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HOW ENDING GENDER VIOLENCE IN INDIA IMPROVES THE NATION'S
INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION AND TOURISM INDUSTRY: A CASE FOR
NATIONALISM

A Thesis Presented

by

SHARON NAMBU DRIPAD SCHIFFER

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

December 2013

Public Affairs- International Relations Track

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ABSTRACT

HOW ENDING GENDER VIOLENCE IN INDIA IMPROVES THE NATION'S INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION AND TOURISM INDUSTRY: A CASE FOR NATIONALISM

December 2013

Sharon Nambudripad Schiffer, B.A., University of Massachusetts Boston
M.S., University of Massachusetts Boston

Directed by Professor Robert Weiner

As nations have become far more interconnected by means of globalization in the 21st century, the issues that affect one nation often have affects upon others. As India is a nation with a population of more than 1.2 billion, the issues that affect the nation also affect others. As an assault in Delhi, India made international news on December 16, 2012, the international community has become more aware of the incidents of gender-based violence that exist within the country. The ramifications of the international community's knowledge of the assault included a drastic decrease in both its international reputation and its tourism industry. As tourism provided 6.6% of its total GDP in 2012, it is an industry that is integral to the development of the nation. In order for India to increase its reputation and its tourism industry, gender-based violence in the form of assault and trafficking must be eradicated. This thesis will discuss the roots of gender-based violence specifically in India, and a case study of India's fight against colonialism will be used as an example of how a sense of nationalism was essential in meeting the goal of the nation at that time. As colonialism and

gender-based violence are both 'enemies' to a nation's autonomy and reputation, this thesis will analyze the fact that the nation's ability to form a cohesive national identity, as it did during British rule, is essential for it to achieve its 2013 goals.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank several people for their help, inspiration, and for their own amazing work in this field and other related fields.

First, I would like to thank my late grandfather, Narayanan Nambudripad, whose mission in life was to improve the conditions of those around him. Until his death in 1995, he worked in medical missions, striving to improve the lives of Indian people of all castes, classes, and religious backgrounds.

Second, I would like to thank a professor who inspired me to believe that change can be made. As a member of the McCormack Graduate School, the late Professor Jalal Alamgir was a great inspiration to me in his work in Bangladesh. He is greatly missed, but his legacy continues.

Third, I would like to thank my parents, Raman Nambudripad and Asha Naomi, whose own beliefs and values have molded my own, particularly in empowering those who are marginalized.

Fourth, I would like to thank my husband, Aaron Schiffer, for his love and support throughout this project.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

In the year 2013, interconnectedness among nations continues. People move to other nations for employment and tourism at a far greater rate than they previously did. As India is a nation of more than one billion, its influence and economy have been of international interest. As a nation that attracts both national and international tourists, individuals are captivated by the nation. It had flourished in the area of tourism, namely from the years 1990 to 2011. However, the December 16, 2012 gang rape case of Delhi, India made international headlines. Due to the awareness of this case, the rates of tourism have declined from 2012 to 2013, primarily among female travelers. As a result, the tourist income that was previously spent within India is being spent in other nations. As a large percentage of India's gross domestic product (GDP) heavily relies on tourism, this decline has clearly negatively impacted the nation. As a post-colonial nation, India's primary concerns are its reputation and increasing its GDP. In order for these goals to be achieved, it is necessary for the nation to improve the human security of women. Although the major international concern has been sexual violence against women, the assault of December 16, 2012 has also increased awareness about human trafficking within the nation. There are clear links between the incidents of sexual violence and trafficking within the nation. In order for India to achieve

both its economic and political goals, it is essential for its internal problem of sex trafficking to be eliminated.

This thesis will analyze the importance of India eradicating gender-based violence including sexual assault and sex trafficking as a means of promoting both its economic and political power in the international system. According to the United States' definition of severity of human trafficking, India is considered to be a “Tier 2 nation” within it, and sexual violence against women has continued to be prevalent. As the nation has gained international reputation as one that has frequent occurrences of sexual violence, tourism has declined. As the nation relies more heavily on tourism than any other export, its development is dependent upon it. Thus, the only way for the nation to increase its tourism, and then in effect, its GDP, is to ensure safety for its own country's women. As attacks have been on foreign women as well, in effect, it decreases international security. As human trafficking is an underground, rampant, illicit trade within the nation, its eradication would indicate higher human security for the nation. In addition to the negative effect upon its own citizens, tourists and expats working in India have lessened human security due to the continual gender-based violence of the nation.

If the nation continues to turn a blind eye to the problem, its influence will have a drastic impact upon the international system. Between the years 1990 and 2011, India's reputation within the international community flourished. Clearly, tourism is a byproduct of globalization. As nations continue to gain reputation within the international system, the influx of foreigners traveling to it increases. Prior to 2013, India was no exception to this rule. Specifically, “World Travel & Tourism Council calculated that tourism generated

INR6.4 trillion 6.6% of the nation's GDP in 2012. It supported 39.5 million jobs, 7.7% of its total employment. The sector is predicted to grow at an average annual rate of 7.9% from 2013 to 2023” (WTTC: 17 September 2012). As the predicted increase in tourism each year is quite substantial, it is clear that the Indian government had great faith in their nation's attractiveness at the time that the report was compiled. However, the reality that has expressed itself varies greatly from the prediction, especially due to the December 16th incident.

If India is unable to promote itself as a nation worth traveling to, it is likely that a nation that promotes a higher degree of human security will replace it. As a nation with a history of colonialism, India must solve the issue by itself rather than relying out outside forces, as a means of promoting human security. If there is an external force coercing the nation to end this atrocity, it effectively loses its autonomy. As two major priorities of the nation of India are to increase its economy and its international reputation, the only way possible for it to do so is to eliminate human trafficking. This thesis will analyze the specific root causes of India's problem of gender-based violence and sex trafficking, and prove that only by eliminating both sexism and casteism in the nation (and promoting a sense of true nationalism) will human trafficking be eradicated.

In 1947, India was capable of achieving independence from British rule. One of the most compelling reasons why the nation was able to achieve the goal of independence is because it was able to work cooperatively against one common enemy: colonialism. Prior to 1947, under British rule, caste and gender divisions were major sources of division. As England's major interest at that time was to promote its own economic interests in the region,

the preexisting divisions within the country were advantageous to the colonial power. Through major social movements from 1857 to 1947, there was one ideology that prevailed: nationalism. Although there were major caste and gender divisions, the unified sense of “Indian” nationality was the major reason why the country was successful in achieving independence. By means of regarding colonialism as a common enemy, the Indian identity was constructed. If human trafficking within the nation is regarded as an “enemy” to the same extent as colonialism was, the same banding together in the name of nationalism is likely to occur. This thesis will argue that gender-based violence is the 2013 “enemy” that colonialism was in the pre-1947 era. As society had the same divisions in the past and were still capable of achieving a sense of unity toward a common goal, this specific piece of history *must* be repeated in order to effectively eradicate gender violence.

In the case of India, in the year 2011, the State Department had declared it a “Tier 2 Watch List nation.” In the year 2012, it advanced to “Tier 2,” which means that it had taken some measures in order to decrease the severity of the organized crime in the nation. As international awareness of sexual violence and trafficking in India have increased, the nation may have had an impetus to decrease the severity of the illicit trade as a means of augmenting its international reputation. However, the fact remains that there *are* individuals that are involved in the illicit trade of humans, even citizens of their own country. This fact is telling of two major factors: the status of those trafficked is perceived as 'lower' than that of the traffickers, and the trafficking business is lucrative. As these fundamental facts prevail in India, the only way for it to be sustainably erased from the nation is by debunking both ideas. This thesis will argue that the incidence of human trafficking in India in fact decreases its

position in the international system. The two aforementioned priorities of the nation: increasing its international reputation and its GDP, cannot be accomplished without the eradication of trafficking. Although the traffickers 'win' by earning \$44.3 billion every year, of which \$31.6 billion are from trafficked victims, according to The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimate of global profits made from forced laborers exploited by private enterprises or agents (ILO, 2012). In addition, world profits from all forced commercial sexual exploitation amount to \$33.9 billion. The occurrence continues to detract from the GDP. This decrease in GDP is through the means of not only declining tourism but also the decrease in potential human capital. More specifically, each individual who is a victim of trafficking has a potential economic value that is unable to be realized. Each victim's responsibility is to pay off a "debt" that has been incurred in the process of trafficking. Instead of being able to work to further develop the country (and in effect, increase the GDP), the "work" that the victim engages in becomes part of the illicit trade. Thus, the prevalence of illicit trade not only negatively impacts the victim but also the economy of the nation.

Methodology

In order to demonstrate the relationship between gender-based violence and India's declining tourism GDP and reputation, this thesis will show the strong connection between empowerment of the Dalit ("untouchable caste") and women and increased security within the nation. As the country's goals are to improve its international reputation and tourism (a large degree of the nation's GDP), government documents, the Indian Constitution, the

United States State Department Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP), and multiple news articles will be used.

Chapter two describes the reason why the current status of India is important to the international community. As a brief chapter, it introduces statistics revealed through both government documents and news articles pertaining to where the nation stands in the world economy and how it contributes by means of tourism and IT fields.

Chapter three describes what human trafficking is, how pervasive the issue is in the international community, and why it continues to exist. The primary source for this chapter is the United States State Department Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP) published in June 2013.

Chapter four uses the information revealed through the TIP report of 2013 to explain the problem within India. In addition, government documents and newspaper articles are used to bolster the fact that it is a pervasive problem in India.

Chapter five explains India's economy and its dependency on tourism for increasing its GDP. Several newspaper articles are used as primary source articles, along with articles related to tourism, and the CIA Factbook. This is the most substantial chapter and includes information about how the awareness of sexual violence in the nation has decreased the economy by means of female workers decreasing their work hours and tourism of foreign females declining. Many of the primary sources include news articles from India written in English.

Chapter six explains the phenomenon of infanticide and how it fuels the gender divisions in the nation. Government documents including statistics are used as primary

sources, in addition to newspaper articles from India and other nations increasing the awareness of the problem. Also, the Indian constitution is used as a means of describing the illegality of the dowry system. This chapter is integral to the argument that sexism is deeply ingrained in Indian society and that the only way for the nation to eradicate violence against women is to empower the group.

Chapter seven describes the current status of the Dalit in the nation. This chapter uses a variation of scholarly articles as secondary sources, the United States State Department Trafficking in Persons Reports (TIP) from 2010 and 2012, and human rights reports. As the discrimination against the Dalit is actually illegal, this chapter is essential in analyzing the breadth of the problem of marginalization.

Chapter eight discusses how India was capable in ending colonial rule due to the fact that the people were able to develop an idea of a shared nationality. The major source for this chapter is Bipan Chandra's 1989 work, *India's Struggle for Independence*. As a 600 page history book, it includes several accounts of how marginalized groups and majority groups alike banded together to achieve what was viewed as a common evil, colonialism. As this is provided as a case study, the fact that India was able to achieve a common goal by virtue of developing a sense of nationalism was imperative in achieving its goal. This history case is used as an example from which modern-day India should learn from and adapt according to the modern-day enemy that exists: gender-based violence.

Chapter nine, the conclusion, wraps up the information expressed in the thesis. It states that the only way for India to achieve its goals of increased GDP and international reputation is by means of eradicating discrimination against women and the Dalit. It also

offers a primary source article, a recent news article from India, which describes an alternative model of an Indian man that is almost never mentioned in news articles or other media sources. The postulate is that if such a man becomes a role model in the nation, his influence is likely to change the mentality of men within the nation.

CHAPTER 2

WHY INDIA?

India's current population is 1.27 billion (CIA Factbook) and the size of its economy is tenth in the world. Due to the great diversity within the nation, it has had a long history of tourism. As a massive nation, its exports of IT, software, medicine and tourism have increased the interest in the nation. Due to economic recessions in various other countries, India became a destination for expats. As there is a great deal of interconnectedness among nations due to globalization, the internal problems within the nation of India become the concern of the international system. As the economies of nations continue to become more connected to one another, the internal problems that exist within the land of 1.27 billion are likely to affect the world at large.

After the December 16, 2012 gang rape incident occurred in Delhi, India, India's pervasive problem of gender-based violence became international news. Protest spread like wildfire throughout not only India but also other nations. The act of violence caused both national and international tourism to decline, female employees within the nation started reducing their work hours or quitting as a means of ensuring their own safety, and the international reputation declined. After the December 16, 2012 incident, headlines swarmed with negative views of India, particularly in regard to sexual violence against women. As a nation that has experienced nearly twelve months of heightened fear among would-be

tourists, declining GDP due to the nation's dependency upon foreign capital earned through trade, and increasing awareness of sex trafficking in the nation, India has a lot at stake. As the nation holds nearly one-seventh of the world's population, its interconnectedness with other countries is monumental.

CHAPTER 3

WHAT IS HUMAN TRAFFICKING?

According to the United States' Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report of 2013, “Trafficking in persons” and “human trafficking” have been used as umbrella terms for the act of recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining a person for compelled labor or commercial sex acts through the use of force, fraud, or coercion. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000 (Pub. L. 106-386), as amended, and the Palermo Protocol describe this compelled service using a number of different terms, including involuntary servitude, slavery or practices similar to slavery, debt bondage, and forced labor” (United States State Department Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP), 2013, 29).

Sex trafficking, one of the most common within India, is defined as, “When an adult is coerced, forced, or deceived into prostitution—or maintained in prostitution through one of these means after initially consenting—that person is a victim of trafficking. Under such circumstances, perpetrators involved in recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining a person for that purpose are responsible for trafficking crimes. Sex trafficking also may occur within debt bondage, as women and girls are forced to continue in prostitution through the use of unlawful “debt” purportedly incurred through their transportation, recruitment, or even their crude “sale”—which exploiters insist they must pay off before they can be free. A person’s initial consent to participate in prostitution is not legally

determinative: if one is thereafter held in service through psychological manipulation or physical force, he or she is a trafficking victim and should receive benefits outlined in the Palermo Protocol and applicable domestic laws.” (TIP, 2013: 29).

In specific regard to India, given the prevalent discrimination against both women and Dalit in the nation, the culture of the nation perpetuates the crime. The State Department Report defines this as, “Some victims are subjected to trafficking by members of their own family or ethnic group. Misperceptions that this is a shared value among an ethnic group ignore the methods of force and coercion used by individual traffickers, and can create a zone of impunity in an ethnic community, with the result that victims in that group will never see their abusers brought to justice. These prejudices fail to reduce victims’ vulnerability to exploitation and often obscure the true demographics of who is subjected to certain types of trafficking” (TIP: 2013, 29).

As this thesis will show, much of the trafficking that exists within India is within the same country. Thus, “migration” will come to be known as merely the movement of people from one region of the country to another. In specific regard to this, “Migrants are particularly vulnerable to this form of human trafficking, but individuals also may be forced into labor in their own countries. Female victims of forced or bonded labor, especially women and girls in domestic servitude, are often sexually exploited as well” (TIP: 2013, 31).

In terms of how the State Department Report was compiled, “The Department of State prepared this Report using information from U.S. embassies, government officials, nongovernmental and international organizations, published reports, news articles, academic studies, research trips to every region of the world, and information submitted to

tipreport@state.gov. This email address provides a means by which organizations and individuals can share information with the Department of State on government progress in addressing trafficking” (TIP: 2013, 41).

In addition, the Department of State has a method of determining “tiers” of the problem. This is specifically defined as, “one of four tiers, as mandated by the TVPA. This placement is based more on the extent of government action to combat trafficking than on the size of the problem. The analyses are based on the extent of governments’ efforts to reach compliance with the TVPA’s minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking, which are consistent with the Palermo Protocol” (TIP: 2013, 41).

The least severe of the Tiers, defined as Tier 1, states that, “While Tier 1 is the highest ranking, it does not mean that a country has no human trafficking problem. Rather, a Tier 1 ranking indicates that a government has acknowledged the existence of human trafficking, has made efforts to address the problem, and meets the TVPA’s minimum standards. Each year, governments need to demonstrate appreciable progress in combating trafficking to maintain a Tier 1 ranking” (TIP, 2013: 41). The framework of this suggests that even nations with a Tier 1 rating may, in fact, be a haven for human trafficking.

The way in which the State Department defines the tiers is by taking the following factors into consideration: “Enactment of laws prohibiting severe forms of trafficking in persons, as defined by the TVPA, and provision of criminal punishments for trafficking offenses; criminal penalties prescribed for human trafficking offenses with a maximum of at least four years’ deprivation of liberty, or a more severe penalty; implementation of human trafficking laws through vigorous prosecution of the prevalent forms of trafficking in the

country; proactive victim identification measures with systematic procedures to guide law enforcement and other government-supported front-line responders in the process of victim identification; government funding and partnerships with NGOs to provide victims with access to primary health care, counseling, and shelter, allowing them to recount their trafficking experiences to trained social counselors and law enforcement in an environment of minimal pressure; victim protection efforts that include access to services and shelter without detention and with legal alternatives to removal to countries in which victims would face retribution or hardship; the extent to which a government ensures victims are provided with legal and other assistance and that, consistent with domestic law, proceedings are not prejudicial to victims' rights, dignity, or psychological well-being; the extent to which a government ensures the safe, humane, and to the extent possible, voluntary repatriation and reintegration of victims; and governmental measures to prevent human trafficking, including efforts to curb practices identified as contributing factors to human trafficking, such as employers' confiscation of foreign workers' passports and allowing labor recruiters to charge prospective migrants recruitment or placement fees" (TIP, 2013: 41-42). As the United States Department of State has defined the tiers according to the aforementioned criteria, each nation is evaluated and determined to be in one of the following Tiers: One, Two, Two Watch List, and Three.

Tier 2 is defined as, "Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards" (TIP, 2013: 44). Tier 2 Watch List is defined as, "Tier 2

Watch List Countries where governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards, but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards, and a) the absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing; b) there is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year, including increased investigations, prosecution, and convictions of trafficking crimes, increased assistance to victims, and decreasing evidence of complicity in severe forms of trafficking by government officials; or c) the determination that a country is making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance with minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional steps over the next year" (TIP, 2013: 45-46). The most severe of the tiers, Tier 3, is defined as, "Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards and are not making significant efforts to do so" (TIP: 2013, 46). As a means of declaring just how severe human trafficking is, the United States institutes certain punishments for Tier 3 nations. These include, "Pursuant to the TVPA, governments of countries on Tier 3 may be subject to certain sanctions whereby the U.S. government may withhold or withdraw non-humanitarian, non-trade-related foreign assistance. In addition, countries on Tier 3 may not receive funding for government employees' participation in educational and cultural exchange programs. Consistent with the TVPA, governments subject to sanctions would also face U.S. opposition to assistance (except for humanitarian, trade-related, and certain development-related assistance) from international financial institutions such as the international Monetary Fund and the World Bank" (TIP, 2013: 47).

As the United States' State Department Trafficking in Persons Report is compiled each year by a group of experts, international awareness of each nation is in printed form. As any individual from any nation has access to this information, the reputation of each individual nation can become tainted due to the information received. India, as one of the nations concerned about its international reputation, is ranked as a Tier 2 nation in regard to human trafficking. As there has been a myriad of news reports describing India as a place that is unsafe for women, many of the reports include India's failure to both prevent and prosecute incidents of trafficking.

Why Trafficking Persists

In nations where there is a lack of human security and weak law enforcement, trafficking persists. In addition to these factors, corruption in the form of bribing law enforcement agents (TIP, 2013) aids in allowing the illicit trade to exist. If individuals are aware of the methods of law enforcement agents, they are able to avoid being caught by finding new routes to move their victims through. As such individuals are motivated by selling individuals into bondage, even the strictest laws do not deter them.

As globalization has made countries more interconnected, the priorities of nations are to promote themselves for the means of increasing their own economies. Such promotion includes the development of city centers, which are used to accommodate both domestic and international business. As massive urbanization has been a contributing factor to internal human trafficking, where employment opportunities are concentrated in urban areas. Due to this, individuals from rural areas migrate to urban centers in search of employment. As one

of the most prominent methods of coercing individuals into trafficking is through false job advertisements, the illicit trade is able to thrive in nations experiencing a high degree of urban growth. As nationals are aware of their own country's job opportunities, they often migrate to the city center in pursuit of such employment.

In nations where there are marginalized peoples, traffickers have an advantage. This is to say that individuals that are regarded as 'lower' within his or her own nation are likely to not have the same degree of human security as those with a higher status. In a nation like India, both casteism (toward the Dalit) and sexism act as contributing factors as to why trafficking within the nation is so pervasive. In the absence of a cohesive national identity, individuals are segmented into specific groups and are viewed as being 'different' from one another. As there is so much segmentation within the nation of India, groups of different castes or genders are even unlikely to interact. If there is an absence of interaction between groups, there is a very low chance that unity can even occur.

In addition to the societal roots of trafficking, there is a great financial incentive. The International Labor Organization estimates that human trafficking worldwide has a profit of \$44.3 billion every year, of which \$31.6 billion are from trafficked victims (International Labor Organization, 2012). The International Labor Organization's 2012 estimate states that, “There are 9.1 million victims (44% of the total) who have moved either internally or internationally, while the majority, 11.8 million (56%), are subjected to forced labour in their place of origin or residence” (ILO, 2012). Linking both sexual violence and trafficking, “The new data, however, confirm the ILO’s previous conclusion that women and girls are more affected by forced labor, and particularly by forced sexual exploitation” (ILO, 2012: 17).

However, as an illicit crime, it is so difficult to accurately calculate the number of individuals trafficked and the profits generated through the process.

How Trafficking Undermines Development

As government documents and newspaper articles connected to the status of the country have stated, one of India's major goals is to continue to develop. The reason why this is of the utmost concern to the nation is due to the desire to increase its GDP through both international trade and tourism. However, the fact is that illicit trade through human trafficking impedes development.

As India is still labeled a “developing country,” according to the definition of international standards, development should be of the utmost concern to the nation. This is exemplified through, “The 2005 World Summit Outcome Document expressed Member States’ “grave concern at the negative effects on development, peace and security and human rights posed by transnational crime, including the smuggling of and trafficking in human beings,” (A/RES/60/1 at 111). The General Assembly has most recently reiterated this concern and noted the increasing vulnerability of states to such crime in Resolution A/Res/66/181 (Strengthening the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme, in particular its technical cooperation capacity). The Assembly has also recognized that “despite continuing increased efforts by States, relevant organizations, civil society and non-governmental organizations, the world drug problem...undermines socioeconomic and political stability and sustainable development.” See A/Res/66/183” (UN General Assembly, 2012 June 26).

Further, as “economic development is threatened by transnational organized crime and illicit drugs, countering crime must form part of the development agenda, and social and economic development approaches need to form part of our response to organized crime. If we are to ensure that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are achieved, strengthen strategies to deliver these goals must be strengthened, including stepping up efforts to address issues such as money laundering, corruption and trafficking in wildlife, people and arms, and drugs. Organized crime and drugs impact every economy, in every country, but they are particularly devastating in weak and vulnerable countries. Weak and fragile countries are particularly vulnerable to the effects of transnational organized crime. It is estimated that up to US\$40 billion annually is lost through corruption in developing countries” (UN General Assembly, 2012 June 26).

India's own economy has been greatly affected by the factors exemplified through, “Drugs and crime undermine development by eroding social and human capital. This degrades quality of life and can force skilled workers to leave, while the direct impacts of victimization, as well as fear of crime, may impede the development of those that remain. By limiting movement, crime impedes access to possible employment and educational opportunities, and it discourages the accumulation of assets” (UN General Assembly, 2012 June 26). Crime is also deemed to be more 'expensive' for poor people in poor countries, and disadvantaged households may struggle to cope with the shock of victimization. Drugs and other illicit crime also undermine development by driving away business. Both foreign and domestic investors see crime as a sign of social instability, and crime drives up the cost of

doing business. In addition, tourism is a sector especially sensitive to crime issues. (UN General Assembly, 2012 June 26).

As India has clearly seen, tourism has sharply declined due to the awareness of sexual violence at the end of 2012. This is further explained through, “Drugs and crime, moreover, undermine the ability of the state to promote development by destroying the trust relationship between the people and the state, and undermining democracy and confidence in the criminal justice system. When people lose confidence in the criminal justice system, they may engage in vigilantism, which further undermines the state” (UN General Assembly, 2012 June 26).

This information suggests that the perpetuation of trafficking may be due to lack of confidence in the criminal justice system of the nation. More specifically, it suggests that traffickers do not have an incentive to stop engaging in illicit trade if the law enforcement within the nation does not become vigilant.

CHAPTER 4

INDIA'S PROBLEM WITH HUMAN TRAFFICKING

According to the 2013 State Department TIP Report, “India is a source, destination, and transit country for men, women, and children subjected to forced labor and sex trafficking. Some NGOs observe that the level of human trafficking is increasing in the areas in which they work. The forced labor of an estimated 20 to 65 million citizens constitutes India’s largest trafficking problem; men, women, and children in debt bondage are forced to work in industries such as brick kilns, rice mills, agriculture, and embroidery factories. A common characteristic of bonded labor is the use of physical and sexual violence as coercive means.” (TIP: 2013, 195).

The Indian Constitution Article 17 officially abolished casteism, “Abolition of Untouchability-- Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of “Untouchability” shall be an offense punishable in accordance with law” (India Const. art. XXVII). In addition, the Constitution clearly states that human trafficking and exploitation is against the law in its Article 23, “Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labor.—(1) Traffic in human beings and other similar forms of forced labor are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. (2) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from imposing compulsory service for public purposes, and in imposing such service the

State shall not make any discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste or class or any of them” (India Const. Art. VVIII). Although these laws are clearly outlined in the nation's Constitution, the enforcement of such laws is lacking.

The State Department TIP Report reports, “Ninety percent of trafficking in India is internal, and those from India’s most disadvantaged social strata, including the lowest castes, are most vulnerable. Trafficking between Indian states is rising due to increased mobility, rapid urbanization, and a growth in a number of industries that use forced labor such as construction, textiles, cable, biscuit factories, and floriculture,” (TIP: 2013, 195). Due to lack of opportunities within various regions in India, migration within the nation has become the norm.

In addition, “Sex trafficking of women and girls within the country is widespread. Religious pilgrimage centers and cities popular for domestic tourism continue to be vulnerable to child sex tourism.” Furthermore, “There are increasing reports of women and girls from northeastern states and Odisha being sold or coerced into forced marriages in states with low female-to-male gender ratios, including Haryana and Punjab, some of whom are subsequently forced into prostitution or labor by their new “families.” Indian women and girls are also subjected to sexual exploitation in the Middle East under the guise of temporary marriages” (TIP: 2013, 195). Clearly linking the problem of sexual violence in the nation to human trafficking, “Women and girls—including those in child marriages fleeing domestic violence from their husbands are particularly vulnerable to human trafficking” (TIP: 2013, 195). This fact directly links sexual violence to trafficking, stating that one factor that impedes human security leads to further insecurity.

In regard to actually stopping the atrocity, “Sex trafficking establishments continue to move from more traditional locations—such as brothels in densely populated urban areas—to locations that are harder to find, such as to residential areas in cities and to rural areas.” (TIP: 2013, 195). Also, law enforcement agents are incapable of actually cracking down and locating incidents of trafficking due to, “Sex traffickers increasingly procure false identification documents for child victims to evade detection by police. Traffickers are increasingly better organized and adapting to state government crackdowns on well-known establishments or routes of human trafficking” (TIP: 2013, 195). Due to the fact that traffickers are knowledgeable of where trafficking routes are and have adapted their own routes accordingly, it is clear that it is not the lack of law enforcement that causes the atrocity to continue. Rather, the fact that traffickers go through all the trouble of adapting their routes according to what law enforcement agents are not familiar with. In addition, the falsifying of documents is further evidence that those involved in this illicit activity will find any method to continue to participate in the action.

In regard to the Indian government's effectiveness in eradicating trafficking, “The Government of India does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so. In April 2013, the government amended the penal code in a manner that greatly improves the country’s laws, broadening the types of crimes considered to be trafficking and establishing more stringent sentences for traffickers. The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) continued to establish AntiHuman Trafficking Units (AHTUs), which were responsible for combining law

enforcement and rehabilitation efforts. Some of these local-level units were criticized as being ineffective or only established on paper” (TIP:2013, 195).

This is further explained through, “The government provided no information on investigations or prosecutions of trafficking offenses or on convictions or punishments of trafficking offenders. In many areas, protection services provided by the government were inadequate. The complicity of some government officials in human trafficking remained a serious and unaddressed problem which impeded efforts to adequately fight the crime. A variety of sources noted the Indian central government approached human trafficking in an uncoordinated, piecemeal fashion, its prioritization of anti trafficking efforts decreased over the year, and some officials’ inertia and indifference impeded efforts,” (TIP:2013, 195).

The specific recommendations that the State Department gave the nation were, “Cease the penalization of victims of human trafficking; increase prosecutions and convictions of all forms of trafficking, including bonded labor, respecting due process, and report on these law enforcement efforts; prosecute officials allegedly complicit in trafficking, and convict and punish those found guilty; fully capacitate AHTUs by providing dedicated, trained staff, clarifying the role of AHTUs vis-a-vis other police units; encourage AHTUs to address all forms of trafficking, including forced labor of adults and children; improve protections for trafficking victims who testify against their traffickers; improve central and state government implementation of protection programs and compensation schemes to ensure that identified trafficking victims receive benefits” (TIP:2013, 196).

Although these recommendations certainly provide justice and safety for the victims, it does not actually address the root of the problem. As the document suggests, the persecution of

those involved in trafficking is likely to deter the action from continuing. However, the specific hierarchy of humanity that exists in India is not taken into account while making these suggestions.

The suggestions continue that the nation should, “Promptly disburse government funding for anti-trafficking shelter homes and develop monitoring mechanisms to ensure quality of care; develop and implement standard operating procedures to harmonize victim identification and repatriation, and prosecution of suspected trafficking offenders when trafficking crimes cross state lines; provide funding for states to establish fast-track courts that deal with all forms of human trafficking; and require state governments to comply with the October 2012 Supreme Court judgment on bonded labor” (TIP: 2013, 196). As these suggestions are likely to provide justice for current victims, it again does not address the root causes of why the crime continues to persist in the nation.

The Indian government's laws consist of, “In April 2013, the government adopted the Criminal Law Amendments Act of 2013, which introduced a number of changes to the Indian Penal Code (IPC). The amended Section 370 prohibits and penalizes all forms of labor trafficking and most forms of sex trafficking, and prescribes sufficiently stringent penalties, ranging from seven years to life imprisonment which are commensurate with the penalties prescribed for other serious crimes, such as rape. The new Section 370 does not, however, provide that the prostitution of a child under the age of 18 is an act of human trafficking in the absence of coercive means, the standard of the Palermo Protocol. Section 370 criminalizes government officials’ involvement in human trafficking, prescribing sentences up to life imprisonment” (TIP :2013, 196).

Further laws include, “India prohibits most forms of sex trafficking under the Immoral Traffic Prevention Act (ITPA) and various provisions of the IPC. However, the ITPA also criminalizes other offenses, including prostitution, and is often used to prosecute sex trafficking victims. An expert estimated 85 percent of all prosecutions under the ITPA were against the women in prostitution rather than the traffickers” (TIP: 2013, 196). This evidence is telling of the fact that there is an inherent hierarchy of male dominance within the country.

Failure of the nation to report the data regarding trafficking includes, “The Government of India did not report comprehensive law enforcement data on human trafficking. Information publicly released as human trafficking data by the National Crimes Record Bureau actually contained aggregated data under the ITPA (which included statistics on the government’s penalization of trafficking victims), and a limited number of IPC provisions which only addressed sex trafficking of girls rather than a broader range of human trafficking crimes; in addition, the data provided did not specify the number of investigations, prosecutions, and convictions” (TIP: 2013, 196).

Further, “As a result of a combination of factors, including intimidation by police and traffickers, lengthy trials, and lack of knowledge of or faith in the justice system, many victims relied heavily on NGOs to assist in the pursuit of prosecutions. Some observers continued to criticize the categorization of trafficking crimes as “bailable offenses,” which allowed defendants to be released on bail pending trial and in some cases resulted in the defendants absconding before trial. Prosecutions of inter-state trafficking offenses imposed financial and logistical burdens on repatriated victims who were required to return to the state

in which they had been exploited to testify in trial. Due to inadequate implementation, victims frequently had to wait a year or more to receive victim compensation funds. Furthermore, poor victim-witness protections generally discouraged victims from testifying against their alleged trafficking offenders” (TIP: 2013, 196). As the legal system clearly does not have the victim's best interest in mind, it is not surprising that the illicit act has not been eradicated.

Additionally, “There was little information about the progress made by the federal anti-trafficking unit under the Central Bureau of Investigation, which was established during the previous reporting period. The government continued to implement its three-year nationwide anti-trafficking effort by disbursing funds to state governments to establish approximately 100 new Anti-Human Trafficking Units in local-level police departments during the reporting period, for a total of approximately 300 AHTUs” (TIP: 2013, 197). However, actual funds were used in order to train police officers, “The government funded police officers to participate in a six-month anti-trafficking course at the Indira Gandhi National Open University. Some state governments conducted training for the judiciary and police, and the Karnataka government conducted trainings on bonded labor and the implementation of the BLSA. Various state government agencies provided in-kind contributions, such as facilities, to trainings organized by NGOs and international organizations” (TIP: 2013, 197). Although the implementation of such programs are excellent in theory, the stratification of the nation continues to be ignored. Additionally, “In October 2012, the Supreme Court issued a judgment which described noncompliance by state governments of numerous prior judgments regarding the implementation of the BLSA. It

directed state governments to comply with these previous judgments and to take a number of other measures to enforce the bonded labor law” (TIP: 2013, 197).

From the perspective of the State Department Report, “India made efforts to protect and assist trafficked victims, but the penalization of trafficking victims remained a serious concern. A 2009 MHA non-binding directive advises state government officials to use standard operating procedures (SOPs) to identify trafficking victims proactively and refer them to protection services; however, there is no information that these SOPs are in use, and the government did not provide comprehensive information on the number of trafficking victims it identified” (TIP: 2013, 197). Further scrutiny of the Indian government includes, “The Government of India continued to fund the Swadhar program—which helps female victims of violence, including sex trafficking—and the Ujjwala program—which seeks to protect and rehabilitate female sex trafficking victims—generally through shelter homes. However, long delays in financing these two programs, as well as corruption in securing licenses and funds, led to the closure of many of these homes and also prevented NGOs from opening new homes. The lack of government oversight and monitoring of these care facilities led to much criticism of the Swadhar and Ujjwala programs, particularly as several cases of abuse were discovered in these and other private trafficking victim care homes in the reporting period” (TIP: 2013, 197).

Predominantly due to lack of funds, “Both NGO and government shelters faced financial shortages and an insufficient number of trained personnel, particularly medical and psychological counselors. A number of government shelters under these programs were overcrowded and unhygienic, offered poor food, and provided limited services. The lack of

adequate security in a government-funded Ujjawala home in Hyderabad made it possible for a nine-member gang to break in and kidnap four trafficking victims; two previous kidnap attempts took place in the preceding months” (TIP: 2013, 197). Although the nation is experiencing economic growth, it is clear that the funds are not effectively allocated toward strengthening civil society by means of providing human security.

In addition, “State and district governments responsible for the implementation of directives continued to apply them unevenly. Some state governments provided services geared to protect victims. For instance, from April to December 2012, the Tamil Nadu government funded programs in shelters to provide training for printing, embroidery, tailoring, and other trades. The Andhra Pradesh government provided immediate financial support to rescued trafficking victims of approximately the equivalent of \$185” (TIP:2013, 198). This data suggests that the priority of trafficked victims' rights varies substantially depending on the region of the nation.

A step in the direction of eliminating trafficking is shown through, “In general, Indian cities and states performed better in protecting trafficking victims when there was a presence of strong NGOs. The government did not encourage trafficking victims to participate in investigations or prosecutions against their alleged traffickers. In most cases, NGOs assisted rescued victims in providing evidence to prosecute suspected traffickers” (TIP:2013, 198). This data suggests that grassroots movements, led by citizens of the nation, may in fact be the step toward eradication of trafficking.

Specific prevention programs include, “The Government of India continued its efforts to prevent human trafficking. The MHA’s Anti-Trafficking Cell continued bimonthly

interministerial meetings on trafficking, which also included participation of anti-trafficking officers from state governments. The MWCD's inter-ministerial anti-trafficking committee held routine meetings regarding the government's policy directives on trafficking. The MHA recognized certain state governments for their efforts on human trafficking. The state governments of Assam and Andhra Pradesh were each given awards of approximately the equivalent of \$3,500. The MOIA continued to conduct safe emigration awareness campaigns. Some state government organized public awareness events. For instance, West Bengal organized a dance drama performed by trafficking victims" (TIP:2013, 198). Although these efforts are valiant, none of them mention empowerment of women or the Dalit within the nation.

Other efforts include, "The government made efforts to reduce the demand for commercial sex acts by prosecuting of clients of prostitution in bars, brothels, lodges, and hotels. Section 370A of the April 2013 Criminal Law Amendments Act appears to criminalize the "sexual exploitation in any manner" of trafficking victims, including those trafficked for sexual exploitation and for forced labor, with penalties ranging from a minimum sentence of three years' imprisonment (for exploiting adult victims) to five years' imprisonment (for exploiting child victims)" (TIP:2013, 198). Even though the governmental efforts to eliminate the atrocity are valiant, there are two major elements that have been glossed over. The first element is that there has not been any mention of banding together a common sense of 'nationalism' within the nation. The second is that human trafficking is not yet viewed as an 'enemy' that all Indians can fight against. Until these two factors are implemented into society, the movement to end trafficking will remain stagnant.

CHAPTER 5

INDIA'S ECONOMY

Factors Contributing to the Economy

India has capitalized on its large educated English-speaking population to become a major exporter of information technology services, business outsourcing services, and software workers. In 2010, the Indian economy was one of the few to experience a recovery from the global financial crisis, in large part because of strong domestic demand, and growth exceeded 8% year-on-year in real terms. However, India's economic growth began slowing in 2011 because of a slowdown in government spending and a decline in investment, caused by investor pessimism about the government's commitment to further economic reforms and also due to the global financial situation (CIA Factbook).

Further reasons why outside investors have been pessimistic about the prospect of investing in India include its internal challenges: poverty, corruption, violence and discrimination against women and girls, decades-long civil litigation dockets, inadequate transport and agricultural infrastructure, limited non-agricultural employment opportunities, inadequate availability of quality basic and higher education, and accommodating rural-tourban migration, to name a few (CIA Factbook). As many of these development factors remained unchanged or even decreased, the capital of foreign investment declined. Its economy is broken down in the following way: agriculture: 17.4%, industry: 26.1% services:

56.5%, according to a 2012 estimate. Within the sector of services, tourism contributes to a large amount.

How Tourism Contributes to the Economy

As a developing country of 1.3 billion people, India's tourism industry is one of the most important for its economy. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), the tourism industry is nearly three times bigger than the size of automotive manufacturing industry and generates more jobs than the chemical manufacturing, automotive manufacturing, communications and mining sectors added together (WTTC, 2012).

Specifically, “Travel & Tourism’s total contribution, including direct, indirect and induced impacts to GDP in India was INR6.7 billion around 6.4% of total GDP. This compares to 3.3% for automotive manufacturing, 4.5% for education and 3.7% for the mining industry” (WTTC, 2012). Clearly, the tourism industry is extremely important to the Indian economy. In addition, “It also highlights that Travel & Tourism is a significant source of export revenue for India. In 2011, visitor exports totaled INR950 billion which was 12% of all service exports and 3.9% of all exports.”

More specific data regarding tourism include: “In India INR55 million (US\$1 million) in Travel & Tourism spending:

- generates INR72 million (US\$1.3 million) in GDP which is greater than the agriculture, automotive and chemicals industry
- generates INR10 million (US\$189,000) of gross value added in agriculture

- generates INR6 million (US\$109,000) in the wholesale and retail sector
- supports 407 jobs, which is more than the average of communication services (381 jobs), financial services (329 jobs), manufacturing (315 jobs) and chemicals (231 jobs)” (WTTC, 2012).

As is clear through the data, if not for the tourism industry, development of India would decline. Direct praise for India's ability to promote tourism is shown through, “David Scowsill, President & CEO, WTTC said: “The numbers in this study are really insightful, demonstrating that Travel & Tourism plays a leading role by creating jobs, restoring economic growth and helping to eliminate poverty. The Indian Government is doing great things in promoting the industry” (WTTC: India: How Does Travel & Tourism compare to other sectors, 2011). As this data suggests, job growth and economy-increasing are both important components of Indian tourism. However, this data is from 2011. The specific data from 2011 shows that, “Travel & Tourism generated, either directly or indirectly, 6.4% of India’s GDP in 2011. This is nearly 50% greater than the size of education’s GDP impact at 4.4%” (WTTC, 2011).

Also, “Travel & Tourism direct industry GDP expanded 229% between 1990 and 2011 while the total economy expanded 279%” (WTTC, 2011). As this data suggests, globalization played a large role in the promotion of India's economy. As India's economy became significantly more interconnected to other countries by 1990, this data is not too surprising. In addition, “Travel & Tourism is the tenth largest Indian export as visitors purchase goods and services with foreign currency” (WTTC, 2011). Obviously, without

tourists in the nation, there would be no way that goods and services could be purchased with this mentioned “foreign currency.”

Other specific links between direct tourism and its impact upon the economy are explicated through, “Travel & Tourism is interconnected with the entire Indian economy. These links exist through the supply chain to the Tourism industry (indirect linkages) as well as through tourism-earned incomes as they are spent across a variety of other sectors” (WTTC, 2011). Also, “For every \$1 million in Travel & Tourism sales, \$189,000 of gross value added is generated in the agriculture. The wholesale and retail sector gains \$109,000 for every \$1 million in spending on Travel & Tourism” (WTTC, 2011). Further data is represented through, “For every \$1 million in Travel & Tourism spending, 407 jobs are supported. (258 direct, 94 indirect, and 55 induced). This compares favorably to the average of the economy, which generates 599 jobs per \$1 million in spending. Financial services: 329 jobs per \$1 million; Auto manufacturing: 315 jobs per \$1 million; Communications: 381 jobs per \$1 million; Chemicals: 231 jobs per \$1 million” (WTTC, 2011). As can be directly seen, the link between tourism and the economy is great news for the development of the country. As a nation that has only been independent of colonial rule for less than seventy years, its sovereignty is of utmost importance to it. As tourism income is generated directly from the hands of a tourist into the economy, the need for foreign aid decreases. As the nation continues to promote its own state sovereignty, as continuing to be a desirable location for tourists, its dependency upon aid from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund is likely to decrease. In addition to the sheer profit that tourism generates for the country, the pride associated with the nation earning its own income by means of tourism promotes its

own power within the international system. In addition, the indirect effect of the increase in tourism within the nation increases its reputation within the international system.

National Response to December 16, 2012

As early as January 4, 2013, a *Washington Post* article, “India's Rape Problem is Already Taken an Economic Toll” was published. The article explicitly states, “The most obvious economic implication of India's problem with violence against women—recently symbolized by the shocking assault and gang rape of a New Delhi woman on a moving bus is that it helps keep India's 600 million women marginalized” (Max Fisher, 2013). Also, “the World Economic Forum ranks India 123rd in the world by women's economic participation and 121st by educational attainment” (Fisher, 2013).

His analysis continues, “Whatever social attitudes help make violence against women so prevalent in India probably also inform the challenges Indian women face in accessing education and work. Attitudes toward women—only 35 percent of whom work, meaning hundreds of potential workers stay at home-- are almost certainly part of the [poverty] problem” (Fisher, 2013). He references a study by the Indian chamber of commerce office, called Assocham, that was taken across several cities, which concluded that 82% of Indian women say that they will reduce their work hours in order to prevent commuting after dark, when the risk of assault is likely to be higher. Some completely quit due to fear that commuting at all would be too dangerous (Fisher, 2013).

The data from this study was first reported in a January 4, 2013 article from the *Wall Street Journal*, “After Rape, Women Employees Scared to Work Late,” written by Dhanya

Ann Thoppil. The article reveals, “82% of the 2,500 women surveyed by the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India (Assocham) in several Indian cities said that they are leaving the office earlier in order to prevent commuting after dark, where assault is more likely to happen,” (Thoppil, 2013). The survey was based on women working in the information technology and outsourcing sector, where female employees are well represented. More specifically, “One in three women working in the IT sector in Delhi either reduced their working hours or quit their jobs completely” (Thoppil, 2013). Thus, the productivity of women employed in the IT sector in the Delhi area had dropped by as much as 40%. As background information, there are about 2,200 IT and outsourcing companies in the Delhi area, employing over 250,000 women. As there has been a substantial decline in the IT industry, it is sure to have adverse effects upon the nation's economy. In addition, as female employment is often a contributing factor to decreased economic dependency, the rape incident has had a negative impact not only upon the Indian economy but also its development. In addition to the large number of female workers within Delhi, women who take public transportation to work in Bangalore, Mumbai, and Chennai have also reacted similarly (Thoppil, 2013). As a response to the mass exodus of female employees, most IT companies arranged for cars to drive them directly home after work.

Pramod Bhasin, a member of the executive council of Nassacom, a trade group that represents Indian technology groups, has framed a code of conduct listing the steps that organizations should take to ensure the safety of their staff not only while in the office but also on their commute. Although he was responsible for the implementation of this code of conduct, he still believes that more should be done within the IT industry to ensure further

safety (Thoppil, 2013). The inception of the code of conduct was in 2005 when there had been another horrific rape case. The company of which Mr. Bhasin is the vice chairman is IT company Genpact Ltd., which employs more than 60,000; 40% are female.

Decline in Tourism after December 16, 2012

As the previous data (from 2011) suggests, tourism in India is a means of augmenting its economy. The increased employment and flow of capital into the nation are excellent for development. However, if the tourism industry were to decline in the nation, what impact would it have upon the nation? From 2011 to 2013, the tourism industry did, in fact, decline. Although economic and trade experts had predicted that the industry would increase within the nation, what ultimately happened was a decline in revenue. As the industry is integral for both economic growth and as a means of promoting its reputation through soft power, what could have caused this decline in the two year period?

Multiple news sources in 2013 conclude the same thing: India experienced a decline in tourism within this year. According to an article written on April 1, 2013, “Foreign tourists inflow into India have registered a significant drop of 25 per cent in the last three months which are the busy tourists season after unfortunate rape incidents reported internally in India, according to quick random survey undertaken by ASSOCHAM Social Development Foundation (ASDF)” (“India Sees 25 percent,” 2013). This is further explicated through, “D S Rawat, secretary general of ASSOCHAM said that the industry has primarily been impacted due to deteriorating standards of safety and security. The inbound foreign tourists have opted other Asian countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam,

etc. The situation has been further aggravated by the advisory issued by various countries to their citizens visiting India to be cautious and avoid India” (“India Sees 25 percent,” 2013). This one statement is doubly detrimental for India: it not only explicates that the nation has lost tourism profit, but it also states that other nations are advising their citizens to *not* travel to India due to its perceived lack of safety. This fact has a huge effect upon not only the economy but also its international reputation. In addition, as this report mentions other specific nations as more desirable destinations than India, the tourism dollars that had augmented its development in 2011 and 2012 are actually leaking *out* of its economy and improving the economies of other nations.

In addition, “The survey further highlights that from December 2012 onwards the inflows of women foreign tourists to the country have gone down by 35 per cent and the overall tourism being affected by 25 per cent. There has been adverse impact on tourism industry, revealed ASSOCHAM. “The reflection of Delhi gang rape is now visible and more pronounced in other metros and large townships,” the secretary general explains” (“India Sees 25 percent,” 2013). Further, “India attempts to enhance its image in the eyes of foreign tourists, a brutal rape case in Delhi and recent incident of Swiss woman in Madhya Pradesh, or to the young British woman who had jump out of the window in Agra to avoid a sexual attack has raised concerns about the safety of female travellers to the country. The crime and woman's subsequent death generated international attention," opined Rawat (“India Sees 25 percent,” 2013). Also, “Nearly 72 per cent of the tour operators said that there has been a number of cancellation of bookings taken place especially from women tourist in the last three months from UK, USA, Canada, Australia etc., according to tour operators” (“India

Sees 25 percent,” 2013). As tourism continues to be a major goal for the nation, “According to tourism ministry data, in 2012 about 6.6 million international tourists visited India and the country earned US\$17.74 billion. The ministry has set the goal of increasing foreign tourist arrivals by 12 percent a year so as to double foreign exchange earnings by 2016” (“India Sees 25 percent,” 2013). However, without improving the condition of females within the nation, it is doubtful that this tourism goal will be met. The awareness of the lack of human security, particularly for women, is the fundamental reason why tourism declined in 2013. As such a substantial aspect of the nation's GDP, unless the nation achieves the reputation of being a safe destination for women, the tourism industry is not likely to bounce back. As the income generated through tourism is so important to the development of the nation, if this industry does not experience either a recovery or even a drastic increase, the development that India has been able to achieve thus far will actually be negated.

India's Tarnished Reputation after December 16, 2012

According to a June 18, 2013 article from the *New York Times*, “India Scrambles to Reassure Tourists Shaken By Recent Attacks on Women” written by Neha Thirani Bagri and Heather Timmons, female tourism to India declined by 35% in the first three months of the year, compared to the year before. Specifically, “Although the per capita rate of rapes reported to the police in India is below that of many developed nations, some experts believe that many sexual attacks go unreported and that the actual number is far higher. The public outrage over the December attack led to the passage of a new sexual offense law in March that imposes stronger penalties for violence against women and criminalizes actions like

stalking and voyeurism” (Bagri & Timmons, 2013). A local Indian photographer's response to the declining tourism in the nation was, “India’s image is spoiled when incidents like this happen. It’s unfortunate, and it isn’t good for business,” (Bagri & Timmons, 2013). As a local photographer, his own business thrives on tourism; in the absence of the influx of foreign dollars, his own business is in jeopardy. Due to a tainted reputation for safety, industries at all connected to the tourism industry have suffered a backlash.

In addition, “Mr. Dixit is not alone in his worries about India’s image among women. The Indian government and the tourism industry are scrambling to reassure would-be visitors. Indian states are forming tourism police forces, hotels have created exclusive areas for women only, and tour groups are adding features like women’s-only tours and cellphones for all customers” (Bagiri & Timmons, 2013). As the government is attempting to find means to stimulate female tourism into the nation, it shows that it is a priority to the nation in regard to tourism.

Aside from money generated by tourists, there is also a contingency of expats in the country. Individuals whose countries were experiencing economic decline took advantage of India's economic boom. A survey titled “Expat professionals shifting attention away from India: Survey” was published on April 28, 2013 through the Press Trust of India (PTI). It states that “India's attractiveness among the expat professionals as a potential workplace has taken a major hit in the wake of recent cases of rape incidents and attacks on foreigners, a survey says” (PTI, 2013). Specifically, “The survey, conducted among 2,200 expat professionals, found that 72 percent of the respondents who were keen to work in India in the first half of 2012 are now shifting their attention to countries like Philippines, Middle East,

Hong Kong and Singapore, among others” (PTI, 2013). As these statistics show the lack of desire to work in India, it is clear that the nation's international reputation has declined. Also, the fact that other nations are mentioned as more desirable implies that the expat populations of such countries will increase. If the 72 percent who desire employment in another nation actually *do* leave, India will suffer loss of capital. In turn, the nations that receive an increased rate of expat employment will experience a rise in foreign capital within their nations.

Further statistics show that “The recruitment of expat professionals has already declined by 37 per cent during January-March quarter 2013 from the levels seen in the first three-month period of 2012” (PTI, 2013). At the time that the survey was published, according to industry estimates, there were 39,000 expats working across various industries in the country. In addition, “Expats were keen to be part of the Indian workforce to not only gain first-hand experience in a global economy but also be a part of the dynamic India growth story, but now they are suffering from safety fear in India” (PTI, 2013). “The crime and continuous attack on foreigners in India is the major reason why expats are not considering India as comfortable and suitable job destination as of now,” MyHiringClub.com CEO Rajesh Kumar said. Expats working in a foreign country are useful to the host nation in two major ways: increasing capital into the nation by the virtue of spending money in the nation and serving as a cultural representative between one's nation of origin and nation of employment. As there is heightened awareness of assaults on both nationals and expats alike, the decline of expats in India is proving to be detrimental not only to the nation's economy but also its international reputation.

Economic Consequences of Decline in Tourism

Due to both the tainted reputation and sheer lack of foreign income within the nation, “India can ill afford to lose the foreign currency that tourists inject into the economy. Economic growth has slipped to 5 percent in 2012 from more than 9 percent annually in 2010, and the government needs foreign currency to offset huge payments for imported oil and coal, which cannot be paid in rupees” (Bagri & Timmons, 2013).

Specifically, “A total of 6.4 million foreign tourists traveled to India last year, a smaller number than in some much smaller countries, like France, or even in cities like New York. But such visitors make an essential contribution to the country’s flagging economy, and are vital to the survival of millions of one-man operators like Mr. Dixit” (Bagri & Timmons, 2013). Currently, Mr. Dixit's own business is encountering trouble, and he is certainly not alone. If he is not able to earn money through his current means, desperation may arise. As illicit trade often occurs due to desperation, the decrease in tourism dollars could, in fact, increase the propensity for gaining money through illegal means such as human trafficking.

Further data shows that “Tourism over all accounts for 6 percent of India’s gross domestic product and is responsible for about 10 percent of organized employment in the country, or some 20 million jobs. An estimated 60 million to 70 million more people, like Mr. Dixit, make their living off foreigners in an “unorganized” way. Foreign tourism specifically contributes about \$18 billion, or approximately 20 percent of India’s current account deficit, according to official figures” (Bagri & Timmons, 2013).

Awareness of Violence and Human Trafficking in India

As the December 16, 2012 rape incident in India spread like wildfire throughout international news, previous conceptions about India being a desirable destination were replaced with fear among female tourists and potential female tourists alike. As rape, a violent act of power against another, is often used as a means of coercing an individual into submission, there is a strong link between this act of dehumanization and the illicit organized crime of human trafficking. As a nation whose female citizens experience a decreased degree of human security compared to their male counterparts, international awareness, particularly among women of other nationalities, has increased. Due to the increased awareness of the incidents in the nation, tourists have the ability to choose not to enter the country at all. Women who already reside within the country, however, do not have the ability to make this choice for themselves.

Ruchira Gupta, the founder of Apne Aap Women Worldwide, an NGO working to end sex trafficking in India, draws the connection between the acceptance of the rape culture and the prevalence of human trafficking within the nation. In a newspaper article released on January 13, 2013 in a well-accepted newspaper of the nation, *The Hindu*, her article is titled “Challenging India's Rape Culture.” As an expert in the field of sex trafficking, her data states that, “The conviction rate for rape cases in India, between 2001 and 2010, is only 26 per cent.” (Gupta, 2013). As an expert, she even links in the status of particular groups of women and the way that they respond to the attacks. Namely, “Three Dalit women are raped daily in some part of our country. When Bhanwari Devi was raped in a Rajasthan village, the judge asked, “How can a Dalit woman be raped?” Most women say they wouldn’t even think

of telling the police about an attack for fear the cops would ignore them or worse: blame them and abuse them.” (Gupta, 2013). This fact is telling because it is aligned with the concept that the victim is blamed for the wrongdoing, especially if she is of a disadvantaged caste.

An aspect of modern-day India is explicated through, “Business leaders are seen with paid escorts, hosting rave parties, consuming porn, and saving their sons from the consequences of molesting girls. In the culture of “success” that Ram Singh witnesses on the media everyday, he sees classified advertisement in newspapers selling female escorts, businessmen zipping around in fast cars with girls draped on their arms staring out with vacant eyes and at least one private airline owner using the ‘casting couch’ to hire 60 air hostesses for four planes” (Gupta, 2013). As objectification of women is viewed as normal behavior of a man who deems himself “successful,” such men are considered to be role models in the society. As a direct result of this, young boys and men become desensitized to the fact that crimes like sexual violence and human trafficking exist; women are merely seen as objects to use. Gupta continues to explain her experience as an anti-trafficking advocate by stating, “We have been campaigning to change the anti-trafficking law to punish customers and pimps and the biggest challenge I face is the normalization of the rape of poor women in our culture. Their prostitution is considered inevitable and the men who buy them are considered natural. Politicians, senior police officials, heads of foundations and even policy makers, have told me: 'Men will be men,' or 'Girls from good families will be raped if prostitutes don't exist'.” This evidence is striking and directly shows that those who shape

Indian law, namely police officials, heads of foundations and policy makers, are also desensitized to the crimes that occur within the country.

Although the Indian Constitution clearly states that both human trafficking and discrimination based on caste and gender are illegal, these laws are not enforced. The modern-day policy makers, law enforcement agents and heads of foundations are victims of turning a blind eye to the atrocities that exist within their own country. As the provisions protecting those of disadvantaged castes and gender were established in the Constitution directly following India's independence in 1947, there was a far greater sense of unity and nationalism. As globalization has created further wealth stratification in the nation, the sense of power and “success” is seen to have detracted from the sense of unity that existed seventy years prior.

Gupta continues, “This is how rape cultures are created. Those in positions of power who serve as role models for the rest of society do not challenge prevalent norms, attitudes and practices that trivialize, normalize, tolerate, or even condone rape. In fact many actually, perpetuate the inevitability of male female inequality. Incidents of rape have gone up by 873 per cent since India gained Independence” (Gupta, 2013). As she compares the incidents of sexual violence pre-1947 to current-day India, her analysis is consistent with the fact that there was a greater sense of unity during the struggle for independence.

As an expert in the field, she provides her analysis for how the roots of violence and trafficking are most significant, “An essential part of efforts to create a contemporary and democratic society where full gender equality is the norm is to recognize the right to equal participation of women and men, girls and boys, in all areas of society. Any society that

claims to defend principles of legal, political, economic, and social equality for women and girls must reject the idea that women and children, mostly girls, are commodities inside or outside the home, upper or lower class or caste” (Gupta, 2013). Unlike the overarching view that severe punishment toward those who participate in such crimes will deter the problem, she incorporates the fact that the root of the problem is more significant and sustainable. Further examples of the mentality of men in the nation are explicated through, “Survey results said 51 per cent of men surveyed reported that they had committed acts of sexual harassment or violence in public spaces, 75 per cent believed that the way women dress influences sexual violence. As much as 73 per cent of the women said they do not feel safe in their own surroundings” (Falling Rupee makes India a travel haven, but rape cases a roadblock, 2013). As these are reported results, it is quite likely that they are actually under reported.

One of Gupta's own solutions consists of the following: “We need to make efforts to create a society where women and girls can live lives free of all forms of male violence. In combination with public education, awareness-raising campaigns, and victim support, the law and other legislation needs to establish a zero tolerance policy for sexual exploitation and violence against women. The law needs to recognize that without men’s demand for and use of women and girls for sexual exploitation, the rape culture would not be able flourish and expand. For example, a good response would be to require every registered business, which requires a license to operate, to subject all employees to a sensitization on zero tolerance of sexual violence in and out of the work place. License renewal could be made dependent on

the business submitting certificates to show that their employees have undergone Zero Tolerance of Sexual Violence training” (Gupta, 2013).

She further recommends, “On a structural level, India needs to recognize that, to succeed in the campaign against sexual exploitation, the political, social, and economic conditions under which women and girls live must be ameliorated by introducing development measures for poverty reduction, sustainable development, and social programs focusing specifically on women among others” (Gupta, 2013). As an individual well-versed in the field of ending sexual violence, she believes that unless the roots of violence are addressed, simply providing rehabilitation to victims will not *end* the problem. As there continues to be a drastic difference in the way men and women are treated within society, it is not surprising that the violence perpetuates.

Her suggestion continues, “The work to end rape requires a broad perspective and a will to act in a wide range of policy areas. It also requires the involvement and collaboration of a broad variety of public and private actors, besides an overhaul of measures to combat all sexual violence within the justice system. More important, measures that concern protection of and assistance to victims need to be developed and implemented and men, addicted to sexual violence and domination of women, need to be rehabilitated” (Gupta, 2013).

CHAPTER 6

SEX SELECTION AND INFANTICIDE

The Prevalence of Dowry

Although India has been an independent nation since 1947, it has been far from cohesive in terms of national identity. One of the major discriminating factors of India is gender. Within the nation of India, due to preferential treatment toward males in society, sex-selective abortions and infanticide are pervasive in the nation even in 2013. One of the key factors as to why sex selection and infanticide is due to the payment of dowry. When an Indian girl is married into her husband's family, a payment, known as a dowry, is offered in exchange for her hand in marriage. It is specifically defined as “Any property or valuable security given or agreed to be given either directly or indirectly- (a) by one party to a marriage to the other party to the marriage; or (b) by the parents of either party to a marriage or by any other person, to either party to the marriage or to any other person” (Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961).

The act of dowry was made illegal in 1961. This is specifically, “(1) If any person, after the commencement of this Act, gives or takes or abets the giving or taking of dowry, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than five years, and with the fine which shall not be less than fifteen thousand rupees or the amount of the value of such dowry, whichever is more: Provided that the Court may, for adequate and special

reasons to be recorded in the judgment, impose a sentence of imprisonment for a term of less than five years” (Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961).

As clearly stated, the act of dowry is in fact illegal in India. Despite the law condemning this practice, the society continues to partake in the exchange of goods, particularly from the bride's family to the groom's. The reason why the act was made illegal in the first place was due to the risk it imposed to society; now, more than fifty years later, the fact that the practice is still culturally pervasive has been a huge contributing factor to two major forms of violence against girls: infanticide and sex-selective abortions.

As evidence that the practice of dowry has not been eradicated from Indian society, a September 3, 2013 *Huffington Post* article titled “One Indian Woman Killed Every Hour Over Dowry,” speaks for itself. “One woman dies every hour in India because of dowry-related crimes, indicating that the country's economic boom has made demands for dowries even more persistent, women's rights activists said” (“One Indian Woman Killed Every Hour Over Dowry,” 2013). To explain this further, “The National Crime Records Bureau says 8,233 women were killed across India last year because of disputes over dowry payments given by the bride's family to the groom or his family at the time of marriage. The conviction rate in dowry-related crimes remained a low 32 percent, according to statistics the bureau published in the previous week” (“One Indian Woman Killed Every Hour Over Dowry,” 2013).

As the conviction rate of dowry-related crimes remains quite low, it is no surprise that the practice still continues. “Indian law prohibits the giving or receiving of a dowry, but the centuries-old social custom persists” (“One Indian Woman Killed Every Hour Over Dowry,”

2013). Dowry demands often continue for years after the wedding. Each year, thousands of young Indian women are doused with gasoline and burned to death because the groom or his family felt the dowry was inadequate. Women's rights activists and police said that loopholes in dowry prevention laws, delays in prosecution and low conviction rates have led to a steady rise in dowry-related crimes. Dowry demands have become even more insistent and expensive following India's economic boom, as well (“One Indian Woman Killed Every Hour Over Dowry,” 2013).

Due to the awareness of fancy goods within and outside of India, greed can be attributed to the rising cost of dowry, particularly among the more well-to-do families in India. According to women's rights activist Rajana Kumari, “Dowry demands have become even more insistent and expensive following India's economic boom. She blamed a growing culture of greed as India opens its economy to foreign goods that the younger generation cannot afford but badly want. She continues, “Marriages have become commercialized. It's like a business proposition where the groom and his family make exorbitant demands. And the wealthier the family, the more outrageous the demands,” (“One Indian Woman Killed Every Hour Over Dowry,” 2013). Suman Nalwa, a senior New Delhi police officer dealing with crimes against women, stated that dowry practices extended to all classes in society, including even those who are highly educated.

Infanticide of Girls

Due to the fact that the practice of dowry is often expected within India, by means of circumventing the debilitating cost of dowry, deaths of infant girls is on the rise. By means of

both sex-selective abortions (made illegal in 1994) and infanticide, the favoritism for infant boys prevails. “In an alarming trend, girl child numbers in India have shown a sharper decline than the male children in the decade beginning 2001, leading to a skewed child sex ratio,” (“India loses 3 million girls in infanticide,” 2012).

What is most striking is the fact that “On the eve of the International Day of the Girl Child, government on Tuesday said that while the decade saw an overall drop in share of children to total population, nearly three million girls, one million more than boys, are “missing” in 2011 compared to 2001 and there are now 48 fewer girls per 1,000 boys than there were in 1981” (“India Loses 3 Million Girls in Infanticide,” 2012). Although educational attainment *and* employment among females have increased in India, the birth rates of girl children has actually declined. More specifically, “During 2001- 2011, the share of children to total population has declined and the decline was sharper for female children than male children in the age group 0—6 years,” said the study “Children in India 2012- A Statistical Appraisal” conducted by the Central Statistical Organization” (“India Loses 3 Million Girls in Infanticide,” 2012).

In addition, “Though the overall sex ratio of the country is showing a trend of improvement, the child sex ratio is showing a declining trend, which is a matter of concern,’ the study said” (“India Loses 3 Million Girls in Infanticide,” 2012). More data shows that “According to the report, female child population in the age group of 0-6 years was 78.83 million in 2001 which declined to 75.84 million in 2011. Also, the population of girl child was 15.88 per cent of the total female population of 496.5 million in 2001, which declined to 12.9 per cent of total number of 586.47 million women in 2011. Similarly the male children

population has also declined from 85.01 million in 2001 to 82.95 per cent in 2011. During the period, 1991-2011, the child sex ratio declined from 945 to 914, whereas the overall sex ratio showed an improvement from 927 to 940. Though the child sex ratio in rural India is 919 which is 17 points higher than that of urban India, the decline in Child Sex Ratio (0—6 years) during 2001—2011 in rural areas is more than three times as compared to the drop in urban India which is a matter of grave concern,” (“India Loses 3 Million Girls in Infanticide,” 2012). The most startling aspect of the data is that the numbers were increasing rather than decreasing.

As a way of countering the plight of infanticide in India, a BBC article was written as far back as February 17, 2007, titled “Cradles plan for unwanted girls.” As infanticide of female babies continued to be a large issue in India, it is stated that “the Indian government is planning to set up a network of cradles around the country where parents can leave unwanted baby girls” (“Cradles Planned for Unwanted Girls,” 2007). The idea was to have the cradles set up “everywhere” so that the mothers did not have to find a specific location to leave the infant. The intention was to entirely eradicate the practices of sex-selective abortions and infanticide by means of providing a location where such infants could be left. Root causes for this practice include “A girl child is often viewed as inferior to a boy. A bride's dowry can also cripple a family financially. Research for the year 2001 showed that for every 1,000 male babies born in India, there were just 933 girls” (“Cradles Planned for Unwanted Girls,” 2007). In addition, research published in 2006 estimate that the number of female abortions was as high as 500,000 a year was disputed by the Indian Medical Association.

The intention behind the initiative continues with “Ms Chowdhury said parents would be able to leave their babies secretly. The important thing was to save their lives. She said she assumed that most of the babies left under the "cradle scheme" would be girls. 'They will be collected and put into homes,' she said. 'There are plenty of existing homes and we will be adding some more also,'” (“Cradles Planned for Unwanted Girls,” 2007). One of the theories as to why both infanticide and sex-selective abortions continued is due to the fact that “Experts say female foeticide is mostly linked to socio-economic factors. It is an idea that many say carries over from the time India was a predominantly agrarian society where boys were considered an extra pair of hands on the farm” (“Cradles Planned for Unwanted Girls,” 2007).

How the Widening Gender Gap Increases Violence

Within India, evidence has shown that infanticide occurs among all socio-economic backgrounds in the nation. An October 26, 2013 article from The Times of India titled “India's gender gap among the world's worst” reveals just how large an impact sex-selective abortions and infanticide have had upon the gender balance of the nation. The article brings to light the fact that “India's poor performance in the 2013 Global Gender Gap Index released by the World Economic Forum. India ranked a lowly 101st of 136 countries, indicating huge disparity in access of women to economic, political, educational and healthcare opportunities and their participation in such services” (Rajadhyaksha, 2013).

Compared to countries with similar economies, namely the BRICS nations, India's gender gap is far worse, “It is the laggard in the BRICS bloc, with Brazil, ranked 62, Russia

(61), China (69) and South Africa (17) meting out better treatment to its women” (Rajadhyaksha, 2013). The one aspect in which India ranked higher than other countries was in political representation of women, “The only sign of optimism lay in political empowerment of women. Despite Parliament dithering over passage of a women's reservation bill for equal representation in the legislature, India bagged a healthy ninth rank when it came to political empowerment of its women. This is perhaps owing to the fact that the index lays great emphasis on a female head of state, earning brownie points for Pratibha Patil's stint as President. After all, nearly 65% of countries around the globe have never had a female head of state in the past 50 years” (Rajadhyaksha, 2013). Experts believe that a multipronged approach is needed. One such expert, Lakshmi Lingam, deputy director, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, states "We have a lot of sexual violence today that is further widening the gender gap. There is also a wage gap at workplaces, so women who are employed aren't necessarily economically empowered," (Rajadhyaksha, 2013).

As the gender gap has become extremely large in recent years, it is not surprising that human trafficking has been on the increase, “According to Government data, incidents of sex trafficking have been increasing steadily since 2008. In 2012, a total of 3,554 cases of human trafficking were reported, an increase of 17% from 3,029 cases reported in 2008. On the other hand, people convicted in cases of sex trafficking has declined from 2,292 in 2010 to 1,611 in 2012” (Rajadhyaksha, 2013). As there continues to be a large schism between the number of incidents reported and cases prosecuted, resulting in conviction, it is not surprising incidents continue to occur. As the number of convictions continues to be extremely low

compared to the number of real cases, victims also lose their incentive to come forward and gain justice.

CHAPTER 7

CURRENT STATUS OF THE DALIT

As a result of large economic changes, the caste system within India has caused specific members of society, mainly the Dalit ('Broken people') caste to both lose their land and have few opportunities for jobs, due to a long history of discrimination. Their second-class status makes them very vulnerable to things that impede upon their human security, often resulting in human trafficking, which is a form of organized crime. Although there have been policies instituted to protect Dalits, they have not been enforced, due to a high-caste majority in the government. Dalits in particular are vulnerable to human trafficking due to relentless oppression from higher castes, and how the situation can be eradicated.

In order to understand the pervasiveness of human trafficking within India, the history of the caste system must be addressed. "The Dalits (also known as Untouchables, *Harijans*, or Scheduled Castes) have historically been poor, deprived of basic human rights, and treated as social inferiors in India. They still face economic, social, cultural, and political discrimination in the name of caste" (Kethineni & Humiston 2010). This hierarchy, created by the *Brahmins* (Hindu priests) to maintain their superiority over the less educated, has dominated Indian society for over 3,000 years. Over time, the caste system was formalized into four distinct classes (*varnas*) (Kethineni & Humiston, 2010). Beneath the four classes, there is a fifth group, which is not included as part of the caste system. Individuals from this

group are literally untouchable for the rest of the castes. The *Dalits* comprise this untouchable society. (Kethineni & Humiston, 2010). As an overtly oppressed group, the Government of India officially calls them “Scheduled Castes.” “Scheduled” means they are on a government schedule that entitles them to certain protections and affirmative actions. (Prashad, 2001).

Although the concept of ‘untouchability’ was made illegal after India gained independence in 1947, approximately two-thirds of bonded laborers, including either debt servitude or forced labor, are Dalits. Of the 40 million bonded laborers in India, 15 million are children. (Human Rights Watch, 2009). Due to their lack of ability to afford basic necessities, such as health care, Dalits often become indebted to employers after accepting loans that they are unable to repay due to insufficient wages. (Human Rights Watch, 2009). According to Article 23 of the Constitution and the Bonded Labour (System) Abolition Act of 1976, all bonded laborers were to be released and rehabilitated, and their debts were to be canceled. However, this policy was not enforced.

As a “Scheduled Caste,” the Indian government has entitled Dalits to affirmative action in pursuit of employment. “The government implemented the “reservations” policy to create job opportunities for Dalits and other disadvantaged groups. However, the reservation system has only minimally benefited the Dalits, partly because the system solely includes the government sector. The system is reported to be flawed because many jobs are left unfilled due to a government dominated by upper-caste politicians. (Prashad, 2000). ‘The truth is that globalization has strengthened the already powerful brahmanical and casteist forces, thus

catapulting the Hindutva Forces (in support of the caste system) several times to the Central government seat (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

Due to the relentless casteism of the Dalit within their own nation, many believe that the best alternative to escape their life of bondage is to migrate to a new location. Therefore, “Dalits often migrate in search of work. Although poor non-Dalits migrate in search of employment, Dalits are much more afflicted by migration. (TIP Report: 2012). In 2003, 7,000 Dalits were forced from their homes in Calcutta so that plans for beautification and development could be undertaken. Bulldozers, fire brigades, ambulances, and a 500-man Rapid Action Force entered the community, and demolished hundreds of houses, temples, statues, and a school. (Prashad, 2001). Due to both overt casteist mentality and the desire for higher GDP due to globalization, development and beautification projects have become a higher priority than the Scheduled Castes. As of 2011, the top 5% of the households possessed 38% of the country’s assets and the bottom 60% possessed only 13%.

Another way in which Dalits were disadvantaged was in regard to a 1969 law mandating the registration of the birth of a child (TIP Report: 2012). This effort did address the fact that individuals were not included in the census, namely poor Dalits. Not surprisingly, data from India’s last social survey indicates that approximately 60 percent of births were unregistered. In attempt to relieve this, the 2010 United States federal budget set aside \$413 million dollars to ensure that each resident has a unique identification number.(TIP Report: 2012). Despite this effort, many poor Dalit were unable to afford this. As children who are not registered with the country are at a major disadvantage due to not

being able to be tracked, the Dalit are among the individuals who are more easily trafficked due to their anonymity in the nation.

Although there continue to be policies adhering to providing affirmative action for the Dalits, little effective effort has been made to enforce these policies. As a response to continually being deprived human rights, a group known as the Dalit Panthers arose in 1972. Although inherently a great social movement, the failing of the group is that they were unable to create strong enough solidarity to greatly influence national political scene. (Prashad, 2001). As long as the governmental representation continues to be of the higher castes, and apathetic toward the realities and rights of the Dalits, nothing will change. Thus, strong Dalit representation within the government is *essential* in ending human trafficking.

CHAPTER 8

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE: A CASE FOR NATIONALISM

The struggle for India's independence from Great Britain is one of the most monumental social movements within the nation. This case will argue the fact that the colonialism exerted by Great Britain became viewed as an “enemy” within the nation. Due to that viewpoint, there was a greater opportunity for cohesion among the Indian people. Although the struggle persisted from 1857 to 1947, the leaders of the social movement were greatly successful by creating a sense of Indian identity. During this time period, there were several divisions among the Indian people, particularly by caste and gender. Through the relentless work of the nation's leaders, the sense of nationalism was the force that fueled the nation with the ability to fight the common enemy within the nation: colonialism. The case study of India's independence, exemplified through Bipan Chandra's 1989 book, *India's Struggle for Independence: 1857-1947*, will prove how a country that was extremely disjointed managed to come together to achieve a common goal. Examples of social movements orchestrated within this ninety year period will be used as evidence to show that the Indian people were, in fact, capable of fighting against what was considered to be a common enemy due to the ability for the people to develop a sense of nationality and

commonality. If the same animosity that was given to colonialism prior to 1947 is given to human trafficking in 2013, as history shows, the nation will be successful in eradicating it.

During the time of British rule in India, prior to 1947, there was no unified “Indian” nationality. Rather, what existed were gender and caste divisions within the country. It was not until independence was achieved on August 15, 1947 that there was a sense of nationalism or the sense of being “Indian.” India's struggle for independence dates as far back as 1857 until it culminates with independence in 1947. The fact is that the only way that India was able to become a sovereign nation was due to banding together and creating a sense of community. As colonialism was regarded as the “enemy,” this common enemy served as a commonality among people who were otherwise drastically different from one another.

A Common Enemy: Colonialism

Prior to 1947, the nation of India was under colonial rule. Thus, the people of the nation were forced into the role of second-class citizens within their own nation of birth. Prior to the independence from the colonial rule, there were ninety long years of social movements led by individuals of Indian origin. The impetus for such a movement was the perception that the force exerted upon the people, colonialism, was considered to be an “enemy.”

As the social movements to achieve independence from British colonial rule commenced, “National leaders from Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee and Tilak to

Gandhiji and Nehru accepted that India was not yet a fully structured nation but a nation-in-the-making and that one of the major objectives and functions of the movement was to promote the growing unity of the Indian people through a common struggle against colonialism. In other words, the national movement was seen both as a product of the process of the nation-in-the-making and as an active agent of the process of the nation-in-the-making was never counter-posed to the diverse regional, linguistic and ethnic identities in India. On the contrary, the emergence of a national identity and the flowering of other narrower identities were seen as processes deriving strength from each other.” (Chandra, 1989: 12). As this evidence points as far back as 1857, ninety years before the nation achieved sovereignty, the divisions between people in the nation were extremely prominent.

As far back as 1857, “The most distressing [aspect] was the position of women. The birth of a girl was unwelcome, her marriage a burden and her widowhood inauspicious. Attempts to kill girl infants at birth were not unusual. Those who escaped this initial brutality were subjected to the violence of marriage at a tender age. Often the marriage was a device to escape social ignominy and, hence, marital life did not turn out to be a pleasant experience.” (Chandra, 1989: 58-59). As the roots of infanticide and suicide due to widowhood date as far back as this report, it is clear that it has existed in the culture for an extremely long period of time. Thus, it is not surprising that a practice that was so ingrained in society more than 150 years ago still exists in the culture today.

The case study continues by mentioning the limitation of civic engagement and the ability to have a voice in society. This is explicated through, "Modern politics — the politics of popular participation, agitation mobilization — was new to India. The notion that politics

was not the preserve of the few but the domain of everyone was not yet familiar to the people. No modern political movement was possible till people realized this. And, then, on the basis of this realization, an informed and determined political opinion had to be created. The arousal, training, organization and consolidation of public opinion was seen as a major task by the Congress leaders. All initial activity of the early nationalism was geared towards this end." (Chandra, 1989: 50). It is evident that empowerment was the first stage in giving those from India a voice to express their own desires for their country.

The earliest mentioning of the caste system, a strict belief in hierarchy within the Hindu religion was another divisive agent, "Another debilitating factor was caste; it sought to maintain a system of segregation, hierarchically ordained on the basis of ritual status. The rules and regulations of caste hampered social mobility, fostered social divisions and sapped individual initiative. Above all was the humiliation of untouchability which militated against human dignity." (Chandra, 1989: 59). This statement indicates that the origins of human rights and human dignity *preceded* the conception of India's official independence. Although this is documented to be the mentality of the anti-colonial leaders as far back as the 1800s, the legal elimination of casteism would not occur until nearly 100 years later.

As is true in most effective social movements, particularly toward independence from a more well-established entity, "The first step was seen to be the politicization and unification of the opinion of the educated, and then of other sections. The primary objective was to go beyond the redressal of immediate grievances and organize sustained political activity along the lines of the Anti-Corn Law League Cobden and Bright in 1838 to secure reform of Corn Laws). The leaders as well as the people also had to gain confidence in their

own capacity to organize political opposition to the most powerful state of the day.”
(Chandra, 1989: 50-51).

In order for the leaders of the movement to be successful, clear goals were necessary. Thus, the goals were outlined as, “The basic objectives of the early nationalist leaders were to lay the foundations of a secular and democratic national movement, to politicize and politically educate the people, to form the headquarters of the movement, that is, to form an all-India leadership group, and to develop and propagate an anti-colonial *nationalist* ideology.” (Chandra, 1989: 54). In this statement, it is clearly outlined that colonization was to come to be an enemy within society. In addition to this, the fact that it was to be 'secular' implies that the religious background of Hinduism, namely the caste system, was to be eliminated from the discourse of the movement.

The origins of the movement were partially inspired by that of the United States, a nation that also fought for its independence. It is stated, “From the beginning, the Congress was organized in the form of a Parliament. In fact, the word Congress was borrowed from North American history to connote an assembly of 'the people.' The proceedings of the Congress sessions were conducted democratically, issues being decided through debate and discussion and occasionally through voting. It was, in fact, the Congress, and not the bureaucratic and authoritarian colonial state, as some writers wrongly argue, which indigenized, popularized and rooted parliamentary democracy in India.” (Chandra, 1989: 52).

The emphasis upon banding together as a common group is explicated through, “W.C. Bonnerji, as the first Congress President, reiterated that one of the Congress objectives was the ‘eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or

provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country,' and 'the promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in (all) parts of the Empire." (Chandra, 1989: 52). At that time, the stratification of society was certainly seen as an obstacle to overcome.

The relentless work of the leaders of the movement is further explained through, "In the period from 1870 to 1918, the national movement had not yet resorted to mass agitation through thousands of small and large meetings, nor did political work consist of the active mobilization of people in mass struggles. The main political task still was that of politicization, political propaganda and education and formation and propagation of nationalist ideology. The Press was the chief instrument for carrying out this task, that is, for arousing, training, mobilizing and consolidating nationalist public opinion" (Chandra, 1989: 79). Within the time period in which these specific anti-colonial movements occurred, the most effective means of spreading the word about the movement to the Indian people was through written documents.

One specific example of eradicating discrimination against minorities is explicated through, "In 1889, a minority clause was adopted in the resolution demanding reform of legislative councils. According to the clause, wherever Parsis, Christians, Muslims or Hindus were a minority their number elected to the Councils would not be less than their proportion in the Population. The reason given by the mover of the resolution was that India was not yet a homogenous country and political methods here had, therefore, to differ from those in Europe." (Chandra, 1989: 49-50).

The utilization of journalism as a means of spreading news of the movement is explicated through, “Powerful newspapers emerged during these years under distinguished and fearless journalists. These were the Hindu and Swadesamitran under the editorship of G. Subramaniya Iyer, Kesari, and Mahratta under B.G. Tilak, Bengalee, under Surendranath Banerjea, Amrita Bazar Patrika, under Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Motilal Ghosh, Sudharak under G.K. Gokhale, Indian Mirror under N.N. Sen, Voice of India under Dadabhai Naoroji, Hindustani and Advocate under G.P. Varma and Tribune and Akhbar-i-Am in Punjab, Indu Prakash, Dnyan Prakash, Kal and Gujarati in Bombay, and Som Prakash, Banganivasi, and Sadharani in Bengal. In fact, there hardly existed a major political leader in India who did not possess a newspaper or was not writing for one in some capacity or another” (Chandra, 1989: 79-80). Prior to the nation gaining independence, the Indian people were able to find their 'voice' through means of the press. As the economy and verbal political power were controlled by British rule, the leaders of the independence movement were well-versed in knowing that the best way to spread the ideology was through the press. As information was easily gained through written means, it was done so in a fairly silent manner.

As a nation with a history of colonization, and one that was not independent until 1947, external forces often shaped the country. The fact that the nation was successful in becoming independent from Great Britain will be used as a case for the nation banding together in the same way to end human trafficking. As India struggled for independence against the colonial power, there were some inherent divisions among the people. The fundamental reason why they were able to achieve such success was due to creation and implementation of an “Indian identity,” which did not exist to a large degree prior to the

struggle for independence. In 2013, nearly seventy years later, the same divisions that existed prior to the struggle for independence are inhibiting the nation from ending trafficking. As trafficking is a direct attack against human security, it is also a direct attack against civil society. Thus, in order for the nation to unite and protect its own people, the same measures of Nationalism used in the struggle for independence are essential in implementing for the fight against human trafficking. As the British rule was seen as the common enemy that banded people of all tribal and caste groupings, if the same brevity is given to human trafficking, effective change can be made. As history has proven that the nation is capable of banding together when there is a common goal, the same force should be used to counter trafficking.

Developing the Sense of Nationalism

In addition to the struggle for the Indian people to gain a 'voice', "The struggle [for independence] was also a struggle for economic development. In time an economic ideology developed which was to dominate the views of independent India. The national movement accepted, with near unanimity, the need to develop India on the basis of industrialization which in turn was to be independent of foreign capital and was to rely on the indigenous capital goods sector. A crucial role was assigned to the public sector and, in the 1930's, there was a commitment to economic planning." (Chandra, 1989: 3).

Possibly the earliest roots of equal representation among all religions is shown through, "In 1889, a minority clause was adopted in the resolution demanding reform of legislative councils. According to the clause, wherever Parsis, Christians, Muslims or Hindus

were a minority their number elected to the Councils would not be less than their proportion in the Population. The reason given by the mover of the resolution was that India was not yet a homogenous country and political methods here had, therefore, to differ from those in Europe.” (Chandra, 1989: 49-50).

As the movement toward independence consisted of various different phases, one of the most compelling is described as the Swadeshi Movement, “In sum, the Swadeshi Movement with its multi-faceted programme and activity was able to draw for the first time large sections of society into active participation in modern nationalist into the ambit of modern political ideas. The social base of the national movements now extended to include a certain zamindari section, the lower middle class in the cities and small towns and school and college students on a massive scale. Women came out of their homes for the first time and joined processions and picketing. This period saw, again for the first time, an attempt being made to give a political direction to the economic grievances of the working class. Efforts were Swadeshi leaders, some of whom were influenced by International socialist currents such as those in Germany and Russia, to organize strikes in foreign managed concerns such as Eastern India Railway and Clive Jute Mills, etc.” (Chandra, 1989: 110). This movement was of particular importance to this specific fight toward independence due to the fact that women and those of lower castes were actively involved. Through the knowledge gained through the press, women and those of lower castes were empowered, and, thus, could partake in political movements to the same extent as their male and higher-caste counterparts. A specific newspaper article explained precisely what Indian nations were trying to achieve by means of independence, “On 1 November 1913, the first issue of *Ghadar*, in Urdu was

published and on 9 December, the Grumukhi edition. The name of the paper left no doubts as to its aim. 'Ghadar' means Revolt. And if any doubts remained, they were to be dispelled by the captions on the masthead: 'Angrezi Raj ka Dushman' or 'An Enemy of British Rule.' On the front page of each issue was a feature titled 'Angrezi Raj Ka Kacha Chittha' or 'An Expose of British Rule.' This 'Chittha' consisted of fourteen points enumerating the harmful effects of British rule, including the loss of wealth, the low per capita income of Indians, the high land tax, the contrast between the low expenditure on health and the high expenditure on the military, the destruction of Indian arts and industries, the recurrence of famines and plague that killed millions of Indians, the use of Indian tax payers' money for wars in Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Persia and China the British policy of promoting discord in the Indian States to extend their own influence, the discriminatory lenient treatment given to Englishmen who were guilty of killing Indians or dishonoring Indian women the policy of helping Christian missionaries with money raised from Hindus and Muslims, the effort to foment discord between Hindus and Muslims: in sum, the entire critique of British rule that had been formulated by the Indian national movement was summarized and presented every week to Ghadar readers. The last two points of the Chittha suggested the solution:(1) The Indian population numbers seven crores in the Indian States and 24 crores in British India, while there are only 79,614 officers and soldiers and 38,948 volunteers who are Englishmen.(2) Fifty-six years have lapsed since the Revolt of 1857; now there is urgent need for a second one." (Chandra, 1989: 130). The major significance of this newspaper article is that it had such specific information regarding the detriment of British

rule, those who were not aware of the extremity of the problem were able to be informed with objective facts.

However, it is not to say that internal problems persisted regardless of the common goal. This is specifically described through, “When the non-Brahmins in Maharashtra sent a separate memorandum to the Government dissociating themselves from the demands of the advanced classes, Tilak [an activist very involved in the independence movement] urged those who opposed this to be patient: ‘If we can prove to the non-Brahmins, by example, that we are wholly on their side in their demands from the Government, I am sure that in times to come their agitation, now based on social inequality, will merge into our struggle.’ To the non-Brahmins, he explained that the real difference was not between Brahmin and nonBrahmin, but between the educated and the non-educated. Brahmins were ahead of others in jobs because they were more educated, and the Government, in spite of its sympathy for nonBrahmins and hostility towards Brahmins, was forced to look to the needs of the administration and give jobs to Brahmins. At a conference for the removal of untouchability, Tilak declared: ‘If a God were to tolerate untouchability, I would not recognize him as God at all.’” (Chandra, 1989: 143-144). The fact that a prominent member of the movement was so against the concept of 'untouchability' proved that the freedom movement was just as much a Brahmin movement as an 'untouchable' movement. Through his proclamation that both groups of people had equal validity in the movement, the national identity of 'Indian' was well on its way.

Another example of true nationalism is shown through, “It was not fortuitous, then, that perhaps the first organized strike by any section of the working class should occur in a

British-owned and managed railway. This was the signalers' strike in May 1899 in the Great Indian Peninsular (GIP) Railway and the demands related to wages, hours of work and other conditions of service. Almost all nationalist newspapers came out fully in support of the strike, with Tilak's newspapers Mahratta and Kesari campaigning for it for months. Public meetings and fund collections in aid of the strikers were organized in Bombay and Bengal by prominent nationalists like Pherozeshah Mehta, D.E. Wacha and Surendranath Tagore. The fact that the exploiter in these cases was foreign was enough to take agitation against it a national issue and an integral part of national movement. At the turn of the century, with the growth of the working class, there emerged a new tendency among the nationalist intelligentsia. B.C. Pal and G. Subramania Iyer, for example, began to talk of the need for legislation to protect the workers, the weaker section, against the powerful capitalists. In 1903, G.Subramania Iyer urged that workers should combine and organize themselves into unions to fight for their rights and the public must give every help to the workers in achieving this task." (Chandra, 1989: 199).

The ability of the Indians to work toward a common goal is exemplified through, "The call for an All-India general strike given by the North Western Railway workers in April 1919 got after enthusiastic response in the northern region. Lajpat Jagga has shown that for railway men in large parts of the country Gandhiji came to symbolize resistance to colonial rule and exploitation, just as the Indian Railways symbolized the British Empire, 'the political and commercial will of the Raj.'" (Chandra, 1989: 204).

Further Efforts toward National Unity

Further means of economic freedom took place in 1891, “The Indian National Congress and the nationalist newspapers began a campaign against the manner in which the tea plantation workers in Assam were reduced to virtual slavery, with European planters being given powers, through legislation to arrest, punish and prevent the running away of labour. An appeal was made to national honour and dignity to protest against this unbridled exploitation by foreign capitalists aided by the colonial state.” (Chandra, 1989: 198-199).

In addition to economic security, “During the tenure of the Congress, Provincial Governments the trade union movement showed a phenomenal rise. Between 1937 and 1939 the number of trade unions increased from 271 to 362 and the total membership of these unions increased from 261,047 to 399,159. The number of strikes also increased considerably.” (Chandra, 1989: 208). In addition, “One of the principal factors which gave a fillip to the trade union movement in this period was the increased civil liberties under the Congress Governments and the pro-labor attitude of many of the Congress ministries. It is significant that a peculiar feature of the strikes in this period was that a majority of the mended successfully, with full or partial victory for the workers.” (Chandra, 1989: 208).

Economic rights aligned with civil liberties was essential in the struggle for freedom, “The last years of colonial rule also saw a remarkably sharp increase in strikes on economic issues all over the country — the all-India strike of the Post and Telegraph Department employees being the most well known among them. The pent-up economic grievances during the War, coupled with the problems due to post-war demobilization and the continuation of high prices, scarcity of food and other essentials, and a drop in real wages, all combined to

drive the working class to the limits of its tolerance. Also, the mood in anticipation of freedom was pregnant with expectation. Independence was seen by all sections of the Indian people as signaling an end to their miseries. The workers were no exception. They too were now struggling for what they hoped freedom would bring them as a matter of right,” (Chandra, 1989: 210).

In order for the nationalist movement to actually succeed, it was essential that the concept of untouchability be erased. The early discourse on this includes, “11 [members of the National Congress] reversed this position in 1917 when it passed a resolution urging upon the people ‘the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the depressed classes.’ At this stage, Lokamanya Tilak also denounced untouchability and asked for its removal. But they did not take any concrete steps in the direction. Among the national leaders, it was Gandhi who gave top priority to the removal of untouchability and declared that this was no less important than the political struggle for freedom” (Chandra, 1989 217). Further, “in 1923, the Congress decided to take active steps towards the eradication of untouchability. The basic strategy it adopted was to educate and mobilize opinion among caste Hindus on the question. The nationalist challenge in this respect came to be symbolized by two famous struggles in Kerala” (Chandra, 1989: 217). The grave condition of the caste system in Kerala is explicated through, “The problem was particularly acute in Kerala where the depressed classes or “avarnas” (those without caste, later known as Harijans) were subjected to degrading and de-humanising social disabilities. For example, they suffered not only from untouchability but also “theendal” (or distance pollution) — the Ezhavas and Putayas could not approach the higher castes nearer than 16

feet and 72 feet respectively. Struggle against these disabilities was being waged since the end of 19th century by several reformers and intellectuals such as Sri Narayan Guru, N. Kumaran Asan and T.K. Madhavan,” (Chandra, 1989: 217). As this account of casteism is so specific, it provides a good foundation for eradication of casteism measures that would succeed in the future.

The urgency of the casteism issue was true even at that time, “Immediately after the Kakinada session, the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee (KPCC) took up the eradication of untouchability as an urgent issue. While carrying on a massive propaganda campaign against untouchability and for the educational and social upliftment of the Harijans, it was decided to launch an immediate movement to open Hindu temples and all public roads to the avarnas or Harijans. This, it was felt, would give a decisive blow to the notion of untouchability since it was basically religious in character and the avarnas’ exclusion from the temples was symbolic of their degradation and oppression” (Chandra, 1989: 218).

This account continues by stating, “A beginning was made in Vaikom, a village in Travancore. There was a major temple there whose four walls were surrounded by temple roads which could not be used by avarnas like Ezhavas and Pulayas. The KPCC decided to use the recently acquired weapon of Satyagraha to fight untouchability and to make a beginning at Vaikom by defying the unapproachability rule by leading a procession of savarnas (caste Hindus) and avarnas on the temple roads on 30 March 1924.” (Chandra, 1989: 218).

Opposition was met with jubilation, seen through, “The Vaikom Satyagraha created enthusiasm all over the country and volunteers began to arrive from different parts of India. An Akali jatha arrived from Punjab. E.V. Ramaswami Naicker (popularly known as Periyar later) led ajatha from Madurai and underwent imprisonment. On the other hand, the orthodox and reactionary section of caste Hindus met at Vaikom and decided to boycott all pro-Satyagraha Congressmen and not to employ them as teachers or lawyers or to vote for them” (Chandra, 1989: 219). The resistance shown through this passage is analogous to the resistance of current-day Indians who do not want to eliminate the discrimination toward current-day untouchables ('Dalit').

However, there was also a great deal of enthusiasm that arose from the movement, namely, “The popular response was tremendous. Many all-India leaders visited Malabar. Money and volunteers poured in from everywhere. The youth were specially attracted and were in the forefront of the struggle. The anti-untouchability movement gained great popularity. Many religious devotees transferred the offerings they would have made to the temple to the Satyagraha camp, feeling that the camp was even more sacred than the temple” (Chandra, 1989: 220). As can be seen, this collective movement was an internal rather than external movement, as its roots were from within the country. Also, this movement can also be attributed to as one of the first human rights movements within India.

One of the most effective methods of achieving greater nationalism is illustrated through, “A jatha led by A.K. Gopalan toured whole of Kerala on foot, carrying on propaganda and addressing massive meetings everywhere. Before it was disbanded the jatha had covered nearly 1,000 miles and addressed over 500 meetings. Even though the

Guruvayur temple was not opened immediately, the *Satyagraha* was a great success in broader terms. As A.K. Gopalan has recorded in his autobiography, ‘although the Guruvayur temple was still closed to Harijans, I saw that the movement had created an impetus for social change throughout the country. It led to a transformation everywhere,’” (Chandra, 1989: 221). In addition, “The temple entry campaign used all the techniques developed by the Indian people in the course of the nationalist struggle. Its organizers succeeded in building the broadest possible unity, imparting mass education, and mobilizing the people on a very wide scale on the question of untouchability” (Chandra, 1989: 221).

In order to effectively achieve unity as a nation, it was essential that any prejudices relating to caste be eradicated. Thus, “The strength of the national movement in this respect was to find expression in the Constitution of independent India which abolished caste inequality, outlawed untouchability and guaranteed social equality to all citizens irrespective of their caste. Its weakness has found expression in the growth of casteism and the continuous existence in practice of oppression and discrimination against the lower castes in post-1947 India” (Chandra, 1989: 222).

Further independence movement was mentioned through, “Elections to the legislative councils were held in November 1923. The Swarajist manifesto, released on 14 October, took up a strong anti- imperialist position: ‘The guiding motive of the British in governing India is to secure the selfish interests of their own country and the so-called *ref onus arc* a mere blind to further the said interests under the pretense of granting responsible government to India, the real object being to continue the exploitation of the unlimited resources of the country by

keeping Indians permanently in a subservient position to Britain.” It promised that the Swarajists would wreck the sham reforms from within the councils” (Chandra, 1989: 229).

Bolstering the absolute need for nationalism in order to fight against colonialism, “In fact, Gandhian constructive work was multi-faceted in its content. It brought some muchneeded relief to the poor, it promoted the process of the nation-in-the-making; and it made the urban-based and upper caste cadres familiar with the conditions of villages and lower castes. It provided Congress political workers or cadres Continuous and effective work in the passive phases of the national movement, helped build their bonds with those sections of the masses who were hither to untouched by politics, and developed their organizing capacity and self-reliance. It filled the rural masses with a new hope and increased Congress influence among them.” (Chandra, 1989: 235).

One of the core elements of this nationalism continues, “Without the uplift of the lower castes and Adivasis there could be no united struggle against colonialism. The boycott of foreign cloth was a stroke of genius which demonstrated to rulers and the world the Indian people’s determination to be free. National schools and colleges trained young men in an alternative, non-colonial ideological framework. A large number of young men and women who dropped out in 1920-21 went back to the officially recognized educational institutions but many often became whole time cadres of the movement.” (Chandra, 1989: 235).

In addition, roots of nationalism and human rights date back as far as 1927, “Religion was one’s private concern and communalism was an enemy to be fought, argued Bhagat Singh.” Earlier in 1927, condemning communal killings as barbaric, he had pointed out that communal killers did not kill a person because he was guilty of any particular act but simply

because that person happened to be a Hindu, Muslim or Sikh. But, wrote Bhagat Singh, a new group of youth was coming forward who did not recognize any differences based on religion and saw a person first as a human being and then as an Indian” (Chandra, 1990: 248).

Summary

The purpose of mentioning the intricacies of India's fight for independence is to illustrate the fact that the Indian people were in fact, very capable of achieving a common goal. As can be clearly seen from the examples of social movements toward Indian independence, the common enemy of colonialism was enough to bring people of different genders and castes together. Instead of focusing on the characteristics that segmented members of the nation, prominent leaders of the independence movements emphasized the importance of a national identity, and then an “Indian” identity.

The anti-colonial movement had both economic and social motivators. As the nation believed that it had the right of autonomy of its nation and the revenue it generated, newspaper articles expressed the specific economic goals that the nation had. In addition, the 1927 movement even documents the fact that the rights of a 'human being' are of greater importance than that of being an 'Indian.' As this movement is a fundamental and integral element of current Indian society, it is necessary that the same means of eradicating sexism and casteism take place in a new movement against a new enemy: human trafficking.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

This thesis shows the link between gender-based violence and lack of achieving India's major goals of increased GDP and an internationally-recognized reputation. As the GDP of the nation started to decline within the first three months of 2013, the nation attempted various methods to stimulate tourism, as it is one of the largest direct and indirect contributors to GDP. As there was a great deal of negative press regarding the December 16, 2012 gang rape, India's reputation and economy were both negatively affected. This thesis focuses on gender-based violence as both sexual assault and sex trafficking, both of which undermine the value of females within Indian society. In order to prove that Indian society was once capable of creating a united identity, the case study of India's path to independence was provided.

India's path to independence was only possible due to the relentless hard work of social activists. Had these social activists not been able to see past the divisions that existed in society, it is unlikely that they would have been so successful in banding together. In fact, it was more than just the fact that these activists were able to see past the differences: they actively took measures in order to instill an idea of nationalism. As the details of the movement state, the preexisting caste discrimination and gender discrimination were parts of the society that absolutely needed to be changed. Through each step of the movement, the

empowerment of the marginalized groups was addressed, linking the overarching need to define each person as a 'human' and then a member of a 'nation.'

It is clear that in 2013, the same divisions in the pre-1947 period exist, maybe even to a greater degree. As globalization has increased the wealth gap and cultural factors have widened the gender gap, the divisive factors pre-1947 are far from erased. As the independence movement was so specific in stating exactly how the country was able to band together against a common “enemy,” it is surprising that the history has not been used as evidence to prove that the nation is, in fact, *capable* of banding together when there is a detriment within their society.

The current problem at hand is that there is *no* sense of unity regarding India's gendered violence being an “enemy” within society. As even 2013 news articles suggest, the desensitization of women as sex objects within society is a large contributing factor as to why the same fervor to end colonization does not exist in this context. The epidemic of infanticide of girl babies exists in all of India; the gender gap continues to reiterate the fact that men and women exist in a highly stratified society in which there is a value assigned from the time one is born. Until this act is eliminated from society and the actual treatment of females and males becomes more aligned, ending gender violence cannot be achieved. The empowerment of women in society is an absolute precursor to any effective social movement to end the epidemic of sexual violence. The culture needs to actually believe that there is an inherent, sameness and value to each person before any sustainable changes can be made. As the case for India's independence was used as a case to bolster the fact that an enemy can be fought, the inception of the idea of the 'enemy' must be created, first. In terms of gender

violence, both men and women need to see the elimination of such violence as an absolute priority, and then band together to fight that enemy.

Current 2013 Indian society is not hopeless, however. There are small groups of individuals who truly believe that this change can be made. In fact, a most compelling article was written by a woman in India who was genuinely upset by the fact that the international perception of males within the country was so negative. This is explicated through, “But those stuffy Indian businessmen — men of middle management, dodging bottles and diaper bags and carelessly flung toys — they didn’t grumble. Instead, up and down the plane, I saw them helping. Holding babies so that mothers could eat. Burping infants and entertaining toddlers. Not because they knew these women, but because being concerned and engaged was their normal mode of social behavior. So, I will say this — Indian men can also be among the kindest in the world” (Sankaran, L., 2013). As this article is actually written by a woman, her intention is to shine some light on the fact that the constant negative media attention against Indian men is in fact not *all* men are anything like the ones described through media stream today. She continues, “Let me introduce the Common Indian Male, a category that deserves taxonomic recognition: committed, concerned, cautious; intellectually curious, linguistically witty; socially gregarious, endearingly awkward; quick to laugh, slow to anger. Frequently spotted in domestic circles, traveling in a family herd. He has been sighted in sari shops and handbag stores, engaged in debating his spouse’s selection with the sons and daughters who trail behind. There is, apparently, no domestic decision that is not worthy of his involvement” (Sankaran, L., 2013). The fact that there is even a female contingency supporting the modern-day Indian man is hopeful. The media attention

generated from the December 16, 2012 was great in raising awareness of the fact that India still falls short of its own goals: increasing its international reputation and its economy by means of tourism. However, as Ms. Sankaran's article suggests, there are, in fact, Indian men who are not at all involved in suppressing the status of women in the country. As this thesis states, eliminating the root of the inequality problem is the most sustainable way of increasing the status of women within the nation, thereby ending gender-based violence. If the 'good men of India' have an essential role in social movements within the nation, there is hope that the status of women will improve. As the vast majority of media attention has focused on the extremely marginalized status of women, the fact is that although the marginalization is pervasive, there *are* those who want to see a nation of India with a greater sense of justice for women and sense of nationalism. The fact that this group even exists gives a great degree of hope that the nation will be able to achieve their goals: increasing tourism and its reputation. If the men mentioned in Miss Sankaran's article become the role models for young boys and men in the nation, as opposed to the men mentioned in Ms. Gupta's article, it is quite likely that greater empowerment of women in the nation will occur.

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