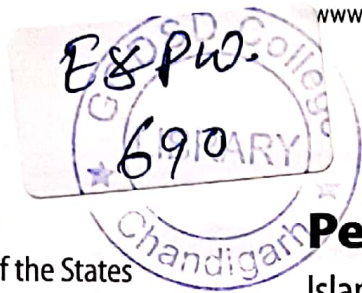


# Economic & Political WEEKLY

A SAMEEKSHA TRUST PUBLICATION

www.epw.in



## EDITORIALS

- Fiscal Health Rankings of the States
- Violation of Transgender Rights and Autonomy

## LAW & SOCIETY

- Bail without Liberty: Digital Surveillance and the Changing Meaning of Release

## COMMENTARY

- Interpretive Failures and the Limits of Anti-discrimination Guarantee in India
- Securitising Youth Dissent: How Indian Media Frames Protest in Nepal and Ladakh
- *Kanji* as Commons: Everyday Food and Politics of Traditional Knowledge
- Are We Measuring the Same Thing? Reconciling Discrepancies in SDG 6 Data

## BOOK REVIEWS

- *Trials of Sovereignty: Mercy, Violence, and the Making of Criminal Law in British India 1857–1922*
- *Everyday Reading: Middlebrow Magazines and Book Publishing in Post-Independence India*

## INSIGHT

- Persistence of Unfreedom in Rural Haryana: Evidence from Field Study

## SPECIAL ARTICLES

- OBCs, Adivasis, and the Persian Cosmopolis in India's Heartland
- Evolution of Modern Higher Educational Institutes
- Heterogeneous Impact of Monetary Policy Shocks on Sectoral Output in India
- Can Agricultural Growth Generate Higher Employment for Rural Women in India?

## CURRENT STATISTICS

## Persian Cosmopolis

Islamicate nominative practices among cultivator caste Kolis and Adivasis in eastern Gujarat, shared spiritual belongings of Kolis, Dalits, and Muslims, and everyday linguistic practices related to governance and justice unsettle Hindu chauvinist social formations. page 38

## Unfreedom in Rural Haryana

Although the incidence of Siri-type unfree labour has significantly declined since the early 20th century, such labour arrangements persist in Fatehabad, Sonipat, and Bhiwani districts. page 32

## Crisis of American Universities

As democratic practices within campuses are subordinated to funding imperatives, universities strive to corporatise their campuses, which reassures investors, industry partners, and international collaborators, while avoiding positions that may alienate financially powerful entities. page 45

## Reinforcing Discrimination

The judgment in *Supriyo v Union of India* shows how juridical writing co-opts the heteronormative discriminatory morality while still showing mechanical fidelity to the judicial review standards. page 14

## Media's Framing of Protests

Indian media's coverage of the protests in Nepal and Ladakh revealed how a powerful media ecosystem can render youth dissent legible only in terms of order and disorder. page 18

**Bail without Liberty**

10 The growing reliance on surveillance-oriented conditions on bail suggests that release is no longer defined solely by freedom from physical custody but by compliance with technologically structured supervision.  
— Ekta Gupta, Hamda Akhtarul Arfeen & Simarjeet Singh Satia

**Supriyo v Union of India (2023)**

14 The Court's stand on protecting homosexual identity but only as long as it is not openly performed reduces homosexuals to a suspect category, compelling them to take on practices of covering their identity, limiting their experience as full citizens. — Satya Prasoorn, Shilpi Singh

**Securitising Youth Dissent**

18 The Indian mainstream media has increasingly framed youth-led protest in South Asia through a securitised lens, as seen in the cases of Nepal's 2025 Gen z uprising and agitation in Ladakh. — Arpit Vihan, Rachi Singh & Umang Banaudhia

**Kanji as Commons**

21 The preparation of *kanji* encodes knowledge of rice varieties, seasonal rhythms, fermentation, and the gendered labour of caregiving. — Michelle Dias

**Are We Measuring the Same Thing?**

24 Integration of data collection tools and standardisation of reporting data across the different agencies could resolve data discrepancies on sanitation and water access in India. — Bejoy K Thomas, Devesh Kumar Ray

**Persistence of Unfreedom in Rural Haryana**

32 Unfree labour relations continue to shape agrarian work in rural Haryana, despite their formal abolition in Indian law. The article then presents findings from the survey of 2018–19 and analyses changes in unfree labour contracts using earlier survey reports of the 1920s, 1950s, and 2003–04. — Prachi Bansal

**OBCs, Adivasis, and the Persian Cosmopolis**

38 The project of majoritarian boundary-making is unsettled when we explore the lives lived at the geographic, environmental, and economic margins in the borderlands of Gujarat. Oppositional potentialities to exclusionary identities always remain co-present as traces, foreclosing the erasure of certain pasts and presents, and containing possibilities for the future. — Dolly Daftary

**Challenges to the American University Model**

45 Despite its global appeal, the American higher education model faces mounting challenges in the West, including growing scepticism among the youth about the value of university education. This paper asks why the American model is in crisis and offers a cautionary perspective to Indian universities adopting it. — Debjane Ganguly

**Heterogeneous Impact of Monetary Policy Shocks**

53 The exchange rate and asset price channels exert relatively stronger sectoral efforts during periods of normal economic outlook. Given the redistributive implications of monetary policy, the effectiveness of the inflation targeting regime may require complementary income-supportive fiscal coordination.  
— Rahul Kumar, D Tripathi Rao

**Debunking a Persistent Myth**

64 The recent increase in the female labour force participation rate is more closely associated with rural distress than with improved economic opportunities. The paper thus highlights the limits of agriculture-led strategies for expanding women's employment. — Ashapurna Baruah, Ankita

**EDITORIALS**

Fiscal Health Rankings of the States ..... 7  
Violation of Transgender Rights and Autonomy .... 8  
FROM 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO ..... 9

**LAW & SOCIETY**

Bail without Liberty: Digital Surveillance and the Changing Meaning of Release  
— Ekta Gupta, Hamda Akhtarul Arfeen, Simarjeet Singh Satia ..... 10

**COMMENTARY**

*Supriyo v Union of India* (2023): Interpretive Failures and the Limits of Anti-discrimination Guarantee in India  
— Satya Prasoorn, Shilpi Singh ..... 14  
Securitising Youth Dissent: How Indian Media Frames Protest in Nepal and Ladakh  
— Arpit Vihan, Rachi Singh, Umang Banaudhia ..... 18  
Kanji as Commons: Everyday Food and Politics of Traditional Knowledge  
— Michelle Dias ..... 21  
Are We Measuring the Same Thing? Reconciling Discrepancies in SDG 6 Data in India  
— Bejoy K Thomas, Devesh Kumar Ray ..... 24

**BOOK REVIEWS**

*Trials of Sovereignty: Mercy, Violence, and the Making of Criminal Law in British India 1857–1922*—The Illusion of Justice Mercy and the Foundation of Criminal Law in India  
— Abhishek Arya, Vipanchika S Bhagyanagar ..... 27  
*Everyday Reading: Middlebrow Magazines and Book Publishing in Post-Independence India*—The Everyday of Print in Post-independence India  
— Sulthana Nasrin ..... 29

**INSIGHT**

Persistence of Unfreedom in Rural Haryana: Evidence from Field Study  
— Prachi Bansal ..... 32

**SPECIAL ARTICLES**

OBCs, Adivasis, and the Persian Cosmopolis in India's Heartland  
— Dolly Daftary ..... 38  
Evolution of Modern Higher Educational Institutes: Challenges to the American University Model  
— Debjane Ganguly ..... 45  
Unpacking the Black Box: Heterogeneous Impact of Monetary Policy Shocks on Sectoral Output in India  
— Rahul Kumar, D Tripathi Rao ..... 53  
Can Agricultural Growth Generate Higher Employment for Rural Women in India? Debunking a Persistent Myth  
— Ashapurna Baruah, Ankita ..... 64

**CURRENT STATISTICS** ..... 73

**LETTERS** ..... 4