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Rise of Queer Activism in India: Reaching the Unreached Areas of Northeast India

Sharmila Das

Abstract

Emerged from the third wave of feminism, a discourse on queer identity has begun to outline the world in a whole new way. In this contemporary landscape, a new frontier of human rights has been created: while in certain parts of the world same-sex marriage and gender reassignment are welcomed as a signs of progress, elsewhere laws are being reinforced to criminalize it. Inspired by the Stonewall riots, this article is a brief historical account of Queer movement in India, with a focus on Northeast India, which is often neglected and overlooked. It also seeks to shed light on some of the most pressing challenges that queer people in the northeast region experience and keep their concerns at bay.

Keywords: Activism, Humanrights, India, LGBTQI, North Eastern Region, Queer.

Introduction

In the contemporary landscape of globalization, emerging new identities such as queer have become a front-page story. It has emphasized how a worldwide discourse about sexual orientation and gender identity has begun to define the world in a whole new way. As globalization gathered prominence, a new human rights frontier was being established: although same-sex marriage and gender transitioning are being welcomed as signs of progress in certain areas of the globe, laws are being reinforced to criminalize them in other parts. Due to the sheer regional and global expansion of the queer movement, there has been a significant success, generating new challenges with new emerging identities seeking their rights, and therefore being entwined in a larger geopolitical dynamic (Gevisser, 2020). Authors such as Altman, Drucker, and Jackson have recognized the emergence and dissemination of same-sex and transgender identities as

a key element of cultural globalization, arguing that commonalities within the transnational queer culture have grown since the 1990s (Jackson, 2009). This phenomenon has been labeled as “global queering” by Altman (1996), while Plummer (1992) observes that “Homosexualities have become globalized” (Jackson 2009). According to Arnaldo Cruz-Malave and Martin F. Manalansan “Queerness is now global, as the transnational movement of people, identities, and social movements can be observed through mass media, performance art or in the political discourses of human rights in emerging democracies, allowing for the formation of queer identities and culture on a universal scale” (Cruz-Malave and Manalansan, 2002).

The term *Queer*, which emerged from third wave feminism, remains a debated and contentious issue among intellectuals and activists. Historically, the phrase has been used in a severely derogatory manner, and has been seen as a classic manifestation of homophobia. With the foundation of the militant Queer Nation group in the United States in the 1990s and the gay newspaper *The Advocate* (1992), the term began to shift by losing its negative connotations and was re-appropriated as a positive self-designative by gay or queer militants. However, the contemporary interpretation of queer refers to the process of community building, solidarity among individuals based on similarities, struggles, and political movements by non-binary gender identities in order to be assimilated into the heteronormative mainstream culture. By and large, the phrase ‘queer’ is often used an umbrella term for those who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual (LGBTQIA+) or any other identities that do not correspond with either the biological notion of sex or the traditionally established understanding of gender and sexuality.

Methodology

The design of the study conducted in this article is both descriptive and analytical using primary sources such as field notes through purposive sampling, as well as secondary sources such as books, journals, newspapers, etc. The data collected from the above sources have been qualitatively analysed for proper understanding of the queer movement in the country.

History of Global Queer Movement

Tracing the genealogy of the queer movement, one can find the presence of gender variance practices in the 17th and 18th centuries, which appears

to be more inclusive than the gender categorization of Western societies. The berdache of Native America, Fa'afafine of American Samoan culture, the indigenous Mahu of Hawai'i, the Hijras of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, and the Kathoey of Thailand are some of the examples. Significant developments in queer rights, towards the 19th century, were also carried out by several European countries, notably Germany, through the works of influential figures such as Karl-Heinrich Ulrichs, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis, Magnus Hirschfeld, Harry Benjamin, and others. One of the first of its kind was Karl-Heinrich Ulrichs's scientific theory of homosexuality, which called for the legalization of homosexual male practices (Kennedy, 1997). In the realm of sexuality, Richard von Krafft-Ebing's 'Psychopathy of Sex' and Havelock Ellis's 'first medical treatise on homosexuality' also made similar contributions (Kauth, 2015). In 1897, Magnus Hirschfeld's 'Scientific-Humanitarian Committee' became the focal point of a campaign to repeal Paragraph 175 of the German penal code, which criminalizes homosexual activities between members of the same sex (Dose, 2014). Later, his work foreshadowed several forthcoming revolutionary leaders and other scientific centres in the United States, such as Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction (1947) and Henry Gerber, who founded the 'Society for Human Rights' (SHR), a Chicago-based gay organization, in 1924. Unfortunately, with the publication of 'Friendship and Freedom', Gerber's organization received backlash from both the government and the police, leading the group to disband. Despite the formation of such organizations, the gay movement remained stagnant during World War II, with the Nazis labelling them as sexual deviants and tagging them with the pink triangle badge (Jensen, 2021). Nonetheless, the 1950s witnessed an increase in the number of groups such as the Mattachine Society (1950), founded by Harry Hay in Los Angeles. Eventually, it scattered to other regions, and organizations such as One, Inc. (a homophile rights group founded in 1952), Daughters of Bilitis (a lesbian-centered organization established in 1955), and others made their mark in the United States (Ghosh, 2020). Prior to these victories, however, LGBTQ people had long faced societal and legal discrimination because of their sexual orientation. Since homosexuality was classified as a 'disorder', most jurisdictions in the United States enacted discriminatory legislation that outlawed same-sex marriage. It was only in the 1960s, that the gay rights movement had early successes with Illinois becoming the first state to overturn anti-sodomy legislations. At this point, it would be unfair to trace the history of the queer movement without addressing the Stonewall Riots in the United States, which served as the foundation for contemporary pride marches held across the world. Located in New York's Greenwich Village, Stonewall Inn was more than

merely a gay pub; it was a safe haven for the city's marginalized LGBT community, where people congregate to share their narratives of sexual orientation and gender identity. Raided by city police on June 28, 1969, when solicitation of homosexual acts was essentially prohibited in every state except Illinois, this raid escalated into massive violent conflicts between police authorities and the gay activists (Pruitt, 2019). As the riot raged on, a worldwide liberation movement arose, sparking activism and awareness across the United States. The Stonewall uprising was arguably the first event in the history of LGBT rights that galvanized queer people all over the globe to recognise their collective cause as a wider political movement. Marked as a beginning of the new era, Stonewall spawned a surge of new activists groups like the Gay Liberation Front, Lavender Menace and many others, resulting in New York's First Pride March in 1970, the year after the riots. It energised the struggle for equality, resulting to numerous pride marches stage across the world, providing the impetus for the new generation activists with a slew of concerns to address. Ironically, the Stonewall demonstrations, which were billed as a stepping stone, had an impression on rising nations such as India, and even in India's north east, which is usually overlooked, queer people took to the streets to make their presence known.

Indian Queer Movement: Recognition of Queer Identities in Pre-colonial Period

History has always shown itself to be full of sacred texts, of revelations and precious places where a right to exist can actually be found and to which one can present a new perspective on the current scenario. It is evident that historical evidences or a significant event has always been central to any community or culture, and queer people are no exception. So, let us take a brief look at the timeline of the historical events that contributed to the queer movement in India. But before that, let's return to the ancient Indian heritage, where same-sex love or sexual relation was adopted.

It is said that Indian mythology is a wonderful way to introduce diverse perspectives on gender and sexuality. However, despite the continual presence of queerness in Hindu mythology, our law of the land denied the existence of such fluidity, and have remained faithful to Victorian morality, which was indiscriminately applied against the queer people. And it wasn't until 6 September 2018, that the notorious sedition law under Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), a hangover from the India's colonial past, was eventually read down by the Supreme Court (SC). In

this context, it would be worthwhile to retrieve our ancient Hindu belief, which has largely flown under the radar over the years. Only in this historic judgement has the highest court, while delivering the judgement, referred to the ancient Hindu literature and art that taught of figures that transcended the binary.

India has always had capacity for every possible entity from ancient times. No perspectives on the world have been excluded, which is why it is intriguing to discover certain modes of living as taboo or unnatural in modern times (Singh, 2021). We have stories of Hindu mythological deities and tales of devtas who defied gender and took androgynous forms in those days. Lord Shiva in the form of 'Ardhanarishvara', a multi-gendered figure composite of Shiva and his wife goddess Parvati and Lord Vishnu incarnation of Mohini are among some of the classic examples of queer (Bhatt, 2018). One can also see the depictions of same-sex relations embedded in temple sculpture, the most famous of which being the Khajuraho temple of Madhya Pradesh and the Sun Temple in Konark city of Odisha. In similar vein, with the advent of Islam in India, fluid sexuality was never considered 'unnatural' throughout the Mughal Empire. Homosexual love seems to have flourished from Babur to Dara Shukoh to Alauddin Khalji and his slave Mallik Kafur. Once again, these tales and narratives proved that pre-colonial time too provided ample room for people to openly express their love or desire for any sex, and homosexuality blossomed like never before.

Criminalization of Queer Identities in Colonial Period

And with the end of the Mughal era followed the arrival of the British Raj, which eventually culminated in the freedom and movement of the people, particularly those of diverse sexual orientation. As Britain enforced Judeo-Christian sexual norms (Bhatt, 2018) on its subjects, gender fluidity and sexualities were no longer celebrated and witnessed in the mainstream. Any notion of fluidity, multiplicity, or polygamy came to a halt, at the doors of a certain kind of British colonial mindset. In fact, for such multiple identities that would threaten European culture, a whole new bunch of sodomy laws was passed, the most notable being the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871 and Section 377 of the IPC (1861), which criminalize sexual activities against the order of nature. It was essential to throw light on these archaic laws in this article, even though they were repealed by the Supreme Court, since the suffering caused by these laws continues to have impact on the queer people even today and the battle for equality persist. Surprisingly, imperial powers left 74 years ago, yet such legislations were

overturned only three years ago in our democratic country. This proves that our Independent India was not original enough at the time to create its own laws.

Rise of Queer Activism in Postcolonial India

To begin with, a nation is a socially constructed community, and mass vernacular newspapers have played an important role in imagining a community that serves as the foundation of people's collective identity, regardless of their differences (Anderson, 2006). Significantly, Anderson's definition holds true to marginalised communities such as queer, and long before the pride marches as well as legal battles, one could initially witness the rise of the queer movement in post-colonial India through literature, plays, and print media, which contributed to the imagining of a community. The earliest roots of the queer movement can be traced back to the 1990s, when there was a plethora of literature on sexual fluidity that paved the way for queer movement in India. Among the notable ones are Ismat Chughati's *Lihaaf* (1942), Shakuntala Devi's *The World of Homosexual* (1977), Firdaus Kanga's *Trying to Grow* (1990), Shobhaa De's *Strange Obsession* (1994) and the 21st century, Ruth Vanita's *Queering India: Same-Sex Love and Eroticism in Indian Culture and Society* (2002). There are also significant plays depicting queer themes, such as *Bravely Fought the Queen* (1991) and *On a Muggy Night in Mumbai* (2000). In a well-known anthology, we have Rakesh Ratti's *A Lotus of Another Colour* (1993) which provides with a slew of stories unfolding the gay and lesbian experiences of South Asia (Chanda-Vaz, 2015). There is a significant longstanding history of queer literature. In fact, literature is the space through which these writers have explored the challenges and experiences of LGBT individuals with empathy and imagination. Vanita asserts, in the realm of literature, such narratives exist to enlighten and delight. She further goes on to explain that this aspect of same-sex literature has been kept invisible until the mid 20th century, which is why most Indians deny its existence and assumed that homosexuality is influenced by the West (Krishnan, 2015).

Gradually, the landscape shifted from literature to emerging activism by various groups advocating queer rights in India. From the 1980s throughout the 1990s, the public expression of gender and sexuality was in upheaval. During this period, various new forms of identification and informal groupings emerged with a series of significant events in the aftermath of the global LGBT rights movement. The process started in 1981 when the first All India Hijra Conference was held in Agra, and over 50,000 hijras from across South Asia marked its presence. In just a few years, Ashok

Row Kavi launched India's first registered queer magazine, *Bombay Dost* in 1990 after self-declaring as gay where he pens down his journey of sexuality in a journal called Savvy. His efforts to secure LGBT rights, therefore, culminated in the establishment of Humsafar Trust in 1994. From this moment onward, queerness began to capture the public domain by organising its first seminar on LGBT rights in National Law University, Bangalore. When speaking of homosexual people, often missed out in this attention are lesbian women and their lives in public discourse (Dave, 2010). Only because of the women's movement in the 1980s could women seeking same-sex relationships gained popularity and established relationships with worldwide organizations. This was sparked by the participation of Indian women activists in two significant events, one at the Nairobi Women's Conference in 1985 and the other at the Asian Lesbian Network in Bangkok. Eventually, in the year 1991, India got its first lesbian networking group called Sakhi, founded by Gita Thadani in Delhi. By democratizing the queer lesbians, this group encouraged women of different classes and positions all around the world to communicate with one another about their sexual identity or desires through anonymous letters (Dave, 2018). And it was through these letters that a "trans and pan Indian imagined lesbian community" was eventually formed after struggling with the nascent radical worlds (Dave, 2010). Following Sakhi, two new LGBTQ help lines and support networks groups, Sangini and Humraz, were formed. Therefore, significant beginnings, ranging from literature and magazine to networks, have helped in creation of earlier invisible identities, as well as spurred queer groups in questioning the violence and unjust laws in India. With this, history was made with the first Pride Parade held in Kolkata on 2 July, 1999, when individuals no longer have to hide because of who they are; creating a public space where one may celebrate one's own identity and heralded the beginning of queer politics in the nation. And today, pride marches can be seen in over 21 Indian cities, including Northeast.

The decade of the 1990s, which witnessed the emergence of queer activism and articulation of rights, also saw public rallies, demonstrations, and the first judicial proceedings by members of the queer (also known as rainbow) family. Several human rights organisations such as CALERI (Campaign for Lesbian Rights), the Humjinsi, and the People's Union for Civil Rights, began documenting human rights violations experienced by lesbian, gay and transgender people in various regions of India (Ghosh, 2020). In this vein, the AIDS Bhedbhav Virodhi Andolan (ABVA), a queer collective group issued its first ground-breaking comprehensive manifesto titled 'Less than Gay' (1991), a citizen's report on LGBTQ experienc-

es in India ranging from violence to finding companions. By gradually breaking its silence two years later, the Public Interest Litigation (PIL) filed by ABVA in Delhi High Court (1994), became India's first legal protest against the legalization of homosexuality. This was in response to the injustices and inequity borne out to the community by Section 377 of the IPC. Surprisingly, the petition's dismissal and the stories of persecution under the law established the foundation for a wider queer movement in terms of legal battles that culminated in major landmark judgements over the last decade.

While the preceding decade saw many new identities emerge and activist groups formed in support of the rights and acceptance of LGBTQIA+ community, the first decade of the 21st century witnessed significant and positive developments, with numerous petitions being filed, legislations and policies enacted or repealed for the protection of people based on sexual orientation and gender identity. It is sometimes stated that the apex court, as the embodiment of the ideal of justice, lags in being assertive in welcoming members of the LGBTQ community within its institution (K, 2021). This is evidenced by the Supreme Court's decisions to defer the appointment of an openly homosexual lawyer, Saurabh Kirpal, as a judge of the court since 2017, despite a unanimous recommendation by the Delhi High Court (HC). Yet, it will be hard to overlook the fact that the judiciary has been a glimmer of hope to the Indian queer community in the recent past.

In 2001, Naz Foundation and the Lawyers Collective (NGOs working on HIV/AIDS, sexual education and health issues) petitioned the Delhi HC to challenge Section 377 constitutionally. Consequently, the dismissal of the petition in 2004 spurred 'Voices Against 377', a coalition of queer activist including women and child activist, to file a joint petition against the colonial law. A few years later, in the case of *Naz Foundation v. Government of NCT of Delhi* (2009), a division bench of the Delhi HC ruled that the challenged statute was not in accordance with the fundamental rights of the Indian Constitution, and thus homosexual acts between consenting adults be legalised. This was the first landmark decision in the history of queer justice, which was eventually reversed by the SC in the Suresh Kumar Koushal case (2013), therefore re-criminalizing acts of queer intimacy. Remarkably, in the landmark National Legal Service Authority of India (NALSA) ruling, the Supreme Court decided to perceived the transgender community through the prism of dignity, despite the fact that the 'so-called' rights of LGBT Indians were noted as a 'minuscule minority' in the Koushal verdict. Accordingly, on 15 April 2014, the apex court, in a

manifestation of transformative constitutionalism, granted legal recognition to transgender persons/hijra as a 'third gender' with equal statutory provisions in the NALSA judgement. In line with this, the most significant feature was gender self-identification, which was accompanied by broad directives to the federal and the state government on services for transgender people, which were remarkable and applaud worthy. Following this, the sweeping development can also be seen in the *K.S.Puttaswamy judgement* (2017), in which the SC held that the right to privacy as a fundamental right, which was overturned by the same court in *Suresh Kumar Koushal v. Naz Foundation* (2013) by denying queer people constitutional protection. After years of a tussle to repeal Section 377 since 2001, the *Navtej Singh Johar case* (2018) was probably the greatest ground-breaking step in ameliorating the legal position of homosexual adults. Keeping in view the Yogyakarta Principles in Relation to Issues of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, the Supreme Court, while upholding constitutional morality, read down section 377 of the IPC on Navtej Singh Johar's petition seeking recognition of the right to sexuality, arguing that the law violated the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution (Narain, 2018). At the core of these judgements, a further turning point followed in 2019 when the Madras High Court in *Arunkumar v. Inspector General of Registration* upheld that the transgender marriage rights to be made inclusive under the Hindu Marriage Act, 1956.

Northeast India and its Queer Movement

Growing up in the country's most heterogeneous region with diverse communities, the people of this land have witnessed an unending cycle of violent conflicts by various extremist organizations, such as ULFA, NDFB, Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagalim, Bru National Liberation Front, etc spread across the region. Youth unemployment, inter-tribal conflict, corruption in administrative machinery, exploitation of natural resources, influx of foreigners from across the border etc. are some of the factors that contributed to the development of such groups. Further, stories of bandhs, bombings, kidnapping, institutions closures, dharna and protest have created a profound impression on people's mind that the Northeast region is nothing more than a hotspot of violence and terror. This region, which has been described as India's cultural mosaic as well as being home to around 220 ethnic groups, is often found to be grappling with the issues of identity crisis. In this milieu, the diversity of gender expression/ queer identities appears to be either non-existent or beset by marginalization. Furthermore, it has been observed that much of the region's academic debate, social media and literature are found to be preoccupied with the

issues of terrorism, minority rights, inter-state border, and development projects and so on. As a result, the discourse on gender and sexuality remains to be beyond the scope of discussion and debates, making it difficult to find a position in the global, national and policy making platform.

Notwithstanding, despite the roadblock ahead, the region although, like the other parts of India, has witnessed a significant sexual revolution but remains in a nascent stage. It was not until 2014 that history was made with pride walk held in Guwahati, a city of Assam and in the whole of North Eastern Region (NER) for the first time. And the movement for sexual minorities was born immediately after the Supreme Court decision set aside the Delhi High Court's 2009 verdict that decriminalised homosexuality and thus reinstated Section 377 of the IPC on 11 December 2013, which criminalises consensual same-sex acts. As a wake, a 'Global Day of Rage' was commemorated over Section 377 as a mark of protest, with protestors and activists marching through the streets with placards and slogans, which was carried out globally and throughout major cities in India like Delhi, Bombay and Kolkata that gained a lot of momentum. Equally, whereas the restoration of Section 377 was as significant for the queer communities in the NE region, the movement in this region garnered scant attention from the mainland India. It was around the same period, on December 15, 2013, the people of the NE region too witnessed the first-ever public protest by queer communities in Assam. Later, the movement paved the way for the region's first Queer Pride March, which took place in Guwahati on February 9, 2014. It was initially commenced with only five people from non-queer communities with support from Queer Azaadi Mumbai, the Delhi Queer Pride committee and few NGOs based in Guwahati. Over the years, the movement witnessed an overwhelming participation of more than thousands of youths not just from Assam but also from the other parts of the NE region particularly, Meghalaya and Manipur. This was indeed, a welcome move for a diverse region like northeast. And, for the last eight years in a row, Guwahati has been the only city in the entire region to organize a successful pride walk, despite various threats, vandalism, and contradicting opinion by some right winged conservatives. Having followed that, the movement served as a stepping stone to further activities in the region that would carry the narrative around queer rights to make it more visible and inclusive in nature. And this was quite evident in the formation of 'Xukia' (literally means 'unique' in Assamese) in May 2014, the first-ever queer collective group and an organizer of the annual pride walk in Guwahati. Since its inception, Xukia has been working extensively for LGBTQI rights in Guwahati from organising numerous dialogues, workshops to

film and video festivals, with an objective to create a broader conversation around queer rights and furthering LGBTQIA activism throughout the region. According to one of Xukia's founding member, the organisation "aims to build up queer discourse and vocabulary in Assam and its sister states, thereby creating space for those voices that are silenced amidst prioritization and hierarchy of concerns". And, with the regions first multilingual LGBTQIA+ publications titled "*Forbidden: Ek Xukia Drishtanto*" (Xukia's perspective of the forbidden); it aims to disseminate information on queer rights to general masses and create a brochure where community members and its allies can express themselves through writings. In this direction, Samakami in Meghalaya, the All Manipur Nupi Manbi Association (AMaNA) and Empowering Trans Abilities (ETA) in Manipur have undertaken similar initiatives. In Assam, quite a few organisations like All Assam Transgender Association (AATA), Xobdo and Xomonnoy advocate for the community's welfare and provide emotional, mental, legal and social support after they come out of the closet and disclose their identities. Furthermore, it would be significant to shed light on Assam's first shelter home for transwomen and hijra community, the Rainbow Home of Seven Sisters (RHoSS), which was established in June 2021. It proved to be a ray of hope for the transgender people who had been culturally marginalised, socially discarded, and stigmatized by their families.

Conclusion

Being considered as India's 'periphery', the 'Eight Sisters' of the Northeast have long been an insignificant component of the pan Indian mosaic, having limited clout in national and international activities. In this vein, when it comes to queer movements, most of the conversations remain confined to major cities. Let's put that aside; even the regional media would turn a blind eye on the issues of gender and sexuality. Furthermore, no local newspapers or magazines in the north-eastern states would be interested in devoting a modest section of its publication to queer-related activities. In this context, it would be necessary to shed light on some of the most pressing challenges that keeps minority groups, such as queer people, and their concerns at bay. The absence of queer representation in liberal democracies is the reason why northeast queer community remain invisible. Starting at the regional level, for instance, disregarding parliamentary and assembly representation, the Assam Transgender Welfare Board, which is a six-member board and the sole board in the whole NE area, does not have a single representative from the queer community, with the exception of one trans women. This lack of representation is exemplified by the National Council for Transgender Persons which was constituted on

21 August, 2020. The fact that the council has five nominated members from the transgender community, none of whom represent the north east. Even an academic forum such as conferences, seminars, and workshops seems to be indifferent to the discussions on such topics. But when they organize, they tend to invite resources individuals who seem unaware of the grassroots concerns of queer people's everyday lives. Overtime, they become the spokespersons for the region, and to no one's surprise, they seem to have no interest in putting out proposals for policymakers that would actually benefit the community. Furthermore, in conversation on issues such as the Assam National Register of Citizens (NRC), from which around 2000 transgender people were excluded, not a single national consultation took a stand in this regard. Because of the lack of representation, whereas the regions receive a plethora of developmental projects and funds, national organisations tend to have no importance in establishing programmes or collaborating with the north-eastern queer communities, which is why funding becomes a major issue for collectives like Xomonoy, Samakami and other queer organizations. But, unfortunately, what else can we expect from the bigger picture when our own people reveal a degree of animosity towards the people of the same region, irrespective of gender identity/ sexual orientation. So far, despite all of these struggles, these organisations have been sustained and continue to expand in size by reaching out to remote areas and providing a platform for voices that go unheard. Without any acknowledgment or institutional support, different strands of queer activism in the country's NE have already awakened, which hopefully will lead to community building by bringing forth non-manipulative leaders and thereby generating inclusive environments.

Finally, it is important to remember that queer liberation cannot be achieved if it remains isolated as the queer community is heterogeneous. Like intersectional feminism, a wave of intersectional queer movement is constantly forming in the country; someone whose potential needs to be recognised and ignored would leave the most marginalised even further behind. Although the Section 377 battle has been won, the fight for equal rights continues, as there are a plethora of concerns waiting ahead, including denial of same-sex marriage, adoption, and other civil rights- that must be invaded into the judicial system. And this can only be achieved through broader alliances with subaltern groups like Women, Peasants, Dalits, Adivasis, and other minority groups, as well as feminist and other movements, so that the voices of all marginalized movements can merge into something bigger than anyone, after all the dignity of life is the birth-right of every living human being.

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