Conference venue

Friday, June 15	Room HG G 26.5	ETH Zurich Rämistrasse 101 8092 Zurich
Saturday, June 16 (untill lunch)	Room HG G 26.5	
Saturday, June 16 (after lunch)	Room MM C 78.1 (Alumni Pavillon)	ETH Zurich Leonhardstrasse 34 8092 Zurich
Sunday, June 17	Room MM C 78.1 (Alumni Pavillon)	

Wifi use at the conference venue:

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Young South Asia Scholars Meet

Claims-Making: Discourses and Practices in South Asia

Zurich, 15th - 17th June 2018

Programme

Programme of Day 1: Friday, 15th June

Room HG G 26.5

09:00-09:15 Registration

09:15-10:00 Welcome Note by the conference conveners together with Prof. Johannes Quack from the Institute of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies (ISEK) of the University of Zurich.

10:00-11:30 Panel 1: Contested 'Truths' and their Sources of Authority

Discussant: Prof. Johannes Quack, UZH, ISEK

The Politics of Superstitions: Claims-Makings of the Hindu Nationalists and the Rationalists
Sweta Chakraborty, Dublin City University

Claiming Human Differences and Sameness through 'Race': Translating Racialized Knowledge into the Study of Social Groups in India
Thiago Pinto Barbosa, Free University Berlin

11:30-12.00 Tea and Coffee

12:00-13:45 Panel 2: Claims-Making and the State: Politics of Belonging

Discussant: Prof. Benedict Korf, UZH, Department of Geography

The Politics of Naming the Flatlands of Nepal
Darshan Karki, UZH

Claiming and Disclaiming Authorship: Authorised Interlocutors, Absent Presences, and Plural Authority in the Making of Goa's Pre-eminent Artistic Personality
Prakruti Ramesh, Aarhus University

Legitimacy of Claims Making and the Problem of Community Identity: The Case of Rohith Vemula
Thahir Jamal Kiliyamannil, University of Hyderabad

13:45-14:45 Lunch

14:45-16:30 Panel 3: Claims-Making and the State: Power Dynamics and Access to Resources

Discussant: Prof. Nicolas Martin, UZH, Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies

Lost Lands and Endless Claims. A Study of Adivasis of Attappady Hills, Kerala (India)
Meenakshi Nair Ambujam, Graduate Institute Geneva

Cultural Hegemony of Military in Bangladesh: Social Exclusion, Claims Making and Legitimization
Mohammed Javed Kaisar Ibne Rahman, Shahjalal University of Science and Technology

Living on the Edge: Conflict and Claims-Making over Resources in the Peri-Urban Fringe of Lahore.
Helena Cermeno, University of Kassel

16:30-17:00 Tea and Coffee

17:00-18:30 **Panel 4: Claims-Making and the State: Negotiating Citizenship and Diversity**
Discussant: Alice Kern, UZH, Political Geography

Claiming Rights to Education: A Study on Rohingya Refugees from Burma living in Bangladesh
Al Amin Rabby, Shahjalal University of Science and Technology

Claiming the Personal: Competing Muslim Voices on Religious Law in India
Alia Zaman, University of Delhi

19:00 **Apéro Riche**

Programme of Day 2: Saturday, 16th June
Room HG G 26.5 (before lunch) & Room MM C 78.1, Alumni Pav. (after lunch)

09:00-09:15 **Welcome Note by** Prof. Harald Fischer-Tiné, Chair for History of the Modern World of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich (ETHZ).

09:15-10:45 **Panel 5: Legitimizing Inequality: Colonialism and Claims-Making**
Discussant: Dr. Maria Framke, University of Rostock, Historical Institute

Cleansing Dirt, Deodorising the Body: Claims of Inequality in Colonial North India
Rajni Chandiwal, University of Delhi

Method in Madness: Reading the 'Abnormal' in Colonial India, 1880s-1930
Pranjali Srivastava, Jawaharlal Nehru University Delhi

10:45-11:15 **Tea and coffee**

11:15-13:00 **Panel 6: Claiming People, Creating Categories: Claims-Making and Labour**
Discussant: Dr. Elena Valdameri, ETHZ, History of the Modern World

Claiming Safety of Child Miners and other Children: Claims-Making and the Coal Mining Industry of Colonial Eastern India, 1890s-1923
Sandip Chatterjee, West Bengal State University

Claims-Making through Famine Relief: Gender and State in Late Nineteenth Century North India
Madhavi Jha, Jawaharlal Nehru University Delhi

Female Domestic Workers of New Delhi: Their Challenges and Rising Agency
Reesha-Swapanil Sharma, University of Bern

13:00-14:30 **Lunch**

14:30-16:00 **Panel 7: Power, Knowledge and the Female Body: Claims-Making and Reproductive Medicine**
Discussants: Dr. Sandra Bärnreuther, UZH, ISEK and Dr. Sneha Bannerjee, UZH, ISEK

Contestations on the Female Body: Politics of Contraception in India and Switzerland in the 1960s, an Ontological Approach

Anja Suter, University of Basel

Resources in a Welfare State: Availability of Oral Contraceptives in Sri Lanka

Darshi N. Thoradeniya, University of Colombo

16:00-16:30 **Tea and Coffee**

18:00-19:00 **Keynote Lecture: "Some Ambivalences of Rights Claims" by Prof. Shalini Randeria, The Graduate Institute Geneva & Institute for Human Science in Vienna**

19:45 **Conference Dinner:** We warmly invite all presenters and discussants to join us for the dinner at Ristorante Frascati.

Programme of Day 3: Sunday, 17th June

Room MM C 78.1, Alumni Pavillon

09:15-10:45 **Panel 8: Claims-Making and the Politics of Space**
Discussant: Mascha Schulz, UZH, ISEK

Religious Bodies, Space and the City
Sana Ghazi, University of Utrecht

Cemeteries as Sites of Claims-Making: Caste Struggle in Jaffna, Sri Lanka
Deborah Menezes, University of Edinburgh

10:45-11:15 **Tea and Coffee**

11:15-13:00 **Panel 9: Claims-Making in the Context of Global Norms and Transnational Activism**
Discussants: Alice Kern, UZH, Political Geography, Dr. Maria Framke, University of Rostock, Historical Institute and Dr. Sneha Bannerjee, UHZ, ISEK

Representation and Inter-linkages in Transnational Activism: Study of La Via Campesina and Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha
Niloshree Bhattacharya, Presidency University Kolkata

Advocacy without Borders: Christian Minorities in India and the Use of Transnational Advocacy Networks as a Response to Religious Restrictions
Kristina M. Teater, University of Cincinnati

Claiming LGBT Rights in Naya Nepal
Kumud Rana, University of Glasgow

13:00-13:30 **Concluding Remarks**

Panels & Abstracts

Panel 1: Contested 'Truths' and their Sources of Authority

The Politics of Superstitions: Claims Makings of the Hindu Nationalists and the Rationalists

Sweta Chakraborty, PhD Candidate, Dublin City University, Law and Government

The 'general politics of truth' is contingent upon the power structures of the society, in a quintessentially Foucauldian way. When a 'truth' is claimed, it changes the status of both the claim-maker and those who acknowledge the epistemic superiority of the source of this knowledge; this source in its manifold and (mostly) discreet form is power. The glorification of India's past has been an influential ammunition of nationalists since the anti-colonial movement. Some Orientalist claims made by colonisers have ironically been repeated to garner mass mobilization and inject nationalist spirit and pride among citizens. The cherry-picking of these claims has led to several a-historical theses: that Hindus and Muslims have forever lived in infallible harmony in India until the British cleaved them through a divide-and-rule policy or the

superiority of India in the world in science and technology since Vedic times. On 25th October 2014, after his ascent to power, Prime Minister Narendra Modi claimed that reproductive genetics and plastic surgery were discovered in India, furnishing examples from the Mahabharata and stories from the Puranas. On June 28th 2016, researchers in Gujarat claimed to have found gold in cow urine, an opportune discovery in a country where cow-protection is currently one of the major political contentions. Often, such claims do not require corroboration through experiments to demand a status as 'truth' because of the source they emanate from. It is this status of 'truth' that creates the collapsible border between 'religion' and 'superstitions'. The rationalists, a group which faces the threat of persecution that grows with each rationalist murdered (Dabholkar, Kalburgi, Gauri Lankesh), have launched an anti-superstition campaign in the country and have been successful in enacting laws (in Maharashtra in 2013 and recently in Karnataka) against certain practices that can be considered superstitious. This division of 'essential practices and beliefs of a religion' that need preservation

and 'superstitious practices' that should be extirpated require careful consideration. Who decides on the 'essences' of religiosity? Which are the groups that are excluded as a result of these determinations? What is the source of the power that is vested upon one practice as against the other? The claims that are made by the Hindu nationalists and the rationalists are divergent in all respects but converge at their exclusionism of sub-altern groups that do not form the urban, middle-class vote banks or intelligentsia respectively. The power structures of the society determine which claims are to be

Claiming Human Differences and Sameness through 'Race': Translating Racialized Knowledge into the Study of Social Groups in India

Thiago Pinto Barbosa, PhD candidate, Free University Berlin, Cultural and Social Anthropology

My research project explores how "race", as a scientific object, has been scientifically produced and transformed through circulations in time and space. The analysis sheds light on one important transnational flow in the global network of racialized knowledge production, namely the one through the work of physical anthropologist and geneticist Irawati Karvé (1905-1970) between Berlin and different settings in India. In the late 1920s and early 1930s

endorsed and which decried. This paper attempts to locate how these claims politicize superstitions and accord differential values to practices depending upon who makes the claims and for whom. The content of the term 'superstition' is in itself a politically motivated orthography in India, as secularism, one of the tenets of its Constitutions, is being decried by the current government. This paper employs divergent definitions of the term used by the Hindu nationalists and the rationalists to locate the context and power structures of such claims made by both groups.

Karvé researched at the renowned Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics (KWI-A) in Berlin, where she developed a research on "racial difference" under supervision of leading Rassenhygiene expert and anthropologist Eugen Fischer. From 1931 to 1970, Karvé played a key role in the adaption of racialized knowledge to different settings in India, becoming notably known for her anthropometric studies of different social groups in India, such as certain "sub-castes", "tribes" and other "populations".

Backed by multi-archival research in the context of an ongoing larger ethnographic research, in this paper I analyze Karvé's racialized knowledge production praxis and situatedness. Through a postcolonial STS perspective, I start from Karvé's praxis in

Berlin, and articulate it with an analysis of how, from such praxis on, she has articulated and transformed the object of "race" throughout her scientific work in India. I argue that Karvé has contributed to a racialized understanding of human difference also in a later context (1950-1970) when the category "race"has been translated into "the racial" in her later work.

Hence, my paper contributes to a critical understanding of the transformation of "race" as a scientific object and to a critical historical understanding of how racialized understands of human difference are scientifically claimed to be true. In this sense, I strive to contribute to South Asian scholarship with a differentiated gaze toward the history of the discipline of anthropology itself and with a reflection on the presence of "race" in the production of knowledge on human diversity in the subcontinent.

Panel 2: Claims-Making and the State: Politics of Belonging

The politics of naming the flatlands of Nepal

Darshan Karki, PhD Candidate, UZH, Geography
(co-authored with Miriam Wenner, University of Göttingen)

Naming places involves an act of will where one version of history is commemorated over others depending on the ruling order. Thus, place names are not just innocent signifiers of geographical space but also outcomes of contested power relations. Guided by this understanding, this paper examines naming as a form of resistance and elaborates on how place names are crucial for identity building and making contesting claims. It is based on in-depth semi-structured interviews with Nepali politicians, activists, journalists and political analysts against the backdrop of multiple protests against the state in the 'Tarai'/ 'Madhes' or the flatlands of Nepal. The main argument of the paper is that contestations surrounding place names are closely intertwined with the imaginations of belonging to a nation. In doing so, this paper makes an empirical contribution to critical place name studies in Asia as English-language publications in the field continue to be dominated by research in America and Europe.

Claiming and Disclaiming Authorship: authorised interlocutors, absent presences, and plural authority in the making of Goa's pre-eminent artistic personality

Prakruti Ramesh, PhD Candidate, Aarhus University, Department of Global Studies

My PhD dissertation aims to describe and historicise the widespread use in Goa's visual public sphere of cartoons and other pictures authored by a Goan cartoonist called Mario Miranda. Goa is a small state in coastal western India. It was formerly a Portuguese colony surrounded on all sides for much of its colonial history by "British India". Today, Goa is one of India's most premier 'pleasure peripheries'.

Mario Miranda lived between 1926 and 2011. His work can be found in restaurants, cafes, shopping malls, private educational institutions and individual homes, as well as in state-owned spaces like municipal markets, railways stations and libraries. Through my dissertation, I remain interested to explore the vectors for the popularity of this particular visual signifier.

My article draws from one chapter of my dissertation. In it, I discuss a central node for the generation and dissemination of this dominant aesthetic in Goa: a series of "Mario Galleries" which merchandise Mario's work in various ways. The Mario Galleries are run by a man called Gerard da Cunha, who became acquainted with Mario and his family in the year 2005. The relationship between da Cunha and Mario's surviving family members is usufructual. The Galleries are profitable enough to be self-sustaining, and their management consumes a good deal of da Cunha's time and interest. Yet he is keen to clarify that the aim of this business is to support the family.

I argue that any understanding of the Mario Galleries would be incomplete without close attention to the man who steers their show, Gerard da Cunha. da Cunha is, in his own right, an accomplished and well-known architect. Though not formally trained in business, da Cunha performs an almost stunning array of roles with regard to the Galleries (he is their architect, their designer, archivist, data-analyst, and "strategist"). He's also extremely entrepreneurial in the sense that he invests a great deal of his own labour, time and capital into an operation with at best uncertain returns, even as he continues to work as an architect. Mario was the author of the images, but da Cunha is the author of the Galleries. Besides, as the designer of the merchandise, he is in a way a secondary author not just of the manifold contemporary materialisations of Mario's images, but also,

relatedly, of Mario's post-mortem presence. Yet, da Cunha is self-effacing about his role in sustaining Mario's present visibility. He remains an absent presence in the Galleries, even while his curatorial and interpretive choices determine which aspects of Mario's artistic personality are prioritized.

This article therefore considers 'claims-making' in relation to authorship: distributed, overlaid, and polyphonic. I show that 'Mario' is revealed to be less a single historical author, than a genre-in-the-making which incorporates various agents who claim – but also, through their effacements, disclaim – 'authority' over aspects of his work. Here, da Cunha may fruitfully be conceptualised through the metaphorical prisms of ventriloquist, shaman, and midwife, in a manner that both queers and pluralises the changing significance of Mario Miranda.

Legitimacy of Claims Making and the Problem of Community Identity: The Case of Rohith Vemula

Thahir Jamal Kiliyamannil, PhD Candidate, University of Hyderabad, Comparative Literature

In a country like India, which is hierarchically divided and where categories matters more than anything, there are modern institutions of judiciary and process like census which determine the social category of an individual. This paper is an attempt to think through the claims such institutions and processes make while categorizing the individuals into different social groups. This paper take as entry point the case of Rohith Vemula, the PhD research scholar who committed suicide in University of Hyderabad after being expelled from the University. His identity as a Dalit was disputed as his mother, who is from Scheduled Caste (SC) community was adopted by an OBC (Other Backward Caste) family during her childhood and she was married off to a person from OBC community. Later, she got divorced and they shifted to the SC habitat. Police started investigating into the caste of Rohit Vemula, creating a furor of debate around his possible SC or probable OBC identity, depending on the claims of ascribing the categorization. This ambivalence regarding the caste of Rohith brings forth vulnerable premises, which are important for contemporary discussions on what claims constitute one's affiliation to community? This also signals the ways in which individuals acquire membership in the social and legal collectivities, putting forth various claims.

In India, the claims of being in a community are verified/legitimized through various governmental and non-governmental processes, of which legal certificates are the supreme. As modernity has print at its core, modern institutions of nation state provide multiple certificates like Identity Card, Passport, Adhar Card, Ration Card and Caste certificate (which is unique to India) to prove once identity and his/her membership in a community. To complicate it further, modern legality coerced the amorphous caste identities to form a structured and centralized system. Thus, a rigid constellation of shared belonging produced a new sense of identity, which is partly social and partly legal. Through analyzing the case of Rohit Vemula, this paper will try to understand the multiple claims on one's social and legal embeddedness and will delineate the possibility of claims that will promote social identity, which is above certified modern legal identity. As Satyanarayana (2016) argues, is there a possibility to challenge the policing of caste category and exercise the freedom to remain an outsider? Instead of being in the caste, what is the possibility of becoming in the modern caste system, which Rohith has tried to ponder? What are the possible claims one can make to remain outsider?

This paper would argue that the categorization of individual into legal categories through legal claims and social categories through social claims have different genealogy. While legal categorization negates the choice of individual to claim membership in a community, social categorization provides fluidity in asserting a community identity. This paper will address the conflicts that are flaring out from the possibility of multiple social, juridical and political identities, depending on the legitimization strategies of claims making. Hence, the difficult question of multiple temporalities and spatialities that can radically transform the legitimacy of claims will be foregrounded.

Panel 3: Claims-Making and the State: Power Dynamics and Access to Resources

**Lost Lands and Endless Claims
A Study of Adivasis of Attappady Hills, Kerala (India)**

Meenakshi Nair Ambujam, PhD Can didate, Graduate Institute Geneva, An thropology and Sociology of Development

Given the rampant incidences of land alienation among adivasi communities of India, prominent scholars and activists have argued that the Indian state has failed to recognise adivasis' rights to land. This seems to be a problematic stance since there are a plethora of laws and constitutional provisions which "recognise" adivasis' land rights. These legislations, in fact, underscore that certain lands have historically belonged to the adivasi community on the basis of autochthony and that these lands cannot be transferred to non-adivasis. This would suggest that recognition of adivasis' rights to land exits. As a result, this research asks: why have adivasis not been able to establish their claims to land rights despite several legal provisions that should have

enabled them to do so? Moving beyond the framework of recognition, this research locates claim-making in the realm of practices of redistribution. Redistribution of land is assumed to be a product of successful claim-making— since it unambiguously establishes the legitimate right of the claimant. Drawing on fieldwork conducted in adivasi highlands of Attappady (Kerala) in 2014, this research explores how 'successful' claims to land have the capacity to produce contradictory effects that somehow make it difficult to possess it. And how, therefore, conditions of landlessness prevail among adivasis despite demands for redistribution being met. As a result, while a successful claim to land unequivocally grants and establishes the right of the individual to a unit of land, the difficulty to materially realise this success—because of inability to possess it— produces a community whose search for land is rendered endless. This, then, complicates understandings of what it means to 'claim' a resource, what is considered a successful claim and what it means to engage in practices of redistribution— facets this paper will explore..

Cultural Hegemony of Military in Bangladesh: Social Exclusion, Claims Making and Legitimization

Mohammad Javed Kaisar Ibne Rahman Assistant Professor, Shahjalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet, Bangladesh, Department of Anthropology

On 15th November 2007, a group of the Bangladeshi army embarked on an eviction operation in Chakuli, a village at the fringe of the capital city Dhaka populated mainly by Hindus. Despite the fact that the High Court had issued an order that the village may not be evicted, the army dispossessed all villagers and consequently established another military housing compound there named Mirpur DOHS (Defense Officers' Housing Society). At present, this military housing area is considered one of the most 'posh' residential areas. Those who are living in this gated community live a life markedly different to those in other areas in Dhaka city and enjoy privileged access to higher-quality infrastructure that is build particularly for military families such as separate medical institutions, schools and colleges as it common for military families in Bangladesh.

These kinds of privileges that the military enjoys remain often unquestioned by the people in Bangladesh who uphold a "heroic" image in Bangladesh. The villagers of

Chakuli, in contrast, were deprived of their rights to their land and also later unable to claim their rights or adequate compensation due to the unequal power structures and the direct and indirect support of the government regarding the military activities. This paper aims to explore how the claims of the military to state resources and other privileges as well as the legitimization of their illegal activities is related to the hegemonic position that the military enjoyed in Bangladesh. Connell states "hegemony is likely to be established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power" (1995:77). The paper explores how the military is portrayed in mainstream media as well as their own medias of self-representation as honest, patriot, intelligent, capable and powerful forces that ensures the security of the country both at times of external threats as well as internal crises. Bangladesh has a relatively different scenario of militarization than the West, where state legitimizes the position of military through its mechanism. This paper argues that such "legitimizing" is possible due to the hegemonic position of the military, and it will explore the strategies and practices behind the construction of hegemony towards military. This legitimization is also produced by state structures that are channeling resources to one privileged group, while another group of persons is systematically marginalized and deprived of their rights.

This paper therefore at a broader level interrogates democratic practice in Bangladesh and the role of the state in creating such binary positions within the society. This paper presents hitherto unpublished research conduced over a couple of years that focuses on the interaction of state, politics, media and knowledge production towards building cultural hegemony of military. Furthermore, the paper will present ethnographic narratives to support its arguments and will touch upon a historical backdrop of current situation.

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Hinojosa, Ramon 2010. Doing Hegemony: Military, Men and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity in The Journal of Men's Studies, Vol. 18, No. 2 p-179-194.
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Living on the Edge: Conflict and Claims-Making over Resources in the peri-urban fringe of Lahore.

Helena Cermeno, PhD Candidate, University of Kassel, Urban Sociology

Based on selected case studies in the city of Lahore (Pakistan) and drawing on extensive fieldwork and empirical data collected between 2012 and 2015, this paper employs the concept of 'access' (Ribot and Peluso, 2003) in order to analyze how access to urban resources, i.e. housing and services is negotiated, practiced and experienced in the rapid urbanizing peri-urban fringe of Lahore. The 'access' approach enables the conceptualization of inequalities in terms of access to resources: it guides the researcher into looking at practices by which actors do —or do not— manage to benefit from housing and services and the power relations underlying these practices. Mechanisms of access to urban resources in – and from – three representative case studies are understood here as social practices enabling or hindering the ability of residents to gain, control, maintain, transfer and improve their houses and services on an everyday basis. The selected ethnographic vignettes look at the relation between three housing schemes developed in the periphery of Lahore (i.e. Defence Housing Authority [DHA], Bahria Town and LDA Avenue/City) and the pre-existing peri-urban villages that have progressively been engulfed by the fast-paced urbanization of the city. The tandem constituted by existing villages and upcoming housing schemes, with their own developmental rationalities and rules, can be considered as a field, an arena, in which different groups of interest and agents with particular social (dis-)positions (i.e. forms of powers), take part in the conflict over – and competition for – urban resources, access is negotiated and power relations manifest. In so doing the paper addresses the processes by which agents claim and access urban resources (i.e. land, housing, services) and the resulting distribution and dynamics of inequality. I argue that resources can be conceptualized not only as material assets but as forms of capital(s) or forms of power (sources of economic, social, cultural and symbolic power) held by agents and structuring the social space. These 'bundle(s) of power resources' can be possessed by individuals and ultimately shape power relations between actors, such as forms of dominance, contention and resistance that can be mobilized to improve ones' positionality within the particular field of conflict. This approach enables to explore the relation between the distribution of material (land, money, institutions and services) and non-material resources such as power, authority and recognition. By looking at the three selected case studies, the paper unveils factors that enable some agents to –while hinder others from– claim-making and getting access to resources and how claims-making strategies can change as a result of new spatial arrangements and different socio-political structures. The underlying assumption is that the undergoing urban development patterns in the periphery of Lahore are reinforcing asymmetrical access, inequalities and existing exclusions in peri-urban villages by silencing local residents' claims over resources though intimidation, coercion and threats while imposing claims over land, housing and services of powerful stakeholders: the Army, the Development Authority and private developer.

Panel 4: Claims-Making and the State: Negotiating Citizenship and Diversity

Claiming Rights to Education: A Study on Rohingya Refugees from Burma living in Bangladesh

Al Amin Rabby, Assistant Professor, Shahjalal University of Science and Technology, Sociology

About half a million documented and undocumented refugees have migrated from Myanmar to Bangladesh due to their exclusion from citizenship rights and persecution under military regime dating back to 70s. In addition, nearly 1 million Rohingya refugee and asylum seekers have entered into Bangladesh recently, however, only 33,118 are recognized refugees. Among the registered refugees fifty-six percent are children who are not permitted to access schools outside the camps. Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital this study explores following questions: why and how do Rohingya children claim access to formal education and what strategies do they use in claiming secondary schooling in Bangladesh. In-depth interviews with four students and their parents along with four school teachers' revealed that refugee families are utilizing their relief ration and family assets, cultural values, information about admission opportunities, language skill, and social network to navigate access education in the host society. Refugee students are doing disproportionally well in examinations due to their embodied discipline and regular preparation. The Rohingya families invest their limited economic and social capital for their children's education and thus overcome challenges imposed by the host society in claiming education. However, the decision to educate children largely depends on the perception of education and experiences of parents, who presume that education increases skills and knowledge and improves life opportunities. As a whole, habitus in the form of embodied practices, experiences, and perceptions of both students and their parents transform itself into social and cultural capital in the long run and vice versa. Most of the refugees who are studying in Bangladesh are negotiating their identity to claim access to education out of camps. Most of the refugee students reported to be 'behaving as local students', 'coping with the situations' and to 'sacrifice' in order to maintain their education. This embodied responses to a situation and family learning become their everyday practices in claiming education in an alien environment. The local people outside the camp appreciate refugee students who are pursuing education despite being a refugee and facing many barriers. The value of education and respect for the students and educated people in the locality gives the students more scope to navigate their claim for education without being harassed by the local community.

Claiming the Personal: Competing Muslim Voices on Religious Law in India

Alia Zaman, PhD Candidate, University of Delhi, Department of Political Sciences

Muslim politics in India has generally revolved around certain fixed issues like the need to save Muslim women. Such narratives are part of larger generalizations of a 'Muslim world' which is assumed to have a distinctive orientation stemming from their religion. This removes the issues from its context i.e. the peculiar situation of Muslims in India who remain trapped between a self-proclaimed male Muslim leadership for representation and the Indian State seeing the Indian Muslim community as a focus of electoral politics. These two extremes reduce the Indian Muslims into a homogeneous religio-cultural bloc which can then through Muslim personal laws. My paper will focus on narratives of Muslim personal law in India which subsumes questions of representation and the consequent normative concerns of justice and equality for the Indian Muslim women. An all-male organization - All India Muslim Personal Law Board (AIMPLB) increasingly encourages Muslims to seek advice from shariat courts rather than the state-sponsored judiciary. Simultaneously, many Muslim women's groups, while reclaiming religion and the authority to interpret Quran, are also actively engaging themselves in providing justice to women through all women-courts. My paper will attempt to firstly, understand the interaction between AIMPLB and the Indian State. Does the organization negotiate claims as an Islamic-religious body or as representatives of a Muslim socio-political identity or both? Secondly, how the Muslim women-courts as arbiters of Muslim concerns been negotiated and perceived at the larger political level by the 'original' arbiters of such claims - the Indian State and AIMPLB. Do these Muslim women courts manage to provide a negotiating space for the demands of the Indian Muslims?
This is a qualitative research which mainly relies on insights from field-work involving interviews with the leadership of AIMPLB, women in women's courts, qazis in shariat courts along with observations of proceedings in such courts.

Panel 5: Legitimizing Inequality: Colonialism and Claims-Making

Cleansing Dirt, Deodorising the Body: Claims of Inequality in Colonial North India

Rajni Chandiwal, Assistant Professor, University of Delhi, History

A new medical discourse on dirt and garbage that accompanied modern science made new claims and definitions about bodies. Bodies that were mired in filth, or were bound by their material and caste conditions to remain so, were ineligible to make substantial claims to these new emerging debates in the late nineteenth century. Garbage and filth materially became dangerous and so did the people that were associated with them. This transformed urban geographies and architecture as well in the realm of 'public' and 'personal'.

These new sensibilities of hygiene and cleanliness also led to the transformation in the cultural realm. In the light of the new medical discourse, new ethics emerged. Cleanliness and deodorisation of bodies became prerequisites for public spaces; foul smells offended the social hierarchies.

Moreover, fragrance and stink became new parameters of distinction between the 're-spected' and the 'deceitful', even as only a few could materially afford hygienic spaces, fragrant bodies and clean appearance. Further, communities who worked with filth or did not meet these criteria lost all claims to equality in history.

This paper proposes that shifts in the sensibilities of dirt and cleanliness in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial north India produced a new logic and a new parameter for inequality. It further argues for the inter-linkages between the historical changes in the perceptions of body and urban geographies of dirt and garbage. With the use of archival data, the paper traces entangled histories of modern medical science, garbage, urban landscapes and the body in colonial north India. At the same time, these histories were also inter-connected with the world histories of the same. The paper brings forth the specificities of the colonial Indian case by placing it within the meta-narrative of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century world.

Method in Madness: Reading the 'Abnormal' in Colonial India, 1880s-1930

Pranjali Srivastava, PhD Candidate, Jawaharlal Nehru University Delhi, History

This paper attempts to study the shifts and reconfigurations in the discourses on "madness" in colonial India from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. The period witnessed the passage of a few legislations with regard to lunacy, apart from several other amendments on the subject. The resulting 'taxonomies' of madness were informed by ongoing debates and discussions among colonial administrators, innovations taking place in Victorian psychiatry, the distinctiveness of forms of insanity in British India, and the exigencies and expediencies of colonial rule. These taxonomies were not restricted to medicine alone- they straddled the worlds of law, economy, anthropology and also the world of the colonized. Until the early twentieth century, the notions of "madness/insanity" largely characterised a notion of difference, and were not really a matter of concern as long as they did not threaten the colonial order. But the idea of "normal/abnormal" as it began to acquire currency in the 1920s, seemed to express the idea of a scale of behaviour where the "abnormal" traits could be corrected and cured into the "normal". The Indians also seized upon this language as an opportunity to prove that with the right kind of education or medical care, they could be at par with the more "civilized races"- thereby countering the colonial claims of 'normal' with their own ideas of it. The paper attempts to trace how these multiple and contending sites of insanity marked this shift in the field of psychology in colonial India.

Studying "taxonomies of madness" becomes important here to understand the working of colonial power. Ideas and practices did not operate in separate realms- both engaged with and were constitutive of each other. If medicine, as a body of knowledge premised on pathologising difference, served as a tool of colonial power, it also got reconfigured in the process, with resistance reflected not only through protest but also in the colonized's appropriation of the colonial mechanisms. Who were the people deemed 'mad' and considered suitable for institutionalization, what forms did the encounter between predominantly Western medico-legal vocabularies and indigenous medicine systems take, and how a concern for defining insanity was linked to characterizations of the sanity of the colonized, are some of the questions this paper would attempt to explore. My effort would be to understand this complex network of claims and interactions that governed the creation of a lexicon of 'abnormal', as they appear in the contemporary discourses relating to medicine and education.

Panel 6: Claiming People, Creating Categories: Claims-Making and Labour

Claiming Safety of Child Miners and other Children: Claims-Making and the Coal Mining Industry of Colonial Eastern India, 1890s-1923

Sandip Chatterjee, PhD Candidate, West Bengal State University, History

I want to address the working and safety condition of child miners employed at the collieries of Raniganj, Jharia and many other coal mines of eastern India between 1890s and 1923. I will also take into account the case of the children who were below the employable age but used to accompany their parents to workplace, often underground. I will bring to the fore the claims that the colonial state and mine managements made about the safety, security, living condition and also education of those children.

In the 1890s and in the beginning of the 20th century, the colonial state and the coal mine managements claimed that the children were safe underground; that they were not exposed to any kind of danger; that they were better off in mining workplace with their mother than at home; They also claimed that the women miners did not want to leave their children behind. Hence, banning children from underground would lead to loss of

women miners as they might stop coming to work altogether.

The employable age of children was under scrutiny. The claim was that the Indian boys and girls attained physical maturity earlier than their British counterparts. Hence, the employable age varied between colony and metropole. The debate around the age limit got more interesting because the Age of Consent bill debate was going on around the same time. Girls of upper castes and upper classes seemed to find their protection while marginalized girl child like the one in the coalfield found it hard to find sympathizers.

After fixing the age of a child and after excluding the child from underground by law in 1923, the claim was that the children were completely safe; that they were no more exposed to hazards of the workplace. On the contrary, now the children were exposed to different kinds of risks. They were still accompanying their parents but often fell prey to accidents which were not categorized in the official reports. They were termed as accidents beyond the scope of mine accidents. Hence, accidents like the ones by falling into tanks continued to happen but without recognition and protection. The claim to provide safety by safety law remained

shrouded in doubts.

I would also like to draw attention to the question of education and schools for children. Some mine managements and government officials claimed that school could be treated as a place of safety for children. Parents could leave them there and go to work. Not many collieries claimed to have

Claims-Making through Famine Relief: Gender and State in Late Nineteenth Century North India

Madhavi Jha, PhD Candidate, Jawaharlal Nehru University Delhi, History

Famine and scarcity occurred with a certain regularity in the second half of the nineteenth century in North India. Both, the scarcity of grains and/or their high price had a deleterious effect on peasant and labouring households. As lack of employment was seen by the officials as one of the main causes for distress during famines, public works (roads, railways, canals, tanks, etc.) were opened in the famine affected areas to provide a minimum wage or nutrition to ensure the survival of the population. Famine public works became one of the central modes of administering relief in the second half of the nineteenth century. By the end of this

the resources to provide schools. However, school came to be seen as a place to ensure safety for children.

Hence, I would like to discuss these claims-making about the safety of child miners and children who were not employed at the collieries of eastern India in the beginning of the 20th century.

period, women formed around fifty percent of the total number of people employed on famine public works all over India.1 Famine works were one of the earliest sites of large scale employment of women by the state, where women were individuated as workers and their wage and diet became central to public policy discussions and deliberations.

In this paper I propose to explore the various dimensions of claims-making that became part of the discourse and practices of famine relief, specifically on the relief works. In doing so, I hope to uncover the relationship between the colonial state and labouring women. I propose to investigate the following two sets of questions.

The very process of engaging women in relief works involved a certain conception of women's labour. The paper will concentrate on the specific sites of famine relief work to study the competing notions and practices

around women's labour – around what work women could and should do. We interrogate different claims on women's labour, that of the state, the family and the women labourers themselves.

Second, the paper explores the colonial state's claim of being the 'charitable' employer to relief seeking women and its implication for the construction of both the state and women subjects which lasted beyond the famine years. In the context of famine relief works where state aid mediated cheaply available women's labour for productive public purposes, how were questions of charity and entitlement resolved? How did the state negotiate questions of caste, family, motherhood and sexuality of the women workers? There was specific state interest in women's diet and mobility and we trace how these areas of policy interrogation become part of the practices of claim making by the state. The sources for the proposed paper include official records (mainly Revenue and Agriculture Department and Public Works Department), official reports, private papers, newspapers and the contemporary commentaries on economy in English and Hindi.

Female Domestic Workers of New Delhi: Their Challenges and Rising Agency

Reesha-Swapanil Sharma, PhD Candidate, University of Bern, Social Anthropology

This paper delves into the agency of female domestic workers of New Delhi amidst the socio-cultural and institutional challenges they face. It exhibits how they are staking claims based on certain premises about interests and rights, on which their demands can be justifiably established. Issues of female domestic workers include themes pertaining to gender, nationality, migrant status, ethnicity, caste and class; all of which operate behind closed doors of their workplace - confined to the private realm of the household within the informal sector-involving layers of intricacies, contradictions and convolutions which has been rightly diagnosed by the feminist theory of Intersectionality (Altman &Pannell, 2012). The historical exploitation of female domestic workers owing to socio-cultural factors has resulted in present day non-recognition within the legal framework of the country i.e. institutional challenges stem from their socio-cultural location in the Indian society (Fauve-Chamoux, 2004).The Indian Government and it's institutions have not only failed to develop and implement concrete laws that will recognize legal rights of domestic workers; it has also curbed their voices at many instances through judgments passed in the judicial courts of India (Smales, 2010; Neetha &Palriwala 2011).

This study employs intersectionality to showcase the inequalities faced by female domestic workers in New Delhi owing to "diverse axes of powers" like gender, caste, class and migrant status. In addition, the concept of intersectionality is also utilized to examine how simultaneously such "axes of powers'' which "disempowers the female domestic worker'' is now steadily becoming an instrument of empowerment and claims-making for them in New Delhi –by mobilizing themselves through a network of unregistered unions (Bernardino-Costa, 2014:73). A principle finding that arose from my fieldwork is that while female domestic workers are at the locus of exploitation in New Delhi, they are not passive victims or the silent recipients of abuse. Here, social movement as a concept is used to indicate how female domestic workers are relying more on themselves, serving as principle actors of social movements, establishing a strong agency in the form of unregistered unions, which are informal in nature; yet spearheaded towards their cause (Mc Carthy & Zald, 1977:1217). These unions are proving to be effective tools by developing novel techniques and tailor made strategies to mediate their ways through various challenges.

Further, this study relies on Subhadra Channa's work on Indian Feminism by employing her "gendering methodology" which attempts to break the monopoly of knowledge produced from an elitist and male centric perspective (Channa, 2013:2). It analyzes the situation of how female domestic workers in New Delhi are demanding their socio-cultural and legal rights "as speakers from the margins" via the process of feminist ethnography adopting standpoint feminism in the epistemology of this research (ibid).

This study, therefore, seeks to examine the mechanisms and course of claims-making by female domestic workers in the area of New Delhi and aims to supply intricate understanding of the labyrinthine ways in which their demands are articulated and fortified.

Panel 7: Power, Knowledge and the Female Body: Claims-Making and Reproductive Medicine

Contestations on the Female Body: Politics of Contraception in India and Switzerland in the 1960s, an Ontological Approach

Anja Suter, PhD Candidate, University of Basel, History Department

In the early 1960s the Swiss chemical company Ciba started to produce and sell an oral contraceptive pill (Noracyclin) in India. Noracyclin was produced and sold in other countries worldwide, including Switzerland, however, India was one of the most promising markets for the Ciba-deputies at that time. With this "Indian Pill", as it was called by the respective managers, Ciba wanted to get access to the family planning programmes lead by the Indian branch of the Population Council with the Indian government's blessing.

In my paper I look at the selling strategies for Noracyclin in India and Switzerland in the 1960s. In order to follow the trajectories of Noracyclin I attend to it as a thing that emerges in different historical settings through practices and enactments. Adopting this ontological approach [Amiria Henare, Martin Holbraad, Sari Wastell (eds.): Thinking Through Things. Theorising artefacts ethnographically. London/New York

2007] for historical research enables me to look at the actors involved, the relations and enactments that produce the thing in every setting anew. It offers, thus the argument, a promising way of scrutinizing so-called 'globalisation processes' from a feminist and postcolonial perspective.

Resources in a Welfare State: Availability of Oral Contraceptives in Sri Lanka

Darshi N. Thoradeniya, Lecturer, University of Colombo, History

Availability and access to resources would undoubtedly empower people but at the same time accessibility could make women docile and unquestioning of the services provided by the welfare state.

Influenced by the global trend of the social marketing of contraceptives, Population Services International with the support of the Family Planning Association (FPA) of Sri Lanka introduced the oral contraceptive Mithuri (female friend) in December 1974. In line with the concept of social marketing, it was Eugynon ED Fe imported from Bayer Shering Pharma in Germany that was re-branded as Mithuri to suit the local market. Further, oral contraceptives became over the counter drugs (without prescription) in 1975 and were made available at shops.

With the introduction of this new marketing strategy to Sri Lanka by the International Planned Parenthood Federation, the clinic-oriented family planning programme shifted to retail shops. Shops were 'more convenient than clinics to the customers as they were open for longer hours, were devoid of formalities, and strict clinical routine hours of work.' Mithuri was sold at

three types of establishments by 1981: drug stores and pharmacies, general stores and groceries, and restaurants and tea rooms. What were the consequences of making the Pill available over the counter? It provided women free access to the Pill without medical prescriptions or undergoing medical examinations to ascertain whether the Pill is compatible to their bodies. Unrestricted, easy accessibility to contraceptives implied that women were able to enjoy greater autonomy over their bodies. But who is holding the reins of power and autonomy in such a situation—women, the state or the market?

Emphasizing the easy accessibility of Mithuri, a member of parliament opined at a seminar on Population and Development held in Colombo in March 1980, that women will save the time and the embarrassment of queuing up in clinics and other places where midwives and other health officials doled out pills….They have only to go round the corner and buy their requirements from the nearest boutique.

He seemed to be rejoicing in women's empowerment and their control over their bodies through Mithuri. By making oral contraceptives available did the state keep women away from reproductive health clinics? Was it a strategy deployed by the state to control women's reproductive bodies while neglecting their reproductive health? Answers for these questions will be explored

by analyzing state health policies, reports of the FPA and Family Health Bureau and also by engaging in-depth interviews with health officials of the state.

Panel 8: Claims-Making and the Politics of Space

Religious Bodies, Sace and the City

Sana Ghazi, PhD Candidate, University of Utrecht, Cultural Anthropology

In this paper I ethnographically explore religion and sports in the city of Mumbai. Informed by ethnographic data gathered at a voluntary, NGO-run, secular (but Muslim-majority) women's football club, the paper proposes firstly that within the broad contours of the contemporary urban landscape, the city allows for little or no separate place for youth (particularly women) and leisure, which is perceived by the state as fraught with risks, and countered with the discourse of "safety". In addition, Muslim localities have over the years been slowly transformed into densely-populated locations, and eroded of any access to public space. Simultaneously, the lack of public space where the possibility of publicly-visible "youth culture" might be immanent, has resulted in state that has allowed the market-based solutions to flourish (for e.g., expensive coffee shops), but also—for many young Muslims—to communitarian efforts where officially genders do not mix, and is non-purposeful presence is discouraged, yet which paradoxically enable liminal spaces where orthodox boundary-formation may be questioned. My ethnography shows how such sites – such as the football club – are spaces where young women negotiate liminal and pleasurable pursuits, but also that through the learning in such spaces they may find ways to carefully calibrate risky pursuits, such as romantic relationships, or explore their non-heteronormative sexuality with a trusted environment. I attempt to underscore the question of who exactly constitutes a Muslim woman, and how an individual becomes one through specific practices and speech. The paper further elaborates how, between the authority of religious leaders who perceive themselves as paternal guardians of young women, and the strict moral codes of parents who practice strict rules within and without the home, the footballers often articulate their dreams and hopes using religious categories that allow a more forceful assertion of their rights. As such, these secular spaces become sites for religious expression in new ways, and speak to a larger argument regarding the (re)articulation of religious vocabularies and grammars towards secular ends.

Cemeteries as Sites of Claims-Making: Caste Struggle in Jaffna, Sri Lanka

Deborah Menezes, Post-doctoral research fellow, University of Edinburgh, Human Geography

Caste based struggles have taken varied forms at different times in South Asia. In the case of Jaffna, Sri Lanka, this struggle has had a long, unique and convoluted history. Serious ground was beginning to be gained by the anti-caste movement in the 1960s and 70s before the ethnic conflict and consequent militancy drove the movement underground for nearly three decades. Now post 2009, issues of caste oppression have risen again (the LTTE had banned most of its outward manifestations) – and so too have the pushback against it. It is these pushback encounters that this paper concentrates on as evidence of claims-making. In the paper, I use the case of a highly mobilized oppressed caste community in the Kalaimathy Village located in the Jaffna district of Sri Lanka's Northern Province to provide evidence to the ways in which claims-making is being performed through a caste struggle. Starting in March 2017, a high caste cemetery located in the oppressed caste village, in close proximity to their dwellings, has become the site of a major caste struggle. At the heart of the insistence by the high caste on cremating in the cemetery is an imposition of tradition relating to caste identified cemeteries, which have now become important caste markers. With the counter demand that all cemeteries next to people's settlements should be removed, large sections of the oppressed community have participated in taking forward a powerful conscientious struggle thus making claims to a land that promotes their dignity, economy and physical and mental health. The community took a collective decision, that even as they continue their daily wage work, each day, different persons will take days off and contribute their energies towards organizing this struggle. Additionally, various forms of solidarity enabled through claims made by other actors like media, activist and oppressed castes from other villages aided the continuation of the struggle even in the face of continued high caste political aggression. On the basis of this qualitative investigation, the paper focuses on the processes that enabled the framing of a highly mobilized caste struggle in post war Jaffna, focusing also on the transformative potential of claims-making. The core concern of the paper thus is to further an understanding of how 'claims-making' conceptually and in practice embodies constantly changing actors, structures and entitlements; economic, political and social that impact its transformative potential.

Panel 9: Claims-Making in the Context of Global Norms and Transnational Activism

Advocacy without Borders: Christian Minorities in India and the Use of Transnational Advocacy Networks as a Response to Religious Restrictions

Kristina M. Teater, PhD Candidate, University of Cincinnati, Political Science

From Ghar Wapsi to extreme violence for alleged beef consumption and the slaughtering of cows, India's religious minority groups have witnessed rising intolerance over the last few years. Despite the constitutional guarantee of liberty of conscience, these minority groups face intolerance from not only social forces but also governmental restrictions on religious practice and belief. In response, these groups at times turn to transnational advocacy networks, but this pathway to challenge the state comes with differing results. In my paper, I study Christian minority groups in India and ask the question: Why are some religious transnational advocacy efforts more effective than others? I expect to find that arguments against restrictions on minority religious belief and practices are bolstered when they are consistent with domestic rights discourse.

The 'vernacularization' of rights arguments to fit local contexts addresses new realities,increases legitimacy, and helps undermine counter arguments. Advocates who construct master frames that 'align' and 'resonate' with existing 'rights talk' can reach a broader audience and therefore, increase the number of recruits and sympathizers while maintaining the commitment of existing supporters. By placing their claims within existing rights frames, transnational advocacy groups (TANs) are able to counter nationalist voices, navigate postcolonial sensibilities, and tackle competing arguments relating to sovereignty. These networks include not only religious organizations, but also human rights groups, foreign legislatures, and international governmental organizations. While different in identity, scope, and function, they coalesce onideational grounds and mobilize in ways that are collaborative and dynamic.

India's Christian minority groups make up 2.3 % of the population, and approximately seventy percent are Dalits. In my paper, I compare two events of transnational advocacy related to anti-conversion laws namely, *Evangelical Fellowship of India v. Himachal Pradesh* (2012) and Compassion International (2017). Christian minorities in the Evangelical Fellowship case argued against the state's Freedom of Religion Act that called for individuals to give district magistrates 30-day prior notification of their intent to convert. Compassion International, a Christian child welfare NGO, launched an advocacy campaign after being placed on the 'priorpermission' category for alleged violation of the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act. While the Himachal Pradesh High Court ruled in favor of Christian minorities in the Evangelical Fellowship case, the Compassion International advocacy effort was unsuccessful. Based on preliminary research, I suggest that arguments by advocacy networks in favor of India's Christian minorities are strengthened when they take into account contextual factors and align with domestic rights frames. In doing so, they increase the likelihood of being able to counter competing arguments effectively.

Claiming LGBT Rights in Naya Nepal

Kumud Rana, PhD Candidate, University of Glasgow, Development Studies

This paper focuses on queer politics in South Asia with a case study of Nepal to explore claims for recognition and rights made by social movement actors and how these might be tied to availability of resources. The paper will add to literature on social movements and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) politics by taking a multi-level approach to understanding how seemingly indigenous queer identities are compounded of complex and often hierarchical relationships between multiple loci of activism.

The global emergence of LGBT human rights campaigning has centred around calls for decriminalisation of homosexuality and recognition of same-sex unions among others. More than 80 countries around the world criminalise homosexual conduct between adult men and often between adult women, and more than half of those countries – mostly in Africa and Asia - have these laws because they were once British colonies. However, LGBT rights campaigning as led by the US, the UK and other countries in Europe has faced criticism for its false universalism and lack of cultural resonance in other parts of the world, often resulting in religious and political backlash in the latter. Critiques have also emerged specifically on essentialist claims made within identity politics even as activists in the Global South have found identity categories useful in drawing international attention to severe human rights violations based on sexual orientation and gender identity.

Within this context, this paper takes up the case of Nepal's legal recognition of a 'third gender' category in 2007 and sub-

sequent progressive legislations including the constitutional protection of the rights of 'gender and sexual minorities' in 2015. The third gender category complicates a largely Western understanding of the binary of gender by including a wider range of identifications and experiences of transgression that might go beyond the ambit of gender and/or sexuality. The category has gained more traction in other South Asian countries as well like India, Bangladesh and Pakistan compared to LGB rights. However, this paper highlights when and how claims around the third gender versus LGBT categories have been utilised in movement framings by LGBT non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Nepal during the country's turbulent transition from a Hindu monarchy to a federal democratic republic. What claims are made by these NGOs around identity

Representation and Inter-linkages in Transnational Activism: Study of La Via Campesina and Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha

Niloshree Bhattacharya, Assistant Professor, Presidency University Kolkata, Sociology

Claims of social movements are usually addressed to the state. Since the 1990s, there has been an intensification of transnational activism exemplified in various protests against neoliberal globalization. Simultaneously, NGOs and donor

formations at certain points in time and why? How are these claims tied to political opportunities and resources available nationally as well as internationally through regional/transnational LGBT activism and increasing attention of donor agencies on LGBT rights?

Using in-depth interviews and participant observations with activists and their allies working on LGBT rights, the paper shows how movements negotiate contestations around identities given the challenges and opportunities posed by regional geo-politics and global queer politics. Furthermore, this paper highlights gender, class, caste and racial dynamics within these claims-making processes and acknowledgement of certain claims over others. In doing so, the paper shows how these elements might determine whose voices are heard and to what extent.

agencies have directly or indirectly supported movements and protests in the national and transnational sphere. Intensification of transnational activism and growing importance of NGOs are often associated with change in the nature of the state, emergence of supra-national institutions and possibilities for communication and transport. In other words, claim-making practices of social movements have undergone transformations which need to be analyzed taking into account the reconfigurations of roles of different political actors; the state, political parties, transnational networks and NGOs. This paper will attempt to explore the trans-

formations of claims-making practices. It will particularly focus on challenges of building networks with NGOs and transnational movements and its implications for claims-making practices of a movement.

La Via Campesina (LVC) is one of the most visible transnational agrarian movements, where transnational agrarian movements may be defined as organizations, networks, coalitions and solidarity linkages of farmers peasants and their allies that cross national, boundaries and seek to influence national and global policies. Currently it has around 164 organizations from around 70 countries from all over the world. Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha (KRRS), a farmer's movement from India, is an active member of LVC since 1996. KRRS was formed in 1980 under the leadership of late M.D. Nanjundaswamy, consisting primarily of middle and rich farmers from dominant castes of Lingayats and Vokkaligas of Karnataka, and has been concerned with better prices for their produce, lower charges of electricity and waiver of loans. Since the mid 1990s the movement became active in the anti-globalization protests and organized several campaigns against GMO seeds, trade liberalization, and monopoly of agribusiness companies. Currently, it has reoriented its focus towards building alternative farming methods by setting up Amrita Bhoomi, a centre for supporting and creating awareness about agro-ecological

methods of farming, in coordination with LVC, to achieve food sovereignty.

This paper is based on fieldwork in Karnataka during 2011-2012, where the profile of respondents included members and leaders of KRRS and LVC. First, this paper will look at how claims-making practices have transformed within the movement? Can these trends be related to lack of leadership, ageing population of farmers, growing agrarian crisis and farmer suicides? Second, with engaging in networks of diverse kinds, where different kinds of actors 'represent' the movement in different spheres, this paper will understand the concerns about 'representation' within the movement. Third, inter-linkages between various spheres become a challenge for the movement. Here, by spheres we may think of not only spatial differences say, the local and the global, but also engagement in different political spaces. In this regard, the paper will look at how transformations in claims-making practices, engaging in networks with diverse actors, questions of representation and inter-linkages between different actors are all associated with each other.