Webinar on

**Structural Violence on Rural Women Workers**

Organised by FPC and MAKAAM

Supported by - ANANDI, SAHAJ, SOPPECOM

Date: 16th June, 2023; Time: 2:30 PM to 5 PM

The webinar began with introductions by Renu Khanna, discussing a study on violence faced by women farmers conducted by Feminist Policy Collective (FPC) and Mahila Kisan Adhikaar Manch (MAKAAM) with the support of SOPPECOM, ANANDI and SAHAJ.

**Panel 1: Everyday Violence Against Women in Agriculture**

The first panel focused on the FPC-MAKAAM research study titled “Everyday Violence Against Women In Agriculture”, while the second panel addressed violence against rural women in the informal sector. Speakers in the first panel included Seema Kulkarni from SOPPECOM and MAKAAM, S. Ashalata from Rythu Swaraj Vedika and MAKAAM, and Sejal Dand from ANANDI and MAKAAM, who presented key findings and recommendations from the study report. Amita Pitre moderated the first panel.

Seema Kulkarni began the presentation with a brief explanation of the study and how it came about. The study was an exploratory one that emerged from discussions within MAKAAM and ‘Gender-based Violence’ Working Group of the Feminist Policy Collective. MAKAAM, established in 2014, aimed to raise issues of recognition, identity, and voice for women farmers.

The recent study focused on structural violence against women in agriculture. It aimed to address the challenges faced by women farmers regarding entitlements, access to resources, markets, and agricultural inputs within the context of the agrarian crisis. MAKAAM looked at violence and harassment experienced by women farmers in relation to the broader agrarian paradigm. The collaboration with FPC provided a platform for dialogue and learning, strengthening the linkages between activism, advocacy, and academia.
Defining Violence

The study defined violence in a broader sense, encompassing everyday harassment that hinders women from engaging in agricultural tasks and living a dignified life. It highlighted the disparities in access to land and paid employment opportunities, along with increasing ecological degradation. The study aimed to document these experiences and locate them within the larger context.

Objectives

The study's objectives included developing a methodology, ethical framework, and research questions for analysis, as well as preparing the ground for action and recommendations. The areas of inquiry encompassed defining the workspace, nature and form of violence, vulnerable communities, coping responses, grievance redressal, and broader impacts.

Geographical scope of the study

The geographical scope of the study included Maharashtra (Yavatmal and Beed districts), Telangana (Nalgonda, Warangal and Nizamabad districts) and Gujarat (Panchmahals and Dahod districts).

Focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and key informant interviews were conducted to gather information from various stakeholders, including women farmers, local complaint committee members, Sakhi centers, Asha workers, and Anganwadi workers.

The participants were represented different occupational categories, including agricultural laborers, migrant workers, single women and women from small marginal farming households affected by farmer suicides.

The findings were presented separately for sugar cane workers and migrant agricultural laborers from Gujarat and Maharashtra, and women farmers from farm suicide households in Telangana and Maharashtra.

The study revealed the challenges faced by women farmers and workers, such as limited access to resources, discrimination, and the lack of awareness and legal redressal mechanisms for addressing violence and harassment.

The study highlights the broader context of agrarian distress, characterized by dispossession, denial of rights over resources, loss of income, increasing suicides, and a decline in paid employment opportunities.
**Increased reports of violence:**

There has been an increase in reports of violence against women in various agricultural sectors, including sugarcane workers, forest workers, NREGA (National Rural Employment Guarantee Act) sites, and livestock workers in different regions of India.

While violence in the domestic sphere has received attention through legislation like the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, violence and harassment in the workplace, particularly in the informal agricultural sector, have not received sufficient attention. Legal frameworks exist, but awareness and access to redressal are lacking, especially for women in the unorganized sector.

The study identifies several forms of violence and harassment faced by women in different agricultural contexts.

a. **Sugarcane workers or canecutter women** face harassment in living spaces, inadequate facilities for basic needs, and continuous pressure and harassment by contractors.

b. **Migrant agricultural workers** from tribal areas in Gujarat face vulnerability due to their location and lack of support from their families. They often experience sexual violence, economic violence, and are at higher risk during disasters.

c. **Women from farmer suicide-affected families** and **single women farmers** face multiple forms of violence, including harassment from family members, landowners, contractors, money lenders, and officials. They also encounter obstacles in accessing agricultural services, experience harassment by money lenders, and are subjected to discrimination and stigmatization.

The study aims to develop research questions, a framework for analysis, and recommendations for redressal mechanisms to address violence against women in agriculture.

**Key findings from the study:**

1. **Organization of work and invisibility of workers:** The work of sugar cane cutters is organized in husband and wife units, forming gangs as part of the contract system. The workers, especially women, are often invisible and lack recognition. Cash transactions typically occur through male family members, further marginalizing women.

2. **Living and working conditions:** The living spaces of canecutter women were found to be vulnerable and exposed them to various forms of harassment. Temporary huts with inadequate facilities, such as drinking water and sanitation, were common. The dense sugar cane fields also posed risks of abduction and exploitation, particularly for women and young girls.

3. **Political economy of the sugar cane industry:** The study emphasizes the broader context of the sugar cane industry and its impact on workers. A video of Suman tai, a canecutter from Beed district of Maharashtra was screened where she talked about how sugarcane cutting incentivized child marriages. She felt they were encouraged to ensure a cheap labor force for the industry.
4. **Continuum of violence:** The study highlights the continuum of violence experienced by migrant workers, including domestic violence and physical abuse. Women often bear the brunt of anger at the hands of their husband at home, which reportedly increased at the sites of migration, and they are overloaded with work due to the lack of basic amenities. Violence and exploitation were reported, including instances where women's bodies were targeted during work. The women recounted how contractors and other people in the village would make excuses to pass by them, and stare at them while they would bathe or while loading or unloading sugarcane at work, making it an unsafe work environment for them. There were instances of violence against women's bodies, where their hands or bodies were tortured using the sickles used to harvest sugarcane.

5. **Health issues and risks:** The study mentions health morbidities faced by sugar cane workers, resulting from the heavy and arduous nature of the work. Long work hours, unregulated conditions, and lack of access to healthcare contribute to health risks. Risks to children, loss of education, and abduction were also recorded among agricultural laborers.

6. **Vulnerability to disasters:** Unregistered and unrecognized agricultural workers, including sugar cane cutters, faced increased vulnerability during disasters such as the COVID-19 pandemic, earthquakes, and cyclones. Lack of wages, settlements of advances, and loss of livelihoods exacerbated their vulnerability at multiple levels.

Seema also spoke of a specific instance where a group of women confronted a single woman in their gang who was getting repeatedly abused and raped by her husbands, accusing her of attracting their husbands. The women asked her to leave and assured her that they would take care of her work and ensure that her advances were settled. Seema asked Ashalatha to takeover.

**Ashalatha** discussed the experiences of women from farm suicide-affected families in Maharashtra and Telangana. She highlighted that the majority of farmer suicides were committed by men in the age group of 25 to 45, leaving women in vulnerable conditions. These women faced economic, workplace, and sexual harassment both within and outside the family. They worked in various spaces, including homesteads, their own land, family lands, and as agricultural laborers. They also had to navigate institutional workspaces such as government offices, banks, and markets.

Violence and harassment against these women started within their natal families, ranging from verbal abuse to physical violence. They faced rumors and character assassination when they refused sexual favors demanded by men. In many cases, they were denied rights to their husband's share of land and were driven out of their homes. They encountered harassment from male farmers, faced difficulties accessing agricultural services and loans, and experienced harassment from money lenders and government officials. Children, especially teenage boys, also got affected by the rumors and quarreled with their mothers.

Despite the challenges, these women coped by forming groups and forums, which provided moral support and confidence. Some women became stronger and actively participated in protests and fights for their rights. However, there was a wide range of responses, with some women feeling meek and
weak, while others fought back and challenged the harassers. The women mobilized themselves for collective efforts aimed to address issues such as education support, livelihood support, and applying for government compensation. Ashalatha asked Sejal to conclude the presentation.

**Sejal Dand** explored the linkages of caste and violence in the agrarian context, along with recommendations that emerged from the study. She discussed various cases of violence and abuse against marginalized communities, particularly Dalit and Adivasi women who worked as agricultural laborers. She highlighted incidents of rape, assault, and murder faced by these women. The power dynamics related to land ownership were mentioned, where higher castes held the ownership while the workers, who were often Dalit or Adivasi women, faced exploitation and violence.

Sejal emphasized the need to challenge such atrocities and mentioned the SC/ST Atrocities Act as a potential legal recourse. She also discussed coping mechanisms and resistance within women's groups. The issue of migrant laborers facing challenges in seeking justice and the lack of support from the police and landlords was mentioned. Sejal recounted a specific case of a missing child where the police did not provide assistance, forcing the woman (Adivasi) to travel a long distance to find help.

Sejal also discussed the problems faced by women working in agriculture and recommendations to make their workplaces safer. The study highlighted that many women worked in temporary and non-standard or unorganised jobs, which made it harder for them to be seen and treated fairly. This led to an imbalance of power, resulting in more violence and sexual harassment against them. The study report suggested that these women should be recognized as farmers and given access to loans, so they could demand workplaces free from violence.

It was noted that there was a lack of data and research about women in agriculture, especially those working as laborers. It was important to understand the different kinds of violence they faced in specific work settings, like on farms or in factories, and find ways to prevent it. The study also stressed the need to enforce the Prevention of Sexual Harassment (POSH) Act, which included setting up committees to handle complaints. Sejal suggested spreading awareness about the act, providing support to women, and ensuring that these committees were created and monitored on time.

She proposed that each government ministry should have a separate budget to address workplace violence against women. For example, the Ministry of Agriculture and Farmers Welfare should have allocated funds to deal with violence in agricultural settings. The study found that women had helped each other and worked with local organizations to fight against violence. It suggested that all women's groups and unions representing farmers should have had a say in these committees, regardless of whether they were organized or not. These groups should have educated their members and allocated resources to make sure the necessary support systems were in place.

The study report recommended changes to laws regarding women in agriculture. It suggested involving local village councils and making sure women's groups were included in committees that handled complaints. It also recommended establishing social justice committees at the village level to address violence against women. Sejal believes that by making these changes, along with legal
reforms, proper funding, awareness campaigns, and involving everyone concerned, we can prevent violence against women in agriculture and create safer and fairer workplaces for them.

**Q&As for Panel 1:**

**Amita** briefly translated the previous presentations in Hindi.

Amita then asked about the future plans for the research conducted by MAKAAM, referring to it as an exploratory research and the first of its kind.

**Seema** responded by acknowledging the numerous issues that have emerged from the research and emphasized the importance of understanding the broader linkages and implications of these experiences. She mentioned that MAKAAM is already undertaking a large-scale study on violence, looking at questions of resource denial, non-recognition of workers, and the impact on harassment and violence faced by women in agriculture. The study involves collaboration with organizations like SOPPECOM, ANANDI, and Telangana. Seema expressed her eagerness to develop specific recommendations based on the study's findings.

**Pankti** from Gujarat raised a question regarding the collaboration between agricultural and migrant workers' unions to address socio-economic exploitation and exclusion. She inquired about the potential for increased advocacy efforts.

**Sejal** responded by acknowledging the importance of understanding and creating a space for women to discuss these issues within unions and communities. She mentioned that MAKAAM is already initiating this process and emphasized the need for open dialogue to address everyday violence cases that often go unheard.

**Seema** added that MAKAAM has had positive discussions with mainstream unions, particularly in Maharashtra, where the issue is being raised and joint efforts are being made to address the concerns of sugarcane harvesting workers, including wages, living conditions, and sexual harassment.

**Ashalatha** mentioned the challenges faced in Telangana, where farmer and labor unions are male-dominated, and women are not even part of those organizations. She highlighted that we have a long way to go still in addressing these issues.

**Preeti Oza** mentioned the efforts of Majur Adhikar Manch and Eent Bhatta Majur Union in Gujarat, focusing on migrant labor and unorganized sector workers, including brick kiln workers. They have taken up cases related to violence and harassment, although there are complexities within the judicial and legal frameworks.

Amita concluded the session by thanking the speakers for highlighting the complexities and showing the way forward, expressing anticipation for the larger study's outcomes. She introduced Sunee Dhar briefly who then took over the moderation of the next panel.
Panel 2: Experiences of Rural Women Workers

**Suneeta** thanked Amita and expressed how the previous session had moved everyone immensely. She acknowledged the need to address the anguish, grief, harassment, and fundamental rights of women workers in rural areas.

Suneeta mentioned that the second panel aimed to shed further light on the experiences of rural women workers. She introduced the three well-known speakers who were present:

**Dr. Navsharan Singh**, a researcher, feminist activist, and writer who had contributed immensely to various social and women's movements;

**Preeti Oza**, who had previously worked with Suneeta in the coordination unit and currently worked at the Center for Labor Research and Action in Ahmedabad; and

**Kavita Singh**, who had done tremendous work in the union and had been advocating for the rights of Asha and Anganwadi workers for the past two decades.

Suneeta explained that Navsharan would shed light on women farmers in the agricultural sector, Preeti would discuss rural women and migrant workers, and Kavita would talk about Asha and Anganwadi workers.

**Navsharan** thanked Suneeta, Anita and all the colleagues who had joined the two sessions. She expressed gratitude for the wonderful study that had given everyone much to think about and had broken new ground. Navsharan mentioned her ongoing work in Punjab with landless women and agricultural laborers, collecting testimonies and building collective knowledge on their experiences.

She discussed the crisis of the Green Revolution in Punjab, which led to crop failures, soaring input prices, and a growing wealth gap between rich and poor farmers. Navsharan highlighted the impact on the landless, particularly Dalit women, who faced violence and exploitation. She explained how land ownership and control had shifted to upper-caste landlords, resulting in the loss of rights for lower-caste landless laborers. She emphasized the importance of land access for livelihoods, dignity, and basic needs like defecation. The manipulation of land auctions and the boycotts imposed on Dalits who resisted further exacerbated their vulnerability.

Navsharan discussed the policy response, which often focused on social and caste hierarchy and mindset change, rather than addressing the structural violence rooted in landlessness and marginalization. She highlighted the demands of women agriculture laborers and landless women for toilets on common lands, linking it to reclaiming their rights and challenging caste and gender violence.

Navsharan concluded by mentioning the emergence of landless women's unions in Punjab that were fighting for land as a solution to the endemic violence they had endured for decades.
Suneeta expressed gratitude to Navsharan for opening their eyes and raising awareness about the structural elements affecting landless and vulnerable Dalit women. She acknowledged the lack of understanding regarding fundamental rights to dignity, life, and quality of life. Suneeta then handed over the speaking time to Preeti Oza.

Preeti shared that she had previously worked in rural development and had extensive experience with unorganized and migrant labor in sectors such as agriculture, construction, brick kilns, and non-farm work in factories. As the different research points were presented in the first panel, Preeti noticed that they aligned with the notes she had written. She appreciated the alignment among the participants.

Preeti mentioned working with two unions, namely the Majur Adhikaar Manch and the Eent Bhatta Majur Union, both representing unorganized sector workers in Gujarat. She explained that while the Int Bhatta Union focused on specific issues, the Majur Adhikaar Manch encompassed a broader scope, including agricultural workers.

Preeti emphasized that unions should address not only labor-related issues and violations but also the complex structural aspects of the agricultural economy, patriarchy, caste, and the organization of informal work. She highlighted the exploitation of migrant workers who were more controllable, made to work longer hours, lacked social support, and were easily exploited. Within this context, unions had to expand their focus to include gender violence, housing, and the lack of basic utilities and facilities.

Preeti reflected on her experience of working for 13-14 years on these issues. She noted that while the unions she worked with were not explicitly feminist, her feminist understanding allowed her to bring a focus on addressing violence within that framework. She mentioned the suggestion from the research to establish connections between unions, which was something they had already done, albeit not with a larger feminist ideological backing. Preeti emphasized that the issues they dealt with encompassed human rights, civic rights, and gender rights, as informal sector workers required comprehensive support.

She explained how unions utilized various laws, including criminal procedures, atrocity acts, and labor laws, to address cases of violence and protect the rights of workers, particularly Dalit and tribal individuals who constituted a significant portion of the unorganized sector. Preeti acknowledged the challenge of limited time resources and the importance of not allowing cases of violence to be suppressed or ignored.

Besides the implementation of the POSH (Prevention of Sexual Harassment) and POCSO (Protection of Children from Sexual Offences) Acts, Preeti mentioned their union's involvement in a sector that was not covered in the research: BT cotton seed farming in northern Gujarat and previously in parts of Telangana. She explained that child labor, consisting of young girls and boys, was used for manual cross-pollination. Girls as young as 9 to 15 years old, accompanied by a local labor contractor and without their parents, were subjected to sexual exploitation by both the contractor and the cotton seed farm owner, including their sons or friends.
This was the union's initial focus, leading to the imprisonment of a powerful seed factory owner for an extended period. However, due to the vulnerability of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, families were often pressured to compromise or settle the cases. The complex organization of the informal and unorganized labor sector, influenced by local leaders, politics, and upper-caste power, created a challenging environment when addressing violence against migrant workers. Despite knowing that cases often end in compromise, the union's initial aggressive approach aimed to instill fear and provide temporary strength for tribal families to fight for their rights.

Preeti acknowledged the high extent of underreporting due to women's fears, including fear of family, husbands, parents, neighbors, tribal community, and the surrounding micro and macrocosm. Despite these challenges, the union emphasized counseling and encouraged victims to pursue police cases, recognizing the harassment women may face during the process. The union supported the victims and urged them to be strong, share their stories, and at least achieve temporary imprisonment for the perpetrators to instill fear in the system.

Migration played a significant role in the lives of these workers, with families migrating for agricultural work, sugar cane harvesting, construction, and brick kilns. Women's substantial contributions, both in the workforce and at home, often went unrecognized. The union aligned with the suggestions proposed in the research, including the establishment of complaint mechanisms such as the ICC (Internal Complaints Committee) or LCC (Local Complaints Committee) at the block and district levels, although they acknowledged the challenges faced within the system.

Legal provisions like the atrocities act, POSH, and POCSO provided some leeway for addressing the issues, and the union aimed to create a space where women could share their experiences. The union emphasized the importance of addressing violence against women and considered such cases equally significant as others. Many women, inspired by model cases, approached the union to file complaints, even for old cases. While Preeti supported a feminist perspective, the union was committed to working on violence against women cases, regardless of the perspective, to achieve success in their efforts.

Suneeta acknowledged the complexity of the processes but appreciated the union's commitment to attending and supporting redress mechanisms that enable women to access justice. Despite recognizing the system's impunity and the challenges women face in seeking redress at all levels, Suneeta emphasized the importance of organizing and unionizing as a platform for women to move forward.

Preeti mentioned a significant strategy of the union, which involved working in both the source and destination areas due to migration dynamics. In the past two years, they had experimented with partnerships between rights groups in the source area and formed the Paschim Bharat Majur Adhikaar Manch. This collaboration proved helpful in cases where women faced difficulties upon returning to the source area and became lost since it was not possible to track everyone.
Suneeta suggested that Preeti provide a link to the union and include contact details to ensure that everyone has access to this information. She emphasized the importance of the union's work and the involvement of support organizations in assisting women in highly vulnerable situations.

Preeti agreed to share the requested information in the chat box.

Suneeta then invited Kavita Singh to present.

Kavita delved into the topic of violence against women and provided a broader context for understanding this issue. She discussed different forms of violence, such as physical, psychological, and sexual violence, and emphasized that it is not limited to individual acts but also encompasses structural and institutional violence.

Kavita drew attention to the plight of scheme workers, referring to those who work in various government schemes aimed at benefiting marginalized communities. She highlighted how these workers, who are often women, face exploitation, low wages, and unsafe working conditions. This serves as an example of how women are disproportionately affected by systemic violence and inequality.

Furthermore, Kavita acknowledged that violence against women cannot be addressed without examining the historical and cultural factors that have contributed to its prevalence. She emphasized the need to challenge societal norms, gender roles, and power structures that perpetuate such violence.

She reflected on the changes in the production system and the impact on labor, particularly women. With the advent of agricultural tools, men gained dominance in farming, and women were burdened with the responsibility of bearing children. As a result, women lagged behind in the field of labor. Men took advantage of this and declared rebellion against women, forcefully imposing their dominance on changing norms. The emergence of a male-dominated society based on personal property led to the adoption of policies and ideals that marginalized women and hindered their progress. Eventually, women became subjugated and lost their independence.

Kavita used the analogy of an elephant to highlight how society restricts women's freedom, similar to chaining an elephant when it is brought home from the wild. Gradually, the chains are loosened until the elephant becomes accustomed to captivity.

Kavita points out the double standards and biases against women, even when they fight for their rights. She mentioned the case of female wrestlers, where women are blamed for their own struggles and criticized for their actions. The patriarchal mentality deeply ingrained in society is difficult to break.

She also addressed issues of body autonomy and the objectification of women. The prevalence of violence in movies is contrasted with the violence faced by rural women by men who take out their anger and frustrations on them. She holds the media responsible for the sexualization and objectification of women.
Kavita concluded that the current system, driven by capitalism and individualism, perpetuates violence against women and called for a collective movement inspired by the principles of equality, fraternity, and liberty.

**Suneeta** acknowledged the powerful points made by Kavita. She highlighted the erasure of the work, dignity, and identity of Anganwadi and Asha workers, emphasizing the struggle they faced in reclaiming their rights and presence. Suneeta acknowledged the systemic oppression faced by frontline workers, who were the backbone of the system. She expressed support for the demand for substantive equality and acknowledged the long struggle ahead. Suneeta then discussed International Domestic Workers Day, highlighting the efforts of various groups, including feminist collectives, to advance rights and protection for domestic workers and care workers in India.

She pointed out the exclusion of many of these workers from labor laws, their exploitative work conditions, abuse, and low wages. Suneeta advocated for the ratification and effective implementation of ILO C190 to safeguard the rights and protection of domestic workers, ensuring a harassment-free workplace. She also emphasized the need for a systematic alliance and collective resistance to advance women's rights and bring about transformative change.

**Q&As for Panel 2:**

Suneeta opened the floor with an invitation for questions from the audience, acknowledging the limited time available for discussion. Suneeta suggested exploring these issues further in the future and finding solutions to address systemic inequalities and support women on the ground.

**Sejal** asked a question regarding the number of issues faced by scheme workers on their Internal Complaints Committees (ICCs). She asked whether there was any estimate, either at the central, state, or district level.

**Rukmini** responded, sharing that she had encountered one case related to scheme workers during her 1.5-year engagement on the committee, which came to the Women and Child department and was successfully resolved.

**Sejal** expressed surprise that there was only one case considering the large number of scheme workers, to which **Kavita** clarified that the total number was 63 lakh, including Anganwadi, Asha workers, and midday meal workers.

**Suneeta** observed the lack of reporting, awareness, and understanding of the mechanism surrounding these issues, emphasizing the need to address this gap.

**Preeti Oza** commented on the challenge of unionization and the lack of strong unions for these workers, noting the support provided by some organized trade unions for Anganwadi workers but highlighting the limited involvement of mainstream unions in the unorganized and migrant sectors.
Suneeta suggested reaching out to unions and creating awareness about these issues.

Seema posed a question about the possibility of focused awareness-building programs for Anganwadi and Asha workers under government committees or unions and asked for insights on the response to such efforts.

Suneeta asked Navsharan to hold her response and asked that another question from Priya be clubbed with Seema’s.

Priyajohn expressed gratitude for the presentations and directed a question to Navsharan regarding caste norms and their impact.

Navsharan acknowledged the importance of the question and distinguished between caste hierarchy and norms, emphasizing that changing mindsets alone would not address the embedded violence in the hierarchical system. She stressed the need to recognize and challenge the hierarchy rather than focusing solely on norm change.

Kavita highlighted the need for awareness programs initiated by unions and emphasized that while they organize awareness programs every month, the government does not follow a similar approach. She mentioned that some programs for Anganwadi workers take place, focusing on inviting girls and creating awareness, but she stressed the importance of actively engaging with people and conveying their concerns. Kavita expressed the need to dismantle the existing system and strive for equality. She mentioned the persistence of feudal practices and the need for change.

Suneeta agreed with Kavita, stating that systemic change requires collective efforts from organizers and various organizations. She mentioned the Supreme Court's recent notification regarding reporting compliance and highlighted the prevalence of impunity and political interference in cases related to wrestlers.

Suneeta emphasized the power of women on the ground, women's groups, farmers' groups, and unions, suggesting that they join forces and strategize for the future. She expressed gratitude to the panelists and organizers and called for concrete actions and collaboration on the ground.

Titash Ghosh thanked all the speakers, moderators, and participants, expressing the intention to continue such conversations in the future. She mentioned that the report links and a summary of the conversation would be shared with the attendees.