in my post-graduation but was able to generate life long interest in gender issues.

I was fortunate to work closely with Manisha Gupte on issues of communalism, fundamentalism and gender. Her generosity and her quality of being open to ideas were of great inspiration to me.

The discussions with Anagha Tambe, Anil Sapkal, Lata Bhise, Sunita Pande, and Swati Dehadroy have helped me to think systematically about range of issues discussed here.

I thank libraries of Tilak Maharashtra University, Women Studies Centre, MASUM, Aalochana, St. Mira's College Library and Shurti Mam's personal library. The librarians of these libraries were ever ready to offer their help which facilitated my work.

I take this opportunity to formally thank my friends Mayuri, Naganath, and Surabhi with whom I had lively discussions which made this research journey enjoyable and more meaningful. I thank Neel for believing in me and keeping me in spirits.

Thanking my family members will be like thanking the air one breathes. They have stood by me at every step in my life, at times, even if they did not agree with what I did. My Papa and my *Aai* has been a constant encouragement in my life. My father always said 'fear not, come what may' has been at the back of my mind when I write about issues like gender and communalism. My mother is someone from whom I am still trying to learn the art of perfection. I thank dearest Aseem for being with me. He is someone from whom I have learnt to be open to ideas and to life. I thank Smita, Milind, Amruta, Vikas, Sonali, Rohit and dearest Shantanu and dearest Tanmay for their wholehearted support.

Thanks are due to all my new family members, especially Archana Tribhuvan, my mother in law, Amit, Smita, and Anurata for their wholehearted support and love.

Sumati Unkule

Index

Statement by the Candidate

Certification

Affidavit

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1. Introduction

- 1.1. Introduction
- 1.2. Research Questions
- 1.3. The Present Context
- 1.4. Interrelationship between Communalism, Globalization and Mixed marriages
- 1.5. Why target the institution of marriage?
- 1.6. Concepts and their Brief History
- 1.7. Importance of this study
- 1.8. What made me choose this topic?
- 1.9. Chapter Scheme

Chapter 2. Literature Review & Methodology

- 2.1. Literature Review
- 2.2. Theoretical Tradition
- 2.3. Methodology

Chapter 3 Case Study Presentation : Communalism and Women

- 3.1. Case Study I
- 3.2. Case Study II
- 3.3. Case Study III

Chapter 4 Case Study Analysis: Communalism and Women

- 4.1. Introduction
- 4.2. Violation of Constitutional and Human Right by the Government
- 4.3. Media
- 4.4. Police
- 4.5 Communalists
- 4.6. Wider Implications for Women's Sexuality

Chapter 5 Mixed Marriages and Day to Day Life Situations

- 5.1. Introduction
- 5.2. Methodology
- 5.3. Data Presentation
- 5.4. Discussions
- 5.5. Conclusions

Chapter 6... Conclusions

- 6.1. Conclusions
- 6.2. Further Research Agenda
- 6.3. Challenges and Strategies

Appendix 1

Appendix 2

References

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

In the past two decades of 1980s and 90s of Indian society, a phenomenon which cannot go unnoticed is the resurgence and consolidation of Hindu communalist forces. These communalist forces have now entrenched the social-political-economic and cultural arena and have completely altered the milieu of Indian society. These forces are rapidly gaining wide space in public and private lives of people in India. As a result of this the US Commission on International Religious Freedom has designated India as a 'country of particular concern'. All these changes have particular repercussions for women.

Women have always been at the center of communalist agenda. Rather, communalism can exist only if communalists successfully gain firm control over the womenfolk. Controlling womenfolk is significant because it is the 'only' means by which 'purity' of a community is and can be maintained. In other words, this also means that to maintain 'purity' of any community, it is important that marriages in that community (thus also in other communities) must conform to the rules of endogamy.

In India, as in every other society, the institution of marriage has been an important instrument of maintaining caste, religious, class and community boundaries. Recently, with an increase (though very slightly as per the statistics) in inter-caste- inter religious marriages in both rural and urban India, one witnesses increasing dissent over all forms of marriages which transgress the rules of endogamy. Though dissent against such marriages is not a new phenomenon, it is crucial to understand this phenomenon in the post 1980s context. The post 1980s period is significant in various ways like it marks the advent of globalization and also consolidation of communalist forces. Such marriages, dissent against them have particular repercussions for women both in particular and larger context.

1.2. Research Questions

Therefore, in this study I attempt to examine the relation between women and communalism in India using a lens of mixed marriages. In this study I ask following questions. How does communalism affect women in general? How has the resurgence of communalism affected the institution of marriage especially after 1980s? Why are mixed marriages increasingly targeted by the communalist groups? What are the implications of increasing presence of state in an institution of marriage? What are the strategies used by the communalists to target the mixed marriages? What have been the role played by the state, media, police, and general public in case of such marriages? And at broader level, what implications do communalism has on women generally, and particularly in the area of her sexuality? Also, what are the day to day life situations faced by such couples in mixed marriages? What 'complexities' they have to face while raising their children.

1.3. The Present Context

The year 1980s can be considered as watershed period in the history of India for it signals the beginning of three significant phenomenon which has had far reaching impact on every aspect of Indian society. Firstly, it marks the beginning of resurgence of Hindu communalist forces, secondly, it is also the year when the process of LPG, *i.e.*, Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization began in India and thirdly, it is the period which signaled the beginning of aggressive caste-based politics [Saheli (2007)] which led to fragmentation of the polity as well as strong assertion of identity and demands by hitherto marginalised communities. This also coincides with the rise of fundamentalism all over the world [Chhachhi (1988)].

In this study my focus is on communalism and globalization, though the rise of caste based politics cannot be ignored.

1.4. Interrelationship between Communalism, Globalization and Mixed marriages

It is not incidental that these three phenomena emerged at a specific juncture of history in 1980s; rather, all these three phenomena form a synergetic relationship. They are innately related with each other. Let me elaborate this relation between these briefly.

Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG), though primarily considered as an economic phenomenon, have various far reaching implications in the socio-cultural-political areas of people's lives. The changes ushered in by globalization are rapid, wide-ranging, and enormous that it is impossible to comprehend the reality. All this leads to an increasing sense of anxiety and stress among people. This makes one feel insignificant and they react by clinging to their 'so-called' identities like caste, religion, race etc. As a result of this, one is witnessing resurgence of pre-modern identities like caste, religion, and ethnicity which has resulted in conflict like situations in every nook and corner of the world.

In case of India, as a result of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) followed with LPG, the State has started withdrawing from its welfare responsibilities. This has led to discontent among the people. So to divert the attention of the people from the 'real' issues of poverty, inequality, lack of medical care, unemployment etc communalists take advantage of people's anxieties and identity issues are brought forth. The resurgence of the present phase of communalism is considered as one of the socio-cultural-political effect of globalization on Indian society. Not only does globalization remain as one of the major cause of resurgence of communalism, but they both form a synergetic relation [Sarkar Sumit (2002), K.N. Panikkar (1999), Brinda Karat (2004)].

The phase of globalization, resurgence of communalism, and rise of caste based politics, all have had a far reaching impact on Indian society and lives of Indian people. Women in India are affected in particular way. The works by different feminist scholars like Patel Vibhuti (2004), Brinda Karat (2004), Kapur and Cossman (1995), Sarkar Tanika (1999, 1995, 1989), Chhachhi Amrita (1988) have demonstrates how communalism has

effected women in India. They all have argued that women become the prime victim of communalism as sexuality of women gets further redefined, and women's bodies remain arena of settling scores in the context of communal violence.

The process of globalization too, has not only affected women in the form of feminization and casualization of labor forces, feminization of poverty etc [Jhabvala (2002)] but the process of globalization itself is a gendered process [Swaminathan, (2007), Parrenas (2001)]. For women, implications of globalization ironically seem to be anti-modern. For women, globalization is a double-edged sword. Though women (of certain strata) has certainly benefited from globalization in various ways, still if one review characterizations in media, unorganized labour scenario and higher education we see a very different reality. In case of media a closer scrutiny of the characters reveals that they are just an extension of the traditional roles prescribed to women. The portrayals are always in the form of binary opposites: either as tradition abiding 'good' women-performing all kinds of religious rituals with more vigour and conservatism, or they are depicted as 'modern' women in the form of a vamp. In case of unorganized labour market, feminist economists have amply proved that there is more feminization and casualization of labor force. Higher education has become so expensive that first to get deprived is the girl-child.

In the wake of aggressive caste based politics too women are the prime victim. In case of India, the dimension of caste adds to the plight of women. As it is believed, that the purity of caste, race or ethnicity can be maintained only by controlling women especially, her reproductive powers, more restrictions are placed on her. Dr. Ambedkar has aptly said, 'women are the gateway to caste'. Also, women are not a single category. Any woman's status depends on caste, class, and religion. Higher the caste, more are the restrictions imposed upon her. Her status depends also on whether she has a husband, whether she is deserted, divorced, or is a widow; it also depends on whether she has children and most importantly a son. Thus, it does not depend on who she is but gets defined by her father, brother, husband and son, in other words men in her life.

Thus, today the women are caught up between the three powerful forces of communalism, globalization and aggressive caste based politics. These forces not only hamper the development of women, but they have slowly wiped out the achievements made by the women's movement since 1970s. According to Karat Brinda (2004) the years of reform have hardly enhanced women's status: on the contrary they have strengthened systems that subordinate and demean women. Chhachhi Amrita (1998) too in her early writings argues that there has been a shift away from even the liberal rhetoric of equal rights for women and laws have been passed to withdraw the legal and political rights which women already had won. These developments she states are linked with the broader process of economic and political changes which have laid the basis for religious fundamentalist groups to grow, as well as for the support to these tendencies by the governments in these countries.

1.5. Why Target the Institution of Marriage?

The social institution of marriage serves as a barometer to understand the stage of 'development' of society. The Indian marriage scenario today, once again illustrates that Indian society has changed only superficially but deep down, it is the same closed, conservative, caste-based society.

The communalists are not religious minded people but they make use of religion to fulfill their personal, political and economic ambitions. Their power depends on the number of people in their community. They cannot exist if their community, caste or religion ceases to exist. Existence of any community, caste or religion depends upon the women in that community *i.e.*, upon the reproductive powers of women. Therefore it is important that *only* endogamous marriages are practiced in that particular community. Dr. Ambedkar has rightly pointed out that, "Women are the gateway to the caste system." A purity of community, caste, or religion can be maintained only by controlling the reproductive powers of women in those particular groups. No community can exist if inter-community marriages start taking place on large scale. Thus, it is no wonder that there is increasing dissent and violence against the mixed- marriages taking place in India today.

Also, there is whole politics and economics around the institution of marriage. According to Prem Choudhary (2006) marriage stands at the heart of the kinship system that gives the caste system its basic structure. Kinship linkages provided by marriage, and legitimacy and relations established through marriage, give a caste group its strength, recognition and leverage in wider society and policy, and in fact to the very process of production and political economy. Both production and reproduction need to be controlled as autonomous reproduction spells danger. This means that reproduction is inextricably linked not only to its cultural life but also, importantly to the political economy of the communities. Such crucial structural linkages necessitate close surveillance of marital alliances. Any breach in these prescribed marital linkages alters the familial and kinship support structure of production, changing status not only the immediate family, the clan but the entire caste group.

The communalists perceive inter-community marriages as a danger for their survival. To combat this, they follow a multi-thronged policy to enforce endogamous marriages. They follow various tactics right from ideologically insisting on endogamous marriages to violently coercing them. A pamphlet distributed by Babu Bajrangi's Navchetan Trust, a communal organization which calls itself a 'social work organization', stated, 'If you rescue one girl, it is the same as saving 100 cows. One daughter equals 100 holy cows'.

No study of India is complete without analysing how the institution of caste works in a specific context. The aggressive caste based politics too depends on the 'numbers' in their castes. This too impinges on the sexuality of women. Recently, in January 2009, 5th Multilingual Conference of all India Brahmins was organized at Bhugaon, Maharashtra. At the end of the conference 5 point programmes was announced in which one point was Brahmin girls should not marry non-Brahmin boys. Today, thus, the consolidation of religious and community identity has a direct impact on women's decisions about if, when and whom to marry.

This rise of dissent against such marriages is not only restricted to rural areas but are increasingly happening in urban areas too. For instance, both the cases studied here that of Priyanka Vadhvani- Omer Mohammed (Bhopal) and even Rizwanur Mohammed-Priyanka Todi (Kolkatta) belonged to urban areas. Rather, Kolkatta is conceived as the most progressive city in India. This rise in such dissent against such marriages in urban areas is significant for various reasons. Urban areas are perceived as resort for the couples in rural areas. Study of such marriages in rural areas illustrate the fact that most of the run away couples come to urban areas and they conceive urban areas as modern, secular and progressive.

The oft quoted phrase ‘marriage does not take place between two individuals but two families’, ‘marriage as union of two families’ etc too echoes the same. According to Chowdhry Prem (2007), desire, choice and love are thus separated from the institution of marriage, which is about social reproduction and not about individual needs and their fulfillment. The dominant morality does not expect emotional and erotic satisfaction in marriage and regards love and sexuality with distrust and suspicion.

The process of globalization and the Structural Adjustment Programmes too has resulted in altering the marriage landscape in post-1980s India [Palriwala, Uberoi, 2008]. Changing trends in population structure and characteristics, migration, decline in household production and out-migration has had contradictory implications for marital patterns and familial obligations and relations (2008). Thus, it has become crucial to understand how the changing nature of the phenomenon of communalism, is affecting women’s lives. This study is a modest attempt towards the same.

According to Chhachhi (1988), it is not accidental that issues of religious identity are tied so closely with the regulation of relation between men and women. All personal laws, including the reformed Hindu law have certain common features which reinforce the patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal family. This is the main family form in India. Government intervention through changes has tended to maintain this patriarchal authority. In situations of the breakdown and emergence of new class/caste/communal

identities it is these elements of man-woman relations which become crucial markers of identity. It is this specific linkage which needs to be explored to understand why religious fundamentalism has a very specific implication for women.

1.6. Concepts and their Brief History

Terms or concepts in Sociology often have diverse meanings. They mean differently to different scholars as its meaning depends on their standpoints. Also, the terms can mean differently at different times. Therefore, before proceeding, I would clarify the terms and concepts along with their brief history which I have used frequently in this study. Also, I will mention what do I mean by each term or which connotation I am referring to.

Communalism

The word commune is defined as ‘group of people, not all of one family, living together and sharing property and responsibilities’ (Oxford Dictionary). In the Indian context, simply put communalism is based on the assumption that Indian society is divided into religious communities whose interests not only differ but are even opposed to each other (Bipin Chandra, 2004). The British who used this term in India to denote the closed and impervious caste, religion and community based segmentation within the country. British colonialists first used the term ‘communalism’ to describe colonies where substantial religious minorities existed alongside a religious majority. The colonial use of the term gave it a negative connotation of bigotry and divisiveness. Indian nationalists adopted the term, accepted its negative significations, but saw it as a colonial, post British phenomenon not a pre-colonial circumstance that the British inherited.

During the anti-colonial struggle, communalism also meant an ‘aberration’ in the Indian polity and society. It was so not only because communalism was viewed as antithetical to nationalism, but also because of the hatred and violence inherent in its practice (Panikkar K.N., 2003). In contemporary India, communalism is also defined on the basis of majority and minority status. In this new definition, majority communalism is projected

as acceptable and as true nationalism; the nation belongs to the majority and is formed by their history, culture and struggles. Nationalism and communalism are thus made synonymous and Indian nationalism is imputed a Hindu religious character (Panikkar K.N., 2003). According to AIDWA, communalism means mobilization in the name of religion against other religions (2002). K.N.Panikkar (1994, p. 29) argues that the various definitions given by the academicians identify communalism as ‘an ideology, a false consciousness, a struggle for scarce resources, an instrument of ruling class politics etc. In this study I refer communalism as use of the religion to achieve the economic and political aims of majority. In a society where the gap between the rich and the poor is widening as a result of LPG policies, it is no wonder that it has become very urgent to divert the attention of majority have-nots from the real issues of widening gap, increasing poverty, unemployment etc by appealing to their emotions. The rich minority in the country are aware that if the have-nots become conscious of their real status and potentials in movement they will overthrow the majority. They use communalism to see that the society remains ‘divided’. It is in this connotation I use the word communalism.

Fundamentalism

I have not used the term fundamentalism in this study but I do explain it in this study, as the terms communalism and fundamentalism are often used loosely rather interchangeably as if they mean the same. These terms have different meanings, so I think it is important to define these terms. I will first define and outline the brief history of the term fundamentalism and then point out the difference between the two.

Fundamentalism is a belief in returning to the literal meaning of scriptural texts (Giddens, 2005, p.689). The term fundamentalism has had different meanings at different times. In 1920s, when it was first used it was referred to and among some conservative Protestant groups in America, it meant the people who adhere strictly to the fundamentals *i.e.* the basic principles of Christianity. These were the Protestants who opposed the molding of Christian doctrine to modern scientific theory, which had posed challenge to some of the basic tenets of Christianity like virgin birth of Christ, resurrection of Christ etc. It was

with the publication of a series of volumes called *The Fundamentals* that this movement received its name. Great Depression of 1930s and the World War II curtailed fundamentalism's appeal. In the 1970s and the 80s, fundamentalism again became an influential force in the USA and in other countries as a response to globalization. In recent years, the western press has transformed this word to refer Muslim groups. They try to pose Islam as threatening, violent and irrational. Today the term is used to allude to the tendencies in every religion which aims to impose what '*they*' interpret as the meaning of a religious scripture. It is applied to the strict adherents of the respective religions as they all share some basic characteristics, which makes them fundamentalists.

Difference between Communalism and Fundamentalism

According to AIDWA the term 'religious fundamentalism', represents the tendency that seeks a return to a 'pure' textual interpretation of religion, which it considers never changing and absolute, and which it regards as the basis for public life and social interaction. In social terms fundamentalism imposes a rigid religions and moral code *within* the community, whereas communalism seeks to direct this bigoted and narrow vision *against* other religious communities. All fundamentalists need not be communalists, but all communalists are usually fundamentalists, and they often dovetail into each other.

According to Bipin Chandra (2004), basic features of fundamentalism are: they argue for the return to the fundamental tenets of a religion, for return to the formulations and meanings given to a religion at the time of its foundation in its 1st texts, all aspects and areas of life are to be governed by the true, revealed religion as embodied in the original texts, attack separation of religion from politics and state, insists on religious control over the education, do not believe in equality of all religions; only their religion is true, oppose reason, rationalism and humanism, anti-science, anti-democracy. According to Bipin Chandra (2004) many confuse these two terms as they share many similarities: attack the concept of separation of religion and politics, advocate control over education, believe in restoration of the past values and past 'greatness', oppose the political and social unity of the followers of different religions, oppose secularism, and share that their societies had

achieved near-complete human progress in very early centuries when their religions were founded and were followed in pristine purity and then declined and 'fell'. He delineates the difference between the two terms as: a fundamentalist tend to be communal in multi-religions society, however, the communalist need not be fundamentalist, modern science is compatible with communalism but fundamentalism see it as its enemy, fundamentalist oppose any notion of reform or further development of religious beliefs and tenets or social structure but communalists can favor such reforms. Fundamentalist seriously urge the actual revival of the pristine past and its religious social and cultural practices, while communalist may appeal to the past as ideology or nostalgia but whose gaze is clearly fixed on the modern world. While fundamentalist is deeply religions, communalists has hardly much to do with religion, except that they use it for political purposes. Fundamentalists want to Hinduize, Christianize or Islamize the whole world while communalists want to communalist their own society. And lastly communalists are seldom fundamentalists.

Globalization

The word 'globalization' is the buzz word today. In today's context no study is complete without taking into consideration the phenomenon of globalization. The explosion of work on the globalization in recent years [Bauman (1998); Beck (2000); Giddens (2000); and Kellener (2002)] and this itself is the fact that the phenomenon is of great concern and enormous significance for all.

In spite of being the buzz word, it is extremely difficult to address the theme of globalization, because there is controversy about everything related to globalization: its conceptualization, its paradigmatic orientation, its meaning generation, meaning negotiation, its causes, its effects. Also, there are so many dimensions to globalization that no one can address globalization comprehensively therefore any talk on globalization becomes like a blind man 'seeing' an elephant.

Stiglitz (2001), defines globalization as the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and breaking down of artificial barriers to the flow of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and (to a lesser extent) people across border.

Globalization is triggered by the development of IT and communication technology. After the world war two, the infrastructure for communication and transport, improvement in satellite, democracy and internet radically altered the world. World is becoming a single place, *a global village*, different institutions functions as a part of one system and distant people share common understanding of living together on one planet. Thus, there is a 'time-space' distanciation (Giddens, 2002). The world society has a culture and it instills in people a budding consciousness of living in world society. Thus, globalization though primarily is an economic process; it has various socio-cultural and political changes.

In this study I refer exclusively to the socio-cultural and political changes which are ushered in by globalization. I argue that it is one of the factors which has resulted in the resurgence of communalists tendencies in post-1980s India.

Sexuality

Sexuality is a term, which is almost impossible to define. It is a broad term, which refers to the sexual characteristics, and sexual behavior of human beings. The term sexuality is generally broader in meaning, encompassing erotic desires, practices and identities (Jackson *et al*, 1996). Sexuality encompasses eroticism, sexual behavior, social and gender roles and identity, relationships and the personal, social and cultural meanings that each of these might have (Chandiramani, 2004).

In this study, by the term sexuality I mean, 'simple' things like the way we talk, dress, and also 'not so simple' things like love, dreams, desires, fantasies, sex, eroticism, our gender identities, our sexual orientation and preferences as well as our biases, fears,

pleasures, guilts, shame and stigma related to sexual behavior and thoughts (MASUM, unpublished) . Simply put, sexuality = sex + gender.

Mixed Marriages

A marriage is mixed when the spouses belong to different races, nationalities, caste and above all religions. Mixed marriages can be typified as:

- (i) inter-racial marriage: between people of different races
- (ii) inter-national marriage: between people of different nationalities
- (iii) inter-caste marriages: between people of different castes
- (iv) inter-religious or inter-faith marriages: between people of different religions

In this study I have referred mixed marriages to both inter-caste and inter-religious marriages.

1.7. Importance of this study

The period of this study is post-1980s. This period is significant as women in India today, are caught up into the powerful forces of communalism, globalization and caste based politics. As a result, it is more apparent than ever that woman's lives are in fact powerfully linked and regulated by both caste and religious communities.

There are various studies which are done on the institution of marriage, but in this study I have tried to link communalism, globalization, marriage and women.

To combat such forces theoretical and practical knowledge about them is important. My study will definitely 'educate' women and men about how they are the victims of neo-liberal policies and communalist tendencies. One can liberate themselves *only* when one understands 'how' they are caught up. This study elaborates on how sexuality of women gets 'redefined' and 'disciplined' in the context of communalism.

1.8. What made me choose this topic?

My choice of this subject for M.phil has been a ‘value loaded’ choice. As a child I always believed that marriage was a personal issue, something to do with personal choice and I strongly believed that one has a right to choose ones partner and neither society nor the State has anything to do with it. As I ‘matured’ I realized that marriage was more a social-political and economic decision rather than an individual one. Rather, parents think that it is their right to choose their sons and daughters-in law! Consciously choosing Sociology for my masters’ degree and pursuing a diploma in women’s studies unraveled many threads around the whole political economy around the institution of marriage.

With my friends opting for inter-caste marriages, all these questions really bothered me. I still spend sleepless nights whenever I read about Babu Bajarangi! I know many couples who had inter-community marriages and were victimized during the 1992 Bombay riots. Most of them had to recourse to a psychiatrist for treatment. Their fault was that they asserted their right to choose their partners!! The reaction of communalists of both Hindu and Muslim community to the marriage of Priyanka-Omer of Bhopal once again convinced me that this relation between marriage and communalism needs to be explored more intricately.

1.9. Chapter Scheme

I have divided this study into five chapters. Chapter **One**, will be an elaborate introduction to this study. Here I begin by reviewing the present state of affairs in India in the context regarding raising communalism and mixed marriages. I also state research objectives and research questions of this study. After this I state the contemporary relevance of this thesis. I will also elaborate the concepts used throughout this study. Lastly, but most importantly I state the limitations of this study. I conclude this chapter by detailing about the chapterization of this study.

Chapter **Two**, will be based upon review of the literature done in the area so far regarding mixed marriages and on communalism. This will enable me to situate my work in the academic tradition. This will also enable to highlight the importance of my work. I have also elaborated the methodology engaged to do this study. In Chapter **Three**, I present the three cases which I intend to analyze in the next chapter. In chapter **Four**, I analyze these cases in broader contexts. This chapter is the crux of my thesis. Here I put forth the analysis. In chapter **Five**, I present day to day life situations and complexities faced by a couple in mixed marriages. **Chapter Six** is the concluding chapter. Here I tie all the strings of my arguments. I also put forth some recommendations.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW & METHODOLOGY

This chapter consists of three sections. In section 1 I will review the literature, in the section 2, I will discuss the theoretical tradition and place this work in the same and in the section 3, I will elaborate the methodology I have employed for this study.

2.1. Literature Review

The explosion of work on the globalization in recent years [Bauman (1998); Beck (2000); Giddens (2000); and Kellener (2002)] itself illustrates the fact that the phenomenon is of great concern and enormous significance for all. Though primarily thought to be an economic phenomenon, globalization has enormous socio-cultural and political implications. If one reviews the works on globalization today, one can broadly divide the studies on globalization into two main types: one studying it from economical perspective and other studying its socio-cultural effects. In this study latter is relevant.

Keith Durkin and Clifton Bryant, 2005 in their article “‘Log on to Sex’ Some Notes on the Carnal Computer and Erotic Cyberspace’, state that how pornography and eroticism have been advanced through the increasing availability of ‘carnal’ opportunities because of globalization.

Swaminathan Madhura, 2000, in her book ‘Weakening Welfare the Public Distribution of Food in India’ attempts to analyze the post 1990s situation related to PDS in India. She argues that barely a decade, the effects of the post-1991 policies on the lives of the poor, has become visible. These reforms have not aided the poor in any way, rather the gap between the rich and the poor has widened. One of the areas which have been badly affected is the food and nutrition security.

In case of women, the process of globalization, has not only affected women in the form of feminization and casualization of labor forces, feminization of poverty etc [Jhabvala (2002)] but the process of globalization itself is a gendered process [Swaminathan, (2007), Parrenas (2001)]. Swaminathan Padmini, (2007), in her article 'Precarious Existence and Deteriorating Work Conditions for Women in India: Implications for Health', New Solutions, illustrates the need of integrating all three: gender, health and employment while discussion about either of one. She argues that the Indian economy since globalization has experienced an overall economic growth. In spite of this growth, it has generated employment only to a certain strata of Indian society. There has been shrinking of jobs in formal sector. As a result most of the people have to take up a job in informal sector. This has led to casualization, infomalization and feminization of the workforce. Jobs in the informal sector have increased the sense of insecurity among the workers and most of the times the returns which they get is petty. To use the author words, it has failed to generate 'quality' employment for much of its labor force. This affects both physical and mental health of a worker.

Parrenes Rhacel, 2001, in her article 'Transgressing the Nation-States: The Partial Citizenship and "Imagined (Global) Community" of Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers' argues that globalization itself is a gendered process.

Karat Brinda, 2004, the neo-liberal policies, by substantially eroding the economic status of the majority of world's women, has intensified women's subordination. What Lenin termed the 'double burden' and what to exploiters is the 'double advantage' has increased manifold in the neo-liberal era. The two major trends that have emerged in recent years are the increased migration of women, both within countries and between countries, as well as the disadvantageous terms of labour hiring, with a larger number of women in the world working without guarantees of a minim wage, protective legislation or decent working conditions.

One of the by-products of globalization is the resurgence of communalism. **Sumit Sarkar (2006)**, though NRIs is not a new phenomenon, there is a qualitative difference in

the NRIs prior to globalization. Statistics of various reports demonstrates that Sangh Parivar gets most of its resources from the NRIs which enable them to run their various programmes. Prior to 1980s, the NRIs mostly formed parts of the labour forces in various countries but today they are the elite class. Today they are the suppliers of the much needed money to run different communal programmes. Thus, it is not a mere coincidence that RSS received momentum only after the 1980s though it was working since 1925.

Karat Brinda, 2004, in her article 'Liberalization, Communalism and the Struggle against Violence on Women' argues that there is a close link between communalism, liberalization and violence that is practiced against women. Liberalization and communalism though seems opposite phenomenon are seen in the increasing support by a large section of big business to the BJP. Communalist mobilizations serve as a convenient method of dealing with the political consequences of people's alienation caused by the inequality-creating policies of liberalization, which is why India's ruling classes have lent their support in substantial measure to the politics of Hindutva. One of the many aspects of Hindutva is the violence it generates. Women are the most vulnerable targets of communal violence.

Sociology of marriage remains a neglected branch of sociology (Pundalik V.G, 1981). Whatever studies are done on the institution of marriage are dominated by the controversy of 'descent vs alliance' or 'kinship vs affinity' (Shah: 1998). Also there are various studies which focus on cultural aspects or are studied primarily from a kinship point of view. There are hardly any studies which try to address women's experiences and intricacies related to caste, gender, and class prior to 1970s. From post-1970s with the second wave of feminist and women's movement issues related to dowry and domestic violence were being addressed. Also, one hardly comes across comprehensive studies on inter-caste, inter-religious marriages which are significant phenomenon in post independence India.

Shah A.M. (1998) argues that inter-caste, inter-regional and inter-religious marriages have become an important element in the making of a new class which may be called

cosmopolitan. This class, which began to form roughly in the beginning of 20th century, is urban, English educated, economically well-off, largely professional, westernized, and liberal in character and occupies a critical position in the social edifice of modern India. This class has also grown large enough to be able to reproduce itself by contracting marriages within itself, so much so that there are now second and even third generation cosmopolitans. He further argues that in any case the extent of freedom exercised in spouse selection affects the quality of family life – the relations between husband and wife, between parent and children, in-laws and daughter-in-laws.

Kumari Pratima, 1988, in her book ‘**Changing Values among Young Women**’ attempts to analyze the changing values of college and university girls towards the changing socio-cultural institutions and their legal awareness of different rights accorded to women. There were questions related to inter-religious marriages and love marriages in which she finds that inter-religious marriages are not favored as the inter-caste marriage. In the present study 56% respondents favored it and 44% against it. It was also observed that 59% graduate and 52% post-graduate respondents favored it. In terms of marital status, 62% marital and 53% unmarried respondents had positive views towards inter-religious marriage. However 37% married and 45% unmarried were opposed to it. Thus, we see that respondent’s views were more or less favorable towards inter-religious marriage. In case of love marriages 60% favored love marriages and 25% reacted negatively. 67% married and 58% unmarried respondents favored love marriages. 5% married respondents felt that love-marriages might come to stay but must be between two boys of same caste.

Rao and Rao (1982) in her book ‘**Marriage, the Family and Women in India**’, examined the attitudes of college students towards arranged marriages, love marriages, the desirable and undesirable characteristic of spouse, the average age at marriage for the respondents, the dowry system, etc. most of the respondents preferred arranged marriage with relative freedom in the selection of their spouses. They also expressed positive opinions toward love marriage. However, attitude towards inter-caste marriages appeared

to be liberal or 1/3rd of the students' felt that marriage should take place outside their caste or some even suggested outside the country.

Bambawale Usha (1982) in her book '**Inter-Religious Marriages**', attempts to analyze qualitatively the significance of inter-religious marriages in Pune city. She argues that inter religious marriages create a major social problem which arise out of conflicting claims of particularistic tradition on one hand and irresistible universalistic values of freedom and individualism on the other.

Krishnamurthy (1970) while analyzing view of the post-graduate women students finds that even now inter-religious marriages are not favored by 65% of the respondents. However, 26% favored it. **Kapur (1973)** also observes the same thing.

Ramanamma (1979) worked on the changing attitudes of women towards different social institutions due to their education and employment. She discussed that education and employment had brought about changes in the attitudes of women regarding different aspects of family position of women, friendship, marriage, education, employment etc. most of them wanted to marry for love, and demanded freedom in choice of partners. But they were not completely free from cultural traditions as they preferred to marry in a traditional way. Most of them accepted marriage as a sanskara. However, at the behavioral level women's attitude changed significantly and they had preference for love marriage, abolition of dowry, equality with partners and divorce by mutual consent.

C.T. Kanan (1963) in his book, "Inter-caste and Inter-community Marriages in India" attempted to analyze the inter-caste marriage, the factors which facilitated it and legal measures to deal with the problem of inter-caste marriage during the pre and post-1947.

Thus, one realizes that these studies no longer are significant in the context of globalization. Globalization had the churning effect on the lives of people throughout the world. In case of India it changed the complete context of marriage, values attached, etc. Demographic trends, migration, economic shifts and political, particularly gender,

struggles are altering the marriage landscape in cultures and societies across the globe. There are few studies which reflect this reality of marriages today.

Prem Choudhary (2007) in her book 'Contentious Marriages, Eloping Couples, Gender, Caste, and Patriarchy in Northern India', underscores how the post-colonial shifting of material, legal and ideological bases results in mounting of social tensions which are reflected in marriages that have not followed the conventional norms. In this book the author brings forth how marriages are related to the larger issues of political economy. As the institution of marriage lies at the heart of kinship system that gives the caste system its basic structure any change in it is brutally dealt with as it results in the changing status of entire caste group. At the centre of all this stand women. Putting forth various arguments she states that marriage is a social rather than an individual act. This book is written in relation to North India especially society of Harayana.

Palriwala, Uberoi, (2008), in their edited book 'Marriage, Migration and Gender', has addressed the institution of marriage in the context of globalization. It seeks to address how the institution of marriage may affect or enable migration, both of men and women, impact of migration, state laws and immigration procedures on the marriage etc. This work primarily focuses on migration and its effects on marriage.

As stated above one of the by products of globalization is resurgence of communalism. Thus one need to address the issue of communalism and mixed marriages. This study of mine is an attempt to address this lacuna.

2.2. Theoretical Tradition

For a long time sociologists like Weber and Marx assumed that with modernization and industrialization pre-modern identity markers like religion, caste, ethnicity etc will become less important. Not only sociologists but thinkers like Lenin, Stalin, and Nehru had thought the same. Many believed that as society modernizes it will follow the process

of secularization. Secularization can be defined as a process of decline in the influence of religion.

But contrary to the expectations of all, today as society is getting modernized we are witnessing an opposite trend. Global changes and the conflicts taking place related to religion forces us to doubt whether the relevance of religion has waned. In various countries like the USA, Iran, India, Japan, China and others one find that religion has not only become important than ever but has ‘modernized’ itself. There is a rise of various ‘New Religious Movements’ (broad range of religious and spiritual groups, cults, and sects that have emerged alongside mainstream religions like Hare Krishnas). As a result, today smaller number of sociologists supports the hypothesis of close linkages between modernization of the society and secularization of the people. There is even a talk of the ‘end of the secularization theory’.

Jose Casanova argues that the loss of earlier function of religion and the trend toward individualization do not necessarily imply that religion loses influence and relevance either in the political arena and the culture of a society or in the personal conduct of life.

Habermas, (2008), in his article ‘**Death of Secularization**’ feels that the connection between secularization and modernization is irrelevant and religion, though having gone into a different sphere of social functions, still influences people. He argues that the present events throughout the world force us to rethink whether the relevance of religion has really waned.

First, the broad perception of those global conflicts that are often presented as hinging on religious strife changes public consciousness. This undermines the secularist belief in the foreseeable disappearance of religion and robs the secular understanding of the world of any triumphant zest. Second, religion is gaining influence not only worldwide but also within national public spheres. Thirdly, the stimulus for a change of consciousness among the population is the immigration of ‘guest workers’ and refugees especially from counties with traditional and cultural background. Since the 16th century, Europe has had

to contend with confessional schisms within its own culture and society. In the wake of present immigration, the more blatant dissonance between different religions link up with the challenge of a pluralism of ways of life typical of immigrant societies. This extends beyond the challenge of a pluralism of denominations. In societies like ours which are still caught up in the painful process of transformation into post colonial immigrant societies, the issue of tolerant coexistence between different religious communities is made harder by the difficult problem of how to integrate immigrant cultures socially. While coping with the pressures of globalized labour markets social integration must succeed even under the humiliating conditions of growing social inequality.

Habermas's argument is applicable to this study too. India today though has modernized itself, hardly has religion lost its significance. Even pre-modern identity like caste has modernized itself to suit the new context. Rather as my study illustrates identities like caste, class, religion, region are significant.

2.3. Methodology

In this section, I will delve into following things: firstly, introduce and define the terms method, methodology, and epistemology and then brief upon the importance of using 'more correct' methodology. Secondly, I will write on my epistemological position and then come to this study as a feminist research, and lastly, I will refer to the methodology I have employed in this study.

2.3.1. Introduction to Method, Methodology and Epistemology

Any academic subject requires a methodology to reach to conclusions. Without a systematic way of producing knowledge, especially in sociology, the findings can be dismissed as commonsense. Research and the methods in sociology do not exist in vacuum. Both, methods and methodology gets 'influenced' by the epistemological (theory of knowledge) and ontological position (nature of social entities, *i.e.*, whether it is objective or it is socially constructed) of the researcher. Methodology is concerned with

both detailed methods through which data are collected, and the more general philosophies upon which the collection and analysis of data are based. The method is the specific way of conducting research, and gathering and analyzing the collected data.

One of the debates, as old as Sociology, is the debate around the methodology. Auguste Comte, the father of Sociology, advocated that sociology must adhere to positivism *i.e.*, the scientific methods of natural sciences like observation, objectivity, empiricism, experimentation etc must be used in sociology to understand the laws of society. The scientific writings about society, he believed will distinguish sociology from other writings on the nature of society. Positivistic approach dominated the early years of sociology and is still being used extensively by Comte, Durkheim, and others. Studies with positivistic approach by and large adopt quantitative methodology and involve statistical methods.

However, other set of sociologists like Weber disagree with positivism and think that studying human world is fundamentally different from studying a natural world. Therefore, different types of methodologies are required for instance qualitative methodology. However, it never was the case that all sociologists fitted neatly into these categories. Rather, today many scholars agree that this type of dichotomous perspective between qualitative research and quantitative is too simplistic and counterproductive and many researchers now try to combine qualitative and quantitative method.

In recent years, some sociologists have advocated the methods associated with **critical social science**. The central feature it links research with trying to transform society. It therefore rejects the view that researchers should be impartial. Instead, it sides with those it sees as the disadvantaged and oppressed groups in society. It seeks to develop any methods that will help to liberate these groups from their oppression. Feminists are amongst the most influential of critical social scientists and some feminists have argued that distinctive feminist methodologies should be adopted (Haralombus, 2000).

This study too is a feminist study with critical social science approach. Feminist research is thought by many writers as having following characteristics: (i) puts gender in the center of social inquiry – makes women visible and represents women's perspective, (ii) emphasis on women's experience which they consider significant indicator of reality, (iii) it is not solely about women but primarily for women, taking up an emancipatory stance, entails an anti-positivistic orientation, (iv) suppose to use multi-methodologies and paradigms, and (v) politically value laden and critical. According to **Sussene Geiger** a research is feminist only if the objectives of a study, its research questions, relation between the researcher and the researched, audience, beneficiaries, and strategy for validating knowledge are feminist then the research is said to be feminist. This study is a **feminist research** study. This is a feminist study as the objectives of this study, the research questions, the relation between the researchers and the researched, audience, beneficiaries, and strategy for validating knowledge, all are feminist.

Now coming back to critical social science approach, as mentioned above, the central feature of critical social science approach is it links research with trying to transform society. This study, I believe will bring forth knowledge about the nature of relationship between communalism and gender in the context of post 1980s from a feminist perspective. This knowledge and the 'strategies' at the end of this study will be a step towards 'transformation' of the society. This work is done especially by focusing on the women, the most vulnerable category, who are the prime victims of communalist tendencies. Also, the recommendations at the end will aid these groups from their oppression.

Another debate, as old as sociology is, 'should social sciences be a value free science'? 'Should it reflect either the personal beliefs or the feelings of a researcher'? I argue that social science study cannot be value free. Values intrude at any and all stages of social research. This can happen right from choosing of research area, formulation of research questions, choice of methodology, data collection techniques, interpretations etc. According to **Damaris Rose**, development in quantum physics have established that even in natural science there is no such thing as 'pure' observation uninfluenced by observed.

My choice of this subject for M.phil has been a 'value loaded' choice. As a child I always believed that marriage was a personal issue, something to do with personal choice and I strongly believed that one has a right to choose ones partner and society has nothing to do with it. As I 'matured' I realized that marriage was more a social-political and economic decision rather than an individual one. Rather, parents think that it is their right to choose their sons and daughters-in law! Consciously choosing Sociology and pursuing a diploma in women's studies unraveled many threads around the whole political economy around the institution of marriage.

With my friends, and sisters opting for inter-caste marriages all these questions really bothered me. I still spend sleepless nights whenever I read about Babu Bajarangi! I know many couples who had inter-religious marriages and were victimized during the 1992 Bombay riots. Most of them had to recourse to a psychiatrist for treatment. Their fault was that they asserted their right to choose their partners!! The reaction of communalists of both Hindu and Muslim community to the marriage of Priyanka-Omer of Bhopal once again convinced me that this relation between marriage and communalism needs to be explored more intricately.

After my initial readings I realized that lot of scholarly work has been done in the area of communalism and gender by feminist authors like Tanika Sarkar, Urvashi Butalia, Uma Chakaravarty, Amrita Chhachhi, Chatterji Angana, Amrita Basu, Jeffery Patricia and feminist activist writers like Teesta Setalvad and Manisha Gupte have addressed these issues in their own journalists and activist style of writings. But what I did not come across was links of communalisms with institution of marriage. After I reviewed the literature I thought that the best way to unravel all the complexities around these complex issues was by using the methodology of case study.

Case Study Method

Bloor M. and Wood F. (2006) defines case study as a strategy of research that aims to understand social phenomena within a single or small number of naturally occurring settings. The purpose may be to provide description through a detailed example or to generate or test particular theories. According to **Bryman Alan (2001)** case study is a research design that entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. The term is sometimes extended to include the study of just two or three cases for comparative purposes.

Yin has rightly pointed out that the purpose of a case study is to gain a detailed understanding of the processes involved within a setting, but this can involve studying a single or multiple cases and numerous levels of analysis (**Yin, 1994**). Case studies have been advocated as a method on the basis that they can capture the unique characters of people and groups through their ability to generate detailed holistic data (**Simmons, 1996**). Case study research is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question (**Stake, 1995**).

I have used this method primarily as I think it will enable me to examine my cases extensively. It will enable me to make detailed observations and study of my chosen cases. The reducing the cases to three have enabled me to study them in detail at various levels. This will enable me to link the various issues related to mixed marriages and communalism to wider issues like sexuality, violence, law, patriarchy, honor killings, sexual and reproductive rights etc.

Many have criticized case study method because of its obvious ‘disadvantage’ that it cannot generalize. But I think that the major aim of case study is not to represent the world, but to represent the case. Also, case study method points to establish the limits of generalizability. I might not be able to generalize and put forth ‘fixed’ conclusions. But I will definitely be able to bring forth layers of reality.

This work is primarily a qualitative analysis of secondary resources as well as primary. I have used secondary resources like books, reports, articles, newspaper clipping, and internet. The newspaper clippings are from dailies Indian express, Sakaal Times and Times of India. Today no research work is possible without aid of internet and this work is no exception to that. I have depended heavily on various internet sites of google for the information of the case studies mentioned here.

The choice of my case studies boiled down to the three cases of: four victims of Babu Bajrangji of Gujarat, Priyanka Vadhvani - Mohammed Omer of Bhopal and Priyanka Todi -Rizwanur Rehman of Kolkata for very specific reasons. All these three cases became 'famous' and were covered extensively by the media. They provoked strong reactions from Hindu as well as Muslim communalists. This will enable me to elaborate on role played by communalists today. My focus is not much on 'mixed marriage' as such but communalism. Both these cases can be analyzed from the aspects of religion, caste and class. In both of these cases the role played by media, police and family was very significant.

While discussing about how and what complexities couple in mixed marriages face too I have used a case study method. Here I have used combination of methods like case study interviews, schedules, FGDs and observations. Analysis of primary data relevant to this study is presented in chapter 5.

Qualitative analysis has an inherent advantage to bring out multi-layers of realities. So I thought this method would enable us to meet the objectives of this research study.

Chapter III
Case Study Presentation
Communalism and Women

In this chapter I have presented the cases which I intend to analyze in the following chapter. I have collated this from various print and internet editions of various popular newspapers and articles.

3.1. Case Study I

Babu Bajarangi, Gujarat

In every house there is a live bomb that can erupt at any time. Do you know who that is? Daughters are the honour of the family and the community, and to protect that is our Hindu duty and Hindu culture... . Come, and let's unite to save bombs... I don't believe in love marriage. We have to marry within our own community. These girls go to college, make friends with some lafanga [loafer], roam with them on their bikes, fall in love, and then run off and get married...We bring them back and convince them that they are ruining their future. They stay with me for a while and then return to their parents."

- Babu Bajrangi, Frontline, Dec 16-29 2006

Ajay Nikam, Abhijit Sonawane, Raju Medige, and Prashant Samudre and many other 'unknown' husbands were forced to sign divorce papers on gunpoint. Their 'crime' was not that they had harassed their wives but they had all married to women in 'wrong' caste. They were forced to sign divorce papers either by blackmailing, threatening, beating, kidnapping or on gunpoint. Out of the four mentioned above, three of them are from Maharashtra and one is from South. The police did not register their FIR despite lodging several complaints. They have approached the court and have pleaded to summon their wives so that their statements could be recorded. All these four cases took place at different times in the year 2005.

The 'brain' behind these various incidents is Babu Bajrangi. Babu Bajrangi runs an NGO named Nav Chetan Sanghatan. Navchetan's objective is to prevent inter-religious love marriages happening in and around Gujarat. If such a wedding has already taken place, it works to break the union. When a marriage between a Hindu woman and Muslim man gets registered in a court, within a few days the marriage documents generally end up on Bajrangi's desk, ferreted out by functionaries in the lower judiciary. The girl is subsequently kidnapped and sent back home; the boy is taught a lesson. *"We beat him in a way that no Muslim will dare to look at Hindu women again. Only last week, we made a Muslim eat his own waste – thrice, in a spoon,"* he reveals with barely concealed pride. All this is illegal, Bajrangi concedes, but it is moral. *"And anyway, the government is ours,"* he continues, turning to look at the clock. *"See, I am meeting Modi in a while today."* 'If you rescue one girl, it is the same as saving 100 cows. One daughter equals 100 holy cows' says a pamphlet distributed by Navchetan Trust.

Not only inter-religious marriages but also inter-caste marriages too! He abducts Kadwa Patel girls who marry outside their community and 'resettles' them by remarrying them in their own community. Though based in Gujarat, this NGO operates across boundaries and no one seems to be able to stop them. According to Bajrangi "In every house today there is a bomb and that bomb is the woman, who forms the basis of Hindu culture and tradition." "Parents allow her to go to college, and they start having love affairs, often with Muslims. Women should just be kept at home to save them from the terrible fate of Hindu-Muslim marriages."

Till date he claims to have rescued 918 girls. (2007)

3.2. Case Study II

Priyanka Vadhwani and Mohammed Omer, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh

Relevant laws must be amended to provide adequate safeguards in case of inter-religious marriages as 18-year-old girls might be adults but they are not mature enough to take the right decisions.

Uttam Chand Israni, convener of the Hindu Kanya Bachao Samiti.

On April 5 2007, Priyanka Vadhwani, a Sindhi student studying in final year commerce student and Omar, a Muslim student of School of Social sciences, eloped to Mumbai when their parents did not give them the consent to get married. They got married in Mumbai, but could not return to Bhopal due to the fear of being separated by their parents and members of the society. The boy converted to Hinduism and changed his name to Umesh.

Following the marriage, the girl's parents filed a first information report (FIR) stating that Umar had kidnapped Priyanka and then married her. They are not prepared to accept the relationship and want the police to get Priyanka back. Several wings of Sangh Parivar; Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajrang Dal (BD), Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) have plunged into action soon after getting the information and have declared it as case of converting the girl into Islam religion. They are also demanding that the police take action against the boy's family.

Also, the wedding had sparked protests in several parts of Bhopal in MP where hard liners blocked traffic at 40 places. This was not acceptable to the Sindhi Community in Bhopal and the whole Sindhi community came out to voice their objection to the marriage. The Hindu organizations staged demonstrations demanding that the boy be arrested and the girl handed over to her parents. This was the second incident of a Sindhi girl eloping with Muslim youth in fortnight so without delay the Hindu communalists formed a '*Hindu Kanya Raksha Samiti*' (A Committee to protect Hindu girls) to protect their daughters from the polluting gaze of Muslim males.

As if this was not sufficient, there was a plea to keep girls away from mobiles, two wheeler and scarves! The ban for girls to use two wheelers is especially ironic as public transport system in Bhopal is hopelessly bad. Thus, if the use of two wheeler is enforced it will devoid girls of their basic right to education.

After the mayhem of Hindu organizations it was the turn of Muslim organization to voice their opinion. The *Majlis-e-shoora* of the All India Muslim Tyohar Committee (AIMTC) has announced that Omer would be expelled from the Muslim community.

Meanwhile fearing their arrest, the couple moved the Bombay High Court which upheld their marriage and asked the Bhopal District Administration to provide security to the couple. The couple still feared to go back to Bhopal.

In the mean time, elder brother of Mohammed Omer was arrested by the Bhopal police and had beaten him violently. His wife often visited him in police station. After two days he was taken away from the station to some unknown place and the police were not ready to tell her his whereabouts. His wife appealed various political leaders and organizations to leave her husband. Two days later her husband was left home.

Hindu groups in Bhopal to prevent such incidents from happening approached Madhya Pradesh Governor Balram Jakhar to seek amendments to laws on inter-religious marriages. "Relevant laws must be amended to provide adequate safeguards in case of inter-religious marriages as 18-year-old girls might be adults but they are not mature enough to take the right decisions," Uttam Chand Israni, convener of the Hindu Kanya Bachao Samiti.

3.3. Case Study III

Priyanka Todi and Rizwanur Rehman, Kolkata

After taking care of their daughter for 23 years, if the family finds she has left them to start a new life with an unknown youth, parents cannot accept it. The reaction of the Todi family was natural.... They reacted because Rizwan's social and financial status didn't match theirs.

Prasun Mukherjee, police commissioner

Muslim boy meets Marwari girl. They fall in love. The girl's family is vehemently opposed to the match. In spite of all opposition, the couple in love gets married and the couple move into the boy's house. When pleas and threats fail to bring the girl back home, her father calls the cops and ensures that she is sent back to her parents for seven days. Ten days later, the boy is found dead near the railway tracks.

This is the story of Rizwanur Rahman, a 30 years old young Muslim who married Priyanka Todi, a 23 year old Marwari girl. His fault was not only that he belonged to another community, but also that he belonged to a poor family. Rizwanur Rahman struggled from the slums of Tiljala in Kolkata to train as a graphic designer. He was a teacher in a multimedia institute where he met Priyanka Todi. She was a daughter of Ashok Todi, the owner of Lux undergarment enterprise, which is an empire worth over two hundred crores. Both Rizwanur and Priyanka fell in love and got married on August 18, 2007 under the Special Marriage Act.

They knew that they were treading on thin ice and so wrote numerous petitions to appeal police for protection against the ire of Todi family. The Todi family pleaded her to return home and when this did not work they even threatened her. The Todi family too, like the couple, approached the police. Later, the information revealed the nexus between top police officials and the Todi family.

The police did intervene, but they themselves proved to be a source of harassment for the couple. The police summoned Rizwanur, and commented that it is natural that Priyanka's father to be upset as he belonged to a poor family and was a Muslim. Prior to this, the police tried to convince the couple that Priyanka should go back to her father's house for a week but when the couple refused they threatened that if she does not go to her father's house, they will arrest Rizwanur on the charges of abduction and theft. This made Priyanka to go to her father's house after which she became non-contactable for her husband.

Giving up the hope that the police would protect him, Rizwanur approached *Association for Protection of Democratic Rights* and was to meet them in the evening of September 21, but was killed before he could meet them. On September 21, 2007 Rizwanur was found dead on the railway tracks in the heart of Kolkata city.

While his family suspects that Rizwanur was murdered, the police commissioner shrugged away his death as a "simple case of suicide" even before the post-mortem was complete.

In recent weeks Rizwanur's students, human rights groups, women activists, the city's intellectual community, his colleagues, and batch mates, and various citizens' groups have held demonstrations, marches and candle light vigils to protest Rizwanur's death.

These cases are not individual stories of Priyanka-Rizwanur, Priyanka-Omer etc, rather is the eternal tale of young couples trapped between their desire, the rights guaranteed by the law and their socio-cultural reality. It is about how the family, community and state agencies like the police treat love as a criminal activity and young lovers as criminals.

Chapter IV
Case Study Analysis
Communalism and Women

4.1. Introduction

In this section I will analyze the case studies presented in the previous section. For this, I use the following broad categories: violation of constitutional and human right, role played by media, the police, reactions of communalists, legal issues, wider implications of this on women, and the role played by civil society. These categories are not water-tight compartments and do overlap at various levels.

4.2. Violation of Constitutional and Human Right by the Government

In all the three cases, one of the common factors one discerns is that the government itself played a role of a violator of the various rights it has bestowed on its citizens. Various rights given by the Constitution of India and also various human rights were violated at various times in all these three cases. Many times they were violated by the various institutions of government itself. Before analyzing these details of this, let us briefly see which rights are granted by the Constitution to the citizens of India.

Government of India have granted women and men equally the right to choose if, when and whom to marry. Provisions of the Indian Constitution regarding non-discrimination on the basis of sex, equal protection of the law, equality before the law and the protection of life and personal liberty, safeguard this right. At the international level, the right is secured by the provisions of a number of international human rights instruments, including Article 16 of the Convention of the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); Article 23 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); Article 10 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); Article 5 of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD); and the Convention on the

Rights of the Child (CRC). Furthermore, among others, at least two international human rights bodies – the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women; its Causes and Consequences and the United Nations Working Group on Slavery - have focused on this right and identified its violations as human rights abuses (AALI, 2003).

Along with these Constitutional provisions and various International Conventions ratified by the GOI, there are various Supreme Court judgments in respect to inter-caste, inter-religious marriages. In a case concerning inter-caste marriage, the Indian Supreme Court ruled that there is "no biological difference between Hindu castes," and in this judgment criticized the consideration of caste for the purposes of marriage (BBC 7 Mar. 2000). In an "historic judgment," an Indian court instructed a father not to interfere with the married life of his daughter (Chowdhry 2004, 74).

The legal position on cases of choosing one's life partner against parent's wishes was elaborated in one Supreme Court judgment. On July 7, 2006, the S C ruled emphatically that there can be no bar on inter-caste or inter-religious marriages. Those who harass threaten or subject such a couple have to be prosecuted. In the case pertaining to Lata Singh SC observed, "This is a free and democratic country, and once a person becomes a major, he or she can marry whomsoever he/she likes". In another case, the Supreme Court also directed Haryana police to provide "adequate protection" to an inter-caste married couple and demanded a report on state government action taken on the matter (*The Tribune* 8 Dec. 2004).

In spite of these various constitutional provisions and Supreme Court judgments, there are various instances where these rights were systematically violated by those who were supposed to protect it. The State machineries like police, judiciary, law itself, have played major roles in perpetrating the crimes against inter-caste, inter-religious marriages and themselves violating the rights they have given.

In the first case study, the four wronged husbands Ajay Nikam, Abhijit Sonawane, Raju Medige, and Prashant Samudre were coerced to sign divorce papers at gunpoint. I have mentioned only four but there are 918 girls (2007) that Babu Bajrangi claims to have

‘rescued’. Not only this, but though a prime accuse in the Naroda Patia case of 2002 runs free in spite of having various evidences against him.

He is not secretive about his mission of resettling such girls. Rather, he is very vocal and proudly talks about it. No one, however fanatic he may be cannot do this, without political support. It is evident that the Gujarat government is privy to all this. He does boasts about having close contacts with the Chief Minister Mr. Modi. Minority people of Gujarat have lost faith in the police or judiciary of Gujarat government as they themselves played a crucial role in violence against them in 2002 riots.

In the case study 2, Priyanka Vadhvani and Omer were forced to take refuge at the Bombay High Court and had to seek police protection for the fear of their lives because they were not safe in Madhya Pradesh where the BJP ruled. Shakil, Omer’s brother was forcibly taken by the police and beaten for 2-3 days. The police could not have done this without consent of the government. Here too, attempts were made to violate all the rights given by the Constitution. The couple had to take a refuge of the Court and also seek police protection to protect them.

In the case of Rizwanur and Priyanka Todi the ‘progressive’ West Bengal Government’s attitude competes with the attitude of the administration of Narendra Modi. The government did not play any significant role after the death of Rizwanur. They did transfer the policemen who were involved only after its image received a beating. Veteran Bengali politician Jyoti Basu has said, “Yes, the state government’s image has received a beating due to the delay in transferring the policemen who had allegedly coerced Rizwanur. We have suffered politically.” Thus for politicians it all boils down to minority votes!

In all these cases, the rights conferred by the Constitution were violated and yet neither the police, nor the State came to their aid. Also, in spite of having so many court judgments pro-inter-caste, inter-religious marriages, still such things are happening. Rather, many had problems even to register their FIRs. Thus, the police and the State is

privy to all this. Thus all these couples get actually trapped between their desires, the rights guaranteed by the law and their socio-cultural reality.

4.3. Media

Media, recognized as one of the pillars of democracy, did play a significant role in giving 'justice' in all these three cases. All these three cases became 'famous' because of the wide coverage extended to them by the media. As usual, media did sensationalize such news but I think that the overall outcome of this sensationalization was positive in all these three cases. It is often said that any publicity is a good publicity, and this was exactly true with all these three cases.

In case of Priyanka Vadhvani and Omer, media did sensationalize this news. The national as well as local media saw to it that rumors remain afloat and the feelings of a few are projected as the feelings of the entire city. There are also grounds to say that several women and young girls were projected as Sindhis and their incendiary remarks were well propagated [Badal Saaroj, 2007]. Yet, not one of such gatherings had a participation of more than one and a half dozen individuals. In contrast, the far bigger mobilizations by women's organizations or by the CPI (M) deserved not a single line in the press, nor a single byte in TV channels. The two "fastest growing newspapers of India" had had their own mutual competition, and they kept cooking up stories to endear themselves to the Sangh Parivar [Badal Saaroj, 2007].

But in spite of all this, media did play a significant role in garnering the public opinion in favor of the couples. It was the wide coverage by media which forced the Bhopal police to extend them support and also deterred the communalists to coerce the couple to separate. Omer's brother, Shakil, was forcibly arrested by the police and was harassed physically. His wife was given coverage and needed publicity by the TV channels who appealed different ministers and police and media to relieve her husband. Her husband was freed after 2-3 days. Thus, it was the media coverage which made his release possible. If it was not for the media such incidents would have easily been curbed and the

police, communalists and right wing political parties in power would have had got an extra edge. Also these extensive coverage garnered lot of public support for this couples and really churning effect in the society. Various discussions took place and people did participate in that let it be print or cyber media.

Media has not been equally successful in the case of Babu Bajrangi. It was covered extensively in media both print and electronic and in both mainstream and alternative media (Of course in a very different perspective!), but it has not had much effect. Babu Bajrangi still is a free man in spite of having various evidences against him.

In the case of Rizwanur too media played a positive role in garnering public opinion and forcing the government of Kolkota take cognizance of this case. The national and the local newspapers kept highlighting the events. But it was the alternate progressive media which really made difference. Rather, this case has become so famous that there is a 'Wikipedia' entry on 'Rizwanur'.

4.4. Police

In all such cases the police plays crucial role. They have the potential to play a decisive role. But in all these three cases we see that they have acted as puppets in the hands of powerful.

In the first case study of Babu Bajranji, they refused to even register FIRs of the bereaved husbands.

In case of Priyanka-Omer too the police were puppets in the hands of Hindu communalists forces as they forcibly jailed his brother, Shakil, and kept him in unlawful detention in the Koh-e-Fiza police station for seven days. Shakil's wife Aparajita, an IAS officer in Delhi, with the help of the Janwadi Mahila Samiti (JMS, state affiliate of the All India Democratic Women's Association), kept trying to contact the state's chief minister and home minister, but failed. Along with JMS leaders, she did meet the state's

director general of police, Pawar. Not only did he distance himself from his constitutional responsibility, he even sermonize the delegation about the necessity of respecting the feelings of Priyanka's parents and of the communal organizations. He also kept mum on the issue of Shakil's illegal detention in a police station.

After Rizwanur-Priyanka marriage, the couple was summoned various times by the police to whom they had sought protection. They also underscored the couple the same old patriarchal logic that it is a marriage of unequal and that it is natural for Priyanka's father to be upset. As if this was not enough, Rizwan's friend Sadique Hossain, the witness to their marriage, too was intimidated repeatedly by the police.

The police consistently summoned the couple to the police station and coerced the couple that Priyanka should go back to her father's house at least for a week, after which police will ensure that she will come back. When all these intimidatory tactics of police failed, they threatened that either Priyanka goes to her fathers house or they will arrest Rizwan on the charges of abduction and theft. This prompted Priynaka to go to her father's house after which she became non-contactable for her husband. As per the law police are to provide protection to such couples and not harass them. While his family suspects that Rizwanur was murdered, the police commissioner shrugged away his death as a "simple case of suicide" even before the post-mortem was complete.

Ashok Todi immediately had gone to the local Karaya police station to intervene, but the cops, having learnt that Rizwan (30) and Priyanka (23) were adults and had married of their own free will, refused to step in, especially at the orders of their boss-the Calcutta police deputy commissioner (south) Jawed Shamim who has reputation of being an honest, upright officer.

Having been rebuffed by the local police, Todi decided to approach Police Commissioner Prasun Mukherjee. With his contacts, he managed to reach till the deputy commissioner (detective department) Ajoy Kumar. On his advise, Todi filed two false complaints, the first saying his daughter was missing and the second accusing Rizwan of abduction and

wrongful confinement. The police officers got into the act, summoning the couple to Lalbazar Police Headquarters thrice, 'counselling' Priyanka.

Faced with this, Priyanka agreed, but not before getting two written assurances from her uncle Anil Saraogi (who was present in the police officer's chamber)-that she would be allowed to return after a week and that Rizwan wouldn't be threatened or harmed during this period. Kumar stood guarantee to these assurances.

Meanwhile, Sadique Hossain, a witness to the marriage, was forced by the police to state that Rizwanur forced Priyanka into marriage, if he fails to do this, he would be framed in a murder charges. His appeal to police for help did not bear any result as they all were mere puppets in the hands of Priyanka's father.

Fearing for his life and suspecting that his wife was being held prisoner, Rizwan approached a human rights body, the Association for Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR) with a written complaint detailing police harassment against him and his friends. He was supposed to meet them that fateful night when he was found killed on the railway tracks. The nature of his injuries and the way the body was laying on the tracks has strengthened the conviction of many that he was murdered.

Park Circus erupted in riots the next day. What fuelled the people's anger further was Mukherjee's comments. Without any proof he asserted that Rizwan had committed suicide, and defended Todis by stating that, "After taking care of their daughter for 23 years, if the family finds she has left them to start a new life with an unknown youth, parents cannot accept it. The reaction of the Todi family was natural.... They reacted because Rizwan's social and financial status didn't match theirs." Mukherjee added the police have dealt with such cases in a "similar manner" and would continue to do so.

His comments have evoked widespread condemnation from senior cabinet ministers, former police chiefs and intellectuals to thousands of ordinary people and strengthened the suspicion that the police acted at Todi's behest.

Thus, once again this case is an example of the police's unhealthy proximity with social elites. Though in reality, the duty of police is to maintain a detached character for the good of the people, but all over India, policemen have now gained the impression, which of course is a result of people's experiences, that they are mere puppets in the hands of politicians and elite class. Rather, today senior appointments are almost never made without the assent of the ruling party.

Harassment and torture of couples marrying against their family's wishes is depressingly rampant. The worst and worrying feature is the role of the police who often slap charges of rape, abduction and kidnapping against the groom in such cases. Thus, they are just working as institutions to protect patriarchy. As a result all the 'love-married' couples are treated like criminals by the police. The irony is the criminal law is intended to protect women from forced marriages, is used against consenting couples. The natal family in consultation with the police and lawyers invoke charges like rape, abduction and kidnapping against the boy. According to the chief counselor, National Commission for Women, almost half of the "kidnapping and abduction" charges filed by parents in "love cases" are false.

Prem Chowdhry conducted an analysis of a series of court cases in Haryana state involving inter-caste runaway couples, and concluded that "legal intervention not only delegitimizes such individual attempts at breaking out of the traditional system of marriage alliances, it also criminalizes all such attempts ... [with judgments] premised upon moral and ethical grounds overriding questions of legal and human rights of individuals" (ibid., 57).

4.5. Communalists

The reaction of communalists both Hindu and Muslims are significant. They once again reinforce the fact that women's lives are powerfully linked and regulated by both caste and religious community.

Following the marriage of Priyanka-Omer, the girl's parents filed a first information report (FIR) stating that Omar had kidnapped Priyanka and then married her. They are not prepared to accept the relationship and want the police to get Priyanka back. With this, as if it was their duty to 'correct' the wrong, several Hindu activists ranging from Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajrang Dal, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) plunged into action. Even without caring to know what exactly happened, they declared it as case of converting the girl into Islam religion. Not only this, but they have demanded that the police should take action against the boy's family.

This is the way hysteria is created in most of such cases. In reality, it was boy who had converted to Hinduism and not the girl! But the communalist took to the streets stating that girl was converted to Islam. This usually gives rise to gossip and rumors. And these are more influential than even the actual information. There are researches which illustrate that gossip is more powerful than truth, and suggests that people believe what they hear through the grapevine even if they have evidence to the contrary.

In order to prevent such 'crimes' of marrying according to one's choice forever, hastily '*Hindu Kanya Raksha Samiti*', an organization to protect Hindu girls was formed to protect Hindu girls from the 'polluting' gaze of Muslims. This too once again underscores the popular conception in the minds of the people that it is the duty of the father, brother, husband or son to protect their sisters, wives and mothers. And if in case a family is unable to protect them, it becomes the duty of the whole community to protect them. They are not ready to recognize the fact that women too are thinking species of the society. They are seen as species that constantly need support and need to depend on their male counterparts. They cannot under any circumstances decide anything concerning their lives right from whether to tie a scarf to cover their face from pollution or whom to marry.

In the mean time, another Sindhi girl too eloped with a Muslim youth. Perceiving this as a threat to Hinduism, Hindu groups in Bhopal formed an organization to prevent such incidents and approached Madhya Pradesh Governor Balram Jakhar to seek amendments

to laws on inter-religious marriages. Uttam Chand Israni, convenor of the Hindu Kanya Bachao Samiti, told PTI, "Relevant laws must be amended to provide adequate safeguards in case of inter-religious marriages as 18-year-old girls might be adults but they are not mature enough to take the right decisions".

The Samiti, which submitted a memorandum to Jakhar, also planned to hold a meeting soon to chalk out strategies to prevent Hindu girls from eloping with Muslim youths. In the mean time, Bhartiya Janshakti (BJS) leader Bhagwandas Sabnani and Sindhi Samaj imposing restrictions on girls of the community have come to the fore. In a bid to stop Sindhi girls from concealing their identity, they have issued a 'fatwa' asking girls to stop wearing scarves around their faces while moving in the city and also asked to shun mobile phones. Now this will obliterate the girls from education for ever as Madhya Pradesh is a state with hardly any convenient public transport.

Bhopal's central Sindhi Panchayat, however, distanced itself from the restrictions, claiming they were suggested by a handful of community youths and was not the sentiments of all the Sindhis.

Once again this incident underscores the fact that women are perceived as someone who needs to be 'protected' either by brother, or father, or husband. And if these people don't do their job well, the other male members of the community come forward to take this 'responsibility'. This is illustrated by the case of Babu Bajrangji too. Women are primarily perceived as someone who is incapable of taking any such decisions. Rather, even if they take other decision, they should not and must not take any decisions related to their sexuality. Thus, all this boils down to the perception of 'women as reproducers of communities'.

Communalists of one religion often provoke the communalists of another religion. After protests and demonstrations by Hindu organizations demanding the arrest of Omer and handing of the girl back to her parents, the Majlis-e-shoora of the All India Muslim Tyohar Committee (AIMTC) announced that Omer would be expelled from the Muslim

community. 'Once a Muslim has left the religion, he becomes a Mursad (deserter) and he has no place in Islam,' said Shahar Mufti Raees Ahmed Khan Qasmi.

There were also progressive, secular and rational reactions from Jamiat's spokesman, Syeed Yusuf Zai. He said 'Islam can never be imposed forcibly on anybody. Since Omer has embraced Hinduism, it is his personal matter and any intervention is thus uncalled for'. He also criticized the Hindu bodies for opposing the marriage despite the fact that the boy has adopted Hinduism, Zai said these organizations should instead approach both the families for a patch-up.

As if to nip this at its bud, there were systematic attempts to bring a bill in Gujarat Assembly according to which a couple intending to get married in the court needed to get a form filled by the parents. Now most of the couples who perform registered marriages belong to different castes and religions. Such marriages are usually opposed by parents and are done secretly. If this bill is introduced and is passed, this will surely put 'ban' on inter-caste and inter-religious marriages. Though many people who were interviewed stated that couples will go to other states and get married, all do not have the necessary information and resources. Also, if introduced and passed in one state, it won't take time to get introduced in other BJP ruled states. Above all, this is against the spirit of our Constitution. Many people came forward and protested against this bill as a result of which it had to be withdrawn.

In Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh there are attempts to introduce the anti-conversion bill in the State Assembly. In Gujarat (December 1999-January 2000), a bill against religious conversions, directly counter to Article 25 of the Indian Constitution, sought to be moved in the Gujarat state assembly, was moved, and thereafter put on hold after it generated a nation-wide controversy. The Bill is termed the "Gujarat Freedom of Religion Bill.'

Women from the Hindu community who marry men from the Other community especially Muslims are seen as primarily as traitors or victims. In case of Gujarat women

from the Hindu community wishing to marry men from the Muslim community are being policed and terrorized to dissuade them from doing so. This is done in various ways.

According to Seema, an activist of an organization BO8 and BO9 in Baroda, Gujarat as soon as the BJP came to power in Gujarat, the Violence against Women Cell of the police was dismantled. Instead a Cell to monitor inter religious marriages was established. It claimed that the Hindu women were going through violence on account of inter-religions marriages. If such marriage takes place either parent or neighbor complain to the VHP. Once when the police gets complain that their daughter has left home, that case gets forwarded to the VHP. Even when parents refuse to ally with VHP, the police state their inability to do anything without the help from the VHP. They also have a state shelter home, which they use to put the girl in once she is caught. Cases are registered as abduction. The issue does not become an issue of the family but issue of the state and can even result in riots. There are various instances where inter caste marriages become an issue disturbances and now to avoid this, even judges try to persuade the girls against it.

Not only VHP but even *Durga Vahini* (Hindu Right women's organization) is active in such instances. If a Hindu girl marries a Muslim boy, she gets a letter in the mail from *Durga Vahini* which states that, "If you are trapped in this marriage, our women will come and save you."

In a detailed testimony, Naina, a University teacher and activist of BO8 organization from Baroda, recounted: In 1997 there were a series of articles in the Gujarati press about Hindu girls marrying Muslim boys and being converted to Islam as part of an international conspiracy. The media reports form the background for the *Durga Vahini*'s pamphlet. It says, "Hindus beware, the Sita of your street is going to become Ayesha or Fatima or Julia," and, "Muslim thugs are going to seduce girls by marrying them and taking them to foreign nations and then killing them." It says that their children will be Muslim and enslaved in that country. There is a particular focus on M.S. University the pamphlet says. It says, "Be very careful of your children." It has an address and phone number. The pamphlet was found with a truck driver. VHP would police Hindu women outside hostels etc. [ibdi:2003]

Those women, who have already transgressed the boundaries and had married Muslims, were dealt very violently. They were punished by publicly stripping them, raping them and then either killing them or threatening them not to complain. This was not only to teach them lesson but also to deter others from following their path. The violence was a means to send message to other women to conform.

There are various attempts being made to introduce anti-conversion bills in various BJP ruled states like Gujarat, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh etc. This is completely against the spirit of Indian Constitution. This also has implications for inter-religious marriages. In most of the cases of inter-religious marriages, a girl is 'accepted' in the husbands' family, if she accepts his religion. In case this bill is introduced and law passed, this will further make situation worst for such couples.

The situation of minorities is worst in BJP ruled state. For instance, in case of Christian wedding, any church needs to possess a license from the Government to perform marriages. There are various churches in Gujarat where the minorities are harassed to get this license. At Khambla Zapa Centre, Navsari district in Gujarat, where the district headquarters of the Salvation Army Church is situated, the legal department has not given them this license and it is causing much inconvenience. Ultimately they had to approach to the President of India. This underlines the communally biased attitude of the legal department of Gujarat.

4. 6. Wider Implications for Women's Sexuality

These three cases discussed above might appear to be different incidents which took place in different states of India viz. Kolkata, Madhya Pradesh, and Gujarat, but if one sees beyond the obvious, one discerns that it is the same social psyche which is active behind these incidents.

One common thread which can be discerned is the fact that they all underline the need of 'control of women'. Communalism at any stage of its existence has significant implications for women especially in the area of sexuality. Rather, communalism cannot

exist if it does not 'redefine' or 'rediscipline' women's sexualities and this they do it for their as well as women of other communities. They have a say on everything like how women should dress, what should be their leisure activities, what should they read and what not, and whom should they marry, how many children they must give birth to etc. Thus, communalists use 'woman's behavior' as the primary mechanism of upholding 'tradition'.

Women they perceive need to be controlled at every stage of their life either by father, brother, husband or sons. And in case these fall short, the other community members should take up this responsibility. The hasty formation of '*Hindu Kanya Raksha Samiti*' after the marriage of Priyanka-Omer demonstrates the same. The mission of Babu Bajrangi too underscores the same. In case of Babu Bajrangi, he perceives women as 'bombs' who have potential to blast their own homes. In his own words, "*Daughters are the honour of the family and the community, and to protect that is our Hindu duty and Hindu culture... .*" This illustrates the fact that they have distorted understanding of the whole notion of Hindu religion.

The communalists perceive women only in the role of 'reproducers of their community'. They don't conceal this in any way. Rather they are vocal about it. Recently, Sudarshan, the *Sarsanghchalak* of RSS, in his talks began to appeal Hindu women to bore at least three sons and Dr. Pravin Togadiya of the VHP appealed Hindu women to bore eight sons to save the Hindu race! They are trying to create hysteria in the minds of people that Muslim population is soon outgrowing the Hindu population. This has direct implications on reproductive and sexual rights of women both the majority and minority. This once again underscores the aim of marriage, which is not companionship, as it is often understood but to get progeny. And of course they want 'pure' Hindu race so this is also an 'appeal cum warning' to marry in Hindu community. They perceive inter-caste – inter-religious marriages as threat to caste system *i.e.* the whole existence of Hindu religion and also their community. One must not forget that in case of Kashmiri women, the restrictions started with seemingly innocuous diktats such as dress codes and wearing a

burkha - now it has come to govern life and death issues such as birth control and restrictions over access to contraceptives and even what to read in their leisure time!

Research also shows that though society in general disapproves of inter-religious marriages but the treatment of married couples with different religious backgrounds depends on their location and social levels (27 Oct. 2005), and an associate professor of social and cultural anthropology added that "social attitudes often [cause people to] ostracize and discriminate against such unions" (3 Nov. 2005).

The prevalence of these feudal hierarchical notions and values has gripped the Indian society. The women are regarded as the embodiment of family and community honor. She is the property of men her life is controlled by the men in different degrees.

Women bear the cross of community honor is also painfully seen during the communal violence, when the women from the 'other community' are subjected to ignominies and violation of the worst type. The genocide against the Muslims in Gujarat 2002 and violence against Christians in Orissa 2008 has demonstrated the same. Women of the other religion were attacked with brutality especially her sexual and reproductive organs. Nuns raped. What is most disturbing is the fact that in 2002 violence against Muslim women, it was the Hindu women who helped their husbands to carry out rapes.

CHAPTER V

MIXED MARRIAGES AND DAY TO DAY LIFE SITUATIONS

Introduction

In the preceding chapters we have seen the relation between communalism and women through a lens of mixed marriages. It offers a view of reality at a macro level. In this chapter I am going to present micro level view of such marriages. I am going to present day to day life situations and complexities which a couple in mixedmarriage goes through.

Mixed marriages are in limited number even in USA, the most advanced country in the world. So it is not a wonder that this phenomenon is rare in India. Also, the situation in India is basically different. The social structure is ‘essentially an interrelated system of caste, family and religion.’ This too works against the phenomenon. There are no all India statistics available but a recent article in Times of India demonstrated that there are only 1% of inter caste marriages in Pune. It is still a city married to tradition.

Methodology

For this I have used 3 different methods of interviews, focus group discussions and observation. I have interviewed 10 couples who are into mixed marriage. The area targeted for these interviews were the couples who resided in Pune city. Pune is situated at confluence of Mula and Mutha. It was the Capital of Peshwas as a result of which even today caste continues to linger. For long it was a seat of Brahmin authority and supremacy. Till recently Pune was a provincial town but since 1960s it is going rapid changes because of rapid industrialization.

The targeted population had completed at least three years of married life. I had on purpose kept this as a criteria to select my interviewers because I think only the couples who have completed at least three years of married life will have enough experience of

such marriages and they must have got exposed to every possible situation which a couple goes through. Both husband and wife responded. All these couples were interviewed on the basis of an open ended questionnaire (appendix 1).

Apart from the interviews of couples, I also conducted 4 FGDs (Focus Group Discussion), 2 of relatives of such couples and 2 of couples. Outcomes of these FGDs are presented in the discussions. I have also presented my observations in discussion below.

Data Presentation

Case Study 1

Mr. A, a Hindu from middle class family and Mrs A, a Muslim from upper class family are married for last 10 years. Parents of Mr. A are staying with them. They have placed Koran and 'Hindu' family gods next to each other. Mrs. A does not believe in following rituals related to menstruation so goes near the altar even during that time. So often there are clashes between mother in law and daughter in law on these issues. They have a nine year old son. One day the son comes to Ms. A and asks, "Mother who am I, a Hindu or a Muslim?" Mother answers, "You are 50-50, half Muslim and half Hindu."

Thus one can easily identify what conflicts a couple goes through primarily in the area of enculturation, and socialization. Children too face identity problems. If these problems are not handled maturely then children are exposed to higher risks. One can also discern conflicts between ritual performances which arise from completely different ideology behind a biological phenomenon like menstruation.

Case Study 2

Mr. B, a lower class Hindu and Mrs. B, a middle class Protestant Christian have been married for last 5 years. They married admits strict opposition from family of Mr. B. the opposition by his parents was not because of religious difference but due to fear of social

pressure and disparity of status. Today in spite of leading a happy married life Mrs. B is very apprehensive to think of conceiving a child because she wants that the child to be familiar with the Christian rituals also.

This is a conflict which most of the women in mixed marriage goes through. They want their children to be familiar with the religion they are born. Thus they are confused over issues related to socialization of children.

Case Study 3

Mr. C, a Protestant Christian and Mrs C, a South Indian Hindu are married for last 21 years. They have two children, 1 daughter and 1 son. Mrs. C is a housewife and financially dependent on Mr. C. While bringing up their children she accepted Christianity voluntarily. Today their children can speak none of the three languages proficiently. They were schooled in convent institutions. Being not financially affluent, today the family is left with the basic struggle of survival.

Financial and educational status of husband and wife really affects various areas of family life like in this case. As Mrs. C was financially dependent she had no choice but to accept her husband's religion. Reality would have been different if she was financially independent. Here too children face with identity issues related to language.

Case Study 4

Mr. D is financially affluent Catholic Christian. Ms. D is from Deshastha Brahmin family. Before marriage Mrs. D accepted Christianity voluntarily in clandestine manner. After the birth of their children they were raised in Christian atmosphere. The children are socialized in Christian atmosphere but they feel at a loss when they come to their maternal family.

In this case, the mother has decided to bring up her child in father's religion to avoid any kind of conflict in enculturation and socialization of the child but when the children visit their maternal relatives they face conflict and are unable to identify with mother's relatives and society at a large.

Case Study 5

Mr. E is from lower middle class Punjabi Sikh Community in Pune. Mrs. E is from Koli community of Western Maharashtra. Mrs. E's proposal was suggested to Mr. E by one of the middle men. The couple had to go through 'typical' arranged marriage phenomenon in 2004. For sustenance the couple runs a mess and their child helps them out in running the mess. None of them are really meticulous about the faith they want to follow. They take things as they come.

In this case study, the couple main concern is day to day sustenance and not what religion their child should follow. Also, they belonging to lower middle class family and give marginal importance to religion in their life. Thus, this case once again underscores the fact that education and class plays an important role in attitude of couple towards religion.

Case Study 6

Ms. F who is from upper caste Brahmin community, is married to Mr. F who is from upper class liberal Muslim family. They were in live in relationship for quite some time before they got married. Both the families being liberal, modern, they had no objection, on the live in status of the couple. After being in a live in relationship after a while, Ms F insisted Mr. F to marry and continue life further. Mr. F at the beginning refused to change the status from 'live in' to 'married' but at the end accepted the marriage demand of Ms. F. Both the families had no objection even for the marriage status. Today they both are struggling to settle in their respective careers and that is their main concern.

This is one more case which underscores that education and class affects various factors in mixed marriages. Both being from well educated and economically well to do family the nature of problems or conflicts they face is different. They both have to struggle in their careers and their marriage has nothing to do with it.

Case Study 7

Mr. G from Hindu community and Mrs G from Muslim Community – though from different communities they married happily on the basis that they think they are atheist. The marriage took place 1985 and after the marriage they were immediately excommunicated from their respective communities. They led life happily for 2 years and gave a birth to a son. Mr. L was brought up without any communal obligations and restraints. In his college days Mr L opted for philosophy to pursue his higher studies. During the time he was also attracted to Osho philosophy and began visiting Osho community center in Pune. Being a post modern and liberal his parents had no objection over him following Osho's philosophy. His commitment with Osho philosophy continued for a while and in his post college days he started following Iskon cult. His tryst with Iskon remains short lived and he soon shifted to Sri Sri Ravi Shankar's Art of Living. By the time his parents had started objecting his shifts from one philosophy to another, the objections were not manifest. Today Mr. L has left even Sr. Sri Ravi Shankar and present he is a staunch gay activist and his parents still have no objections.

This case once again highlights the aspects of socialization of a child in such marriages. Even if the parents are atheist the child might feel the need to explore religious aspects.

Case Study 8

Mr H an atheist protestant Christian married to Mrs. H, a devote Hindu girl. They got married 2 years before after a courtship of 9 years. Mrs H and Mr. H are now planning to have a child but are unable to decide the course of the socialization of child. Mrs. H

thinks as the society is a majority Hindu society the child should be exposed to Hindu culture as well.

Once again the issue of socialization and enculturation of a child is a concern for the couple especially mother because she is the one who executes this role.

Case Study 9

Mr. I, a Muslim and Ms. I a Hindu had been married for last 25 years. Last year their son was killed in an accident. The family was shocked but the relatives had to ask the most difficult question to his parents should he be buried or cremated.

The most acute area of conflicts arise in the area of rites of transition like naming ceremony, baptism, death related rituals etc. and in case of such cases tough questions need to be answered.

Case Study 10

Mr. J, a Muslim and Mrs. J a Hindu from upper class family had been married for 15 years. Both are doctors and lived a comfortable life. But when there were riots in Bombay after 1992 the couple in Pune had to suffer its repercussions. They were so much targeted in Pune that Mrs J. finally had to go to a Psychiatrist.

Communalism poses a threat to tranquility of inter- religious marriages. The comments by in-laws, relatives, friends, neighbors and even colleagues at times add to the stress that a couple faces and this case is an excellent example of this.

Discussion

Certain broad trends emerge and certain patterns can be discerned from the above cases presented. I have presented these broad trends and patterns in the above figure. Let us see them in detail.

1. Issues Related to Identity: (children related and couple related)

i. Name

The name of a person is an indicator of various things, most of the times, her/his caste, class and religion. Many a times name of god and goddesses or of some relative like father in law or mother in law who is no more is given to a new born. At times names also carry some religious significance.

The couple might face complications while deciding name for their child. At times relatives might also insist for a name of deceased relative which might be of religious significance. At times, this might be unacceptable to other partner but most of the times in India this problem might not raise because the wife has surrendered her identity. Name plays an important role in defining identity of a child. This might create confusions in his/her mind in case the name has religious significance.

ii. Family Name

The family name is an indicator of various things, most of the times, her/his caste, region class and religion. And as it is an indicator of religion and caste it also shapes the identity of a children and the whole family at large. This might be problematic for wife as she too has to adopt the same family name.

iii. Religious Identity

As society is patriarchal many women think it as an easy option to convert to the spouses' religion. Many have done it voluntarily, or because they had no choice. Many had converted to spouse's religion just to avoid conflicts in bringing up children. Many

thought it would help in adjustment with and acceptance by the in laws. Also it was observed that women in greater number observed the rites and rituals of the new religion.

In case of Mrs C her economic dependence on Mr. C was one of the factors which made her accept her husband's religion voluntarily. Wherever women are economically independent they have more freedom to decide.

Mrs D converted to her husband's religion before marriage to avoid any kind of complications to raise her children. She did it in a clandestine manner which itself indicates so many things.

iv. Personal Records

A birth certificate, death certificate, school leaving certificate, all consists of a caste and religion of an individual. Along with these personal records, for example, in Christianity issues certificates like belonging to a certain church, baptism, and confirmation etc which are needed at various occasions of life. In case a mother does not convert to her husband's religion her children might face problems to get these documents which are needed at various time in life.

v. Mother Tongue

In case mother and father have different mother tongues then this creates another set of complications for the children born out of the wedlock. Even if the residence is patrifocal, still when the children visit maternal relatives conflict might arise. Many a times, even mother might not be able to talk in the language of her husband.

In the above case study of Mr and Mrs C the children are unable to talk any language properly.

2. Issues Related to Enculturation and Socialization

Socialization of children remains the most contested arena in such marriages. Rather actual complications related to inter-religious marriages begin with a birth of a child though couples in such marriages prefer giving birth to less number of children. As society being primarily patriarchal, patri-focal and patri-local, many women accepted the religion of their husband to prevent complications. They also decide to bring up their children into father's religion. But this usually gave rise to next set of complications. Because even though a wife converts to her husband's religion she is unable to fulfill her role as someone who imparts religious education. Primary responsibility of imparting religious education remains with mother. This had posed some problems to the mother who had to impart this education and was unable to do so.

Also many mothers wanted that their children should also know about their religion but were unable to decide on this. But it is an interesting observation that Christian women do arrange to give their children religious education by Sunday school and other church dignitaries. This was also an observation noted by Dr. Usha Bambawale in her book 'Inter-religious marriages'. Majority of respondents were found to be concerned about the future of their children as they believed that children with homogeneous religious background are more acceptable socially.

In the Case of Mr. and Mrs A these complications are seen clearly. Their child is unable to identify himself and is confused whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim. He comes and asks his mother who answers very immaturely that he is half Hindu and half Muslim. The children in certain age expect and need fixed answers without any complications. Here the immaturity of parents adds to complexities of the child. Also in the Case of Mr and Mrs D, though the mother has accepted her husbands religion and the child is brought up into father's faith still when the children visits maternal relatives, they face conflicts and are confused.

Every case in some or the other respect highlights the fact that such couples face complications in raising children. Though there are few cases like that of Mr. and Mrs. E, where they had no problems of socialization because religion has not been in any way important factor in them. Also, it is my personal observation that lower classes are more open to things in life.

3. Quarrels and Arguments

i. Dowry Related

In some castes give and take of dowry is a tradition while in some it is not. So in case a marriage take place across such castes then the wife often gets harassed because she did not get a handsome dowry. This practice is not only among the lower castes but also among the higher castes. At times, it is perceived as a matter of prestige. The daughter in law might face constant mental and at times even physical harassment.

ii. Health of Spouse

In certain cases it was observed that in case a son in law or especially a daughter in law is weak in health this too becomes a ground for taunts and indirect torture for the couple. They ascribe her ill health to caste they belong to.

iii. Infertility, and Gender of Child

Women often face violence in case they are unable to bear a child, or only daughters because of the patriarchal society even if the wedding take place in the caste. So if such things happen in mixed marriages then life of a woman really becomes hell. 'Cross breeding' do remains a widely known reason for infertility among the masses. Along with this, interestingly these dasy even if children are too intelligent also other set of people believe that it is because of inter-caste, inter religious marriages!

A women delivered 2 normal children and one mentally retarded. The reason which all her relatives and people around gave her was because of her inter-religious marriage.

iv. Diet

Diet is not a neutral area. Diet is a reflection of values, culture, belief practice of a caste and religion. A Hindu wife during her interview said that she is a vegetarian and her in laws family non vegetarian so she really faces lot of problems. Every festival and celebration is associated with non vegetarian food so she is unable to associate with the

family and really get involved in it. She says that thankfully her in laws never force her to prepare non vegetarian food.

4. Rites of Transition

Rites of transition is again an important area where a couple in inter religious marriages and their children face actual practical complexities. This is primarily because there are differences among various religions in this aspect.

i. Birth Rituals

With the birth of a child follows certain rituals in every religion. For a couple in mixed marriages might have to decide over which rituals they perform like baptism, naming ceremony, tonsure, ear piercing etc. The couple is forced to take decisions.

ii. Puberty

Puberty in Hinduism is associated with notions of purity-pollution which in Christianity and Islam it is not. So in case of mixed marriages this becomes an issue of contention. As in case study 1, Mrs. A, a Muslim married to a Hindu and staying with Hindu in laws does not stick to the rules of purity and pollution. So even during menstruation she does go near the idols' worshiped by her in laws.

iii. Marriage

The actual course of ceremony of marriage performance too creates conflicts. Many couples as a way out to this perform marriage in the court. This is slowly becoming a trend. But most of the times, marriage is performed according to the rituals of husband's religion and usually once the bride converts to his religion.

iv. Soul Migration Rituals

Every religion has its own explanation for death. Various ideas like karma, rebirth, moksha etc for instance in Hinduism rituals are followed on 10th/ 12th/ 13th/ and 14th day. They consider on 14th day a soul takes a new birth. In Christianity there are certain rituals which are to be done after 40 days. They do not believe in rebirth. Thus, rituals related to

this can create complication in mixed marriages. As stated in the case study of Mr. and Mrs. I, though the family was shocked and in deep grief the relatives had to ask difficult question to his parents, should he be buried or cremated.

Conclusions

In contemporary Indian society, on one hand the impact of religion results in changing structural features of marriage and family and on other hand the institution of family and marriage affect the manifestation and continuity of the some vital aspects of religion today.

One cannot generalize on the basis of these 10 cases but certain trends and patterns can be discerned. Firstly, couple face major dilemma, complexities in the area of enculturation and socialization of children. Many even worry about spouse selection of their children because they believe that children with similar background are more acceptable in the society. Secondly, majority of adjustments both in religious domains and secular domains has to be done by women as the society remains patriarchal. Also, woman adjust easily in broadly secular areas like food, clothing, house, language etc but find it difficult to adjust with prayer, worship mode and festivals. Thirdly, educational and financial status of the couple affects various factors. Fourthly, many parents oppose not because of religious differences but because of social pressure and economic disparity. Fifthly, even after inter-marriage certain stereotypes persist and inhibit the respondents from mixing freely with the spouses group. Lastly, even if problem raise in 'secular' areas of marriage still others and even couples blame it on 'differences of religion' as a cause for it.

Chapter VI

Conclusions

6.1. Conclusions

All these events, rather the brouhaha created around these events, have wider implications. They are not isolated events which take place at certain time only to certain 'unfortunate' people. They are part of very well-planned and organized scheme of communalists. One can discern few commonalities among all these events and can conclude few observations.

Firstly, today in India, it is more apparent than ever women's lives are powerfully linked and regulated by both caste and religious community. There has been a conspicuous shift from the early rhetoric of equality and rights for women. Rather, there are firm dictates to go back to the roles assigned by 'tradition' to women. Thus this leads to 'redefining' and 'disciplining' of women's sexuality.

Secondly, the role of family is significant in case of such cases. Family remains a place where lot of conflicts gets reconciled. If family stands by the couples then the situation do not go out of control. But if family becomes 'victim' of the societal attitudes and is taken over by the communalist groups then the situation becomes really difficult.

Thirdly, one can discern increasing control of State on the lives of individuals. Despite the Constitutional guarantees of various rights the role of the State to ensure such freedom to women remains questionable. The institutions of states like law, police, judiciary, etc are all steeped in prejudice, patriarchal in its approach. Thus often the couples get caught up between their desire, rights guaranteed by the Constitution and social reality. Police, media, and society end up treating these couples as criminals.

Fourthly, the communal politics have further marginalized minority groups and have made them more vulnerable. In turn, all this strengthens the feudal customs and practices

of minority groups which deeply impact women's lives. Minority women are the ones who bear the brunt acutely.

6.2. Further Research Agenda

Any further research related to this topic can focus on the following questions: firstly, an exclusive study is need of time which focuses exclusively on the manner in which the communalist forces affects sexuality of men. How communalist forces 'redefines' masculinity in particular way, both during the time of communal violence and prior to communal violence? How have women and men in such marriages negotiated with these communal forces? What are the strategies which they adopt to deal with such forces? In this study, I have analyzed the 'popular' marriages. It is equally crucial to delineate how women and men in 'not-so-popular' marriages face 'communal' reactions on day to day basis and how they negotiate with them. Also, study focusing on the relationship between the minority communalists and their women too is needed. As the communal politics has further marginalized minority groups and made them more vulnerable to majoritarian aggressions, this has simultaneously contributed to these communities strengthening feudal customs and practices that deeply impact women's lives. This is a special area of study.

6.3. Challenges and Strategies

Lastly, I would like to list what are the major challenges faces by the Indian people today in the context of communalism.

Firstly, what remains a challenge is the fact that there is a communalization of social psyche and the need of time is to de-communalization of social psyche.

Secondly, communalists too make use of language like that of democracy, religion, culture, nationalism etc and also quote leaders like Gandhiji, etc because of which lay people get mislead. They are unable to discern their hidden agenda. We must note that language often is used to hide the real meaning.

Thirdly, what remain a challenge for the feminist and women's movement is the fact that even the right wing women's parties are giving the feeling of 'liberation' to women without challenging the basic patriarchal structure of the family, community and state.

Fourthly, this remains a sensitive subject so people often are not ready to talk openly about this. Also it remains difficult to identify because of its covert nature.

If designed multi-thronged policies the challenges of communalism can be met. Firstly, knowledge is power, so what we need to do is to understand the nature of communalism. Also various conscious rising efforts must be taken among the lay people, school children etc. Secondly, we must raise our voice against it, even if it raises its ugly fangs in any part of the world. For instance in Kashmir, the fundamentalists first put restrictions on the dress code of a women and slowly but surely they came to control every aspect of their life, from what kind of books to read, schools to attend, what clothes to wear, how to spend leisure time. Now they also have a say in very decisive matters like family planning methods etc. If we would have had raised our voice on behalf of our Kashmiri sisters then things would not have had been so bad for Kashmiri women today. Thirdly, gender sensitization workshops of government officials, judiciary, police, media, state officials etc., should also be taken. Fifthly, school text books should be rewritten in gender sensitive way. Sixthly, various support groups and spaces should be created where couples can interact, discuss their problems and be heard.

Appendix 1

M.Phil Questionnaire

1. Personal Details [of both husband and wife]
 - a. name
 - b. religion
 - c. caste
 - d. education
 - e. how many years of marriage
 - f. occupation
2. Details about their marriage?
 - a. When /how did they meet each other?
 - b. Family/ friends/relatives reactions
 - c. How did they get married? According to which religion?
 - d. What are the problems/ complications did they face during marriage?
3. Co-life/ Family life after marriage
 - a. Day to day complexities
 - b. Decisions related to bringing up children – socialization/ enculturation/ birth rituals etc.
4. Attitude towards the religion as institution.
5. Patterns of reconciliation with parents and in laws
6. the problems of personal adjustment
7. attitudes and opinions regarding spouses' religion
8. Any other issues they want to share

Appendix 2

Glossary

LPG – Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization

SAP – Structural Adjustment Programme

AIDWA – All India Democratic Women’s Organization

NRI – Non Resident Indian

RSS – Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

BJP – Bharatiya Janata Party

FGD - Focus Group Discussion

NGO – Non Government Organization

VHP- Vishwa Hindu Parishad

BD – Bajrang Dal

AIMTC - All India Muslim Tyohar Committee

GOI – Government of India

CEDAW- Convention of the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

ICCPR - International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

CERD - International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination

CRC - Convention on the Rights of the Child

CPI (M) – Communist Party of India (Marxist)

JMS – Janawadi Mahila Samiti

APDR – Association for Protection of Democratic Rights

PTI – Press Trust India

References:

Chapter 1 Introduction

Bambawale Usha, 1982, Inter-Religious Marriages, Dastane Ramchandra & Co., Pune.

Bunsha Dionne, 2006, A Serial Kidnapper and his 'mission' in Frontline, Volume 23, Number 25, Dec 29, 2006.

Oxford Dictionary of Sociology, Oxford.

Sarkar Sumit, 2006, Globalization and Communalism in Selected Readings, 2006, International Conference on Peace and Justice in South Asia.

Jackson S and Scott S. (Ed.), 1996, Feminism and Sexuality A Reader, Columbia University Press.

Stiglitz Joseph, 2001, Globalization and its Discontent, Penguin Books.

Giddens Anthony, 2005, Sociology, Polity Press.

AIDWA

MASUM, unpublished

Chandiramani Radhika, A Conversation on Sexual Rights in India, CREA, SANGAMA and TARSHI, 2004.

K.N.Panikkar, 1994, p. 29

Jadhav Radheshyam, 2008, Puneites Married to Tradition, in Times of India, 2008 January 12.

Chandra Bipan, 2004, Communalism a Primer, Anamika Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi.

Parrenas Rhacel, 2001, Transgressing the Nation-State: The Partial Citizenship and "Imagined (Global) Community" of Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers in SIGNS Summer 2001.

Padmini Swaminathan, 2007, Precarious Existence and Deteriorating Work Conditions for Women in India: Implications for Health,

K.N. Panikkar, 1999, Introduction: Defining the Nation as Hindu, in Concerned Indian's Guide to Communalism, 1999, Viking Penguin India, p. xxviii

Karat Brinda, 2004, Liberalization, Communalism and the Struggle against Violence on Women in Survival and Emancipation, 2005, Three Essays Collective.

Sumati Unkule, 2009, M.phil

Kapur and Cossman, 1995, in Sarkar T, and Butalia U, (Ed.) 1995, Women and the Hindu Right, Kali for Women

Sarkar Tanika, 1989,

Kishwar Madhu, Religion at the service of Nationalism an Analysis of Sangh Parivar Politics, MANUSHI

Chhachhi Amrita, 1988, The State, Religious Fundamentalism and Women Trends in South Asia.

Ahuja Ram, Society in India, Rawat, 1999, 2006

Jhabvala Renana, Sinha Shalini, 2002, Liberalization and the Woman Worker, EPW May 25, 2002.

Shelke Nagnath, October 2006, Vivahacha Maukhik Itihaas (1940 – 2006) Jaat, Varga, Lingbhav Vishleshan, M.phil Thesis, University of Pune.

Ch. 2. Literature Review & Methodology

Literature Review

Swaminathan Padmini, (2007), Precarious Existence And Deteriorating Work Conditions For Women In India: Implications For Health, New Solutions, Vol. 17 (1-2) 57-69.

Swaminathan Madhura, 2000, Weakening Welfare the Public Distribution of Food in India, LeftWord Books, New Delhi.

Parrenes Rhacel, Transgressing the Nation-States: The Partial Citizenship and “Imagined (Global) Community” of Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers

Shah A.M., The Family in India, Critical Essays, Orient Longman, 1998.

Cormack Margaret L., 1961, She who Rides a Peacock, New York: Praeger.

Goode William, 1963, World Revolution and Family Patterns, New York, The Free Press, p. 210.

M.S. Gore, 1968, Urbanization and Family Change, Bombay Popular Prakashan.

Vatuk Sylvia, 1972, Kinship and Urbanization, Barkeley, California, the University of Californai Press.

Sumati Unkule, 2009, M.phil

Singer Milton, 1958, The Indian Joint Family in Modern Industry, in Singer and Bernard (Ed.), 1958, Structure and Change in Indian society, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Shah B.V., 1961, Gujarati college students and selection of bride sociological bulletin, 11 (March- September) 1961.

Ross, 1961, The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting, OUP.

Kurian George, 1974, Modern Trends in Mate Selection and Marriage with Special Reference to Kerala in George Kurian (ed.) Family in India: A Regional View, The Hague: Mouton.

Sahai Shailly, 1996, Social Legislation and Status of Hindu Women, Rawat Publications.

Kumari Pratima, 1988, Changing Values among Young Women, Amar Prakashan Delhi.

C.T. Kanan, 1963, Inter-Caste and Inter-Community Marriages in India, Allied Publishers Pvt Ltd, Bombay.

C.A.Hate, 1969, Changing Status of Women in Post-Independence India, Allied Publishers Pvt Ltd, Bombay.

Ramanamma, 1979, Graduate Employed Women in an Urban Setting, Poona, Dastana, Ramchandra Co.

Rao and Rao, 1982, Marriage, the Family and Women in India, Heritage Publishers, New Delhi.

Murdock, 1949, Social Structure, Macmillan.

Krishnamurthy NSR, 1970, The Emerging Young Women of India, Journal of Family Welfare, Vol XVI, No 4, 1970, p. 33-38.

Bumiller Elisabeth, 1990, May you be the mother of hundred sons a journey among the women of India, Penguin Books.

Karat Brinda, 2004, Neo-Liberal Agendas and Rural Women's Concerns, in Survival and Emancipation, 2004, Three Essays Collection.

Sumit Sarkar, (2006) Globalization and Communalism in Selected Readings, Keshav Gore Smarak Trust, Mumbai, 2006.

Karat Brinda, 2004, Liberalization, Communalism and The Struggle Against Violence, in Survival and Emancipation, 2004, Three Essays Collection.

Matson Ron, 2005, The Spirit of Sociology, Pearson Education.

Sumati Unkule, 2009, M.phil

Palriwala Rajni, Uberoi Patricia, (Ed.) 2008, Marriage, Migration and Gender, Sage.

Methodology

Bloor M and Wood F, 2006, Keywords in Qualitative Methods, A Vocabulary of Research Concepts, Sage publications, New Delhi.

Bryman Alan, 2001,

Nielsen, 1990

Damaris Rose, Revisiting Feminist Research Methodologies,

Simmons H., 1996, The Paradox of Case Study, Cambridge Journal of Education, 26 (2): 225-240

Stake, 1995,

Bhushan Vidya and Sachdeva, Sociology A Systematic Introduction, Kitab Mahal.

Yin R.K, 1994, Case Study Research: Designs and Methods (2nd edn), London, Sage.

Haralombus, Sociology, Themes and Perspectives,

Chapter 3 Case Study Presentation

Bunsha Dionne, 2006, A Serial Kidnapper and his 'mission', in Frontline, Volume 23, Number 25, Dec 29, 2006.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rizwanur_Rahman

<http://www.india-forums.com/news/article.asp?id=27578>

Krishnan Kavita, 12 April, 2007, The Borders of Caste and Community, Countercurrents.org

Frontline, Dec 16-29 2006

Punyani Ram, Dasgupta Rajashri, 2007, 16 September, The Times of India, The Telegraph (India)

Chapter 4 Case Study Analysis

Chowdhry, Prem. 2004. *Modern Asian Studies*. Vol. 38, No. 1. "Private Lives, State Intervention: Cases of Runaway Marriage in Rural North India." 55-84

Sumati Unkule, 2009, M.phil

Frontline. 15 July 2005. Vol. 22, Iss. 14. "It Is a Question of Political Will: Interview with Brinda Karat, CPI (M) Polit Bureau Member and AIDWA Vice-President."

Badal Saroj, Communal Goons Turn Marriages Into Nightmares, People's Democracy (Weekly Organ of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) Vol. XXXI , No. 17, April 29, 2007.

Reports

AALI, 2003, Against the Forces, National Consultation on Women's Right to Choose If, When and Whom to Marry: Report and Recommendations
Threatened Existence: A Feminist Analysis of the Genocide in Gujarat, December 2003, Report by the International Initiative for Justice (IIJ), 2003.

Internet Sites

<http://www.expressindia.com/news/fullstory.php?newsid=84735>

<http://www.india-forums.com/news/article.asp?id=27578>

<http://www.infochangeindia.org/analysis134.jsp>

<http://indianchristians.in/news/content/view/573/47>

http://www.cpim.org/pd/2007/0429/04292007_mp.htm

http://www.vivaaha.org/ht_mixed_marriage1.htm

<http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/thscrip/print.pl?file=20050715006400800.htm&date=fl2214/&prd=fline&> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2005]

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rizwanur_Rahman

Chapter 5. Mixed Marriages and Day to Day Life Situations

Usha Bambawale

O'Dea T.F., 1966, The Sociology of Religion, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Parsons 1952, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, New York, Free Press.