



Re-presenting Indian Women 2022

Re-presenting Indian Women



From left to right: Lavanya Majumdar, S.C. Majumdar, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Sarvepalli Sivakamu, 1919

Courtesy: Leela Kasturi, New Delhi

Cover Image:

Pilot Sarla Sharma (later Thukral), 1936

After her Matriculation from Indraprastha College, Delhi, Sarala joined her husband, a commercial pilot in Lahore, where she took flying lessons. In 1936, she got her pilot's license, becoming the first woman pilot of undivided India. After ten flying hours, she flew solo. When, in 1948, the Maharani of Alwar advertised for a lady pilot, Sarla applied and got the job.

Courtesy: Sarla Thukral, New Delhi

Dr. Kadambini Ganguly (née Basu), c. 1890s

One of the two first women doctors of the British Indian Empire - the other being Anandibai Joshi who had graduated from Philadelphia in the same year (1886) - Kadambini was awarded the degree of G.B.M.C. (Graduate of Bengal Medical College) that enabled her to practice medicine. She had earlier graduated from the University of Calcutta after special arrangements were made to add college-level classes for girls in Bethune School.



Kadambini set up a lucrative practice in Calcutta; she also became involved in nationalist politics and, in 1889 was among the six women delegates to attend the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress where she delivered the vote of thanks (in English). In 1892, encouraged by her social reformer husband, Dwarkanath, Kadambini went on to study further in Edinburgh, leaving three young children in their father's charge.

From Bethune School and College Centenary Volume, Kolkata, n.d.



Centre for Women's Development Studies
An autonomous research institute supported by the
Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR)

Curation and text: Malavika Karlekar
Design: Sundares and Malavika Karlekar



Re-presenting Indian Women

On a hot summer afternoon in 2000, at one of our lunch-time *addas* in CWDS, Vina Mazumdar, Lotika Sarkar and I were chatting about new directions in social science research – life histories, oral narratives, mythology . . . and I said, ‘why not photographs – why can’t we do a history of women through photographs?’ Always ready for a challenge, Vinadi (she was then Chairperson) said, ‘why not – find the money, and it’s done!’ Director Narayan Banerjee was bemusedly encouraging. And, in no time, the Odyssey that would end over a year later in *Re-presenting Indian Women 1875-1947: A Visual Documentary*, had begun. Seed money for the initial sourcing of visuals was received from Japan Foundation and soon, Leela Kasturi, Indrani Majumdar, Ravinder Pillai and I were dredging through family albums, piles of sadly neglected memorabilia as well as reaching out to established archives. We piggy-backed on out of Delhi meetings and conferences, adding on extra days for our search; we became propagandists and persuaders - in pre-digital days, when owners were reluctant to part with their images, we bumped along in three-wheelers to hole-in-the corner photocopy shops or made do with faded newspaper images. As days alternated between excitement and disappointment, it was soon clear that the exhibition would celebrate little-known individuals as well as established groups such as early women professionals.

Photographs told us not only of successes but of entire processes, of the triumphant smile of an early graduate as well as of the hesitant, older hand on an open book. Deciding between the studio photograph of an accomplished professional and the slightly wobbly attempts on the box camera of a moment which would normally go unnoticed, meant making choices, re-telling history from a certain perspective. The exhibition told the history of Indian women, keeping certain established parameters in mind; but within that frame, there was scope for the role of storyteller, of the unwitting *sutradhar*. In the process, some significant landmark events might have been omitted or we perhaps read more into a seemingly quotidian moment; most often, it was because unavailability of visuals, constraints of time and a strict budgetary regimen intervened.

The first showing of *Re-presenting Indian Women 1875-1947: A Visual Documentary* was funded by Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) and hosted by India International Centre, New Delhi from December 13 to 21, 2001. The inauguration itself was

full of drama: the chief guest was to be the President of India, Shri K.R. Narayanan. On the morning of December 13, 2001, while I was buying flowers for First Lady Usha Narayanan at the florists’ shop at Oberoi Intercontinental, a person burst in, shouting ‘Parliament has been attacked!’ Asking for the elaborate bouquet to be quickly put together, I left, thoughts coursing through my mind. An attack meant serious security concerns and, in all likelihood, the President of India would not inaugurate our exhibition. And that is exactly what happened: in spite of the President’s interest in our event, there was no question of his coming to India International Centre on a day when there had been such a serious breach in VIP security. The fast-developing turn of events of that day presented us with a dilemma: who was to be our Chief Guest? After hurried confabulations, it was decided that I would ask the redoubtable thespian, Zohra Segal. Ever the good sport, the 89-year-old charmed our guests with her bonhomie and good humour.

In 2005, a generous endowment from Tokyo University for Foreign Studies (TUFS) financed the enhancement and digitization of the exhibition in a format that made possible a travelling display. In its new avatar, the exhibition travelled to 20 venues, from Guwahati to Puducherry, to schools, colleges, galleries and homes, viewed by students, teachers, researchers, media persons, freedom fighters and countless others. It was also available on the TUFS’ website as well as that of CWDS for several years, and the images were used for the production of *Visualizing Indian Women 1875-1947* that I edited and was published by Oxford University Press.

This year’s calendar underlines CWDS’ commitment to the photographic visual over these last 20 years. While some images were part of the original display, others are covers of our calendars, images gleaned later. Every photograph tells a tale, some perhaps more evocatively than others. Many are stories of little-known women, heroines in their own rights - within homes and in the world outside. As we celebrate 75 years of our country’s freedom, of our precious *azadi*, we invite you to revisit some of these less-known lives through the carefully selected archival photograph.

Malavika Karlekar



**A fancy dress party, Calcutta
c. 1910**

Anglicised sections of Indian society were quick to introduce variants of the fancy dress party. Here, a group of Indian and Eurasian/ European women pose self-consciously in an Orientalist rendering of women from different regions. It is being hosted by Saralata Ghose, daughter of the westernised Monomohan Ghose and his wife Swarnalata. A Pathan woman relaxes in the front row while behind her are a Rajasthani in a *lehenga*, a Burmese in a *loongie* (sarong) holding a parasol, a Parsi, and a Muslim begum smoking a *hookah*. The hostess Saralata stands prominently at the back. She is in the middle of the frame and at a level higher than all the others and is dressed as a traditional Hindu bride. The photograph has been taken on the front lawns of Saralata's parents' home, the carriage porch with a Grecian-style urn and the deep verandah clearly visible. It was perhaps her birthday.

Courtesy: Nandita Ghosh, Kolkata

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
30	31					1 <i>New Year's Day</i>
2	●	3	4	5	6	7
●	9	10	11	12	13	14
<i>Guru Govind Singh's Birthday</i>				<i>Lohri</i>	<i>Makar Sankranti/ Magha Bihu/ Pongal</i>	15
16	17	○	18	19	20	21
23	24	●	25	26	27	28
			<i>Republic Day</i>			29

January 2022

December							February							
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	
				1	2	3	4			1	2	3	4	5
5	6	7	8	9	10	11		6	7	8	9	10	11	12
12	13	14	15	16	17	18		13	14	15	16	17	18	19
19	20	21	22	23	24	25		20	21	22	23	24	25	26
26	27	28	29	30	31			27	28					



Snatika (convocation) ceremony at Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullunder (Jalandhar), 1928

Founded in Jullunder (Punjab) in 1890-1 by Lala Devraj, an Arya Samaji, with the active support of his mother, Kahan Devi, KMV was among the first progressive institutions for girls begun by a dedicated core of social reformers in different parts of the country. One of its aims was to provide appropriate instructional material for its students in both Hindi and Sanskrit; when it developed into a college, training women teachers became important.

This photograph is of the *snatika* or convocation of 1928; the formal robe is an interesting adaptation of the western-style gown and hood.

Courtesy: Tara Meenakshi Sekhri, New Delhi

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
		● 1	2	3	4	5 <i>Basant Panchami/ Sri Panchami</i>
6	7	☾ 8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15 <i>Hazrat Ali's Birthday</i>	○ 16 <i>Guru Ravidas's Birthday</i>	17	18	19 <i>Shivaji Jayanti</i>
20	21	22	23	● 24	25	26 <i>Swami Dayananda Saraswati Jayanti</i>
27	28					

February 2022

January							March						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
30	31					1			1	2	3	4	5
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28	29	30	31		



Mylapore Gowri Ammal
c. 1930s

The revival of Bharata Natyam brought outstanding dancers among *devadasis* into the limelight. Mylapore Gowri Ammal, who lived during the early twentieth century, was among them. She came from a family of singers and dancers and was the student of Nelluru Munuswamy Nattuvanar as well as of her mother from whom she received elaborate training in *abhinaya*. Her mastery of Sanskrit, Telegu and Tamil enabled her to quote from the Shastras while demonstrating aspects of aesthetics relevant to dance. *Padams* and *javalis* were Gowri Ammal's speciality, and outstanding amongst her pupils were Balasaraswathi and Rukmini Devi Arundale

Courtesy: Samudri Archives, Chennai

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
		1 ●	2	3	4	5
6	7	8 Maha Shivaratri	9	10 ●	11	12
13	14	15	16	17 Holika Dahan	18 ○ Holi Dolyatra	19
20	21	22	23	24	25 ●	26
27	28	29	30	31		

March 2022

February							April						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5						1	2
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
27	28						24	25	26	27	28	29	30



Rashid Jahan and Mehmuduzzafar
c. 1930s

Daughter of Sheikh Abdullah of Aligarh who, in 1906, established one of the earliest schools for Muslim girls in the country, Rashid Jahan was as a doctor while her husband was a writer of the progressive school. The format, size and of course pose, suggest that the photograph was possibly taken by a friend or relative, an amateur photographer rather than within a studio. Of particular interest is Rashid Jahan's cross-dressing, perhaps unusual in the 1930s.

Courtesy: the late Sakina Hasan, New Delhi

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
					● 1	2 <i>Chaitra Suktadi/ Gudi Padava/ Ugadi/ Cheti Chand</i>
3	4	5	6	7	8	● 9
10 <i>Ram Navami</i>	11	12	13	14 <i>Mahavir Jayanti Vaisakhi/ Vishu/ Mesadi</i>	15 <i>Good Friday Vaisakhadi(Bengal)/ Bahag Bihu (Assam)</i>	16
○ 17 <i>Easter Sunday</i>	18	19	20	21	22	● 23
24	25	26	27	28	29 <i>Jamat-UI-Vida</i>	30

March

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

May

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

April 2022



Amala Nandi (later Shankar) and Zohra Mumtaz-ullah Khan (later Segal) at Shankar India Cultural Centre, Almora, 1942

Amala and Zohra participated in many of the Centre's productions in India and abroad. Amala married Uday Shankar in 1942 and the film *Kalpna*, shadow play *Ram Leela*, as well as ballets such as *Great Renunciation* and *Samanya Kshati* were among the combined creative productions of the couple. In later life she moved into the running of creative centres.

Zohra - one of India's most popular, versatile and loveable actresses - settled in Mumbai after her marriage to Kameshwar Segal in 1942. She joined Prithviraj Kapoor and from a dancer, Zohra was metamorphosed into a stage actress. She had acted in Arthur Rank and Merchant Ivory productions such as *The Raj Quartet*, as well as *Tandoori Nights*, and Sadia Daharvi's TV serial *Amma & Family*, and later, *Bend it like Beckham* and *Cheeni Kum*.

Courtesy: Shanta Mohan, New Delhi

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
● 1	2	3 Idu'l Fitr	4	5	6	7
8	☾ 9 Guru Rabindranath's Birthday	10	11	12	13	14
15	○ 16 Buddha Purnima	17	18	19	20	21
22	☾ 23	24	25	26	27	28
29	● 30	31				

April

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

June

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

May 2022



Kalpana Joshi (née Dutt)
1943

A heroine of the armed struggle against the British, in 1931, Kalpana joined the legendary Surya Sen (Masterda) of the 1930 Chittagong Armoury raid fame. She participated in hit-and-run attacks on the British as well as in organising the jailbreak of two leading militants Ananta Singh and Ganesh Ghosh. When the police got wind of the plan she was put under house arrest. A week later, Kalpana went underground, disguised as a man, and while in hiding helped make bombs, acted as a courier of messages, arms and ammunition. She was arrested in 1933. After her life sentence in the Andamans was commuted (1938), she joined the Communist Party of India. Kalpana married P.C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Party, in 1943.

Photo: Sunil Janah
Courtesy: Gargi Chakravartty, New Delhi

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
			1	2	3	4
5	6	☾	7	8	9	10
12	13	☾	14	15	16	17
19	20	☾	21	22	23	24
26	27	28	●	29	30	

June 2022

May						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

July						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
31					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30



An inter-community marriage, 1943

Here, Lakshmi Kripalani, a Sindhi, and Srijoyananda Patnaik from Orissa, sit before the fire during their marriage.

Srijoyananda saw his future bride as she cycled around the Air Force base at Ambala. She was visiting her brother. He was smitten and the two progressive families did not object to the inter-community marriage.

While Srijoyananda wears a *dhoti*, *kurta* and shawl ~ typical ceremonial dress in eastern India, his older brother, Biju Patnaik, industrialist and charismatic political leader of Orissa, sits behind him, sporting a bow tie and a tuxedo. Lakshmi's father, a medical doctor who had travelled widely, is also in a suit.

Courtesy: Anjali Ghate, New Delhi

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
31					1	2
3	4	5	6	☾	7	8
10	11	12	13	☉	14	15
Id-ul-Zuha (Bakrid)						
17	18	19	☾	20	21	22
24	25	26	27	●	28	29
						30

June

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

August

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

July 2022



Women volunteers at rifle practice, Telangana, 1946

The communist-led peasant uprising in Telangana (1945-46) before Independence was as much against repression by landlords as a nationalist struggle against the Nizam's rule. During this struggle, women in the fighting squads questioned patriarchal practices.

Courtesy: Vidya Munshi, Kolkata

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
	1	2	3	4	● 5	6
7	8	9 Muharram	10	11 Raksha Bandhan	○ 12	13
14	15 Independence Day	16 Parsi New Year's day/ Nauraj	17	18 Janmashtami (Smarta)	● 19 Janmashtami	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	● 27
28	29	30	31 Vinayaka Chaturthi/ Ganesh Chaturthi			

August 2022

July							September						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
31					1	2					1	2	3
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	25	26	27	28	29	30	



Women Members of the Constituent Assembly, 1947

This rare photograph is of 11 out of the 15 women members of the Constituent Assembly. Despite our best efforts, we were unable to identify two of them.

Back row: L to R – 2nd from L. Sucheta Kripalani, 3rd from L. Durgabai Deshmukh, 4th from L. Begum Aizaz Rasul, 6th from L. Dakshayani Velayudhan

Front row: L to R – Renuka Ray, Hansa Mehta, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Annie Mascarane, Ammu Swaminathan

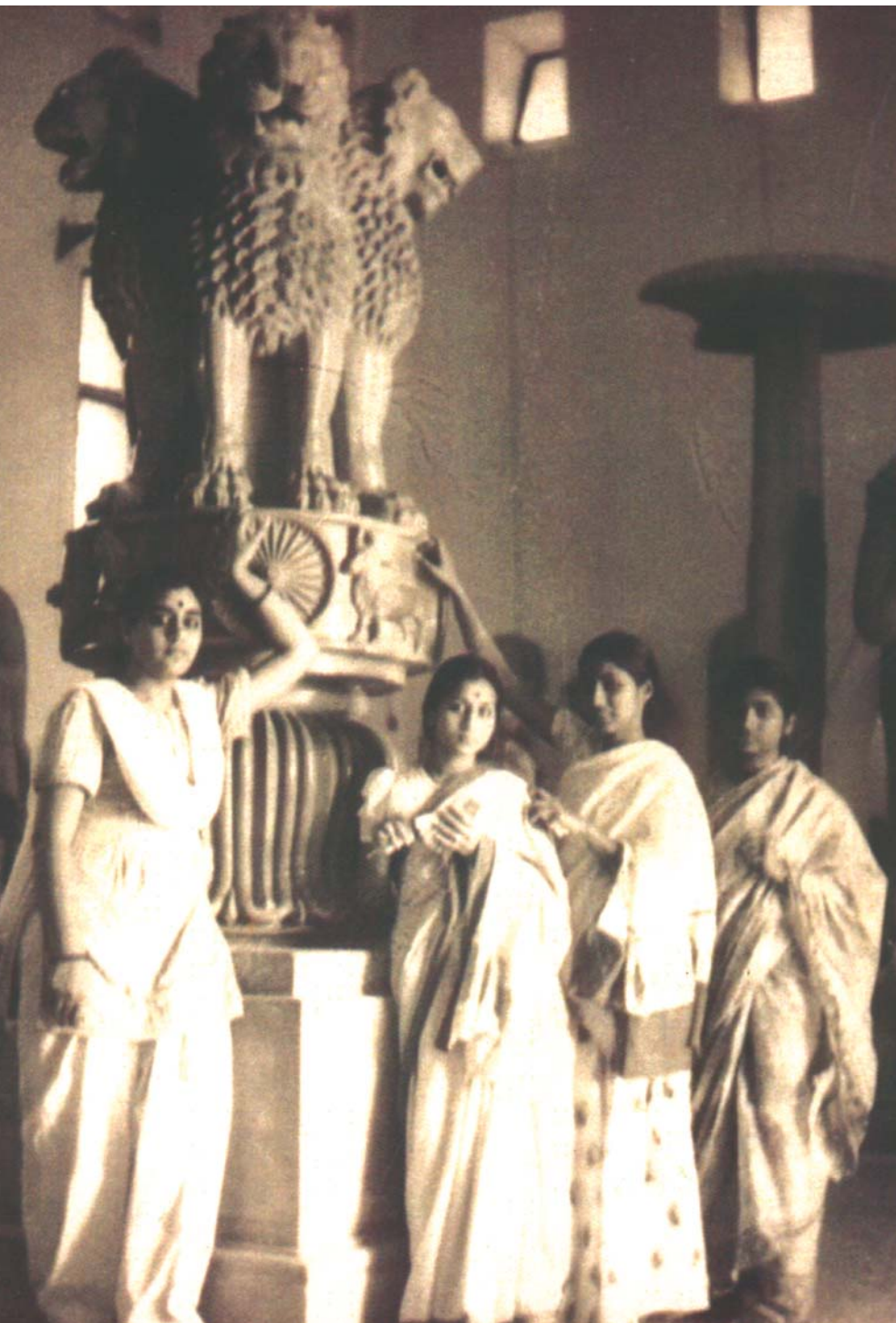
Courtesy: Meera Velayudhan, Kochi

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

September 2022

August						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

October						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
30	31					1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29



**Students of Vasant College,
Benares (Varanasi), at the
Ashoka Pillar, Sarnath, 1947**

Just after Independence, on a memorable field-trip to Sarnath by B.A. students of Vasant College. Started in 1913 by Annie Besant, it was one of the first women's colleges in the region to provide hostel facilities. Kiran Tewari, who took the photograph and is now in her 90s, was one of its early graduates who also lived in the hostel. She vividly remembers being introduced to the culture, music, drama, and fine arts of India through the Theosophical Society with which the college was closely associated.

*Courtesy: Kiran Tewari
and Smita Tewari Jassal, New Delhi*

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
30 <i>Pratihara Sashthi / Surya Sashthi (Chhat Puja)</i>	31					1
2 Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday <i>Dussehra (Maha Saptami) Additional</i>	☾ 3	4	5	6	7	8
9 Milad-un-Nabi or Id-e-Milad (Birthday of Prophet Mohammad) <i>Maharshi Valmiki's Birthday</i>	○ 10	11	12	13	14	15
16 ☾	17	18	19	20	21	22
23 Diwali (Deepavali) <i>Naraka Chaturdasi</i>	24 ●	25 <i>Govardhan Puja</i>	26 <i>Bhai Duj</i>	27	28	29

October 2022

September							November						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
				1	2	3			1	2	3	4	5
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
25	26	27	28	29	30		27	28	29	30			



‘... when weaving was done in squares and stripes only’

c. 1950s

In the late 1950s, Anjolie Dev (later Anjolie Ela Menon) modelled for the Costumes of India pageant show curated by Mary Badhwar for the 9th session of UNESCO held in New Delhi.

Anjolie is wearing an *ikat* sari in traditional colours of white, red and black representing knowledge, beauty/blood and Lord Jagannath, the presiding deity of Odisha. *Ikat* refers to the process by which the pre-arranged pattern is produced by partly dyeing the warp and weft threads before they are woven. The original text in the commentary reads as follows “the women seldom wear a blouse, the sari being draped to cover the whole body. Great stress is laid on the silver jewellery, which is of an unusual design and is their wealth. Peasants all over India put their wealth into silver ornaments carried on their person, and turn them into money when the need arises. The weight of the jewellery varies with the poverty or wealth of the owner”.

Today, Anjolie Ela Menon is a leading artist of contemporary India. Her paintings are in several major collections, including National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi, Chandigarh Museum and Peabody Essex Museum.

Courtesy: the late Mary Badhwar’s collection, New Delhi

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
		☾ 1	2	3	4	5
6	7	☾ 8 Guru Nanak's Birthday	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	☾ 16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	● 24 Guru Teg Bahadur's Martyrdom Day	25	26
27	28	29	☾ 30			

October

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
30	31					1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29

December

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

November 2022



Those were the days . . . c. 1980s onwards

Top row: Neera Desai, (left), Leela Dube
Below: Lotika Sarkar (left) and Vina Mazumdar

Neera Desai (1925-2009) established Research Centre for Women's Studies and Centre for Rural Development at SNDT Women's University, Mumbai. She broke the academic isolation of higher education by democratizing knowledge systems through community engagement and activism. Neera worked actively on issues of social and economic reform and empowerment, her participation in the nationalist movement having honed a deep feminist consciousness.

Leela Dube (1923-2012) brought the expertise of an anthropologist to the fledgling discipline of women's studies and conversely, introduced the insights of women's studies into mainstream social anthropology. Her work among the Muslim matrilineal community of Lakshadweep and Himalayan tribes practising polyandry remain of great significance. Examining gender, kinship, culture and caste through folk tales and songs, proverbs, legends and myths in addition to written accounts, interviews and personal observations, Leela brought a vibrancy to her prodigious body of work.

Vina Mazumdar (1927-2013). As Member-Secretary of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, Vina coordinated the work of its large team of members, actively supporting researchers and staff in her inimitable style to produce *Towards Equality*, acknowledged as the 'founding text' of the women's movement. In 1980, she established Centre for Women's Development Studies, whose focus has been on issues pertaining to women in both rural and urban India.

Lotika Sarkar (1923-2013) was the first woman to teach law at the University of Delhi, Lotika was known for her dedication to students, enjoyment of a good debate as also for her wry wit - and culinary innovativeness. Membership of the Committee on the Status of Women in India (1971-74) transformed Lotika into a committed activist in the women's movement and in the area of women's studies.

All four were instrumental in founding and then guiding for years, the Indian Association for Women's Studies (IAWS).

*Courtesy: For Neera, Veena Poonacha, SNDT, Mumbai; for Leela, the late Mukul Dube, New Delhi
For Vina, Sunil Kumar Sen, Kolkata; For Lotika, the Late Basanti Mitra, Kolkata*

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7 ○	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15 ●	16	17
18	19	20	21	22 ●	23	24
25	26	27	28	29 ●	30	31 <i>Christmas Eve</i>
<i>Christmas Day</i>				<i>Guru Gobind Singh's Birthday</i>		

December 2022

November							January						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5	30	31					1
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
27	28	29	30				23	24	25	26	27	28	29



Centre for Women's Development Studies

An autonomous research institute supported by the
 Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR)
 25 Bhai Vir Singh Marg (Gole Market), New Delhi-110001
 Phone +91 11 23345530/ 23365541 Fax +91 11 23346044
 E.mail ijgs@cwds.ac.in • cwds@cwds.ac.in
 Website <https://www.cwds.ac.in>

