Remembering Rajni Tilak and her legacy

March 30th 2019, at Indian Social Institute. Delhi.



A report of the meeting by Dr Shivani Bhardwaj Sathi All For Partnerships (SAFP)

Comrade Rajni Tilak, passed away last year on 30th March 2018, leaving behind a rich legacy of her vibrant Dalit feminist, Buddhist work that had leaning towards the workers and the those who toil. Her immortality or *punarnirvana* day was organised across India by people who have known her work in different capacities. For example, the Maharashtra groups organised a three days literature festival around March 8 in Rajni Tilaks Memory in Nagpur. Her NACDOR family got together in Delhi and asked Sumedha Boudh, as a representative of RDMA to organise a meeting to talk about the various facets of Rajni - her work, her vision and the causes that she tirelessly dedicated her life to so that a way forward to strengthen her work and her legacy can be planned.

The meeting invitation in Delhi was circulated from RDMA with support from NACDOR, NALR, SAFP and ISI. The programme was conceived by NALR (National Alliance for Labor Rights) as Rajni was one of its founder members. SAFP has worked with Rajni Tilak to plan addressing Dalit Women Resource Gap and was approached by NALR to support RDMA as it works on increasing resources for Women collectives as part of its work on training women to focus on developing their independent resource base to contribute to collective responsibilities. SAFP will support RDMA for next two years to strengthen its leadership and resource base. Ms Jyostna Siddharth daughter of Rajni Tilak was invited to be a part of the process to contribute to the collective legacy of her mother. Indian Social Institute worked with Rajni Tilak to develop content and perspective for its Dalit periodical. ISI was suggested by members

of Saheli who are also members of WSS but they disagreed on issues and decided not to speak at the programme. NACDOR is committed to carry forward itself for a life time to Rajni Tilak's legacy as it was also cofounded by Rajni Tilak and her mentoring its leaders.

Ms Sumedha Boudh representing RDMA convened the meeting. She introduced Rajni Tilak as a person who inspired people from different walks of life as a mentor and a leader to work for equality of the excluded. She talked about women and men working equally in public, at productive work and in the domestic daily tasks. She started reading and developing her understanding while was still in school, inspired by her brother Manohar who introduced her to left ideological thinking. Since then she was a part of several organisations, forums and movements to strengthen the voice of people on the margins, in the workers movement, the Dalit movement and the women's movement. She translated documents from regional languages, wrote extensively herself and set up Rashtriya Dalit Mahila Andolan (RDMA) or the National Dalit Women's Movement. The RDMA brought together several Dalit, non Dalit feminists and other activists to work together and build an understanding around the issues faced by Dalit Women in a brahminical patriarchal and un equal society. She consistently worked not only in the civil society level activist spaces, but often went back to the grassroots level to understand the issues at hand from the women themselves. She organised and worked with thousands of anganwadi, sanitation workers as well as writer associations. Rajni Tilak also had deep inclination towards learning from peoples lived realities and research. She thus created forums for fine arts, writing, research, theatre. and was a prolific poet, writer and translator herself.

Recounting bonds and relationships of Rajni Tilak, Sumedha shared that there is a data base of 400 RDMA leaders who should get to organising their own development making the vision of the immortal leader turn into fruition. The RDMA leaders are still grieving at the loss of their mentor but are on the path of their own development. Rajni Tilaks sudden death has created a gap that needs to be addressed by preparing the leaders she created to take charge of the legacy of Baba Saheb and get out of their domestic routines to build their own life as public people. Rajni work was to address Violence Against Women only in small part. She worked to make them stronger at work and supported women to form workers unions. This is a very difficult task and it had to be backed by evidence where none existed. She therefore asked us to create our own data set. This data set was collated once a week from local, regional and national news reports on VAW, atrocities, success initiatives and information gaps. Researching on issues ourselves help us train our critical thoughgt through our own efforts.

The Panel Presentations

Sumedha invited three different panels to remember the immortal leader, understand challenges and to plan the work of her legacy ahead as per the schedule attached in the annex. The speakers put forth their views mixing all three aspects as they remembered Rajni Tilak.

Panel 1 - Remembering Rajni and her work

Prof Dr Shashi Rani Dev who is a faculty of Department of Social Work, Delhi University, chaired this session and recalled that Rajni approached her utilising each second to plan agenda for her goal. Shashi reminded the participants at the meeting to view themselves as resources who can commit to take on responsibility to complete and carry forward The Rajni Tilak Legacy (TRTL).

Ms Chhaya Khobragade who came at her own expenses from Nagpur for this meeting, met Rajni Tilak at a conference in 1996. Chhaya was speaking at the conference and her toddler began crying. Rajni embraced the boy and took him out of the auditorium to become a family member for her life time. Such were the bonds Rajni shared with each person she met. Her association would revolutionise the whole family to work for the underrepresented. The pursuit of organising Dalit women along with their families to strengthen the Dalit Movement began for Rajni in Maharashtra as at that time she was working in Mumbai. Rajni was very taken in with the awareness level and action orientation of the Marathi Dalits and worked to change the stupor in North of India. She created a separate space to Dalit feminist standing. She worked along with literary personalities in Maharashtra to train Dalit people to write their experience, struggle and aspirations. She was aware that nurturing leadership among Dalit women will be no one's agenda and thus she trained women to become a leader flued by their own life lessons by making their own families a base and resource for the movement. The RDMA thus is based on peoples support. She was against RDMA having a formal structure or registration by choice as it would be led by women to strengthen the movement for change. She called for women to plan work within their small local groups and organise their own resources. Rajni gave example of Bhawari Devi who despite being known could not access resources. The networks of the Dalit are more among the workers who are poor, unlike the other caste groups who are a mix of rich and poor both. During travels she would stop to inquire about daily life and work schedule of peasants and other daily age workers and inspire them to begin their own small enterprise instead of working to increase other people's resources by working to make their land, workspaces and homes better. RDMA developed bit by bit with women setting up their own resource base by setting up small vending work or a neighbourhood shop in the homes they plan to co-own. Chhaya recalled that Rajni asked her not to converse in Marathi with Marathi people only at the Durban conference, as different settings demand inclusive behaviours. She would encourage the RDMA members to shed regionalism to view all toilers as Dalit to create a fellowship that would support each other towards common goal of peace and dignity.

Chhaya brought written statements from other women leaders like Kumud Tai Tavde from Maharashtra who worked with Rajni Tilak. One of them, had translated Rajni's Autobiography into Marathi. Later on, Ashok Bharti shared that there are request to translate Rajni's Tilaks biography in Malayalam. Ms Malathi Maitri has been trying to work on a Tamil translation but the process is stuck.

Ms Jyotsana Siddharth shared that she will like to focus on how to address the gap that has been created due to Rajni Tilaks sudden departure. Her relationship with her mother was full of struggle, her grief of the loss is much deeper than can be understood by her own self. Coming away from contention of public and private process is a difficulty that will take time to resolve. Jyotsana is developing herself as a Dalit activist herself and trying to make sense of how to share resources of her mother for her legacy. Towards this a first task is to understand what is the task of Rajni Tilaks legacy and which portions of her work will be best taken forward by which person more responsibly and competently than the other. At a one on one discussion Jyotsana shared that this process will take her a two years time. The first and foremost need according to Jyotsna is to support Dalit women working in different states of India with financial and training support. She said that social as well as political leadership should be developed with help of fellowships that enable leaders and activist to carry forward work. The work of translations as well documentation also must go on to develop the issue of caste in feminist and left circles to give workers more dignity. As a young Dalit activist, I know that second generation Dalit women need to be supported in this era of fascist attacks. Rajni Tilaks aspiration to set up a Dalit Resource Centre that has all books and documents should see light and strength. We have her books and library that not only is a collection of caste and gender documents but also on intersectionality and issues of the minority. The learning for Jyotsna, from her mothers work is not to be focus on narrow issue of the section of society we belong.

It is in working with and for the others your own issues get resolved. This was the Buddhist strand in her that needs more strength in the present time. Her vision is broad based than what it is projected by different sections that related with her. Jyostsna, will endeavour to keep alive Rajni Tilaks plurality and will want her legacy to be recognised for its broad base.

Dr.Shashi Rani Dev exhorted that a joint vision of Rajni Tilak legacy should be documented from the remembrance as well as the evolution of her work to understand Dalit as the excluded. The second line leadership development for RDMA should be geared up at a very fast page along with documentation and translation of works in regional languages. Rajni Tilak was doing most of the work sans outside support and this task is some thing that people can volunteer to do. The academics can work towards naming a journal in her or RDMAs name here RDMA members can publish resolutions to issues they face and understand problems that need to be theorised for the quest twards building and equal and sustainable world.

Mr. Nemi Sarai the veteran Intellectual began his contribution to the story of legacy building by stating that he had known Rajni's family since the past 40 years. As children Rajni and Ashok have nurtured each member of their family with socio political thought and action. He said that families like Rajni are rare as members of the family have built their DNA to set up and strengthen movements and literature. This transformation of making family members as a resource for social transformation is what can be learnt as a skill foby other families. Rajni has worked to strengthen a different Dalit Samaj in North India which has humanity and human revolution at its core. She was a lone crusader who still has at least four unfinished publications and it is a responsibility of her organisation to complete those works and bring them in the public domain. There is no point in asking any one else to carry forward a list of suggestions on what should be done. Instead each person should clearly state what are they committing to do as an individual responsibility to complete what Rajni began within a six months time boundness. He shared his own individual commitment as follows:

- 1. Traslate from Marathi to Hindi (even though I am not a good translator) what remains as unfinished on Rajnis desk as her work and her vision belongs to the people and it should be put out to further her cause.
- 2. I can donate my own 200 books to the collection of Rajni Tilak to strengthen the documentation centre, that must be open to researchers, writers and those who want to study inclusive and feminist writings.
- 3. I will proof check, edit all of Rajni Tilaks unfinished writings. I will also take the manuscripts to the press on my individual basis.
- 4. I do not have resources and earn only through my writing therefore I can commit between Rs 1000 and 5000 for the printing cost or towards any fund that ill publish her unfinished works.
- 5. A documentary fund should be made that gives fact with dates about Rajni's life. It can be done through well prepared interviews that should be recorded and edited professionally. Jiten who is sitting here can work on this task well.
- 6. Get Rajni's autobiography, vision and work as well as her writings included in the school curriculum as chapters that would be accepted by the NECRT and other bodies.
- 7. Develop a research framework on her vision and ask educational institutes to suggest this as Phil and PhD thesis.
- 8. Rajni has created leaders and not claimed space. We should now work for her space in history in recognition of her work by asking University Vice Chancellors for a "Peeth" or a academic chair, social welfare department to name a scholarship in the name of Rajni Tilak.
- 9. Make a work schedule of six to eight months to complete these tasks at a turn key basis.

Nisha from Action Aid shared that she met Rajni at a platform and on hearing her analyse the Dalit situation connected with her as their vision resonated. Since then "She was my teacher so that I could understand her mission and vision".

Panel 2 – Challenges before the work of inclusion and RDMA

Dr. Indu Agnihotri who is associated with Centre for Women Development Studies (CWDS) even after her retirement from the institution chaired this session. She recalled how Rajni was for ever in a self-reflection mode to engage in self-evaluation. This helped her evolve to revise and reform her learning and contribute towards debates from intersectional interactions and her reading.

Ms. Saraswati RDMA leader from Gaya Bihar recounted that she was inspired by Rajni to develop her own group of RDMA members and they feel that Rajni lives in their person now. Even as they are resolute carry forward Rajni's legacy locally, they miss her national presence. Her gratitude was expressed towards the event that got her back to Delhi from Bihar. She has dreams of seeing the national stature of RDMA getting stronger to sustain for a long time. RDMA should will live on. Recalling Rajni's expansive thinking and ways of working she shared that Rajni was with any woman or man who faced violence or discrimination. She will enter even those home that no one looks towards. She would give her 100% effort to reach out to those who were facing discrimination and discussed with them issues to make them access legal assistance to resolve issues. She trained RDMA to create the need to be organised for collective interest of equality and for women's issues.



Ms.Pushpa Vevek of RDMA shared that the challenge is to be Rajni who worked with all her energy. She will work tirelessly to take women from the domestic to the public arena. "I was a wife who knew nothing about organisation and gender issues". Yet each of us have to Rajni who went door to door to talk to families to address the inclusion of happiness in life with the dignity of work and education. She recalled "We covered 360 villages in 2014 to build the base for RDMA in Delhi first before opening membership for Bihar, Rajasthan, Haryana Jharkhand and UP. We saw the difficulties in accessing schools, water points, toilets and transport. The women who were deemed as witches due to issues around property rights became a focus of a study that Rajni undertook. The women in these states were then asked to set up enterprises through 350 SHG that they set up to first gain their financial acumen towards getting financially. Case studies documentation completed to find each of these victims turn into RDMA

members. The challenge before us is to now see where these SHGs are and what is their financial health and awareness level."

"Rajni challenged blind faith and broke traditions. For example, she fixed a Saturday for the marriage of her adopted Son. Citing examples of problems faced by girls and women she discussed with Dalit families that they should first educate them rather than marry them away from the protection of the family. We all need to not only challenge but organise people like her and be responsive to situations on the spot. She will reach the rape site and visit the family concerned when the message reached her. "

"Rajni Tilaks was peoples voice on the vision of Baba Saheb and her work cannot be carried forward alone. We all need to work together so that educated Dalit do not get disheartened like Rohit Vemula."

Dr. Indu Agnihotri agreed that laws that were created for protection are now being used to De franchise the excluded. She further shared that she and Rajni were documenting dalit movement with Centre for Women Development studies. This work can continue to strengthen the Dalit movements and Dalit women section of its library. Towards this a proposal was also drafted which unfortunately did not result in getting support. However, Rajni did share documents and experiences with CWDS as its library is digitised and has managed itself with focus on women studies since 1980. It has sections of personal collections from stalwarts like Lotika Sarkar etc. A space for Rajni Tilaks collection can be made at CWDS where her books can be scanned, copied and given back to the family for the dissemination knowledge as they plan.

Dr Vinay Bhardwaj From Mahila Dakshta Samiti spoke about the challenges of current situation as faced by all concerned. She spoke about the need for all movements to converge. Caste as an issue along with gender and work discrimination will go on to exclude and diverge to create more unrest. Women's movement has to be supported with male partnerships and each gender role is linked to another. The women's movement has been reactive rather than being responsive and it asked to systems that have been very conveniently co-opted. These days the woman victim is stood in a court and is violated again with accusations of going against normative behaviour. 70 years of independence has not provided education to its people with basic life skills to live a balanced and coordinated life. Rajni challenged the pace to ask for change within self and the system. The challenge is that democracy is weak as governance has been dictated by international capital force. At this juncture, we all will need to strengthen each other as partners for the change we seek.

Ms Zulekha Zabeen poetically called Rajni a lighthouse and movement herself who left a pathway to develop a better world with peace. Recounting Rajnis inspirational inputs at a conference in Pune Zulekha shared that Rajni's work was in support of minorities as well. She committed that she will work on Rajnis legacy

- 1. To develop a structure for RDMA with RDMA workers at a strategic meeting
- 2. Work towards reopening of the library and documentation centre and
- 3. Mobilisation of RDMA membership in Basti's developing Muslim Dalit unity

Mr. Kanta Bhim Rao recalled that Rajni had asked her to continue to organise women from Delhi and NCR region for RDMA. She reatteriated her commitment to Rajnis work as they both were childhood friends and spent their together.

Dr. Rajni Anuragi from Samkaleen Bhartiya Dalit Lekhan or Contemporary Indian Dalit Writings shared that Rajni got many Dalit writers know about other dalit writers by sharing their contacts as well as their autobiographies. Rajni Anuragi recited two different poems

written by Rajni Tilak that were starkly simple and sharp. One was a monologue with the Independent women's movement explaining how Dalit women's movement was specifically different in terms of take off and vantage points. Explaining this point further the example of Rajni Tilaks opposition to legalising prostitution was taken. Tilak explained that a Dalit woman or girl will never choose the profession as a choice unlike a non-Dalit. The issue of community operation looms and creates fissures in the community and women's mind and she has to break it. Even for money any aware woman or man will not dare to make it a professional choice as they have known their children to be trafficked and killed for very small and petty offences to be pushed into indignity. She said that she was ready to contribute towards completing Rajni tilaks unfinished works by editing and publishing them.

Mr. Hawa Singh Disodiya said that we have a debt to Rajni to give us a goal to die for. As the President of the SC ST teachers Association he committed to undertake any responsibility given to him.

The questions asked and answered: Before this session there was a lunch break. Just before the lunch break Ms Kamla Bhasin walked in to express her solidarity. She informed herself about Rajni's unfinished work and gist of the deliberations, besides knowing about the wellbeing of Rajni's people. She knew about the mental health issues that the family faced. Rajni is an alumina of the Sangat programme on women leadership. Kamala said that she loved and respected Rajni and supported her with some of her travels and her research through Sangat. She felt that the few people who are within the women's movement should not dissipate energies in critiquing each other as the real forces that we must work to change for the better are outside of the sisterhoods very tiny network. Supporting each others work is the least we can do to strengthen ourselves and our work.



During the lunch break informal concerns were shared by RDMA members and senior women leaders on how RDMA leaders would be structured and led. Who will lead it? It was known that Rajni Tilak was grooming Ms. Sumedha Boudh to steer RDMA. Sumedha is now contesting elections. Will she be able to give time to developing RDMA as politics is more than just leading. RDMA requires work at different levels and this should have a registered

organisation that may not be led by a political party candidate. Questions such as: Will RDMA be a political, apolitical or both, will it be a social movement? Hat are the different tasks RDMA will focus on? Will there be leadership for different tasks? How can RDMA receive the required nurturance without compromising its sovereignty. Who will reach out to the 400 RDMA members and who will be entrusted to create newer membership with what kind of individual or institutional support? Concern of linking with a political or a non-party political processes and organisations was also raised one on one. There were also questions asked on how this set of organisers came together and why there was less representation from Saheli /WSS.

To answer these questions the introduction of this report has included the justification of the involvement of each of the organiser as a support team for RDMA. These questions are to be worked out through group work at an RDMA convention with RDMA members and their mentors. Towards the same resources need to be organised by RDMA and its support group. From the outside the answer can be simply understood till the time the conference is conducted and it is able to decide its course of action. At this point it is important to understand that each citizen does make their individual political choice of voting for a political party. Individual political freedoms should not be linked to social and development agendas with others. Rajni also contested elections besides being the mentor for RDMA.

Session on possible "Way Forward"

Fr Denzil from Indian Social Institute informed that ISI has been publishing a monthly magazine called Hum Dalit which has been renamed as Hashiye ke Awwaj. Far Denzil joined ISI in 2012 after completing his PhD from Tata Institute of Social Work and took responsibility to develop the centre for Dalit study. The magazine was a think piece that recorded different activities organised by ISI and Rajni was present at most events like Ambedkar Jayanti, women's day to develop the perspective of the team. She contributed articles on request. Inspired by her the centre came out with posters on Dalit rights. Her stall at the Ambedkar Jayanti was a hub of networking and debates. She inspired work on Dalit issues not only in South Asia but at the international conferences.

Mr. Parvej also from the ISI centre shared his journey of learning on developing his perspective on how to understand the plight of the discriminated. He suggested that an award be instituted in the memory of Rajni Tilak. ISI has provided the meeting hall free of charge for the memorial event and will continue to provide this space for the annually.

Sister Poornima Baudh Bhikhuni (Nun) recalled that Rajni was a person full of courage and conviction and to make her legacy live on, we all need to become full of courage like her. Rajni's last phone call to this Buddhist nun was on a plan to commemorate the nuns at the Anarkali Budh Vihar for the peace and harmony messaging they involve themselves in. She wanted to convert herself to become a Nun herself. She has requested a date to get ordained into the order of the Buddhist Monastery to work on Buddhas path. It was sad indeed that she could not do what she wanted to do in her own life time. Once ordained she would have inspired the RDMA and the writers to also organise the mass convergence the way Baba Saheb did as well.

Mr. Ashok Bharti from CADAM who is the younger brother of Rajni Tilak shared that the family has taken time to deal with its grief last year. Each member of the NACDOR family too got to know how to work without the leader who is missed much. We will speed up the process of supporting the RDMA now. Sumedha will lead the process and NOCDOR will develop the support to set up a foundation which will the Rajni Tilak Art and Culture activities which will develop the Dalit study and Dalit Feminism. Ashok committed to work on it as a family and he sought voluntary support from people present and also from those not present. Ashok Bharti has also founded a political party that is fielding candidates to stand for elections for the first time. It thus only after the National Election that tasks can gear up to develop the foundation.

Ms. Aruna Daya Phd scholor from Jamia Millia Islamia shared that Rajni had opened up not just her books and documents that she had collected over the years but she also would guide her on how to conduct interviews and collate information from the community and the women. She shared that Rajni asked her to note down the text from field observation. Rajni will type her hand written manuscript herself often through the night as Daya did not have a computer. She would then discuss her research and data in the morning before setting out to work for a full day. Rajni was the only woman who motivated Daya all through especially during her entrance for Senior Research Fellowship. Daya said that she was not the only scholar who got this guidance and unwavering support and love. There were many other scholors who made use of the documents at the Dalit Resource Centre of Rajni Tilak. It is a great loss that the centre lies locked now, Daya said.

Open session

Ms. Pranjali Malhotra from Sathi All For Partnerships recounted that during Rajni last week she was in conversation with her to capture her views as a midage leader. Rajni shared that she was concerned that no one looks at the metal health of women and the reasons behind the rampant depression among women. Pranjali suggested the following as follow up work

- 1. Record stories of unsung heros like Sarswati mentored by Rajni Tilak's work to give them recognition of being leaders in their own right.
- 2. Organising scholarships and sponsorships for women from villages.
- 3. Rename Swadhar Grihas and main roads after Rajni Tilak to get visibility for our Dalit women leader.

Arun from DU shared that he worked with Rajni to edit documents and committed to work for RDMA as before.

Deshdeep shared the women March programme on April 4 and asked the participants to join and support the programme.

Summing up

Mr. Rajesh Upadhaya from National Alliance for Labor Rights summed up the main legacy as

- 1. Completing Rajnis individual writings and collating her social and political vision. This also may include translating Rajnis Tilaks biography in regional languages. Ashok Bharti had shared that in Kerela he was met with a request for a translation of Rajini Tilaks biography in Malyalum and in Tamil Ms Malathi Maitri wanted to translate. A small group could meet soon on this to discuss how this work can be taken forward taking Jyotsana Siddharth into confidence.
- 2. Developing RDMA: Identifying second line leadership and their constituents in bastis and villages through ground level campaigns. Raising resources for regular meeting of RDMA members. Developing a draft constitution of RDMA and suggesting its structure such that in two years time it can stand on its own. Shashi will develop a concept note on the RDMA and its direction such that the agenda and framework for

- the convention can be discussed with a small group. Her draft will be seen by a small group pof people and circulated by Nisha to more concerned people and organisations.
- 3. Planning work of writing and documentation by an empowered Dalit writer collective which should develop theoretical basis for RDMAs work and support research and documentation.

A meeting will be convened to invite participants from this forum to plan the above in the last week of this month. Before the meeting the RDMA concept note should be circulated (Shashi), The concept note for Rajni Memorial research and resource centre (Ashok) and Developing a Rajni Tilak Legacy Fund (Shivani)

"REMEMBERING RAJNI TILAK AND HER LEGACY"

On 30th March, Immortality Day of the famous Dalit Woman Leader

Venue: India Social Institute, Lodhi Institutional Area, New Delhi 110001

SN	Time	Session topic	Speakers
1	9.30am	TEA	
2	10.00 - 10.15 am	Welcome	Sumedha Bodh
3	10.15 - 12:00 pm	Remembering Rajni	Moderator: Shashi Rani STATEMENTS from Kumud Pawade, and Urmila Pawar. SPEAKERS: Pushpa Vivek, Shekhar Pawar, Kanta Rao, Tara Negi, Dr Geeta Sahare, Poornima, Rajani Anuragi, Madhuri Maurya
4	12.00 – 1.15pm	Challenges vis a vis Dalit women's movement and women's movement	Moderator: Indu Agnihotri, SPEAKERS: Chhaya Khobragade, Aprajita, Zulekha Zabeen, Dr Vinay Bhardwaj, Bajrang Bihari, Suman Indauria, Rajni Disodia
5	1.15 - 2.00 pm	Lunch	
6	2.00 - 3.15 pm	Way forward	Moderator: Nisha Singh SPEAKERS: Jyotsna Siddharth, Daya Aruna, Shivani Bhardwaj, Rahul Manav, Ratnesh, Saraswati, Tanveer Sheikh
7	3.15 - 3.30 pm	Tea break	
8	3.30 - 4.45 pm	Open Session	Shivani Bharadwaj, Ashok Bharti
9	4.45 – 5pm	Wrap Up and Vote of Thanks	Rajesh Upadhyay

Organised By

Rashtriya Dalit Mahila Andolan (RDMA), Sathi All for Partnership (SAFP), National Confederation of Dalit Adivasi Organisations (NACDAOR), National Alliance for Labour Rights (NALR) and Indian Social Institute (ISI)

