

Workers connect...

#MeToo: Speaking Up Against Sexual Harassment @ Work

Sexual harassment at work is far more prevalent than is ever reported. Most women across the world, choose to remain silent and bear it for multiple reasons. The question oft repeated if and when a woman speaks out is: Why didn't she complain earlier? Fear of reprisal and of inaction, of being ridiculed and ostracised, of social pressure including that from members of the family, friends, peers, and finally even the fear of losing the freedom to step out of one's house act as deterrents to raising a complaint.

The series of allegations women across the world have made against men of power as a part of the #MeToo campaign from Hollywood to academia to the media shows only the tip of an iceberg. What this also indicates is even working women who seem to be more privileged than others, who are role models for many, who even have been advocates for many social causes, do not feel empowered enough to speak up against the men of power in their lives.

Women often take years to recover from this kind of attack and in many case, they remain bruised forever. With every instance of sexual intimidation, violence, harassment, the woman gets isolated and reduced to an individual, rather than addressing her complaint as a collective issue that not just affects her but in fact transforms the entire workplace into a hostile environment for all women.

Exercise of power is central to sexual harassment at the workplace and hence majority of incidents occur between women workers or employees and their seniors, supervisors or managers. Not only do seniors, supervisors and managers have, by definition, greater authority and power, they also control

the conditions of work at the workplace such as assigning tasks, setting work targets, evaluating performance and recommending promotions. While it might be difficult to find any working woman who has not been sexually harassed at work, the incidence of harassment rises as the vulnerability of the woman rises. Thus the incidence of sexual violence rises when the woman is young, is single/divorced/widowed, is a dalit/advasi/muslim woman, is a migrant, is less educated, has little access to alternate employment, and no access to unions.

The Curious Case of Rupan Deol Bajaj

The case of Rupan Deol Bajaj, a senior IAS officer, against 'super-cop' KPS Gill was one of the most high-profile legal cases on sexual harassment in India. The case

was filed in 1988 and finally in 2005, the Supreme Court upheld the Punjab High Court verdict and ordered a 3 month rigorous imprisonment, 2 months of

normal jail term followed by a 3 year probation along with a fine of Rs. 200,000. The entire jail term was converted to a probation and Ms. Deol Bajaj refused to accept the monetary compensation of Rs. 200,000 after 17 years of legal battle. After the victory in a statement to the media she said:

"If I, as a victim, did not drag him to court, who else could have? And can you believe I was a commissioner then, a secretary to the government, and he was just the head of a department, a junior. And he had the temerity to sexually assault me."

Though junior to Ms. Bajaj in rank, Gill was the Director General of Police, Punjab at the peak of the Khalistan movement and at that point riding



high on 'Operation Black Thunder'. Nonetheless she filed an FIR but no investigation took place. She then approached the Judicial Magistrate who ordered the investigation and against this Gill approached the High Court. The High Court quashed the complaints as it was considered a trivial offence under Section 95 of the Indian Penal Code and not worthy of any prosecution. When she took her complaint to the Governor, S S Ray, he advised her to "forget everything in national interest". KPS Gill was even awarded Padma Shri in 1989. But, Ms. Deol Bajaj stood her ground despite the enormous social and political pressure on her.

This case, as Ms. Deol Bajaj had thought it would, and other landmark cases together could not change much. It has not become easier for women to file complaints, it has not become easier for women to pursue those complaints, it has not become easier for women to sustain those long drawn out battles both within the legal system and outside it.

Despite the Tuka Ram and Another vs State of Maharashtra (Mathura Case) case of 1979, in which the issue of consent was critically discussed, and eventually led to a change in the rape laws of the country, consent is still not a term that is well understood by even the legal fraternity. In the Vishakha vs State of Rajasthan and others case, employer responsibility was established which ultimately led to the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013. Also in the State of Maharashtra vs. Madhukar Narayan Mardikar case of 1991, the Supreme Court clearly held that "even a woman of easy virtue is entitled to privacy and no one can invade her privacy as and when he likes."

Sexual harassment and abuse is one offence that by its very nature most often does not leave a trail of evidence and therefore gets reduced to a woman's word against a man's. In a situation where a power imbalance already exists, it is not surprising that the words of the more powerful are given more value than that of the one with less power. Even the grievance redressal mechanisms within a workplace, if it at all exists, or the legal system are skewed in favour of the powerful. Formal mechanisms of redressal has and continues to fail women who have attempted to seek justice through these. In very rare instances, women have succeeded

in changing the condition of work for herself and for others through the existing formal redressal mechanisms.

Culture vs Harassment

One thing that many women have heard across countries, irrespective of economic, social and political development, is that certain acts of harassment are culturally permissible in a certain context. In this same understanding laws to prevent harassment also differ from one country to another. The recent outpouring of statements from women across the globe spreading the #MeToo campaign clearly shows an uniformity in what is considered harassment by women across the world, irrespective of country and culture. In no country or culture does a woman willingly accept a violation of her right to consent.

The ILO recently released a research on violence and harassment at work in 80 countries out of which 20 countries had no measures in place to protect women who reported sexual harassment from retaliation, and another 19 did not even have a legal definition of sexual harassment at work. Trade unions from across the world went to the International Labour Conference this year demanding a new global standard to end violence and sexual harassment in the workplace.

From Individual Agony to Collective Voice: #MeToo

The #MeToo campaign across the world against very powerful men broke the culture of silence as women began to speak up about their individual experiences in a collective voice through the social media that failed to suppress these voices by its nature. The faces, their agony and their struggle for justice within the existing system challenged the available numbers on sexual violence at work.

The problem with speaking out is the lack of security that women workers suffer from. This security is not just about security at work but social security that she may seek access to when she is thrown out of her job. The security at work can be provided by a union but beyond the workplace, the union's reach is far more limited. This accentuates the vulnerability of women and expands the culture of silence.

In December 2017, the New York Times

published an article titled “How Tough Is It to Change a Culture of Harassment? Ask Women at Ford” that interviews several women working at the two plants of Ford in Chicago. They described sexual harassment by co-workers on the shop floor, by supervisors who demanded sex for favourable shifts. The jobs at Ford paid well and women could earn three times more than any other job they could get. So quitting was not an option and thus they stayed on and endured the harassment. After a spate of complaints from women in the 1990s, Ford was ordered to pay \$22 million in fine and to set up awareness training at the plants.

Miyoshi Morris at the Ford Factory gave in to a manager's demand to have sex with him. She had been struggling to find day care centres for her children that were open early enough for her to make it to her 6 a.m. shift. A manager in the paint department told her she was in trouble and he could help her if she came to his house on a day off that he arranged. She agreed.

“I was so lost, afraid, and realizing I had children to care for,” she said. Afterward, she said, her attendance record was no longer a problem, and she received better assignments. She remembers thinking, “Where else are you going to go and make this kind of money?”

But post-2008 economic crisis, the training was suspended and sexual violence returned to the shopfloor till another series of complaints were upheld by the court and Ford was once again ordered to pay \$10 million to the complainants along with terminate a number of supervisors accused of serial harassment. But what this showed was changing a culture of harassment at a workplace takes more than individuals changing their behaviour or individuals being punished. It also takes more than individual women gathering the courage to speak up. It requires a sustainable structural change or else the gains made can be very easily reversed.

Sexual Harassment is Everybody's Problem

In a 2003 paper, *The Economics and Law of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace*, economist Kaushik Basu argued that sexual harassment adversely affected production targets, in ways that were similar to exposure to excessive health hazards. This, he added, even has a public health cost. So even from a purely profit motive, allowing sexual harassment at a

workplace is counterproductive. Yet sexism is integral to capitalism and sexual harassment is integral to our world of work.

This is possibly because sexual harassment is a complex phenomenon in which male power and class power overlap and complement each other. Positions of power are mostly held by men. Occupational segregation perpetuates established patriarchal roles. Thus much of low paid care work across the world is performed by women. Men not only have social control over women, they also exercise economic control.

Women garment workers have often said that despite continuing harassment at work, they cannot quit their job as their husbands would physically abuse them if they made this choice. Thus a woman's job is not her job alone. She works for her employer, for her husband and for her children. She has no right to decide. And this again is irrespective of what work the woman does. The nature of family pressure on a woman may vary, its manifestation may vary but what does not change is the powerlessness of the woman in making a choice for herself. The two spheres of male domination mutually reinforce each other and places women in double trouble.

The social assumption that a woman is a secondary income earner, even if she is not, who is replaceable in the workforce at any point of time by much superior men, creates a condition of vulnerability among women, who in reality have to work to survive. This prepares the ground for the culture of deafening silence. Women are scared to speak out in the fear of losing their jobs and the space they create for themselves.

The problem with this is that the culture that allows and breeds sexual harassment is one which also creates a self-protective cohesive ‘brotherhood’ between men in a workplace. Sexual jokes, comments on the physical appearance or clothing or makeup, or on relationships are part of this culture. This bond divides a workplace between men and women and therefore even goes against the principle of class solidarity.

Unions: Can they be a Way Forward?

Unions are the only way forward if we want to change the power imbalance in our workplace. But women have not been able to trust unions

to take their issue forward in most occasions. Their complaints have been ignored, treated as trivial, pitched against 'more important' struggles, hushed up when it is against union office-bearers. This has historically created an understanding that unions are for men, even if women are members.

Unions also have promoted the culture of 'brotherhood' to hold members together. Union members stay up late together holding meetings, travel together, smoke and drink together, have meals together. They sometimes even watch movies together, party together, travel to other places together. Women find it difficult to participate in these activities. Even the culture in union offices, union meetings are all intensely male even if the membership may be largely of women. Women finally after work have to go back and make sure there is food for everyone, take care of the children, take care of the old, wash clothes and dishes. Thus it is challenging for women who join these unions, to integrate themselves within the union. Thus the union too gets divided between men and women.

On the other hand, irrespective of the gender of the membership, the leadership of unions is expected to be 'male' (synonymous to be tough, strong) to be able to stand up against the power of employers. This is a conflict that exists in most unions and this is a conflict that is not taken seriously.

It is equally important thus to change the culture of trade unions while women and men together struggle to change the culture in the workplace. When a union struggles for a higher wage, it fights not just for the wage but for a better life for its members and for their families. Thus when a union fights for a woman facing harassment, the battle has to go beyond the struggle for her job security. The struggle has to include a struggle for universal health care, childcare, free education, public transport, right to freedom of association, right to have a voice within the union. It is these social conditions create economic and social outcomes that allow women to collectively speak out against individual harassers and change the condition in which women and men work.

Employees State Insurance Corporation to include unemployment cover for members

19 September 2018: Government rolled out the "Atal Bimit Vyakti Kalyan Yojna" (ABVKY) to provide unemployment allowances to workers. Acknowledging "the change in employment pattern and the current scenario of employment in India which has transformed from a long-term employment to fixed short-term engagement", ABVKY will provide a cash relief to workers who are unemployed for 3 months after leaving the previous job. The scheme is applicable to workers who've been subscribers for at least 2 years.

The workers will be able to withdraw a cash relief after 3 months of continued unemployment amounting to 25% of their wages for the last 90 days during their employment. The relief will be funded by workers' ESI contributions and be limited to 47% of the total contribution made by them.

ESIC has also increased the amount for funeral expenses of insured persons from existing ₹10,000 to ₹15,000.

Delhi: Government sets deadline for constituting internal complaints committee

18 September 2018: The Delhi government set a deadline of 30 November 2018 for all formal institutions and organisations in the state to form internal committees (ICs) as mandated under the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 to look into matters of sexual harassment at workplace.

All such organisations will also have to get a certificate from respective district offices as proof of having set up the IC. To promote the laws under the Act, the Delhi government has also decided to launch an awareness campaign.

Centre hikes remuneration of ASHA and Aanganwadi Workers

11 September 2018: Centre has raised the remuneration of Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHA) workers and Aanganwadi workers from ₹3,000 to ₹4,500 and ₹2,200 to ₹3,500 respectively. It also hiked the 'honorarium' for Aanganwadi helpers from ₹1,500 to ₹2,250. The hiked remuneration will

be applicable from October, 2018. Aanganwadi workers and helpers using techniques such as Common Application Software (ICDS-CAS), would get additional incentives. These incentives ranging from ₹250 to ₹500 would be based on performance.

ASHA workers and their helpers would also be provided free insurance cover under Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana and Prime Minister Suraksha Bima Yojana.

However, unions and workers while welcoming the revised remuneration remain unmoved from their demand of regularisation of the work of ASHA and Aanganwadi workers and inflation adjusted wages.

Contract workers at Coal India Limited get Provident Fund Coverage

11 September 2018: The Ministry of Coal along with Coal India Limited (CIL) and Singareni Collieries has decided to extend the cover of Coal Mines Provident Fund Organisation (CMPFO) to include contract workers. The move will benefit around 70,000 contract coal mine workers employed by CIL and Singareni Collieries. Contract workers in CIL earn 2/3rds of permanent worker wages and mostly devoid of social security and health benefits at par with their permanent colleagues.

Legal News

Hyderabad High Court dismisses PIL challenging regularisation of workers

19 September 2018: A division bench comprising Chief Justice Thottathil B. Radhakrishnan and Justice V. Ramasubramanian struck down a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) petition and another writ petitions filed against the regularisation of outsourced workers in different transmission corporations of Telangana. The court held that the regularisation was made as part of a settlement reached under section 18 (1) and sealed under section 12 (3) of the Industrial Disputes Act which has constitutional sanction as per Article 21 of the Constitution.

Delhi Government moves Supreme Court against High Court's order quashing its minimum wages

11 September 2018: The Delhi state govt has moved a special leave petition in the Supreme Court challenging the Delhi High Court's

quashing of the March 2018 notification raising minimum wages for unskilled, semiskilled and skilled workers, formation of a minimum wages advisory committee and imposition of fines and incarceration on employers for non-compliance. The Delhi High Court judgment was pronounced in reaction to petitions filed by traders, dealers and restaurateurs who had challenged the notification claiming that the revised rates were too high in general and specially when compared to neighbouring states.

Collective Bargaining

Tamil Nadu: Automobile workers in the Oragudam cluster go on strike

25 September 2018: Trade unions and workers have united against the malpractices of management in the Oragudam cluster of Chennai district which is the hub of automobile giants such as Eicher, Yamaha, Royal Enfield and Myoung Shin Automotive.

Over 3,700 workers have gone on strike over management's refusal to recognize unions, changes in work norms, unfair dismissal of workers and non-confirmation of trainees on probation.

Haryana: Sanitation workers demand implementation of minimum wages and allowances as promised by government

14 September 2018: Over 100 sanitation workers protested in front of the offices of the municipal corporation demanding implementation of hikes to minimum wages, sanitation and broom allowances, termination of usage of private contractors and introduction of pensions that were agreed upon between workers and the government after a prolonged strike in May, 2018.

Assam: Ambulance workers employed by GVK-EMRI strike against arbitrary overtime and non-payment of wages

14 September 2018: More than 3,000 workers of GVK EMRI, the Hyderabad-based company that operates the ambulance service under contract with the National Health Mission, went on strike on 5 September 2018 after Health Minister Himata Biswas Sarma refused to meet them and ridiculed their demands of regulated working hours, payment of pending annual increment dues which have not been paid for the last two years and implementation

of service rules by the company.

Farmers and workers unite, rally to the Capital raising their demands

5 September 2018: Over a lakh farmers and workers marched to the capital demanding a minimum wage of ₹18,000 for all workers, effective implementation of labour laws, more employment and recognition of people employed as Anganwadi and ASHAs as workers and not volunteers. The demands also included implementation of Swaminathan Committee recommendations, remunerative minimum support prices for crops and loan waivers.

Discrimination

Chandigarh: Smart Watches to track Safai Workers

21 September 2018: Panchkula Municipal Corporation has made it mandatory for its sanitation workers to wear GPS enabled wrist watches, which according to the Municipal Commissioner will help in recording attendance of sanitary workers shift-wise, prevention and control of misuse of manual attendance system, maintenance of transparency, accountability in operations and weeding out fake, duplicate and false workers.

The Municipal Corporation will pay a rental of ₹2400 per watch per year which is one third of a contract Safai Karmchari's wage. Unions are opposing the move pointing that the expense is wasteful in the light of non-payment of timely wages to contract workers and denial of social security to contract workers.

Workplace Safety Watch

Construction

On 28 September, 3 construction workers, *S Sonachalam (62), S Mathi (30) and K Sudalai (55)* died and another worker *C Murugaprabhakar (38)* got seriously injured when boulders and gravel fell on them as they were finishing the de-silting of a 70 feet well in *Alangulam, Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu.*

Chhotu Kumar (25) a construction worker died when a roof collapsed while he was working in an under construction house in Kirari, New Delhi. The police have registered a case and booked contractor *Praveen under IPC Sections 288* (negligent conduct with respect to pulling down or repair buildings) and 304A (causing

death by negligence). However, no arrests have been made so far.

Migrant construction worker *Bhikhari Mahto (35)* died after he fell into a cement mixer while cleaning the mixer plant in Mundka, New Delhi on 16 September 2018. According to the police no safety equipment were provided to the worker. A case has been registered under *IPC sections 287* (negligent conduct with respect to machinery) and *304A* (causing death by negligence).

On 10 September, 2 construction workers *Hari Govindan (48) and Praveen (18)* slipped and fell to death from the 10th floor of under-construction government quarters for *PWD* staff at Todd Hunter in *Saidapet, Chennai, Tamil Nadu.* The workers were installing a temporary shaft on the 10th floor while standing on an iron plate that gave away leading to their fall. The workers were wearing helmet but failed to fasten their safety belts. They initially fell on the safety nets put up on the 8th and the 6th floor but the nets tore apart. Police has registered a case of negligence and arrested 3 people, site supervisor Jayprakash, the person in charge at the site, Arivualagan and sub-contractor Sukumar.

Sanitation

Sarfaraz, Pankaj, Raja, Umesh and Vishal aged between 22 and 30 years died due to asphyxiation while cleaning a sewer in the posh *DLF Apartments in Moti Nagar, Delhi* on September 10th. Dead workers were employed in the housekeeping section of the DLF Resident Welfare Association which forced them to enter the manhole without any safety gear. Three Delhi civic bodies – Delhi Jal Board, East Delhi Municipal Corporation and the Labour Department have absolved themselves of any responsibility in the matter. However, Delhi government has ordered a police probe in the matter.

Luvkush Prasad and his son *Praveen Kumar* succumbed to death while cleaning the water tank of a pickle factory in *Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh* on September 17th. Their neighbour Hriday Nath Dubey who went to check on them also succumbed to asphyxiation. Traces of carbon monoxide and hydrogen sulphide were found during the Magisterial inquiry. The pickle factory had constructed the water tanker in

the residential area in violation of the norms. A FIR has been registered against the owners of criminal negligence and culpable homicide.

Maravadi Pandit (38) and Mansur Ansari (56) natives of Jharkhand who were working at a printing factory in *Erode, Kerala* died of asphyxiation while cleaning a septic tank with effluents 3 ft deep on September 10th. The workers were not provided masks or any other safety equipment by their employer. The inspector of factories has initiated a probe in the matter.

Manufacturing

Wajid (25), a migrant worker from Bihar died at a plastic factory in *Noida Special Economic Zone* on 27 September 2018, while he was cleaning a machine with blades and his colleague unknowingly switched it on. No FIR has been filed in the case.

Mithu Mandal (32) and Ranjit Biswas (38) succumbed to burn injuries caused due to explosion at the cracker factory in the Nadia, West Bengal on 16 September 2018.

Three workers **G Purnamba (35), G Yesumariyamma (35) and A Venkateswarlu (50)** died while 8 others were grievously injured when an under-construction granite polishing unit collapsed on in Prakasham, Andhra Pradesh on September 27th. No FIR has been filed in the matter.

Six workers **Bal Govind, Ravi, Lokendra, Kamalvur, Vikrant and Chetram** died due to explosion in the methane boiler tank which they were repairing at the *Mohit Petro Chemical Factory in Bijnor, Uttar Pradesh* on September 27th. The workers were employed on contract to weld the faulty tanker. Police has registered a case of criminal negligence against the owners of the factory.

News from around the World

South Korea: Samsung service unit executives found guilty of anti-union activities

27 September 2018: The Seoul Central District Prosecutors' Office has indicted 16 current and former executives and employees of Samsung Group for their alleged roles in a scheme to hamper labor union activities at the conglomerate's after-sales services unit. The

prosecution held the scheme led by Samsung Group's now-disbanded Future Strategy Office an "organized crime". Prosecutors have framed the chairman of Samsung Electronics' board of directors Lee Sang-hoon and others of enforcing the scheme from 2013, such as forcing subcontractors with active unions to shut down, and inducing workers to resign from the union. Including those that have already been indicted for similar allegations, seven chiefs of Samsung Electronics Services' subcontractors and three officials from the Korea Employers Federation, a total of 32 will face trial.

Turkey: Airport workers arrested for protesting against deplorable working conditions

19 September 2018: A Turkish court on Wednesday ordered 24 workers and union activists to stay in jail after they were detained in a mass crackdown over protests on working conditions at Istanbul's giant new airport. Hundreds of workers from the airport had been rounded up after they stopped work over labour violations in the frenetic construction to finish the airport on time for its opening next month.

Workers have in the past made complaints regarding violations of labour safety which has led to dozens of deaths on the site and lack of properly organised transport to take them to and from work.

Bangladeshi Garment workers reject government poverty wages

15 September 2018: Garment workers staged protests and demonstrations in Dhaka over government's pitiful minimum wage hike. The new government notified wage is Tk 8,000 compared to the previous wage of Tk 5,300. Workers and unions are demanding at least Tk. 16,000. Unions also questioned employers claims of being unable to pay stating that export revenues have increased 25% over the last year and also that the lowest grade government employees get at least Tk 17,000.

US: Hospitality sector workers strike

7 September 2018: Thousands of hotel and hospitality sector workers employed in different hotels came together to demand better wages, regulated work hours and better

health coverage in Chicago. The strike has since spread to other areas in the United States and draws support of contract workers as well as workers employed in retail food chains such as McDonalds.

Nigeria: Trade unions come together to demand living wages

7 September 2018: Nigerian Trade Unions launched a nation-wide strike over the federal government's refusal to reconvene the tripartite national minimum wage committee. Workers are demanding a living minimum wage of N 50,000 with the current wage being a miserable N 18,000. Nigeria over the last two year has suffered fuel price hikes and currency devaluations that have eaten into real wages of workers.

On the Screen

Sui Dhaga – A bad advertisement for 'Make in India'

Sharat Katariya's *Sui Dhaga* starring Varun Dhawan and Anushka Sharma comes across as a very laboured attempt at portraying the lives and struggles of marginalized people. The film makes a conscious attempt to stay away from portraying the glamorous lives of the rich which have dominated Bollywood films.

Mauji (Varun Dhawan) works at a shop selling sewing machines in a city where his work often goes beyond that of a salesperson. He takes a crowded train every morning to get to work and spends a fair share of the workday running personal errands for his employer, a reality for many workers in our country who are employed in shops with no defined work roles or shifts. Just like Mauji, such workers often face humiliation from not just their employers but also from members of their employer's families. It is this humiliation of her husband at the wedding of the employer's son that compels Mamta (Anushka Sharma) to convince Mauji to quit his job and start his own business.

From this point on the film falls into the trap of typical Bollywood-style rags to riches story and under the guise of Mauji and Mamta's blooming romance, veils the self-exploitation that is core to self-employment. That said, realities of self-employment do make an appearance every now and then especially in conversations between Mauji's father (Raghubir Yadav), who

retires from a government job with a pension, and Mauji. These are about the sense of stability that a secure government job provides to people living at the margins: fixed monthly income and social security. This is once again reinforced when Mauji and Mamta have to make a choice between the offer to take a job at a factory and continue the struggle to stitch their future as a street side tailor.



Life at a factory in the film is a far cry from the reality of garment manufacturing industry in India. The cleanliness, wide space between sewing lines and bright lighting portrays an unreal manufacturing facility that exists mostly in government show reels and corporate brochures. But even at this 'model' factory, the cordial relationship between workers and management comes crashing down when Mauji raises his voice against exploitation. He is brusquely reminded by his supervisor that his hours at work is not his but governed by the productivity targets that have been set for the day. Mauji is jostled around by the security guards and his supervisor and thrown out of the factory for demanding his right.

The film conveniently ignores all questions of access while narrating the miraculous success of Mauji's team in the corporate talent hunt. The entire narrative is woven around the possibility of success of a 'hardworking' individual which is an oft repeated Bollywood prescription for success. The underlying assumption being that equal access equal opportunity exists. In doing so the film crudely advertises 'Make in India' and subtly legitimizes the appropriation of community products by large corporations doling out vast sums of money in the name of Corporate Social Responsibility and talent hunts.