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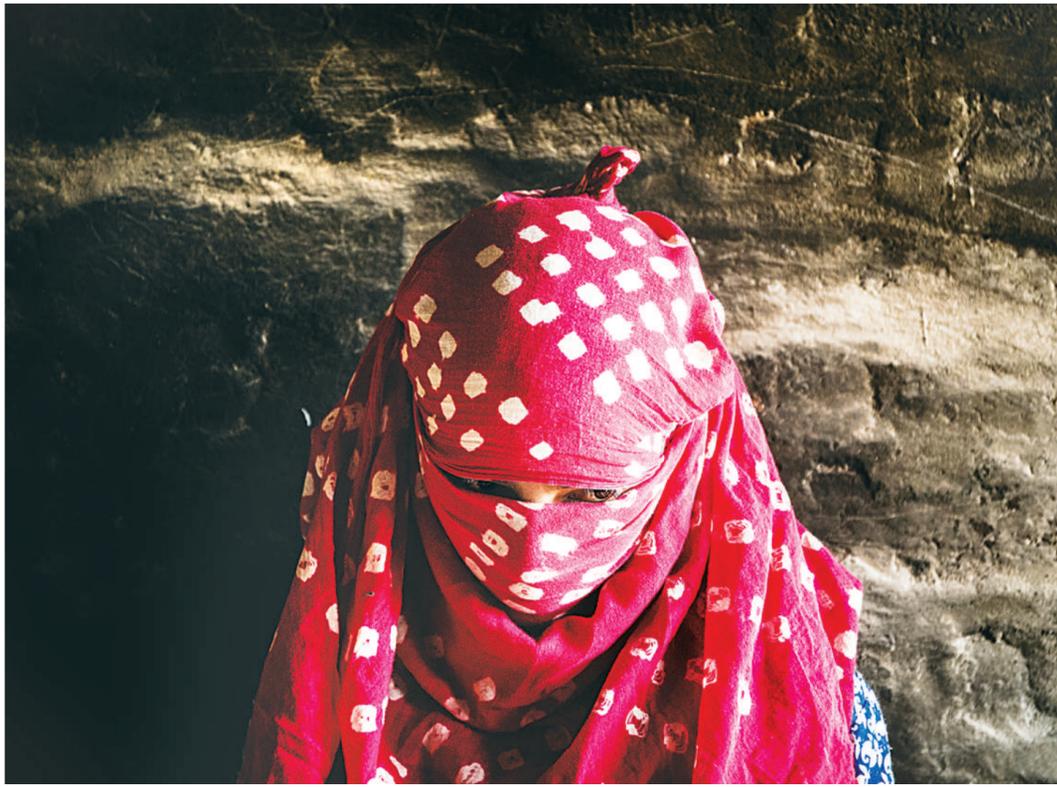
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TUESDAY, MAY 10, 2016

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A girl from the northern state of Haryana was one of four who supporters say were raped at the order of a panchayat, or village council, as a way to punish a community over a land dispute. Five years ago, the Supreme Court said such councils should be illegal.

Brutal 'justice' in rural India

Unelected, male-dominated clan councils enforce social mores with punishments such as the whipping of a teenager raped by her father

BY ANNIE GOWEN IN MAUJE JAWALWADI, INDIA

The teenage girl, dressed in pink, sits in the dirt before six community elders. In a scene captured on a cellphone video, one of the men wags his finger angrily at her. He rages: "This girl must be punished."

A villager ties her waist with rope, holding the other end, and lifts a tree branch into the air. She bows her head. The first lash comes, then another, then another. Ten in all. She lets out a wail.

Eventually the crowd starts murmuring, "Enough, enough," although nobody moves to stop the beating. Finally, the man throws down his stick. It's over.

She is 13 years old. Or maybe 15. Her family doesn't know for sure. She has never set foot in a school and has spent most of her life doing chores at home, occasionally begging for food and performing in her father's acrobatic show, for

which she is given 20 rupees, about 30 cents.

Her crime? Being too scared to tell anyone her father raped her.

India is a country of 1.2 billion people, with a growing economy, a young population and an energetic prime minister eager to sell the country on the world stage. A generation of women taking stronger roles in the workforce, in colleges and online isn't afraid to push against outdated misogyny — be it acid attacks, rape and sexual harassment, or the demeaning portrayal of women in movies and advertisements.

Yet patriarchal prejudices ingrained for centuries have been tough to shake loose despite a growing clamor for change — and continue to affect life from the village water pump to the judicial system and beyond.

INDIA CONTINUED ON A8

N.C., Justice Dept. sue each other on 'bathroom bill'

BATTLE OVER TRANSGENDER RIGHTS

State accuses federal government of 'overreach'

BY MARK BERMAN, SARAH LARIMER AND SARI HORWITZ

North Carolina and the Justice Department announced dueling lawsuits Monday over the state's "bathroom bill," which has become the epicenter of a larger fight over transgender rights.

The two complaints, filed several hours apart, took opposing sides in the debate over the law, which bans transgender people from using bathrooms that don't match the gender on their birth certificates. While the state said its law does not discriminate against transgender people or treat transgender employees differently from non-transgender employees, the Justice Department's civil rights office said the

measure is discriminatory and violates civil rights.

"This action is about a great deal more than just bathrooms," Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch said during a news conference after the Justice Department's lawsuit was filed. "This is about the dignity and respect we accord our fellow citizens and the laws that we, as a people and as a country, have enacted to protect them."

The lawsuits escalate tensions over a law that has already resulted in boycotts of North Carolina by corporations and threats from the federal government that billions of dollars in annual funding could be withheld.

The fight over the "bathroom" N. CAROLINA CONTINUED ON A2

In critiques of Clinton, The Donald feels the Bern

Trump runs to the left of Democratic front-runner on trade, military action

BY JOSE A. DELREAL

EUGENE, ORE. — At a campaign rally here in one of the most liberal towns in America, Donald Trump offered praise for an unusual party: avowed democratic socialist Bernie Sanders.

"Now, I'm no fan of Bernie Sanders, but he is 100 percent right," Trump told a crowd here this weekend. "He is 100 percent right: Hillary Clinton is totally controlled by the people that put up her money. She's totally controlled by Wall Street."

That's not the only area where the presumptive Republican nominee sounds like Sanders, who is challenging Clinton for the

Democratic nomination. On a series of issues, including free trade and foreign military intervention, Trump is effectively running to the left not only of his own party but also of Clinton.

For weeks, Trump has openly praised Sanders, crediting the senator from Vermont for raising questions about the former secretary of state's judgment on campaign finance, trade and foreign policy. He has also pointed to Sanders's questioning of Clinton's qualifications as a sign that the topic is fair game.

"NAFTA has been one of the great economic disasters. Who signed it? Clinton. Clinton," Trump said Saturday at a rally in Lynden, Wash. He was referring to the North American Free Trade Agreement, which was actually signed by George H.W. Bush but TRUMP CONTINUED ON A4

Suburban strategy Clinton visits Loudoun County. A5

Fearing hostilities in space, Pentagon fortifies satellites

BY CHRISTIAN DAVENPORT

The first salvo was a missile launch by the Chinese in 2007 that blew up a dead satellite and littered space with thousands of pieces of debris. But it was another Chinese launch three years ago that made the Pentagon really snap to attention, opening up the possibility that outer space would become a new front in modern warfare.

This time, the rocket came close to a far more distant orbit — one that's more than 22,000 miles away — and just happens to be where the United States parks its most sensitive national security satellites, used for tasks such as

guiding precision bombs and spying on adversaries.

The flyby served as a wake-up call and prompted the Defense Department and intelligence agencies to begin spending billions of dollars to protect what Air Force Gen. John Hyten in an interview called the "most valuable real estate in space."

Faced with the prospect of hostilities there, defense officials are developing ways to protect exposed satellites floating in orbit and to keep apprised of what an enemy is doing hundreds, if not thousands, of miles above Earth's surface. They are making satellites more resilient, enabling them

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AARON FAVILA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

'Punisher' ahead in Philippines election

Filipinos vote in Manila. Rodrigo Duterte, an authoritarian, tough-talking mayor, held an apparently insurmountable lead late Monday in the country's presidential election. Story, A6

Panama Papers shed light on alleged financial fraud in U.S.

BY MICHAEL HUDSON, JAKE BERNSTEIN, RYAN CHITTUM, WILL FITZGIBBON AND CATHERINE DUNN

Len Gotshalk, an Atlanta Falcons football player turned Oregon businessman, had a history of legal issues by the time he went looking to buy an offshore company in 2010. Lawsuits and criminal filings had accused the former NFL offensive lineman of fraud and racketeering.

Mossack Fonseca, a Panama-based law firm that specializes in selling offshore companies, initially told Gotshalk that it couldn't do business with him, because of

"negative information" that its researchers had found. Gotshalk persuaded the law firm to reconsider, noting in an email that he had "held offshore accounts in the past in Europe and Bahamas and Belize" without problems.

Three months later — on May 21, 2010 — federal prosecutors in Philadelphia unsealed an indictment charging that Gotshalk was a key player in a scheme that used kickbacks and other tactics to inflate the prices of tech-company stocks.

Three days later — on May 24 — Mossack Fonseca recorded a \$3,055 wire transfer from Gotshalk, the firm's internal records PAPERS CONTINUED ON A7

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KATHERINE FREY/THE WASHINGTON POST

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India's traditional councils impose controversial 'justice'

INDIA FROM A1

Male-dominated village councils have existed in India for centuries to resolve disputes between neighbors and serve as enforcers of social mores in the country's stratified caste system. Although elected village bodies were established by the Indian government in 1992, unelected clan councils continue to operate with impunity throughout rural India, issuing their own edicts in the name of preserving harmony.

Five years after the Supreme Court said such councils should be illegal, the central government and some states are only beginning to pass or contemplate laws that would limit their behavior.

These councils often prevent or break up marriages and love affairs between couples from different castes, and they have instigated honor killings. Women typically receive the harshest punishments.

They also intervene in cases of sexual assault — mediating resolutions between two families, attempting to smooth over devastating wounds with a few hundred rupees, and even in some cases forcing a victim to marry her rapist. Amid international outrage about the 2012 fatal gang rape of a Delhi student, laws were passed to make it easier for rape victims to file charges. But the road to the police station is still a long one.

"In rape cases, their role is underground and not officially or publicly acknowledged," said Jagmati Sangwan of the All India Democratic Women's Association, a longtime critic. "They will ask the family of the victim to go for a compromise, go for mediation, and that suppresses the interests of the victim."

Sube Singh Samain, a leader of an association of clan councils in the northern state of Haryana, said they serve a vital role in a county with an overburdened justice system and where legal cases can be costly. He said that village elders have banned the sale of meat, restricted cellphone use by youths and even prohibited loud music at weddings. ("The music is so bad the cows and bulls fall over and run away," he said.) They also step in to smooth things between families, sometimes urging people to withdraw police complaints.

"We say, 'Let's not go to the courts; let's resolve it,'" he said. "We encourage them to go back to the police if a [complaint] has already been filed and say, 'I was not in a right state of mind; I want to take back my statement.'"

Some of the most brutal decrees have garnered international headlines.

In 2014, for example, a clan council in the state of West Bengal ordered the gang rape of a woman as punishment for her relationship with a man outside her tribal community — with a leader allegedly urging the council to "go enjoy the girl and have fun," according to a police complaint.

In Maharashtra, representatives from an advocacy group called the Committee for Eradication of Blind Faith work with about 100 people a year who have been victimized by caste councils



ANNIE GOWEN/THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE LEFT: Arun Jadhav, shown with his wife, Leela, was the council member who administered the beating to the teen who was raped by her father. She was punished for not telling others in the family about the rape. **ABOVE RIGHT:** The girl walks with her sister-in-law.



ANNIE GOWEN/THE WASHINGTON POST



ENRICO FABIAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

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— called panchayats — most of them female.

Women are forced to retrieve a coin from a vat of boiling oil to prove their purity. One woman was forced to walk, scantily clad, through the forest while the panchayat members threw balls of dough straight off a fire at her back.

"You can't have a parallel judiciary that's completely unaccountable and gives arbitrary punishments — many of them barbaric," said Hamid Dabholkar, the head of the advocacy group. "That is what happened in this case where the girl was beaten when she herself was a victim."

Grim turn in a hard life
Before she died, Anusuya Chavan's existence had been as precarious as the tightrope she walked in her husband's acrobatic shows. For the most part, she was able to shelter her two younger daughters from their father's rages, but eventually her own drinking and battle with tuberculosis caught up with her. She died last year.

At the time, her teenage daughter begged to go live with one of her older siblings, but the father, Shivram Yeshwant Chavan, told her no. He needed someone to cook, keep house and earn money for him.

Up until then, the girl's life had not been easy, but there were small comforts. She had no friends, but she liked turning handstands in the dirt with her sister, Laila, 7. Or buying a snack of spicy puffed rice or kulfi, a frozen dessert, with pocket change her father slipped her.

Then one night in January, her father came home from his job playing a steel drum in a wedding band, drunk on local hooch. She was sound asleep on the ground in their home, her sister curled up tight next to her. He got down on the ground, too, and put his hand over her mouth.

Victimized again
In early March, a farmer and local labor activist named Sachin Tukaram Bhise was headed to a nearby village to find day laborers

for his wheat and sugar cane farm when he heard a village council was to be called by members of the local Gopal community, near Mauje Jawalwadi. Shivram Chavan's sons did not know the whole story but feared the worst and had ostracized their father; he was ready to confess.

The Gopals are a largely illiterate, impoverished group who were once nomads making their living as cow herders and itinerant street performers. Many have since settled down to menial jobs in the fertile farming region in the shadow of the basalt crags of the Sahyadri mountain range.

As Bhise watched, people from around the area gathered in the main square of the village amid tin-roofed sheds. The teenager and her father were brought to kneel before the council.

Chavan bowed his head and admitted what he had done, Bhise recalled, and said he was ready for whatever punishment the council would give him. Then the elders turned to the teenager and began to berate her.

"They said it was the girl's fault. That the father was drunk and he was not in his senses," Bhise said. "I got angered at the whole thing. How could a girl invite such an act? The panch said, 'You're useless, you're the culprit.' She was crying."

Bhise took out his cellphone and surreptitiously began recording video as the council issued its verdict — a fine of about \$67 and a whipping of 15 "sticks" for the father, five "sticks" for the girl. They would be whipped until each of the thin tree branches broke.

Bhise took his evidence to the police, who later arrested all seven members of the council, charging them with conspiracy, extortion and assault. The father was held

on charges of child abuse.

Teen: 'I was at fault'
"It did not hurt me, because they beat me very lightly," the teenager said quietly about a month later.

She was curled up on a tarpaulin outside the place where she now lives with her brother and his family — a hut of fabric pieces stretched over bamboo poles and secured by rocks. It sits on a ridge overlooking a sweeping mountain vista.

As she spoke, the girl began to cry, tears slipping easily from her eyes. She touched the feet of a Marathi-speaking visitor, a gesture of respect, and said she has only herself to blame.

"I asked them to beat me because I was at fault," she said. "The fault was I did not tell anyone about this at home. I told them my father just held my hand. That was my mistake."

Her sister-in-law, Jaya, who was sitting with her on the tarpaulin, agreed that she had been wrong.

"If she had told them, the brothers would have beaten the father. There would have been no panchayat and the matter would have been resolved at home," she said. "If the brothers hadn't beaten him, then the sisters-in-law would have."

Now, the woman said, the girl just wants to close the case and put it behind her. Since the attack, she has been interviewed by a female police officer, undergone a medical examination, and received a small amount of money from the state's victims fund.

Last month, the state government of Maharashtra approved a measure that prohibits the gathering of village councils to impose a "social boycott," one of the most common — and devastating —

punishments. It effectively banishes an individual or family, cutting them off from communal water pumps, stores or the local temple.

Some in the Indian government have called for other states to follow suit, and the government has tightened its laws to prohibit social boycotting in some cases.

Maharashtra Chief Minister Devendra Fadnis said that he had pushed through the bill because of a rising number of disturbing cases of caste panchayats acting improperly.

"We cannot allow atrocities against any individual or groups," he said. "We will not allow parallel institutions of justice by non-state actors, and we cannot compromise on the dignity and rights of individuals."

And in April, the Gopal community decided to disband the panchayat system and take criminal matters directly to the police from then on, community leader Dilip Dinkar Jadhav said.

Marry the rapist?
For a while it seemed that the members of the panchayat, or at least the man who administered the beating, did not want to be found. A trip to his village — a few families living on a narrow dirt lane near a small yellow Hindu temple — turned up nothing.

"We don't know him," one of the neighbors said.

But after a flurry of telephone calls, Arun Jadhav agreed to meet. He appeared with Dilip Jadhav at a roadside restaurant on the area's busy National Highway 4, which is studded with expensive auto dealerships that cater to the area's prosperous farmers and white-collar workers. Arun Jadhav, 45, an illiterate trumpet player, was reserved, a Nike ball cap pulled low over his eyes. Dilip Jadhav, 45, a wedding band manager with a gold-tone watch and a neat checked shirt, had the air of a man used to sorting out problems.

Arun Jadhav, who is not directly related to Dilip Jadhav, said he had been called to the village that day to attend a memorial service for the teenager's mother that evolved into the panchayat meeting.

"Somebody asked me to take responsibility for hitting these people, and that's what I did. I had tea and then I left," he said.

Both men agreed that the teenager deserved the beating because she hid the truth about the assault.

Dilip Jadhav said it has fallen upon him to secure a future for the girl, which will be difficult.

"If something like that happened to my daughter, then we would get her married off to the rapist," he said. "We don't go to the police station. If they take the kids to the police station, everybody knows about her and she is a bigger liability. It's better if she gets married to him."

He thinks he has found a match for the teenager, though — a widower of 20, maybe 21, also a musician, whose wife recently died. Within six months, she'll be married.

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Farheen Fatima, Sangeeta Gandhi and Pragna Krishna contributed to this report.

56 hours with the Russian army, for a tour to Palmyra and a one-hour concert

WorldViews
ANDREW ROTH

PALMYRA, SYRIA — Last weekend I received a call from the Russian Foreign Ministry, offering a spot on a three-day press tour with the Russian army to Syria, exact dates and destinations TBD. There was also a special warning for American journalists coming aboard. Write negatively about us, an official said, and "this will be your first and last trip."

Russia's military is crafting a new, media-friendly (or at least media-tolerant) image. Novelties include televised briefings, a blood-pumping medley of events called the International Military Games, and a chain of clothing stores that carry patriotic leather jackets and children's T-shirts. But the Mariinsky Theatre Orchestra's rendition of Prokofiev and Bach at an ancient amphitheater recently retaken from the Islamic State militant group was by far the ministry's most ambitious press stunt to date. It was a sublime experiment in propaganda, marrying Russia's cultural heritage to its martial ambitions.

And, probably for that reason, Russia threw open the doors this time, taking journalists from The Washington Post and the New York Times, along with TV teams from CNN and BBC. Late Tuesday, more than 100 international journalists, as well as Russian reporters, packed into a Defense Ministry Ilyushin-62

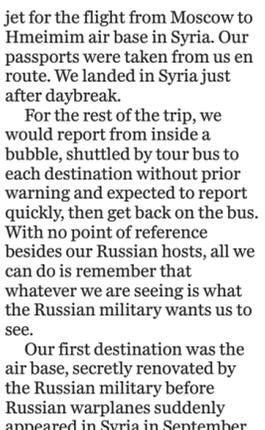
jet for the flight from Moscow to Hmeimim air base in Syria. Our passports were taken from us en route. We landed in Syria just after daybreak.

For the rest of the trip, we would report from inside a bubble, shuttled by tour bus to each destination without prior warning and expected to report quickly, then get back on the bus. With no point of reference besides our Russian hosts, all we can do is remember that whatever we are seeing is what the Russian military wants us to see.

Our first destination was the air base, secretly renovated by the Russian military before Russian warplanes suddenly appeared in Syria in September. Military personnel were standing in formation when we arrived, rehearsing for the Monday parade celebrating the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II. The timing of the rehearsal was just a coincidence, a ministry press aide told me, a theme that would repeat itself as we encountered scenes throughout our trip that seemed staged.

The base was no-frills but clean and impressive. It included a volleyball court/workout area, a tent for psychological support and another for discussing political news, a model barracks, and a mess hall for soldiers.

The visits are designed mainly for television, and we are shuffled quickly from tent to tent for the cameras to get their shots



A Russian serviceman stands guard on a rooftop in a village near Hama, Syria, as residents receive humanitarian aid packages.

and move on.

On the tarmac, we can see about one dozen fixed-wing aircraft, including Su-24 and Su-34 bombers, as well as Su-35 jet fighters. The Russian base is still humming with activity, with as many as 20 sorties a day, despite a declaration of victory by President Vladimir Putin and a drawdown order published in March.

They are flying combat missions in areas controlled by the Islamic State, Igor Konashenkov, a Russian military spokesman, tells us. About 10 planes take off during our time

on the base.

"How much more can you guys film this? Get on the bus!" one of the minders from the Defense Ministry press service yells, and we are off, traveling along the Syrian countryside and highways toward a village north of the city of Hama, where the Russian military wants to show us a reconciliation ceremony after the defeat of Jabhat al-Nusra there. When we arrive, hundreds of villagers are on the streets, bearing Syrian flags and portraits of Bashar al-Assad. We find out the name of the village, Kaukab, only when we arrive.



ANDREW ROTH/THE WASHINGTON POST

Residents give different estimates of when the town was recaptured, ranging from 1 1/2 to five months earlier. Children receive humanitarian aid from Russian troops. Inside a tent, men with their faces covered are surrendering their weapons to government troops.

One government soldier named Firas tells me that he is a Christian from Homs and that his wife and parents were beheaded by Islamist fighters. "I am alone," he says. "Now I will never stop fighting." Then, he adds, with a wicked smile: "Welcome to Syria."

We spend two hours in Kaukab and then are back on the bus. It takes us more than four hours to drive along the winding coastal roads to our hotel in Latakia, in the northwest corner of Syria. It's a five-star hotel with an enchanting view of the Mediterranean. Sitting here, it is easy to forget that the country is at war.

We sleep for a few hours, leaving the next day at 7 a.m. for Palmyra. There are rumors of a concert at Palmyra's amphitheater, and that a famous cellist named Sergei Roldugin (who owns overseas bank accounts that have served as a conduit for hundreds of millions of dollars, according to the Panama Papers leaks), who is Putin's friend, will be there.

But with no Internet and little cell service, we spend most of the seven-hour drive looking at the

passing towns for signs of life and marveling at the security measures for our trip. Access roads and intersections for dozens of miles have been closed off for our convoy, which includes Humvees and armored personnel carriers. Overhead, at least four helicopters are circling our convoy.

All this, it seems, is in preparation for the concert. In Palmyra, we are quickly led through the ruins.

We can hear outgoing fire from artillery nearby. A Russian military base, ostensibly to support a de-mining effort, has sprouted here in the past month. We are forbidden to take pictures of it.

In Palmyra's amphitheater, the Russian and Syrian elite are ready. Russian Culture Minister Vladimir Medinsky is in his seat. So are Syrian youth activists.

The concert would be broadcast into every Russian home on national television. But to reach Western households, the Kremlin needed us. The famous conductor Valery Gergiev was there. So was Roldugin.

It was all over in one hour. After some official statements, we were back on the bus for the drive back to Latakia. The following afternoon, we flew back to Moscow — 56 hours after touching down in Syria.

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May 9, 2016

INDIA'S DIVIDE | This is part of a series about oppression and violence against women in India as a rising generation collides with old social mores.

BY ANNIE GOWEN



A girl from the Northern Indian state of Haryana was one of four girls whose supporters say they were raped at the order of a panchayat, village council, as punishment to the entire community over a land dispute. (Enrico Fabian/For The Washington Post By Annie Gowen May 9, 2016)

MAUJE JAWALWADI, India — The teenage girl, dressed in pink, sits in the dirt before six community elders.

In a scene captured on a cellphone video, one of the men wags his finger angrily at her. He rages: This girl must be punished.

A villager ties her waist with rope, holding the other end, and lifts a tree branch into the air. She bows her head. The first lash comes, then another, then another. Ten in all. She lets out a wail.

Eventually the crowd starts murmuring, “Enough, enough,” although nobody moves to stop the beating. Finally, the man throws down his stick. It’s over.

She is 13 years old. Or maybe 15. Her family doesn't know for sure. She has never set foot in a school and has spent most of her life doing chores at home, occasionally begging for food and performing in her father's acrobatic show, for which she is given 20 rupees, about 30 cents.



Sube Singh Samain (center), age 60, a cotton and rice farmer and leader of an association of clan councils in Hisar, Haryana, says the councils play a valuable role in smoothing things over between families and keeping disputes out of the courts. (Enrico Fabian/For The Washington Post)

Her crime? Being too scared to tell anyone her father raped her.

India is a country of 1.2 billion people, with a growing economy, a young population and an energetic prime minister eager to sell the country on the world stage. A generation of women taking stronger roles in the workforce, in colleges and online isn't afraid to push against outdated misogyny — be it acid attacks, rape and sexual harassment, or the demeaning portrayal of women in movies and advertisements.

Yet patriarchal prejudices ingrained for centuries have been tough to shake loose despite a growing clamor for change — and continue to affect life from the village water pump to the judicial system and beyond.

Male-dominated village councils have existed in India for centuries to resolve disputes between neighbors and serve as enforcers of social mores in the country's stratified caste system. Although elected village bodies were established by the Indian government in 1992, unelected clan councils continue to operate with impunity throughout rural India, issuing their own edicts in the name of preserving harmony.

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They also intervene in cases of sexual assault — mediating resolutions between two families, attempting to smooth over devastating wounds with a few hundred rupees, and even in some cases forcing a victim to marry her rapist. Amid international outrage about the 2012 fatal gang rape of a Delhi student,

laws were passed to make it easier for rape victims to file charges. But the road to the police station is still a long one.

“In rape cases, their role is underground and not officially or publicly acknowledged,” said Jagmati Sangwan of the All India Democratic Women’s Association, a longtime critic. “They will ask the family of the victim to go for a compromise, go for mediation, and that suppresses the interests of the victim.”

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Some of the most brutal decrees have garnered international headlines. In 2014, for example, a clan council in the state of West Bengal ordered the gang rape a woman as punishment for her relationship with a man outside her tribal community — with a leader allegedly urging the council to “go enjoy the girl and have fun,” according to a police complaint.

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“You can’t have a parallel judiciary that’s completely unaccountable and gives arbitrary punishments — many of them barbaric,” said Hamid Dabholkar, the head of the advocacy group. “That is what happened in this case where the girl was beaten when she herself was a victim.”

Grim turn in a hard life

Before she died, Anusuya Chavan’s existence had been as precarious as the tightrope she walked in her husband’s acrobatic shows. For the most part, she was able to shelter her two younger daughters from their father’s rages, but eventually her own drinking and battle with tuberculosis caught up with her. She died last year.

At the time, her teenage daughter begged to go live with one of her older siblings, but the father, Shivram Yeshwant Chavan, told her no. He needed someone to cook, keep house and earn money for him.

Up until then, the girl’s life had not been easy, but there were small comforts. She had no friends, but she liked turning handstands in the dirt with her sister, Laila, 7. Or buying a snack of spicy puffed rice or kulfi, a frozen dessert, with pocket change her father slipped her.

Then one night in January, her father came home from his job playing a steel drum in a wedding band, drunk on local hooch. She was sound asleep on the ground in their home, her sister curled up tight next to her. He got down on the ground, too, and put his hand over her mouth.

Victimized again

In early March, a farmer and local labor activist named Sachin Tukaram Bhise was headed to a nearby village to find day laborers for his wheat and sugar cane farm when he heard a village council was to be called by members of the local Gopal community, near Mauje Jawalwadi. Shivram Chavan’s sons did not know the whole story but feared the worst and had ostracized their father; he was ready to confess.

The Gopals are a largely illiterate, impoverished group who were once nomads making their living as cow herders and itinerant street performers. Many have since settled down to menial jobs in the fertile farming region in the shadow of the basalt crags of the Sahyadri mountain range.

As Bhise watched, people from around the area gathered in the main square of the village amid tin-roofed sheds. The teenager and her father were brought to kneel before the council.

Chavan bowed his head and admitted what he had done, Bhise recalled, and said he was ready for whatever punishment the council would give him. Then the elders turned to the teenager and began to berate her.

“They said it was the girl’s fault. That the father was drunk and he was not in his senses,” Bhise said. “I got angered at the whole thing. How could a girl invite such an act? The panch said, ‘You’re useless, you’re the culprit.’ She was crying.”

Bhise took out his cellphone and surreptitiously began recording video as the council issued its verdict — a fine of about \$67 and a whipping of 15 “sticks” for the father, five “sticks” for the girl. They would be whipped until each of the thin tree branches broke.

Bhise took his evidence to the police, who later arrested all seven members of the council, charging them with conspiracy, extortion and assault. The father was held on charges of child abuse.

Teen: ‘I was at fault’

“It did not hurt me, because they beat me very lightly,” the teenager said quietly about a month later.

She was curled up on a tarpaulin outside the place where she now lives with her brother and his family — a hut of fabric pieces stretched over bamboo poles and secured by rocks. It sits on a ridge overlooking a sweeping mountain vista.

As she spoke, the girl began to cry, tears slipping easily from her eyes. She touched the feet of a Marathi-speaking visitor, a gesture of respect, and said she has only herself to blame.

“I asked them to beat me because I was at fault,” she said. “The fault was I did not tell anyone about this at home. I told them my father just held my hand. That was my mistake.”

Her sister-in-law, Jaya, who was sitting with her on the tarpaulin, agreed that she had been wrong. “If she had told them, the brothers would have beaten the father. There would have been no panchayat and the matter would have been resolved at home,” she said. “If the brothers hadn’t beaten him, then the sisters-in-law would have.”

Now, the woman said, the girl just wants to close the case and put it behind her. Since the attack, she has been interviewed by a female police officer, undergone a medical examination, and received a small amount of money from the state’s victims fund.

Last month, the state government of Maharashtra approved a measure that prohibits the gathering of village councils to impose a “social boycott,” one of the most common — and devastating — punishments. It effectively banishes an individual or family, cutting them off from communal water pumps, stores or the local temple.

Some in the Indian government have called for other states to follow suit, and the government has tightened its laws to prohibit social boycotting in some cases.

Maharashtra Chief Minister Devendra Fadnavis said that he had pushed through the bill because of a rising number of disturbing cases of caste panchayats acting improperly.

“We cannot allow atrocities against any individual or groups,” he said. “We will not allow parallel institutions of justice by non-state actors, and we cannot compromise on the dignity and rights of individuals.”

And in April, the Gopal community decided to disband the panchayat system and take criminal matters directly to the police from then on, community leader Dilip Dinkar Jadhav said.

Marry the rapist?

For a while it seemed that the members of the panchayat, or at least the man who administered the beating, did not want to be found. A trip to his village — a few families living on a narrow dirt lane near a small yellow Hindu temple — turned up nothing.

“We don’t know him,” one of the neighbors said.

But after a flurry of telephone calls, Arun Jadhav agreed to meet. He appeared with Dilip Jadhav at a roadside restaurant on the area’s busy National Highway 4, which is studded with expensive auto dealerships that cater to the area’s prosperous farmers and white-collar workers. Arun Jadhav, 45, an illiterate trumpet player, was reserved, a Nike ball cap pulled low over his eyes. Dilip Jadhav, 45, a wedding band manager with a gold-tone watch and a neat checked shirt, had the air of a man used to sorting out problems.

Arun Jadhav, who is not directly related to Dilip Jadhav, said he had been called to the village that day to attend a memorial service for the teenager’s mother that evolved into the panchayat meeting.

“Somebody asked me to take responsibility for hitting these people, and that’s what I did. I had tea and then I left,” he said.

Both men agreed that the teenager deserved the beating because she hid the truth about the assault.

Dilip Jadhav said it has fallen upon him to secure a future for the girl, which will be difficult.

“If something like that happened to my daughter, then we would get her married off to the rapist,” he said. “We don’t go to the police station. If they take the kids to the police station, everybody knows about her and she is a bigger liability. It’s better if she gets married to him.”

He thinks he has found a match for the teenager, though — a widower of 20, maybe 21, also a musician, whose wife recently died. Within six months, she’ll be married.

Farheen Fatima, Sangeeta Gandhe and Pragya Krishna contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

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SU V1 V2 V3 V4

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In flooded Louisiana, 'this is not the time to let our guards down'



JONATHAN BACHMAN/REUTERS

Richard Rossi and his great-grandson, Justice, search for higher ground after water entered their home in the St. Amant area. Gov. John Bel Edwards said that even though the sun was shining, it was not clear when floodwaters would recede. "We need to keep people off the streets as much as possible — do not go out sightseeing," he said. **Story, A14**

In Calif. desert, land-use plan turns allies into foes

Conservationists battle solar industry over U.S. proposal — and a tortoise

BY CHRIS MOONEY

CHUCKWALLA VALLEY, CALIF. — Just after noon on a 110-degree summer day, the 5.6-square-mile Desert Sunlight Solar Farm — the biggest of its kind erected on U.S.

federal land — is proving why this desolate spot is such a good one for harnessing the sun's rays. With few clouds above, the seemingly endless 8-million-panel array is churning out enough electricity to power 160,000 homes some 175 miles west of here in Los Angeles. "This is fairly typical, that as the sun moves through the sky, this is about the time of day that we hit that sort of number," said Steve Stengel, a spokesman for the plant's co-owner, NextEra

Energy Resources. Giant solar arrays such as Desert Sunlight not only generate vast amounts of power, but they also do not require any fuel or produce any carbon emissions — advancing the ambitious climate goals of California and the United States alike. But lately, those lofty goals have run into a more earthly reality: Large-scale solar projects require vast amounts of land, land that is home to many animal and plant species, most iconic

among them a slow-moving herbivore called the desert tortoise. The creature is so highly regarded by the conservation community, and so threatened by climate change, that groups that might otherwise regard themselves as allies of clean energy find themselves at odds with the solar industry. The two sides are squaring off over a U.S. Bureau of Land Management plan to allocate some 10 million acres of public land in the California **LAND CONTINUED ON A2**

INDIA'S DIVIDE

After 11 years, justice for a rape victim

Despite the country's stronger laws and fast-track courts, women face hurdles when reporting crimes

BY ANNIE GOWEN

LUCKNOW, INDIA — She was still a teenager when a pack of young men pulled her into a car, tortured her and gang-raped her. The young woman, now a poised student, endured more than three dozen court appearances, six separate trials and endless legal wrangling. The last of the rapists, the son of a powerful family, was convicted this past spring — 11 years after the crime. During her ordeal she was forced to leave school, was put in a home for runaway girls and even now lives with police protection out of fear that allies of the rapists could exact revenge. Her supporters say her extraordinary perseverance helped her overcome forbidding legal odds. "I decided I had a single goal," said the young woman, the daugh-



ANNIE GOWEN/THE WASHINGTON POST

A woman who was gang-raped in India as a teenager pursued her attackers in court for more than a decade. Her ordeal highlights the effect of an overburdened legal system on female crime victims. **INDIA CONTINUED ON A10**

ter of an illiterate junk dealer: "Justice." Violence against women and the number of rapes in India have risen for over a decade — more than two rapes occur every hour on average, one study says — yet activists, attorneys and officials say that female crime victims still face many barriers in the country's courts. These include poorly trained doctors, callous police, shoddy forensic practices and the delays that permeate India's judicial system — delays so disheartening that some victims lose their nerve or settle with attackers' families. In recent years, India has responded by toughening its rape law and creating fast-track courts to speed prosecution of rape cases and other crimes against women. But these new courts have their **INDIA CONTINUED ON A10**

CAMPAIGN 2016

Trump calls for 'extreme vetting'

NEW TEST FOR MUSLIM VISITORS, MIGRANTS

In Ohio, mogul offers few details but uses softer tone

BY KAREN DEYOUNG

Donald Trump called Monday for a Cold War-style mobilization against "radical Islamic terror," repeating and repackaging calls for strict immigration controls — including a new ideological litmus test for Muslim visitors and migrants — and blaming the current level of worldwide terrorist attacks on President Obama and Hillary Clinton.

In a grab bag of promises to battle the Islamic State organization together with Russia and anyone else who wants to join the fight, the Republican nominee underlined the need to improve intelligence and shut down militant propaganda, recruiting and financing.

But he provided few specifics on how he would expand such efforts beyond those already underway.

"My administration will aggressively pursue joint and coalition military operations to crush and destroy ISIS," Trump said in a speech in Youngstown, Ohio, using an acronym for the Islamic State. "International cooperation



PATRICK T. FALLON/BLOOMBERG NEWS

Monday's developments

Litmus test: Donald Trump called for a new ideological screening of Muslim visitors and migrants.

Joining forces: He promised to battle ISIS with anyone else who wants to join the fight.

Corruption probe: Campaign manager Paul Manafort, above, denied getting improper payments from Ukrainians. **Story, A3**

to cut off their funding, expanded intelligence sharing and cyberwarfare to disrupt and disable their propaganda and recruiting ... It's got to be stopped."

The speech was one in a series of prepared remarks the Republican **TRUMP CONTINUED ON A7**

NATIONAL SECURITY

Retired general's fiery support of Trump raises eyebrows

BY DANA PRIEST AND GREG MILLER

In campaign appearances for Donald Trump, retired Lt. Gen. Michael T. Flynn has cast the presidential race as a continuation of the career he spent battling dangerous enemies in distant wars.

"The enemy camp in this case is Hillary Rodham Clinton," he said at a rally in Florida this month, pointing his thumbs down in disgust. "This is a person who does not know the difference between a lie and the truth. ... She is somebody who will leave Americans behind on the battlefield."

As chants of "Lock her up!" rose from the crowd, Flynn nodded with enthusiasm and said he was "so proud, standing up here, to be an American."

It was a jarring moment in a race full of them — a retired three-star general comparing a presidential candidate to the al-Qaeda militants he faced in **FLYNN CONTINUED ON A14**



Michael Flynn

ON CLINTON'S WATCH

Missteps by U.S., Iraq sank plan to stabilize nation once troops left

BY JEFF GERTH PROPUBLICA AND JOBY WARRICK

A week before the last U.S. soldiers left his country in December 2011, Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki traveled to Washington to meet the team that would help shape Iraq's future once the troops and tanks were gone.

Over dinner at Blair House, guest quarters for elite White House visitors since the 1940s, the dour Iraqi sipped tea while Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke of how her department's civilian experts could help Iraqis avoid a return to terrorism and sectarian bloodshed.

Iraq would see a "robust civilian presence," Clinton told reporters afterward, summing up the Obama administration's pledges to Maliki. "We are working to achieve that," she said.

Less than three years later, the relatively calm Iraq that Maliki had led in 2011 was gone. The country's government was in crisis, its U.S.-trained army humiliated and a third of its territory overrun by fighters from the Islamic State. Meanwhile, State **IRAQ CONTINUED ON A4**

A Cheney runs in time of Trump Liz Cheney is trying to win her father's former House seat in Wyoming in a different GOP. **A3**

Making the case to spend now Trump echoed others by pushing for investing in U.S. infrastructure while interest rates remain low. **A8**

IN THE NEWS



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

A close second Allyson Felix, who was favored to win gold, was edged at the finish line in the 400 meters, settling for silver. **D1**

'We want justice' Hundreds attended the New York funeral for a slain Muslim imam and his associate. A suspect has been charged. **A7**

THE NATION

Protests continued in Milwaukee following a fatal police shooting, though the unrest did not reach levels seen Saturday night. **A2** **The Obama administration** transferred 15 detainees from the U.S. military prison at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, to the United Arab Emirates. **A3** **Rep. Linda T. Sánchez** (D-Calif.), who leads the largest Hispanic coalition in Congress, urged aspiring female politicians to go for it. **A11**

THE WORLD **The militant group** al-

Shabab remains active in East Africa and poses a wider regional threat, a new report said. **A6** **Ban Ki-moon's** birthplace in South Korea is awash in tributes and abuzz with speculation he'll run for president. **A6** **An airstrike** by a U.S.-backed Saudi-led coalition struck a Doctors Without Borders hospital in Yemen. **A7**

THE ECONOMY **When Apple CEO** Tim Cook was ready to publicly come out as gay, he took a page from CNN anchor Anderson Cooper's playbook. **A9** **Electric vehicles** could

handle most daily car trips on one charge, said a study that analyzed U.S. driving habits. **A10**

THE REGION

Maryland regulators chose dozens of businesses to grow and process marijuana for medical use. **B1** **Metro must take** significant steps to address the continuing problem of red-signal-overrun incidents, a federal report stated. **B1** **Business executive** Jeffrey E. Thompson was sentenced to three months behind bars for illegally financing Vincent C. Gray's 2010 D.C. mayoral bid. **B1** **A slain D.C. woman's**

family waited nearly 20 years to "get justice," which was delivered in the form of a prison sentence for her killer. **B1** **A foundation** has acquired a farm in Virginia to provide fruits and vegetables to some of the District's poorest neighborhoods. **B2** **The body of a sixth victim** was found in the rubble of a Silver Spring apartment building ravaged by a fire and explosion last week. **B3**

STYLE **Comedy Central's** cancellation of "The Nightly Show With Larry Wilmore" after 18 months was abrupt but hardly surprising. **C1**

INSIDE



HEALTH & SCIENCE

Aging well Solo boomers can figure out how with help from friends and planning. **E1**

STYLE

A golden ticket? Some medalists go on to fame, but most return to their normal lives. **C1**

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Electric cars could handle most daily trips on one charge, study shows

BY CHRIS MOONEY

Even as electric vehicles appear to be growing in popularity — witness the stunning sales for Tesla's Model 3 this year — there remains a persistent skeptical argument.

It's this: Drivers are far from overcoming "range anxiety," the fear that their batteries could run out of charge, leaving them stranded far from a recharging station.

Yet a new study published Monday in the journal *Nature Energy* by researchers from MIT and the Santa Fe Institute goes a long way toward addressing this concern. The research, based on a vast analysis of second-by-second U.S. driving patterns and other data, finds that in a surprisingly large number of daily-driving cases, range anxiety may be overblown.

"What we found was that 87 percent of vehicles on the road could be replaced by a low-cost electric vehicle available today, even if there's no possibility to recharge during the day," said Jessica Trancik, a researcher with MIT's Institute for Data, Systems, and Society who was the study's senior author.

Researchers analyzed huge set of data on U.S. driving patterns

Granted, even the remaining 13 percent of daily car energy use that exceeds a single battery's capacity could be enough to drive lingering resistance to electric vehicle adoption, since nobody wants to find themselves out of power on the road.

Still, it's hard to understate the importance of vanquishing this concern, because several other factors already tilt decidedly in favor of electric vehicles.

For instance, research has suggested that while there are a number of regional variations, it is greener to drive on electricity than on gasoline, in terms of the resulting emissions from power plants and vehicles.

The new study is a modeling exercise based on an enormous amount of very fine-grained data. Such data is necessary because precisely how much energy an electric vehicle uses — and thus, how quickly it depletes its battery — depends not only on the dis-



JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

Electric cars, like this Tesla, are becoming more popular, but "range anxiety" — the fear of running out of battery life — persists.

tance driven but also on subtle factors such as the ambient temperature, the time spent idling and how rapidly the driver accelerates.

The study thus combined hourly temperature data in different U.S. regions, survey data about trip lengths, empirical data on the fuel economy of different cars, and GPS-derived data on the speeds of vehicles and how they vary on a second-by-second basis.

The study assumed a modestly priced electric vehicle, the 2013 Nissan Leaf, and daily charging overnight.

That 2013 model is worth bearing in mind — the study noted that over time, as vehicle batteries improve and become cheaper, ranges should continue to expand and the daily driving that can be accomplished on a single charge should only increase.

"Most trips can be made in an

EV with current battery size," Willett Kempton, of the University of Delaware's Center for Carbon-Free Power Integration, wrote in an accompanying commentary on the study, "and an even higher fraction could be made, if the battery size target set by the Advanced Research Projects Agency-Energy (ARPA-E) is met."

A striking thing about the study is that it didn't find much regional variability in the key result — that about 87 percent of daily car trips can be accomplished on one charge of an electric vehicle's battery.

"It really varies only from 84 to 93 percent across very different kinds of U.S. cities," Trancik said. "And so, that's important because it means that there's a high potential for electrification, not just in dense urban areas, but in sprawling cities."

Granted, in real life, there are many limitations that prevent suddenly swapping out large numbers of current vehicles for electric ones.

Not everybody has access to a vehicle charging station at night, for instance — consider apartment dwellers who park on the street. Moreover, even if we can

get where we need to go on an average day with an electric vehicle, it's in the back of our minds that we may need our cars for longer distances, too — like a vacation road trip.

That's one reason the Obama administration recently laid out plans to greatly increase the number of charging stations across the country, to try to make faster, more frequent charging possible.

Trancik has not ignored the potential logistical problems. For instance, she says the research points to the need to develop robust car sharing for gas-fueled vehicles, so that people know those are available in a pinch for longer distances.

The study finds that a transition to electric vehicles could drastically cut emissions from the U.S. transportation sector.

"If that 90 percent adoption potential was reached, then one could replace about 60 percent of gasoline consumption," Trancik said, and even though "that would only reduce emissions about 30 percent," that's "still a very significant number."

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More at washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment

Legal hurdles remain high for female rape victims in India

INDIA FROM A1

own delays — and in some states, strikingly low conviction rates.

In April, when the last of the gang rapists in the case was convicted and sentenced to 10 years in prison, the victim put on a pink sari and fed sweets to her joyous family and the activists who supported her during years of demanding action. But the journey is not over.

"I have thought about this continuously," the young woman said recently. "Why did they do this to me? Why did they ruin my life — just because they had money and I'm poor?"

Kidnapped from the street

The victim, about age 13, was walking home from her job as a housemaid with her younger brother one rainy night in 2005 when a car with tinted windows pulled up. Four young men — who ranged in age from about 17 to 19 — were drunk and looking for a girl, one of them later told police. Two got out of the car, forced her in and drove away, ignoring the frightened cries of her brother.

For several hours, the victim said, the young men held her down and tortured her — sodomizing her with a gun and burning her repeatedly with a cigarette lighter. Others joined when they arrived at a remote plot of land, taking her to a dusty workshop ringed by eucalyptus trees, where she was raped on a wooden pallet. Police later recovered strands of her hair, her panties and her sandals at the scene, on land they said was owned by the powerful political family of the alleged ringleader, Gaurav Shukla.

Uttar Pradesh, the northern Indian state where the attack occurred, has a population of more than 200 million, about the same as Brazil. It is poor, deeply patriarchal and criticized for its thuggish political culture, the "Goonda Raj." Instances of reported rape have increased faster in the state than in the rest of India in recent years, with the number of rapes more than doubling between 2014 and 2015. The leader of its governing political party, Mulayam Singh Yadav, caused a stir two years ago when he suggested that rapists should not be given the death penalty. "These are boys," he said, "they make mistakes."

Shukla was 18, cocky, the "destroyed son of a rich man," as one of his neighbors put it. His attorney says that he was not involved but confirms that he faces separate charges of attempted murder and conspiracy — including a case still pending in what is known as "Gangster Court."

Shukla's brother, a lawyer, declined to comment on behalf of the family. After the assault, the young men dropped the teen on the side of the road, threw down a 20-rupee bill (worth about 30 cents) and drove away. She could barely walk, but eventually found some village women and asked for help. She was in such bad shape that the women first thought she was a ghost.

"I said, 'I'm not a ghost, I'm human, please help me,'" she recalled.

R.K.S. Rathore, the deputy inspector general of police in Lucknow, said he has not forgotten his first sight of the bleeding, limping teen when she was brought to the police station a few hours later.

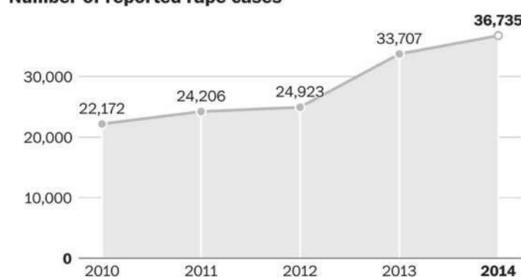
"It was quite evident she had



ANNIE GOWEN/THE WASHINGTON POST

India's new fast-track courts for victims of rape and other crimes have not eliminated prolonged delays in cases because of overall problems in the legal system, including files that have not been digitized.

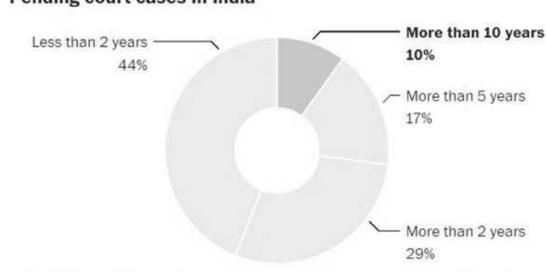
Number of reported rape cases



Early reports for 2015 suggest India has experienced a decrease in the number of reported rapes.

Source: National Crime Records Bureau in India

Pending court cases in India



Source: National Judicial Data Grid

THE WASHINGTON POST

been brutally handled," Rathore said.

The victim had support from the police early on as well as from her father, a white-bearded scrap dealer named Sabruddin, who was outraged at what his daughter had gone through.

In this, she was lucky: Many families don't report rapes for fear it will bring dishonor upon them. And police have long discouraged women from filing complaints out of indifference or a desire to keep crime statistics down, although that is changing with new laws.

The victim was taken to a nearby emergency room where a doctor noted cuts and abrasions and referred her to a female physician for a rape exam.

Although the victim was hospitalized a day later because of excessive vaginal bleeding and would continue to bleed for weeks afterward, the female physician wrote in her report that there was no bleeding and did not mention

the burns on her body obvious to police and her family. She noted that the girl's hymen was no longer intact but concluded that "no definite opinion about rape" could be given.

Many rape cases are hampered by poorly trained doctors, sloppy evidence gathering and a dearth of forensic labs, experts say. Sexual-assault examination guidelines for doctors were established only in 2014.

The doctor also performed what is known as the "two-finger test," a once-routine practice in rape exams where two fingers are used to determine the pliability of the hymen. The exam has long been used by defense attorneys as evidence that a victim had an alleged prior sexual history, although courts have said that should have no bearing. This "blame the victim" mentality long outraged human rights groups.

Although new medical guidelines for doctors forbid its use and

the Supreme Court outlawed the two-finger test in 2013, "that is still being done," according to Lalitha Kumaramangalam, the chair of the National Commission for Women.

Stress on the family

One recent evening, the victim and her parents sat in the front room of their modest concrete house in a lower-class neighborhood of Lucknow, sipping gingery tea and nibbling hot jalebi sweets. An occasional train thundered past. As darkness fell, a single lightbulb gleamed above.

"In the past 11 years there was not one single day we enjoyed life happily," said her mother, who still speaks the regional language of the eastern state of Assam, where they farmed before floods washed away their land and they moved to the city.

The mother still can't speak without crying about the days and nights following the attack on her daughter, how the family was threatened and urged to drop the case by Shukla's supporters, how her daughter was taken from her and put into protective custody, locked in a facility for runaway girls for nearly 18 months, permitted to see her parents just a few times a month.

Police eventually arrested Shukla and five accomplices that summer, tying them to the attack with the aid of a tipster and cellphone records, Rathore said. Two men were convicted in the case in 2007, and a third in 2013. Two juveniles spent time in detention facilities and later died in separate road accidents.

Meanwhile, Shukla and his attorneys waged a lengthy legal battle to prove that he was a juvenile rather than an adult at the time of the crime. As the years wore on, they were repeatedly admonished for not showing up to court, calling in sick and other excuses.

Defense attorneys often drag out trials to avoid jail time for their clients, according to Padm Kirti, a lawyer and legal writer in Lucknow. Bar associations cause delays by refusing to work on minor religious holidays or by going on strike. The system favors those who can afford pricey lawyers; meanwhile, the victim's family

had to sell its two buffaloes and solicit donations to pay its legal costs.

In her long wait for justice, the victim was not alone. The average lower-court trial in India takes more than six years, according to Daksh, a civil society organization in Bangalore that analyzes the Indian legal system, and can stretch even longer with High Court and Supreme Court appeals. In U.S. state courts, by contrast, various studies have found that the median time between arrest and adjudication for all felonies is about 110 days; for rape, about 250 days.

The system in India is clogged with rape-charge cases filed by families simply trying to save face when their daughters elope, or who are angry that a man broke a marriage promise. These take time and resources from actual victims.

A life on hold

As the case wore on, India was changing. Millions of young women were taking new jobs in an expanding economy, buying mobile phones and joining social media — venting their frustration over the gender violence and patriarchal attitudes that seemed to be holding India back.

The victim said she felt that she remained frozen, her life on hold. When would she go back to a normal school, go to the market and eat street snacks, giggle with girlfriends? Meanwhile, Shukla had a lavish wedding, and a son.

"Everybody knows about the case, people from my neighborhood," she said. "At the same time I've lost my dignity, I've lost my childhood, he's living a happily married life."

Then came 2012 and the devastating fatal gang rape of a New Delhi college student on a bus, which prompted protests and outrage around the world and forced India to begin confronting, at last, the ubiquity of sexual assault. In its wake, the government tightened laws on rape, sexual harassment and human trafficking and set aside \$289 million for rape crisis centers, help lines and special investigators. More than three-quarters of that has now been spent, according to a government report.

Protests continued, and a year later, hundreds of women were on the streets of Lucknow, agitating for women's justice — including fast-track courts and a trial in the Shukla case.

In January 2015, the court referred the case to one of the new fast-track courts, among nearly 400 set up across the country.

But even then things did not go smoothly. Shukla's attorneys continued to miss hearings. Two were rescheduled because the bar association had ordered a strike. In May last year, the entire court file mysteriously went missing, reappearing months later.

"The process in the fast-track courts is still slow," said Bulbul Godiyal, the additional advocate general for Uttar Pradesh. "They are more effective than regular courts," she said, but because of the overall problems in the system, "prolonged delays still occur."

The state's Legal Services Authority estimates that the conviction rate in these courts is low — a mere 5 to 10 percent, less than half the national rate for crimes against women.

The victim came face to face with her attacker in court in December, a few days after the trial

finally began. She had not seen him for years. He had grown a mustache. His body had filled out. He had become a man.

When she testified a few weeks later, she became so emotional that she became sick and vomited. Court was adjourned.

Starting again

With the encouragement of the women's advocates who assisted in her case, the victim managed to resume her education at an alternative school and complete 11th grade.

She had tried to enroll in ninth grade in a regular school, but dropped out because she felt ashamed when people pointed, stared and referred to her as "the rape girl." She wants to be free of it, this case that has consumed half her life.

Now in her mid-20s, she is entering 12th grade and dreams of becoming a judge or maybe marrying a young man from Assam.

"He would have to know about what happened, accept me, then never mention it again," she said with a slight smile.

A local advocate who helped the victim said she rarely got discouraged during her long battle.

"She is remarkable," said Madhu Garg, an activist with the All India Democratic Women's Association in Lucknow. "The case dragged on for so long, but the strength of her character and her determination helped us win."

A daily computer class in a nearby storefront is the victim's salvation. There, no one knows her history, and she makes it a point to keep it that way, giving her police guards the slip when she heads out.

"When this incident happened I was scared of boys," she said. "But the boys I have been studying with give me respect; they say 'hi,' 'hello' and help me if I don't understand something in English."

The young women gossip and giggle, and although she hasn't joined in yet maybe she will soon. "I am feeling a lot lighter now," she said.

The verdict

The trial concluded in February, paving the way for Shukla's conviction April 13. A few days later, he was charged with forging a high school certificate that said he was a minor at the time of the rape.

The man had been a familiar sight at the courthouse, turning up in designer sunglasses and blazers for his court appointments, driven in a government car, his "chamchas" — Hindi slang for henchmen — by his side. But the day the judge pronounced him guilty, Shukla hid his face with a white towel, sweaty and shaken.

His attorney, Gopal Narain Mishra, said that he is appealing because the prosecution pinned its case on the testimony of the victim alone and presented no physical evidence tying his client to the crime.

"This is a false conviction and an unsustainable case," he said. "Gaurav Shukla is not involved."

For the victim, Shukla's conviction provided a measure of relief. "After all these years, the wait is finally over," she said.

Shukla could still be freed on bail while he awaits his appeal. The case could drag on for years.

annie.gowen@washpost.com

Farheen Fatima, Alka Pande and Prayga Krishna contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

August 15, 2016

INDIA'S DIVIDE | This is part of a series about oppression and violence against women in India as a rising generation collides with old social mores.



Courts in India are overburdened, with rampant judge shortages and 22 million pending cases — some taking 10 or more years to complete. In one case, a woman who was gang-raped in 2005, when she was a teenager, waited 11 years for a guilty verdict for the ringleader in the case, and it's not over yet. The young woman, pictured above, is now in her 20s. (Annie Gowen/The Washington Post)

She was raped at 13. Her case has been in India's courts for 11 years — and counting.

BY ANNIE GOWEN

LUCKNOW, INDIA — She was still a teenager when a pack of young men pulled her into a car, tortured her and gang-raped her.

The young woman, now a poised student, endured more than three dozen court appearances, six separate trials and endless legal wrangling.

The last of the rapists, the son of a powerful family, was convicted this past spring — 11 years after the crime. During her ordeal she was forced to leave school, was put in a home for runaway girls and even now lives with police protection out of fear that allies of the rapists could exact revenge.

Her supporters say her extraordinary perseverance helped her overcome forbidding legal odds.

“I decided I had a single goal,” said the young woman, the daughter of an illiterate junk dealer: “Justice.”

Violence against women and the number of rapes in India have risen for over a decade — more than two rapes occur every hour on average, one study says — yet activists, attorneys and officials say that female crime victims still face many barriers in the country’s courts. These include poorly trained doctors, callous police, shoddy forensic practices and the delays that permeate India’s judicial system — delays so disheartening that some victims lose their nerve or settle with attackers’ families.

In recent years, India has responded by toughening its rape law and creating fast-track courts to speed prosecution of rape cases and other crimes against women. But these new courts have their own delays — and in some states, strikingly low conviction rates.

In April, when the last of the gang rapists in the case was convicted and sentenced to 10 years in prison, the victim put on a pink sari and fed sweets to her joyous family and the activists who supported her during years of demanding action. But the journey is not over.

“I have thought about this continuously,” the young woman said recently. “Why did they do this to me? Why did they ruin my life — just because they had money and I’m poor?”

Kidnapped from the street

The victim, about age 13, was walking home from her job as a housemaid with her younger brother one rainy night in 2005 when a car with tinted windows pulled up. Four young men — who ranged in age from about 17 to 19 — were drunk and looking for a girl, one of them later told police. Two got out of the car, forced her in and drove away, ignoring the frightened cries of her brother.

For several hours, the victim said, the young men held her down and tortured her — sodomizing her with a gun and burning her repeatedly with a cigarette lighter. Others joined when they arrived at a remote plot of land, taking her to a dusty workshop ringed by eucalyptus trees, where she was raped on a wooden pallet. Police later recovered strands of her hair, her panties and her sandals at the scene, on land they said was owned by the powerful political family of the alleged ringleader, Gaurav Shukla.

Uttar Pradesh, the northern Indian state where the attack occurred, has a population of more than 200 million, about the same as Brazil. It is poor, deeply patriarchal and criticized for its thuggish political culture, the “Goonda Raj.” Instances of reported rape have increased faster in the state than in the rest of India in recent years, with the number of rapes more than doubling between 2014 and 2015. The leader of its governing political party, Mulayam Singh Yadav, caused

a stir two years ago when he suggested that rapists should not be given the death penalty. “These are boys,” he said, “they make mistakes.”

Shukla was 18, cocky, the “destroyed son of a rich man,” as one of his neighbors put it. His attorney says that he was not involved but confirms that he faces separate charges of attempted murder and conspiracy — including a case still pending in what is known as “Gangster Court.” Shukla’s brother, a lawyer, declined to comment on behalf of the family.

After the assault, the young men dropped the teen on the side of the road, threw down a 20-rupee bill (worth about 30 cents) and drove away. She could barely walk, but eventually found some village women and asked for help. She was in such bad shape that the women first thought she was a ghost. “I said, ‘I’m not a ghost, I’m human, please help me,’ ” she recalled.

R.K.S. Rathore, the deputy inspector general of police in Lucknow, said he has not forgotten his first sight of the bleeding, limping teen when she was brought to the police station a few hours later. “It was quite evident she had been brutally handled,” Rathore said.

The victim had support from the police early on as well as from her father, a white-bearded scrap dealer named Sabruddin, who was outraged at what his daughter had gone through.

In this, she was lucky: Many families don’t report rapes for fear it will bring dishonor upon them. And police have long discouraged women from filing complaints out of indifference or a desire to keep crime statistics down, although that is changing with new laws.

The victim was taken to a nearby emergency room where a doctor noted cuts and abrasions and referred her to a female physician for a rape exam.

Although the victim was hospitalized a day later because of excessive vaginal bleeding and would continue to bleed for weeks afterward, the female physician wrote in her report that there was no bleeding and did not mention the burns on her body obvious to police and her family. She noted that the girl’s hymen was no longer intact but concluded that “no definite opinion about rape” could be given.

Many rape cases are hampered by poorly trained doctors, sloppy evidence gathering and a dearth of forensic labs, experts say. Sexual-assault examination guidelines for doctors were established only in 2014.

The doctor also performed what is known as the “two-finger test,” a once-routine practice in rape exams where two fingers are used to determine the pliability of the hymen. The exam has long been used by defense attorneys as evidence that a victim had an alleged prior sexual history, although courts have said that should have no bearing. This “blame the victim” mentality long outraged human rights groups.

Although new medical guidelines for doctors forbid its use and the Supreme Court outlawed the two-finger test in 2013, “that is still being done,” according to Lalitha Kumaramangalam, the chair of the National Commission for Women.



Many court files are not digitized, leading to huge stacks like this one in a law office in Lucknow. (Annie Gowen/The Washington Post)

Stress on the family

One recent evening, the victim and her parents sat in the front room of their modest concrete house in a lower-class neighborhood of Lucknow, sipping gingery tea and nibbling hot jalebi sweets. An occasional train thundered past. As darkness fell, a single lightbulb gleamed above.

“In the past 11 years there was not one single day we enjoyed life happily,” said her mother, who still speaks the regional language of the eastern state of Assam, where they farmed before floods washed away their land and they moved to the city.

The mother still can’t speak without crying about the days and nights following the attack on her daughter, how the family was threatened and urged to drop the case by Shukla’s supporters, how her daughter was taken from her and put into protective custody, locked in a facility for runaway girls for nearly 18 months, permitted to see her parents just a few times a month.

Police eventually arrested Shukla and five accomplices that summer, tying them to the attack with the aid of a tipster and cellphone records, Rathore said. Two men were convicted in the case in 2007, and a third in 2013. Two juveniles spent time in detention facilities and later died in separate road accidents.

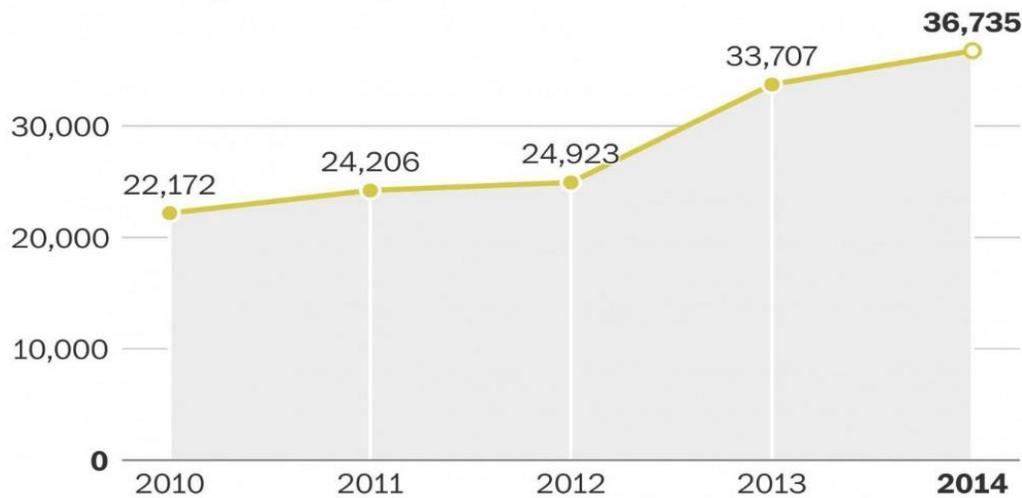
Meanwhile, Shukla and his attorneys waged a lengthy legal battle to prove that he was a juvenile rather than an adult at the time of the crime. As the years wore on, they were repeatedly admonished for not showing up to court, calling in sick and other excuses.

Defense attorneys often drag out trials to avoid jail time for their clients, according to Padm Kirti, a lawyer and legal writer in Lucknow. Bar associations cause delays by refusing to work on minor religious holidays or by going on strike. The system favors those who can afford pricey lawyers; meanwhile, the victim's family had to sell its two buffaloes and solicit donations to pay its legal costs.

In her long wait for justice, the victim was not alone. The average lower-court trial in India takes more than six years, according to Daksh, a civil society organization in Bangalore that analyzes the Indian legal system, and can stretch even longer with High Court and Supreme Court appeals. In U.S. state courts, by contrast, various studies have found that the median time between arrest and adjudication for all felonies is about 110 days; for rape, about 250 days.

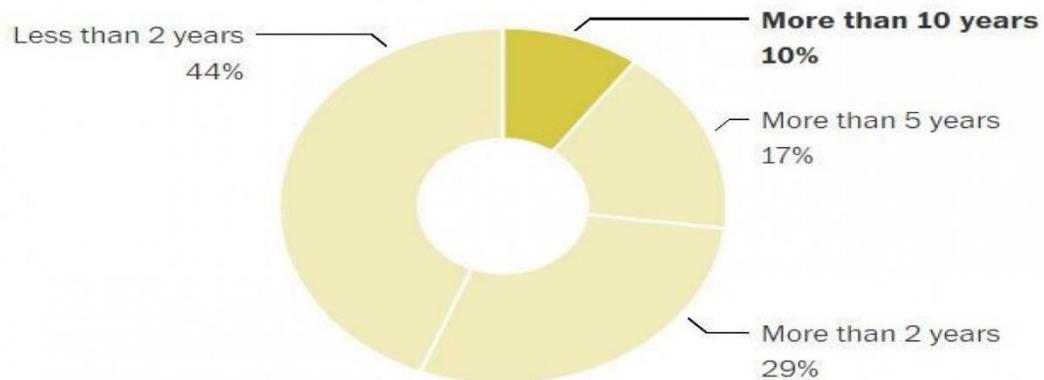
The system in India is clogged with rape-charge cases filed by families simply trying to save face when their daughters elope, or who are angry that a man broke a marriage promise. These take time and resources from actual victims.

Number of reported rape cases



Early reports for 2015 suggest India has experienced a decrease in the number of reported rapes.

Pending court cases in India



Source: National Judicial Data Grid

THE WASHINGTON POST

A life on hold

As the case wore on, India was changing. Millions of young women were taking new jobs in an expanding economy, buying mobile phones and joining social media — venting their frustration over the gender violence and patriarchal attitudes that seemed to be holding India back.

The victim said she felt that she remained frozen, her life on hold. When would she go back to a normal school, go to the market and eat street snacks, giggle with girlfriends? Meanwhile, Shukla had a lavish wedding, and a son.

“Everybody knows about the case, people from my neighborhood,” she said. “At the same time I’ve lost my dignity, I’ve lost my childhood, he’s living a happily married life.”

Then came 2012 and the devastating fatal gang rape of a New Delhi college student on a bus, which prompted protests and outrage around the world and forced India to begin confronting, at last, the ubiquity of sexual assault. In its wake, the government tightened laws on rape, sexual harassment and human trafficking and set aside \$289 million for rape crisis centers, help lines and special investigators. More than three-quarters of that has not been spent, according to a government report.

Protests continued, and a year later, hundreds of women were on the streets of Lucknow, agitating for women’s justice — including fast-track courts and a trial in the Shukla case.

In January 2015, the court referred the case to one of the new fast-track courts, among nearly 400 set up across the country.

But even then things did not go smoothly. Shukla’s attorneys continued to miss hearings. Two were rescheduled because the bar association had ordered a strike. In May last year, the entire court file mysteriously went missing, reappearing months later.

“The process in the fast-track courts is still slow,” said Bulbul Godiyal, the additional advocate general for Uttar Pradesh. “They are more effective than regular courts,” she said, but because of the overall problems in the system, “prolonged delays still occur.”

The state’s Legal Services Authority estimates that the conviction rate in these courts is low — a mere 5 to 10 percent, less than half the national rate for crimes against women.

The victim came face to face with her attacker in court in December, a few days after the trial finally began. She had not seen him for years. He had grown a mustache. His body had filled out. He had become a man.

When she testified a few weeks later, she became so emotional that she became sick and vomited. Court was adjourned.

Starting again

With the encouragement of the women’s advocates who assisted in her case, the victim managed to resume her education at an alternative school and complete 11th grade.

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The young women gossip and giggle, and although she hasn’t joined in yet maybe she will soon. “I am feeling a lot lighter now,” she said.



Gaurav Shukla after he was convicted in the gang-rape case in a fast-track court in Lucknow, India, on April 13. (Ajay Kumar/The Times Of India Group)

The Verdict

The trial concluded in February, paving the way for Shukla’s conviction April 13. A few days later, he was charged with forging a high school certificate that said he was a minor at the time of the rape.

The man had been a familiar sight at the courthouse, turning up in designer sunglasses and blazers for his court appointments, driven in a government car, his “chamchas” — Hindi slang for

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Farheen Fatima, Alka Pande and Pragya Krisha contributed to this report.

India now has nearly 400 fast-track courts for rape cases. But ‘fast’ is a relative term.



In one rape case in India, a 13-year-old girl who was gang-raped waited 11 years for a guilty verdict. Even though it came in a new fast-track court, the case is not over. The victim's lawyer, Jalaj Gupta, stands in front of the courthouse. (Annie Gowen/The Washington Post)

By Annie Gowen August 15, 2016

NEW DELHI — Fast-track courts set up in India to speed prosecution of rape cases have not had the dramatic impact that advocates hoped for, interviews show. India toughened its rape and sexual violence law three years ago after a brutal gang rape led to widespread outcry and a national debate about violence against women. It also launched an effort to fast-track rape cases and other crimes against women mired in the country's overburdened judicial system, with 399 courts around the country.

Interviews with lawyers, activists and prosecutors show the quality and success of the courts, which are administered by the states, vary widely. Some reported that trials referred to the fast-track system were concluding more quickly, while others said they did not see an improvement.

Others described proceedings bogged down from long waits for forensic evidence, police reports and repeated adjournments, with witnesses turning hostile and refusing to testify because they have settled the matter with the family of a suspect.

According to an amendment to Indian rape law, rape cases must be heard daily and be concluded within two months after charges are filed.

“The fast-track courts are functional, but they don’t exclusively try only women’s cases, even the ones that were meant to try just those, because the caseload is so huge,” said Vikas Saini, a probation officer in the state of Haryana. Saini said that disposal rates have increased, but “it really depends on the investigation and the police.”

The country’s capital of New Delhi, which has more rapes than any city, has a backlog of 3,487 cases in its fast-track courts, officials said, with some cases languishing for three years. There were 127 guilty verdicts in 2015, which made up 14 percent of judgments.

In the southern state of Kerala, Aleyamma Vijayan of the Sakhi Women’s Resource Center said that many rape cases remained backlogged, including some that are 10 to 12 years old.

Law and Justice Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad said, however, that the courts are having a positive impact: The national conviction rate for rape cases rose a percentage point to 28 percent between 2013 to 2014, according to the most recent National Crime Records Bureau report.

A study of 10 fast-track rape courts in the southern state of Karnataka by the Center for Law and Policy Research in Bangalore told a different story. Courts there returned a 17 percent conviction rate, lower than the national average. The study found that 80 percent of acquittals happened because witnesses recanted their testimony, in part because there was little police protection for them. Nor was there additional training for judges and prosecutors or dedicated courtrooms.

“What we found surprising was there was nothing that distinguished these courts in any way from regular courts,” said Jayna Kothari, one of the study’s authors. “There’s no use setting these up these courts if there’s no way to differentiate them from the rest of the criminal justice system.”

This was not the first time India has turned to fast-track courts to address the woes of its court system, plagued by judge shortages, unruly lawyers and aging infrastructure. The country’s first effort at fast-tracking cleared more than 3 million cases but lost steam because of funding cuts in 2011. Critics said that the courts provided a quick fix but there were better ways of addressing the system’s failures, such as adding more judges.

India plans to spend \$615 million in the next five years for 1,800 fast-track courts for women, children, the elderly and other vulnerable populations, officials said.

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

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CAMPAIGN 2016

Trump's foundation may lack N.Y. status

Attorney general says it didn't obtain certification required to solicit money

BY DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD

Donald Trump's charitable foundation — which has been sustained for years by donors outside the Trump family — has never obtained the certification that New York requires before charities can solicit money from the public, according to the state attorney general's office.

Under the laws in New York, where the Donald J. Trump Foundation is based, any charity that solicits more than \$25,000 a year from the public must obtain a special kind of registration beforehand. Charities as large as Trump's must also submit to a rigorous annual audit that asks — among other things — whether the charity spent any money for the personal benefit of its officers.

If New York Attorney General Eric Schneiderman (D) finds that Trump's foundation raised money in violation of the law, he could order the charity to stop raising money immediately. With a court's permission, Schneiderman could also force Trump to return money that his foundation has already raised.

The Trump campaign did not respond to a request for comment Thursday.

Schneiderman's office declined to comment on whether it was investigating the lack of registration for the Trump Foundation. Schneiderman had previously launched an investigation of the foundation in the wake of reports

TRUMP CONTINUED ON A6

Trump digs up Bill Clinton's past

Some question the wisdom of revisiting sex scandals. A6

Did Trump break embargo?

The GOP nominee could be hurt by expenditures in Cuba in 1998. A6

Women in India often must fight for property rights.



Leena Sharma confronted her uncle in a land dispute.



TOP: COURTESY OF SAAD BIN WAQAS, ABOVE: ANNIE GOWEN/THE WASHINGTON POST

In a patriarchal society, she paid with her life

BY ANNIE GOWEN IN SOHAGPUR, INDIA

It was her land, she said, and she was tired of her uncle planting his wheat and grazing his cows on her property without paying rent.

So in April, Leena Sharma traveled from her home in New Delhi to her ancestral village in central India to confront her uncle, a powerful community leader. She planned to build a fence to keep him off her 37 acres — and eventually sell the property.

It was a bold move in a country where patriarchy remains deeply ingrained and where women have long been denied the legal right to own land. For Sharma, the consequences of asserting her property rights would prove deadly. First she disappeared. Then her half-naked corpse was

TOP: Leena Sharma had a vibrant and cosmopolitan life in India's capital city of New Delhi. But one day she disappeared.

ABOVE: Sharma's land in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh is seen at dusk.

found in a remote forest about six miles away.

The tensions between Sharma and her uncle had been building for years.

Sharma, 39, left the area years earlier for a glamorous life in the capital of New Delhi and a career that culminated in a job at the prestigious American Embassy School. Independent and strong-minded, Sharma had been trying to protect a plot of farmland worth an estimated \$250,000 for more than a decade and had complained to police about her distant uncle Pradeep Sharma several times, friends said.

Pradeep Sharma is a tall man with a neatly clipped black beard, well known as a leader of the Indian National Congress, a political party dominated by the oldest political

LAND CONTINUED ON A12

Payouts in works to shore up ACA

DEAL WITH INSURERS MAY AID HEALTH LAW

Obscure fund would sidestep Congress, GOP

BY AMY GOLDSTEIN

The Obama administration is maneuvering to pay health insurers billions of dollars the government owes under the Affordable Care Act through a move that could circumvent Congress and help shore up the president's signature legislative achievement before he leaves office.

Justice Department officials have privately told several health plans suing over the unpaid money that they are eager to negotiate a broad settlement, which could end up offering payments to about 175 health plans selling coverage on ACA marketplaces, according to insurance executives and lawyers familiar with the talks.

The payments most likely would draw from an obscure Treasury Department fund intended to cover federal legal claims, the executives and lawyers said. This approach would thwart a recent congressional ban on the use of Health and Human Services money to pay the insurers.

The start of negotiations came amid an exodus of health plans from the insurance exchanges that are at the heart of the law. More than 10 million Americans have gained coverage through the marketplaces since they opened in 2014.

But many insurers are losing money on their new customers, who tend to be relatively sick and expensive to treat. As a result, some smaller plans have been driven out of business, and a few major ones are defecting from exchanges for the coming year.

The administration's efforts

PAYOUT CONTINUED ON A5

She tried to stop deportations. Now she's fighting her own.

BY MICHAEL E. MILLER

The guard searched the line of undocumented immigrants, placing each in shackles in the basement of a Homeland Security building in Northern Virginia. Then he came to a young woman in a blouse and blue pants that July day, and he paused.

"I know you," the guard told her, she remembered later. Months earlier, Wendy Uruchi Contreras had come to the same facility under much different circumstances — as an immigration rights activist.

That day, she had helped a Mexican woman bring her husband his belongings before he was deported. Uruchi and the guard had struck up a conversa-

tion, quickly realizing they lived near each other in Frederickburg. Now she was on the other side of the plexiglass divide.

"What are you doing here?" the guard asked.

"I'm not a U.S. citizen," Uruchi answered. "And I got a DUI."

"I can't believe it," he said.

Uruchi's sudden fall — from immigrant advocate to undocumented inmate — has stunned many who knew her. At Casa, the immigrants rights organization where Uruchi worked, colleagues were caught by surprise. Two weeks before pleading guilty to drunken driving, she had led a demonstration outside the Supreme Court urging the justices to support undocumented immigrants, but she

IMMIGRANT CONTINUED ON A17



PANCHO BERNASCONI/GETTY IMAGES

N.J. train crash kills 1, injures dozens

Passengers rush to safety after a New Jersey Transit train crashed into the platform at the Hoboken Terminal.

Investigators are examining several possible causes. Story, A3

Obama is mourning Peres — and a dormant peace process

BY GREG JAFFE AND JULIET EILPERIN

The last U.S. president to go to Israel for a state funeral was Bill Clinton 20 years ago, when the prospects for peace in the Middle East seemed nearly within reach.

On Friday, President Obama, who made a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict a central part of his foreign policy, arrived in Jerusalem to mourn another Israeli leader.

Rarely has peace seemed more distant or unattainable.

The funeral for former Israel president and prime minister Shimon Peres, 93, is expected to draw leaders from around the globe. They will gather to celebrate the life of one of Israel's

founders but also to mourn the Jewish leader most closely identified with a "two-state solution" to the decades-long conflict between Arabs and Jews.

A big question hovering over Peres's funeral is whether the solution he championed has died with him.

Two decades earlier, Clinton addressed that same question at the funeral for Israel's slain prime minister. "Look at the leaders from all over the Middle East and around the world who have journeyed here today for Yitzhak Rabin, and for peace,"

OBAMA CONTINUED ON A13

Abbas to attend Peres funeral

The Palestinian leader's decision draws criticism at home. A13

IN THE NEWS



FUGITIVE WARLORD GULBUDDIN HEKMATYAR. OMAR SOBHANI/REUTERS

Afghan peace deal A fugitive warlord signed a pact with the government, but some Afghans do not trust him to honor it. A12

Flu season Officials fear fewer vaccinations after advising against nasal sprays. A2

THE NATION

Russia dismissed U.S. threatens to suspend plans for bilateral cooperation in Syria, accusing Washington of "groundless" allegations after a failed cease-fire. A2

The Supreme Court will hear a trademark case that could have a direct impact on a case involving the Washington Redskins' team name. A3

Artificial reservoirs are responsible for a significant volume of heat-trapping greenhouse gases, according to an upcoming study. A4

The DEA's use of confi-

dential informants has led to fraud and abuse, a report from the Justice Department inspector general concluded. A4

THE WORLD
Germany appears to have removed its welcome mat as it refused entry to almost half of the migrants it stopped on its side of the Austrian border in August. A10

India says it attacked militants in Pakistan-controlled Kashmir, marking a significant rise in tension between the nuclear foes. A12

THE ECONOMY
China may have stock-

pled substantially more crude oil than previously estimated, a satellite-imaging firm said. A14

The Obama administration announced new rules requiring government contractors to provide paid sick leave and large companies to report wage data by race and gender. A15

Samsung, still reeling from its smartphone recall, has now disclosed that its washing machines are also prone to exploding. A16

IBM is acquiring Promontory Financial Group, a Washington bank advisory firm, to help teach Watson, a system of artificial intelligence. A16

THE REGION

Maryland's new online absentee-ballot system could be susceptible to tampering and privacy invasions, cybersecurity experts warn. B1

The number of students finishing high school on time in D.C. Public Schools reached an all-time high. B1

Emails shed light on the contact that Maryland regulators had with a state lawmaker who faces a possible ethics probe over his dual medical pot roles. B3

Howard County Sheriff James F. Fitzgerald said he won't resign despite allegations he made racist, sexist and anti-Semitic comments. B8

INSIDE



WEEKEND East Wing, anew Surprises and old favorites await at the National Gallery of Art.

METRO Menu of progress One family, two Chinese eateries and an amazing transformation in D.C. B1

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Indian woman died fighting for her rights as a landowner

LAND FROM A1

dynasty in the country. He could turn out hundreds for rallies by sheer force of his charm and often smoothed out electricity and water problems for local farmers.

It's not easy for women to own property in India, where epic battles over ancestral land in large extended families have long favored sons. Succession laws passed in 1956 and amended in 2005 attempted to make it easier for many Indian women to inherit property. But still, women own and operate less than 13 percent of agricultural land in India, according to census data.

Land activists say that even if laws are in place to ensure a woman's inheritance, powerful societal forces exist that can wrest true control over property from the female owner.

Women can be persuaded to give up their rights, disinherited or simply forced to turn over the administration of the property to the men in a family, experts say.

Moreover, women in land disputes are often branded as witches, accused of practicing black magic in small towns and villages. From 2000 to 2014, 2,413 women were killed as witches in 12 Indian states, including Madhya Pradesh, where Sharma's property was located, crime records show.

When Leena Sharma went to her ancestral land to begin the process of demarcation in April, her friends — who knew of the animosity between the pair — warned her not to go to the isolated area alone, but she assured them she could handle it.

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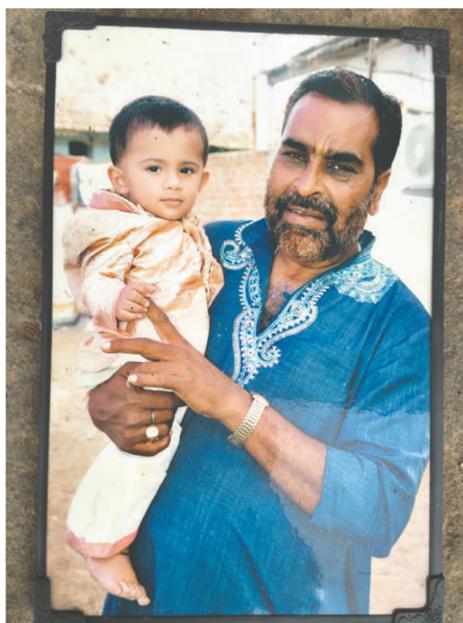
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"It was all fancy for her in Delhi. The nightlife, being independent and not answerable to anybody," said her friend Swati Rawat, 33, a customer service manager in Noida, a suburb of Delhi. "She was not a traditional



PHOTOS BY ANNIE GOWEN/THE WASHINGTON POST



TOP: From left, Haribai Chourasiya, Shobha Chourasiya and Rekha Chourasiya, neighbors in Leena Sharma's ancestral area, knew her as a career woman who would return to Sohagpur to oversee her property. **ABOVE:** Pradeep Sharma holds Leena Sharma's nephew in a family photo taken last year. He and two assistants were charged with murder, conspiracy, destruction of evidence, offending the modesty of a woman and other crimes in Leena Sharma's death.

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"She always said, 'This belonged to my mother, and I would never let him even touch a seed that belongs to my mother,'" Rawat recalled. "It was sentimental for her."

"That land was not even hers!" Pradeep Sharma's lawyer, Sher Khan, insisted one morning in Sohagpur, a sleepy hamlet of narrow lanes surrounded by wheat and soybean fields. He had just rolled up the shutter on his small storefront, a stifling room with a desk, bookshelves and a motionless ceiling fan. Other men who knew about the dispute quickly gathered.

Leena was untrustworthy, they agreed, a divorcee, a "loose woman" who only came back to the area a few times a year to "abuse" her uncle and demand money.

Bitter — even violent — land disputes are not uncommon in this part of Madhya Pradesh, where improvements in roads and connectivity, and new farming practices, have sent land prices up in recent years. The local constable estimates that 7 out of 10 slayings in the area are over property disputes.

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In Leena Sharma's case, she ended up with about 37 acres, a portion of which she co-owned with her sister, including farmland, a tiny temple and a ramshackle cowshed. A separate suit brought by predominantly male relatives was stalled in court, clouding the ownership issue further.

Ultimately, the local revenue office determined that Pradeep Sharma had illegally encroached upon about 10 acres of Leena's land. But he did not see it that way.

His wife, Seema, 47, a teacher in a local school, said that the couple had every right to the property because her husband had been living on the land for decades, and that older family members had said the land belonged to him.

"While we lived there, we were told that this land is ours," she said. "I once spoke to Leena when she was visiting and said that we are all family and we should be there for each other. Leena told me, 'Auntie, we will give you this land.'"

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Over cups of tea with officers he knew well, Pradeep Sharma, who seemed oddly unconcerned about his niece's welfare, suggested she might have gone with friends to a nearby town, or off to Bangkok, police said. But as the days went by and Leena's friends continued pressuring police for action, they turned to Pradeep Sharma's employees for answers.

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The three had come to try to persuade her to stop the fencing, one of Pradeep Sharma's employees told police. They argued, and Leena tried to flee, getting caught as she tried to scale a barbed-wire fence, one of the workers who witnessed the scene, Pratap Khuswaha, recalled in an interview.

The men with her uncle started beating her, he said. "They hit her with sticks and stones. They must have hit her at least 25 times." Pradeep Sharma threw a

rock, he said.

The laborers fled, terrified that they would be beaten themselves. At a safe remove, they watched as the uncle's two assistants covered Leena Sharma and took her away in a small tractor. Pradeep Sharma followed on his motorcycle.

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He said that he had gotten into an argument with his niece and that she fell during a scuffle and suffered a fatal head injury.

Khan, Pradeep Sharma's lawyer, says his client is innocent.

"The cops have made up the story. Nobody knows what happened with the murder," he said.

Sharma and his two assistants — Gorelal Marskole and Rajendra Kumre — were charged with murder, conspiracy, destruction of evidence, offending the modesty of a woman and other crimes, and remain jailed without bond. The trial could take years.

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The diamond ring — her emancipation ring, symbol of her independence — was not with her, as Rawat had hoped.

When they dug up her body the day before, it was nowhere to be found.

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Swati Gupta contributed to this report.

Fugitive Afghan warlord signs peace deal, but many are wary

BY PAMELA CONSTABLE

KABUL — It was both a historic moment and a bizarre spectacle. There was the fugitive Afghan militia leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, with a black turban and a beard much whiter than anyone remembered, speaking Thursday via video link from a secret location and then signing a peace agreement as the camera zoomed in on his hands.

There was President Ashraf Ghani, dressed in traditional robes, beaming as he watched the images on a giant screen in his palace and then signed his copy of the accord, which he said would go "fully in force" immediately. "This day starts the subsiding of war in Afghanistan and the beginning of rebuilding it," he said, speaking in Dari.

Seated behind him were aging former mujahideen leaders — including allies and enemies of Hekmatyar's — who fought the Soviet Union and then one another in a civil war three decades ago.

Making his first public appearance in years, Hekmatyar, who is in his late 60s, was soft-spoken and statesmanlike but vague on details. He said he hoped the agreement would "bring an end to the crisis in this country" and that "no single bullet will be fired, no drop of blood shed" in the transition of power. "I ask all opponents of this government to join this process and pursue their goals through peaceful ways," he said.

Hekmatyar, who has been in

hiding for years, did not mention whether and when he would return to Afghanistan, which would require his removal from international terrorist blacklists. But his public appearance seemed to put to rest rumors about whether he actually supported the deal, and his conciliatory rhetoric appeared likely to bolster Ghani's credibility as a peacemaker as he heads to a crucial conference of foreign donors in Brussels on Tuesday. Ghani and his aides have been negotiating for months with Hekmatyar's representatives, hoping to persuade Taliban leaders to lay down their weapons.

"The current generation of Afghans did not start this war. It is up to our older generation to finish it," Ghani said. "This is a grand jihad that Afghanistan desperately needs."

But the flowery words and ritual did not impress members of the Mehrabi family, who were watching the event from their home several miles away. In 1993, at the peak of the civil war, Zarghona Mehrabi was in labor with her first child when the rockets came, exploding among the mud-walled houses in their west Kabul neighborhood.

The shelling came from the south, where Hekmatyar and his Hezb-i-Islami fighters were waging a battle with other militias. Mehrabi delivered her baby in the basement, listening to the sounds until night fell and her husband — since deceased — could get them to safety in another part of the city.

"When the war was over, we

went back and found our house. Only the foundations were left," said brother-in-law Madat Ali, 55, a retired police officer. "Hekmatyar made soft promises today, but we have no hope for this agreement," he said. During the civil war, Hekmatyar and other militia bosses "swore on the Koran that they would stop fighting, and a few days later they started again," Ali recounted. "How can we trust him now?"

Last week, after officials signed a preliminary agreement with Hekmatyar's representatives, other Kabul residents responded with skepticism and weary hope. Many told similar stories of fleeing bombardment, spending years as refugees, and returning after the overthrow of the Taliban regime in 2001 to find the city in ruins and many of the same brutal militia leaders enjoying positions of wealth and political power.

A few activists have openly protested the agreement, denouncing Hekmatyar as the "Butcher of Kabul" and calling it an insult to justice for officials to pardon a wanted terrorist. Other analysts worry that his return could revive old ethnic enmities.

But Hezb-i-Islami, like most of the other Islamist parties that once fought one another, has many officials in the government and representatives in parliament. Supporters say these militia groups have changed with the times, prospered under civilian rule and now have a stake in peace instead of conflict.

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India strikes at Pakistan-held area

Tensions rise after New Delhi says its troops hit militants readying attack

BY ANNIE GOWEN AND SHAIQ HUSSAIN

NEW DELHI — Sporadic shelling broke out along India and Pakistan's disputed border in Kashmir on Thursday after India said it conducted an anti-terrorism strike inside the section controlled by Pakistan — marking a significant rise in tension between the two nuclear-armed rivals.

India's military said its soldiers had crept over the highly militarized border in darkness and struck at about half a dozen staging areas early Thursday where it said teams of militants were gathering, preparing to launch attacks both in the disputed Kashmir region and in unspecified cities across India.

Full details have yet to emerge, but such a strike would be the most aggressive military action from India toward Pakistan in years and could mark a shift in India's strategy toward its neighbor, which it has long accused of harboring terrorist groups.

The countries offered sharply conflicting accounts of the day's events, however, underscoring the heightened suspicions and volatility in an area that has been at the heart of India-Pakistan friction for decades.

In Pakistan, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif condemned the "unprovoked and naked aggression of Indian forces" that resulted in the death of at least two Pakistani sol-

diers. India however, insisted that suspected militants numbering in the "double digits" were killed.

Pakistan's military said it had captured an Indian soldier on its side of the border.

Tensions have been running high between the two countries since four Pakistani militants attacked an army camp in the Indian border town of Uri on Sept. 18, killing 18 Indian soldiers. India has claimed that Pakistan supported the militants, and the director general of Indian military operations, Lt. Gen. Ranbir Singh, said Thursday that investigators uncovered global positioning systems and supplies that had Pakistani markings. Pakistan has denied involvement.

India and Pakistan, which have fought four wars, have both long laid claim to the disputed Kashmir region, and India has accused Pakistan of supporting an armed insurgency in the part that is administered by India.

Singh said that the military had received "specific and credible information" that terrorist teams had positioned themselves in staging areas along the Line of Control, intending to carry out terrorist attacks in the Kashmir region and in Indian cities.

The army responded with strikes that inflicted "significant casualties" on the "terrorists and their supporters," Singh said. Indian government officials said their soldiers carried out operations more than a half mile across the line.

"We cannot allow the terrorists to operate across the Line of Control with impunity and attack citizens of our country at will," Singh said.

Pakistan's foreign ministry strongly denounced "unprovoked cease-fire violations" and warned

that India has "deliberately escalated tension" in Kashmir.

"Our intent for a peaceful neighborhood should not be mistaken as our weakness," Sharif said in a statement. "Our valiant forces are fully capable of defending the territorial integrity of the country."

Meanwhile, Indian and Pakistani troops exchanged heavy fire at different points in Jammu and Kashmir, police said. Officials said they were bracing for possible retaliation by Pakistani forces.

A retired school principal, Qazi Hamiduddin — a resident of Kandi Karnah village, near the Indian side of the border — said that many of his neighbors were considering leaving their homes and relocating to safer areas.

Indian Kashmir has been beset by violent protests since July 8, when Indian forces killed a popular young militant commander named Burhan Wani, and more than 70 people have died.

On Saturday, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi gave a speech that many interpreted as a call for strategic restraint, and the government has been examining other diplomatic means of isolating Pakistan in recent days.

Those options include revisiting the terms of a decades-old water treaty and revoking Pakistan's most-favored nation status as a trading partner. India has already pulled out of an upcoming regional meeting that was to be held in Islamabad in November, along with leaders of Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Bhutan.

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Hussain reported from Islamabad. Ishfaq Naseem in Srinagar, India, and Rama Lakshmi in New Delhi also contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

September 29, 2016

INDIA'S DIVIDE | This is part of a series about oppression and violence against women in India as a rising generation collides with old social mores.



Leena Sharma's land is seen at dusk. (Annie Gowen/The Washington Post)

BY ANNIE GOWEN

SOHAGPUR, India — It was her land, she said, and she was tired of her uncle planting his wheat and grazing his cows on her property without paying rent.

So in April, Leena Sharma traveled from her home in New Delhi to her ancestral village in central India to confront her uncle, a powerful community leader. She planned to build a fence to keep him off her 37 acres — and eventually sell the property.

It was a bold move in a country where patriarchy remains deeply ingrained and where women have long been denied the legal right to own land. For Sharma, the consequences of asserting her property rights would



Leena Sharma, the 39-year-old New Delhi woman killed over a land dispute. (Courtesy of Saad Bin Waqqas)

prove deadly. First she disappeared. Then her half-naked corpse was found in a remote forest about six miles away.

The tensions between Sharma and her uncle had been building for years. Sharma, 39, left the area years earlier for a glamorous life in the capital of New Delhi and a career that culminated in a job at the prestigious American Embassy School. Independent and strong-minded, Sharma had been trying to protect a plot of farmland worth an estimated \$250,000 for more than a decade and had complained to police about her distant uncle Pradeep Sharma several times, friends said.

Pradeep Sharma is a tall man with a neatly clipped black beard, well known as a leader of the Indian National Congress, a political party dominated by the oldest political dynasty in the country. He could turn out hundreds for rallies by sheer force of his charm and often smoothed out electricity and water problems for local farmers.

It's not easy for women to own property in India, where epic battles over ancestral land in large extended families have long favored sons. Succession laws passed in 1956 and amended in 2005 attempted to make it easier for many Indian women to inherit property. But still, women own and operate less than 13 percent of agricultural land in India, according to census data.

Land activists say that even if laws are in place to ensure a woman's inheritance, powerful societal forces exist that can wrest true control over property from the female owner.

Women can be persuaded to give up their rights, disinherited or simply forced to turn over the administration of the property to the men in a family, experts say.

Moreover, women in land disputes are often branded as witches, accused of practicing black magic in small towns and villages. From 2000 to 2014, 2,413 women were killed as witches in 12 Indian states, including Madhya Pradesh, where Sharma's property was located, crime records show.

When Leena Sharma went to her ancestral land to begin the process of demarcation in April, her friends — who knew of the animosity between the pair — warned her not to go to the isolated area alone, but she assured them she could handle it.

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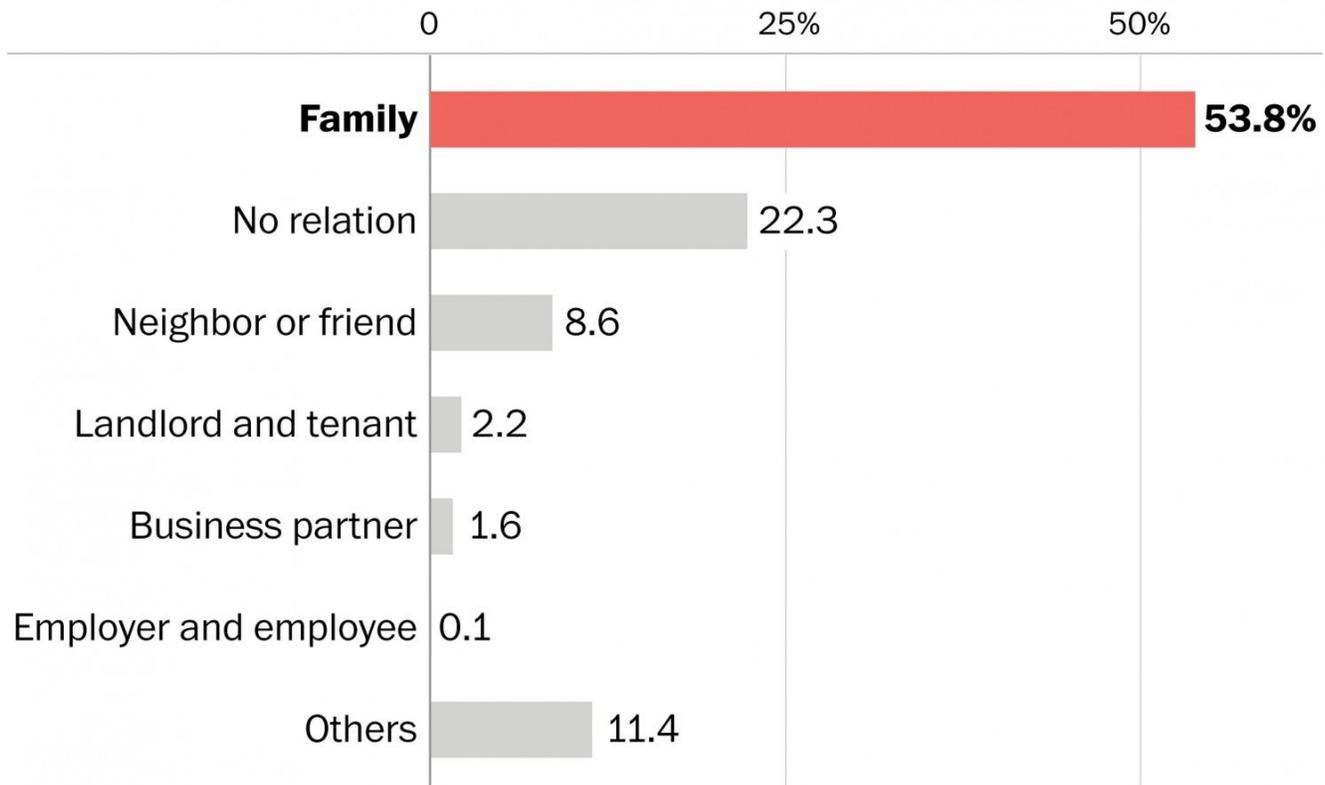
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Civil cases are often a family matter in India

A survey measuring access to the judicial system in India found that more than 66 percent of civil cases were related to a property dispute. Most of the property cases were among family members.



Source: Daksh Access to Justice Survey, 2015-16

THE WASHINGTON POST

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At right, a stack of fence posts for the fence that was to be built on Leena Sharma's property.

The three had come to try to persuade her to stop the fencing, one of Pradeep Sharma's employees told police. They argued, and Leena tried to flee, getting caught as she tried to scale a barbed-wire fence, one of the workers who witnessed the scene, Pratap Khuswaha, recalled in an interview.

Sharma had left this area in central India years before for life in the capital of New Delhi. But a bitter land dispute over her ancestral property kept drawing her back. In the end, she would lose her life trying to protect her property. (Annie Gowen/The Washington Post)

The men with her uncle started beating her, he said. "They hit her with sticks and stones. They must have hit her at least 25 times." Pradeep Sharma threw a rock, he said.

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Swati Gupta contributed to this report.

The votes are in
Find out who had the worst year in politics, sports, entertainment and more **OUTLOOK**



At last, it's Army
After 14 straight losses to Navy, Black Knights finally prevail, 21-17 **SPORTS**

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Exxon chief said to be pick for State

Rex Tillerson's ties to Russia and Putin could tangle his confirmation

BY STEVEN MUFSON AND PHILIP RUCKER

President-elect Donald Trump is expected to name as his secretary of state Rex Tillerson, the chief executive of ExxonMobil, who has worked extensively around the globe and built relationships with such leaders as Russian President Vladimir Putin, three people close to the transition team confirmed Saturday.

Tillerson's nomination could face intense scrutiny in the Senate, considering his years of work in Russia and the Middle East on behalf of the multinational petroleum company. Already, two leading Republican hawks, Sens. John McCain (Ariz.) and Lindsey O. Graham (S.C.), have voiced concerns about Tillerson's serving as the nation's top diplomat because of his ties to Putin.

Trump spokesman Jason Miller said Saturday that there would be no official announcement about a secretary of state until this coming week "at the earliest."

But three officials briefed on Trump's deliberations, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the matter, said the pick would be Tillerson, barring a late and unanticipated shift in Trump's thinking. NBC News first reported that Trump has settled on Tillerson.

Trump is considering nominating for deputy secretary of state John R. Bolton, a former ambassador to the United Nations and a combative hawk whose tenure in the George W. Bush administration was controversial, two of the officials said.

Trump spent a month deliberating over the secretary of state position and interviewed an array of



JOSHUA ROBERTS/REUTERS

Rex Tillerson

Rex Tillerson, a Texan with a degree in civil engineering, has worked for ExxonMobil since 1975 in places as varied as Yemen and Russia. He has forged relationships with world leaders such as Vladimir Putin and has donated heavily to the Republican Party.

Election allegations roil Washington

Trump on collision course with CIA over Russia's role in 2016 campaign

BY DAVID NAKAMURA AND GREG MILLER

The simmering distrust between Donald Trump and U.S. intelligence agencies escalated into open antagonism Saturday after the president-elect mocked a CIA report that Russian operatives had intervened in the U.S. presidential election to help him win. The growing tensions set up a potential showdown between

Trump and the nation's top intelligence officials during what some of those officials describe as the most complex threat environment in decades.

The Washington Post reported Friday that the Central Intelligence Agency had determined that Russia had intervened in the presidential election not just to make mischief but to boost Trump's chances.

TRUMP CONTINUED ON A20



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Donald Trump mocked the CIA about Russian intervention.

Democrats call for inquiry
Lawmakers want an investigation of the CIA's assessment. **A20**

No admission, no denial
This time, the Kremlin is quiet on whether it helped Trump win. **A18**

CIA, FBI ARE SPLIT ON KREMLIN MOTIVES

Bureau not sold on idea that goal was to help Trump

BY ELLEN NAKASHIMA AND ADAM ENTOUS

In a secure meeting room under the Capitol last week, lawmakers held in their hands a classified letter written by colleagues in the Senate summing up a secret, new CIA assessment of Russia's role in the 2016 presidential election. Sitting before the House Intel-

ligence Committee was a senior FBI counterintelligence official. The question the Republicans and Democrats in attendance wanted answered was whether the bureau concurred with the conclusions the CIA had just shared with senators that Russia "quite" clearly intended to help Republican Donald Trump defeat Democrat Hillary Clinton

RUSSIA CONTINUED ON A19



POULOMI BASU FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

LESSONS OF CHANGE, THEN A DEATH

A gender sensitivity class for Indian men was going well. Then a counselor was accused of killing her daughter-in-law.

BY ANNIE GOWEN

CHANDAN HULLA, INDIA — Not long after counselors started a "gender sensitivity" class in this urban village, groups of young men stopped hanging out in front of Mahinder Pal's corner shop, where they used to ogle and catcall female day laborers who walked by in dusty saris.

Enrollment of girls in the local secondary school inched up. One mother

INDIA'S DIVIDE

This is part of a series about oppression and violence against women in India as a rising generation collides with old social mores.

Rajeena, 21, with her children and her husband, Mohammed Sagir, 25, who has taken gender sensitivity classes.

asked for and received a small white Chinese-made mobile phone from her husband — and made her first telephone call. Others who had been confined to their homes in the strict Indian custom of purdah were suddenly allowed to venture outside the village boundaries for the first time.

The class was getting tangible results. And it was one of dozens of others that are happening across India in schools, police academies and villages, as the

government and social service organizations team up to find ways to address the centuries-old patriarchal attitudes that still result in widespread oppression and violence against women.

In Chandan Hulla, about 30 young men — taxi drivers, shopkeepers and laborers — began gathering in July 2015 in the front hall of one of the village elders to snack on crispy samosas and ponder such questions as: What is

INDIA CONTINUED ON A16

UNNATURAL CAUSES | SICK AND DYING IN SMALL-TOWN AMERICA

34% using prescribed opioids say they got hooked

BY SCOTT CLEMENT AND LENNY BERNSTEIN

One-third of Americans who have taken prescription opioids for at least two months say they became addicted to, or physically dependent on, the powerful painkillers, according to a new Washington Post-Kaiser Family Foundation survey.

Virtually all long-term users surveyed said that they were intro-

duced to the drugs by a doctor's prescription, not by friends or through illicit means. But more than 6 in 10 said doctors offered no advice on how or when to stop taking the drugs. And 1 in 5 said doctors provided insufficient information about the risk of side effects, including addiction.

The survey raises sharp questions about the responsibility of doctors for an epidemic of addiction and overdose that has

claimed nearly 180,000 lives since 2000. Opioid deaths surged to more than 30,000 last year, according to new data from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, with deaths from heroin alone surpassing the toll from gun homicides.

Doctors have been widely blamed for sparking the crisis by overprescribing highly addictive opioids to treat everyday pain. The survey suggests that they are still

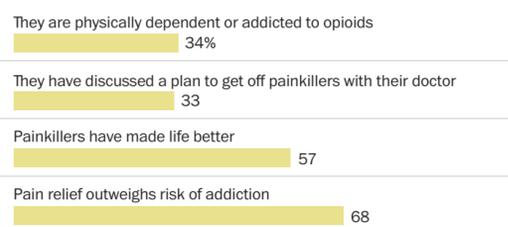
doing too little to stop it. "Why isn't it 100 percent?" demanded Gary Mendell, founder of Shatterproof, a grass-roots group dedicated to reducing addiction in the United States, referring to the share who say doctors have counseled them on stopping the medication. "It's unbelievable that it's not 100 percent."

Patrice A. Harris, chairwoman of the American Medical Association's

OPIOID CONTINUED ON A6

Relief and concern among long-term opioid users

Percentage of long-term users of opioid painkillers who say . . .



Source: Washington Post-Kaiser Family Foundation poll Oct. 3-Nov. 9; error margin plus or minus five percentage points among 622 current or recent long-term opioid users

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Village is shaken by scandal involving counselor



PHOTOS BY POULOMI BASU FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

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masculinity? How would they feel if their daughters were abused or harassed? Are they threatened by the changing roles of women?

For a time, it seemed change was possible.

"I was an animal before; now I'm on my way to becoming a human being," said Yunus Khan, 30, one of the class participants.

But on Aug. 25, the village would be shaken by an unexpected death that would pit family member against family member and threaten to reverse the hard-won gains of the last year. A young woman was poisoned, and one of the very counselors who tried to teach the men to change their ways was accused with her husband in the case, according to a police affidavit.

Police say the young woman died in a dispute over dowry, the coercive practice of gift-giving that some say subjugates brides. The couple have not yet been formally charged, although warrants have been issued for their arrest.

In some respects, this is not such an unusual case: In 2015, police records show, dowry disputes in India led to the murders of more than 7,000 women.

Catalyst

Ten years ago, there was no main road in and out of Chandan Hullu, no electricity and only two televisions. A decade later, even children have cellphones, and villagers who sold farmland to developers are tearing down their mud-brick dwellings in favor of multistory homes with balconies and deluxe kitchens.

Still, the village of about 5,000, nestled in between the gated farmhouses of New Delhi's elite and event palaces of the city's booming wedding industry, still occupies a tenuous space between old and new. A young girl wanders its narrow lanes swinging silver pails for buffalo milk as a shiny black Mercedes jolts by, its trunk stuffed with fodder for cattle. It's not far from the bustling shopping mall where a young student watched "Life of Pi" the night she was gang-raped and murdered four years ago — sparking a national movement for women's safety and fueling the demand for gender sensitivity training.

Villagers may have embraced consumer advances, but tradition retains its grip: The majority of women from both Hindu and Muslim families observe purdah — wearing a veil with older male relatives and when they step outside — and young women and girls are expected to act modestly and eschew jeans, residents said. "If my sister had a boyfriend, I would cut her," one of the men outside Pal's store said recently.

The village had a high rate of domestic violence, one reason counselors from the Center for Social Research were drawn to it.

The New Delhi-based nonprofit group dedicated to a "violence-free gender-just society" was one of the earliest to embrace sensitivity courses as a way to engage men and boys in societal change, founding its Gender Training Institute in 1997.

The group now runs programs for young men ages 16 to 35 in corporations, police academies and organizations such as UNICEF.

Such work is needed because the attitudes of men have not kept pace as Indian society has changed and women take a more prominent role in work and society, which creates tension, said Ranjana Kumari, the director.

"A lot of people carry the baggage of tradition and archaic, feudal thinking because that's the way they were socialized," Kumari said. "We have to change that mind-set."

The other reason Chandan Hullu appealed was it was home

turf for one of the counselors, Zahida Khan, a sociable woman with a gaptoothed smile who went door-to-door to persuade residents to attend the class. Many were neighbors, and some were members of the sprawling Khan clan who knew the counselor had her own problems at home, arguing frequently with her daughter-in-law.

The first session last July got off to a roiling start when the counselors suggested that the wives be present, too. The men — a mix of Muslims and Hindus — protested vigorously and said they feared the women would be "led down the wrong path," as one of them described it, or would spill too much of their personal information in discussion sessions, particularly in regard to domestic violence.

"The law has changed so much now that if you slap your wife, the moment you step out of the house there'll be a bunch of cops standing outside your door," said Yunus Khan. "This is women's empowerment."

Khan was full of bravado as he



FROM TOP: Rajeena's sister-in-law Aarifa at Mohammed Sagir's home. Arisha Khan died of poisoning. Police found notes scrawled on the walls of her room. Yunus Khan, left, and Sagir have taken the sensitivity classes.

sat recently with other class members at the house where they had spent so much time together in the past year. He made his buddies hoot with laughter.

"Such change has come," he said. "Earlier, a man would gesture to raise his hand against a woman and the woman would cower. Now a man raises his hand and the woman just stares him in the face. This is not a bad thing. I feel good about it. Women are not going to get beaten now without reason."

Khan had more to say. "Earlier I used to beat my wife a lot. If she was late in getting my medicines or something, I would beat her. Now I don't beat her to the point where she has to go to the doctor."

Khan was far more mild-mannered in a later interview with his family at his home, a one-room dwelling at the edge of a wide field, with a tin roof and two buffalo tied out front. He spoke of his frustrations as an out-of-work tailor who shelved his dreams of becoming a fashion designer after an eye injury.

Now, he devotes his attention

to educating his three young children. "We will make our dreams come true through them," he said.

His wife, Shalima, 25, quietly defended her husband, saying he was not abusive.

Journey

After the uproar, a compromise was reached: The women could come to class, too, but they had to sit separately from men. Zahida Khan and the other counselor used a variety of discussion topics, parables and games to draw in the participants.

After a few months, a young electrician in the class named Mohammed Sagir, 25, got to thinking it was high time his wife began leaving the village on her own. She observed purdah, and he had earlier nixed her plan of tutoring a group of Nepali migrant children at a nearby farm on the theory it would expose her to too much "free air." But something inside him began to soften.

His wife, Rajeena, 21, resisted the idea at first. She had lived a sheltered life growing up in a village in a neighboring state



before she moved to New Delhi — no school trips, no girlfriends, an education that ended at ninth grade. And she had visions of venturing out past the village boundaries and being kidnapped by human traffickers who would knock her out by covering her mouth with some kind of ether-laced cloth, something she had seen on television.

But nevertheless, about two months ago, she found herself walking to the busy main road and climbing aboard the No. 334 bus for her first-ever ride to a nearby commercial center, where she went to a government office to order a copy of her youngest daughter's birth certificate. The other commuters on the bus helped her figure out how to buy her 10-rupee bus ticket, she said.

"My heart was pounding the whole time," she recalled, laughing at the memory. Scarier still was the walk to a market where she had to sort the family's paperwork for a ration card, through a wooded area populated by nilgai deer, monkeys and python. Others on the path threw bananas for the monkeys and the animals tore into the fruit with such ferocity that she said, "I was afraid they would eat me, too."

Home safely, Rajeena, who uses only one name, glowed as she recounted her trip.

"Now when there is any work to be done, I can do it," she said. "My husband doesn't tell me not to step out, and my mother-in-law doesn't tell me not to step out. Earlier, I used to be scared. Now I feel a sort of freedom."

Death

Despite her prominence, many in the village knew that Zahida and her husband had a complicated relationship with their daughter-in-law, Arisha, a 19-year-old with hauntingly large brown eyes and dreams of becoming a model. She had eloped with Zahida's son Saif in 2012, when she was only 15. Her parents opposed the union in part because of the income disparity between the two families — Arisha's father owned a copper smelting business, and Saif's father was a taxi driver.

The union was troubled from the start. Independent-minded



POULOMI BASU FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Arisha argued with her husband and scandalized some of the more conservative young men in the village when she was spotted strolling in a nearby mall with friends. She ultimately filed two separate police complaints in 2014 alleging that her in-laws had been physically abusive toward her and were harassing her family for dowry.

The centuries-old practice of the families of Indian brides giving dowry to the groom is illegal, but it has become more prevalent across caste and religions in recent years as incomes have risen and Indian families become more status-conscious, said Kumari, the author of a book called "Brides Are Not for Burning."

Dowry is also used as a method by families to extort money and other goods. Often, when there is

no more money to be had, the women are burned in kitchen accidents. The country has a special classification for brides killed by their in-laws over dowry, and 7,634 women died this way last year, a growing number, according to crime records.

"So many girls have been killed and we now have a very strong law preventing it, so we should have done away with it as a society by now," Kumari said. "But people's desires, aspirations and incomes have grown, and the cost is being paid by the new bride."

According to court documents, Arisha's family has claimed that Zahida and her husband repeatedly pressed them for dowry, and over time her family gave them a used car and a new motorbike.

Police say strife between the young girl and her in-laws boiled

Mehjabeen Khan's daughter Arisha, 19, died in an alleged dowry dispute. Arisha's family has claimed in court documents that her mother-in-law, Zahida Khan, who used to be a counselor in the gender sensitivity classes, and her husband repeatedly pressed them for dowry.

over the night of Aug. 24, when Zahida and her husband arrived at the home where she lived and allegedly force-fed her.

A cousin who lives next door told police that Arisha Khan said, "They fed me something," according to court documents. Arisha fell ill and the cousin took the woman to the hospital. She later died there, from ingesting a pesticide, the medical examiner ruled.

In the weeks since the incident, Zahida, her husband and son have disappeared, police say, and their cellphones are switched off. But their attorney says that they are not involved in the death, that the troubled young woman committed suicide. After she died, police found she had scrawled notes on the walls of her room. "I am suffocating in this house," one read. "Have pity on me." Another

said, "Why me?"

"This was a love marriage — there was no demand for dowry," the lawyer, Ajay Raj Singh, said. "They are absolutely innocent. They were not even there."

Kumari said it is disturbing that one of her longtime employees would be implicated in such a scandal.

"If you have been training people to be sensitive and they get into this kind of situation, then the challenge is much bigger. At what level do we need to start?" she said. "How much Zahida was involved in the whole thing is an issue. She may have wronged someone. We don't know. But Zahida was not like that."

Hope?

No more gender sensitivity classes have been held in Chandan Hulla since Arisha Khan's death. The case has divided families and cast a pall over the usually friendly lanes, which, in the evening, continue to ring with the sound of buzz saws and hammering as the villagers build new homes, new lives in the wreckage of the old. Yunus Khan and his extended family are building a three-story house, he says, bringing a part of the city to the village he will never get to leave.

"You can try to improve India as much as you can, but India won't improve when it comes to women's issues," Arisha's aunt, Zaara Khan, said darkly. "How is it improving if in the capital of the country they are poisoning a 19-year-old? People can see it happening in the roads and in the streets, but nobody sees what's happening inside the house."

But others think differently. Rajeena, the young woman who traveled outside the village for the first time, looks forward to expanding her horizons further — as her family expands. The couple's fourth child is due early next year.

"If not today, change will come eventually," her husband said. "The children will grow, and the parents will age, and eventually the children will bring change for themselves."

annie.gowen@washpost.com

Swati Gupta contributed to this report.

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INDIA'S DIVIDE | This is part of a series about oppression and violence against women in India as a rising generation collides with old social mores.



Men's attitudes about women were changing in one Indian village thanks to a gender sensitivity class. But then a dowry dispute turned deadly.

BY ANNIE GOWEN

CHANDAN HULLA, India -

Not long after counselors started a “gender sensitivity” class in this urban village, groups of young men stopped hanging out in front of Mahinder Pal’s corner shop, where they used to ogle and catcall female day laborers who walked by in dusty saris.

Enrollment of girls in the local secondary school inched up. One mother asked for and received a small white Chinese-made mobile phone from her husband — and made her first

telephone call. Others who had been confined to their homes in the strict Indian custom of purdah were suddenly allowed to venture outside the village boundaries for the first time.

The class was getting tangible results. And it was one of dozens of others that are happening across India in schools, police academies and villages as the government and social service organizations team up to find ways to address the centuries-old patriarchal attitudes that still result in widespread oppression and violence against women.

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For a time, it seemed change was possible. “I was an animal before, now I’m on my way to becoming a human being,” said Yunus Khan, 30, one of the class participants.

But on Aug. 25, the village would be shaken by an unexpected death that would pit family member against family member and threaten to reverse the hard-won gains of the last year. A young woman was poisoned, and one of the very counselors who tried to teach the men to change their ways was accused with her husband in the case, according to a police affidavit.



The Center for Social Research's gender sensitivity classes in Chandan Hulla target men ages 16 to 35.

Police say the young woman died in a dispute over dowry, the coercive practice of gift-giving that some say subjugates brides. The couple has not yet been formally charged, although warrants have been issued for their arrest.

In some respects, this is not such an unusual case: In 2015, police records show, dowry disputes in India led to the murders of more than 7,000 women.

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Villagers may have embraced consumer advances, but tradition retains its grip: The majority of women from both Hindu and Muslim families observe purdah — wearing a veil with older male relatives and when they step outside — and young women and girls are expected to act modestly and eschew jeans, residents said. "If my sister had a boyfriend, I would cut her," one of the men outside Pal's store said recently.

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Such work is needed because the attitudes of men have not kept the pace as Indian society has changed and women take a more prominent role in work and society, which creates tension, said Ranjana Kumari, the director.

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The other reason Chandan Hulla appealed was it was home turf for one of the counselors, Zahida Khan, a sociable woman with a gaptoothed smile who went door to door to persuade residents to attend the class. Many were neighbors, and some were members of the sprawling Khan clan who knew the counselor had her own problems at home, arguing frequently with her daughter-in-law.

The first session last July got off to a roiling start when the counselors suggested that the wives be present, too. The men — a mix of Muslims and Hindus — protested vigorously and said they feared the women would be "led down the wrong path," as one of them described it, or would spill too much of their personal information in discussion sessions, particularly in regard to domestic violence.

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Khan was full of bravado as he sat recently with other class members at the house where they had spent so much time together in the past year. He made his buddies hoot with laughter.



The building where the gender sensitivity classes take place

“Such change has come,” he said. “Earlier, a man would gesture to raise his hand against a woman and the woman would cower. Now a man raises his hand and the woman just stares him in the face. This is not a bad thing. I feel good about it. Women are not going to get beaten now without reason.”

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Now, he devotes his attention to educating his three young children. “We will make our dreams come true through them,” he said.

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Journey

After the uproar, a compromise was reached: the women could come to class, too, but they had to sit separately from men. Zahida Khan and the other counselor used a variety of discussion topics, parables and games to draw in the participants.

After a few months, a young electrician in the class named Mohammed Sagir, 25, got to thinking it was high time his wife began leaving the village on her own. She observed purdah, and he had earlier nixed her plan of tutoring a group of Nepali migrant children at a nearby farm on the theory it would expose her to too much “free air.” But something inside him began to soften.



According to Yunus Khan, left, since he started the gender sensitivity classes, he has not hit his wife as hard as before.

His wife, Rajeena, 21, resisted the idea at first. She had lived a sheltered life growing up in a village in a neighboring state before she moved to Delhi — no school trips, no girlfriends, an education that ended at ninth grade. And she had visions of venturing out past the village boundaries and being kidnapped by human traffickers who would knock her out by covering her mouth with some kind of ether-laced cloth, something she had seen on television.

But nevertheless, about two months ago, she found herself walking to the busy main road and climbing aboard the No. 334 bus for her first-ever ride to a nearby commercial center, where she went to a government office to order a copy of her youngest daughter's birth certificate. The other commuters on the bus helped her figure out how to buy her 10 rupee bus ticket, she said.

“My heart was pounding the whole time,” she recalled, laughing at the memory. Scariest still was the walk to a market where she had to sort the family's paperwork for a ration card, through a wooded area populated by nilgai deer, monkeys and python. Others on the path threw bananas for the monkeys and the animals tore into the fruit with such ferocity that she said, “I was afraid they would eat me, too.”

Home safely, Rajeena, who uses only one name, glowed as she recounted her trip. “Now when there is any work to be done I can do it,” she said. “My husband doesn't tell me not to step out, and my mother-in-law doesn't tell me not to step out. Earlier, I used to be scared. Now I feel a sort of freedom.”

Death

Despite her prominence, many in the village knew that Zahida and her husband had a complicated relationship with their daughter-in law, Arisha, a 19-year-old with hauntingly large brown eyes and dreams of becoming a model. She had eloped with Zahida's son Saif in 2012, when she was only 15. Her parents opposed the union in part because of the income disparity between the two families — Arisha's father owned a copper smelting business, and Saif's father was a taxi driver.

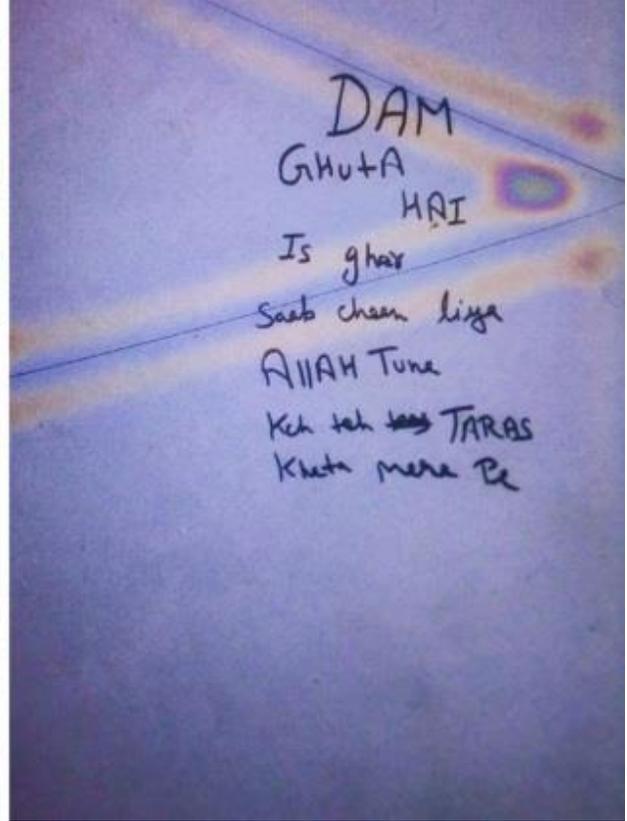


Rajeena, 21, sits with her baby in her home. She had lived a sheltered life before she moved to Delhi, and about two months ago she was on her first-ever ride to a nearby commercial center.

The union was troubled from the start. Independent-minded Arisha argued with her husband and scandalized some of the more conservative young men in the village when she was spotted strolling in a nearby mall with friends. She ultimately filed two separate police complaints in 2014 alleging that her in-laws had been physically abusive toward her and were harassing her family for dowry.

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LEFT: Arisha Khan, 19, died in an alleged dowry dispute in August. RIGHT: After she died, police found notes on the walls of her room. “I am suffocating in this house,” one read. “Have pity on me.” Another said, “Why me?”

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“So many girls have been killed and we now have a very strong law preventing it, so we should have done away with it as a society by now,” Kumari said. “But people’s desires, aspirations and incomes have grown, and the cost is being paid by the new bride.”

According to court documents, Arisha’s family has claimed that Zahida and her husband repeatedly pressed them for dowry, and over time her family gave them a used car and a new motorbike.

Police say strife between the young girl and her in-laws boiled over the night of Aug. 24, when Zahida and her husband arrived at the home where she lived and allegedly force-fed her.

A cousin who lives next door told police that Arisha Khan said, “They fed me something,” according to court documents. Arisha fell ill and the cousin took the woman to the hospital. She later died there, from ingesting a pesticide, the medical examiner ruled.

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“This was a love marriage — there was no demand for dowry,” the lawyer, Ajay Raj Singh, said. “They are absolutely innocent. They were not even there.”

Kumari said it is disturbing that one of her longtime employees would be implicated in such a scandal.

“If you have been training people to be sensitive and they get into this kind of situation, then the challenge is much bigger. At what level do we need to start?” she said. “How much Zahida was involved in the whole thing is an issue. She may have wronged someone. We don’t know. But Zahida was not like that.”



Mehjabeen Khan, Arisha's mother, and her family have claimed that Arisha's in-laws killed her and repeatedly pressed them for dowry.

Hope

No more gender sensitivity classes have been held in Chandan Hulla since Arisha Khan’s death. The case has divided families and cast a pall over the usually friendly lanes, which, in the evening, continue to ring with the sound of buzz saws and hammering as the villagers build new homes, new lives in the wreckage of the old. Yunus Khan and his extended family are building a three-story house, he says, bringing a part of the city to the village he will never get to leave.

“You can try to improve India as much as you can, but India won’t improve when it comes to women’s issues,” Arisha’s aunt, Zaara Khan, said darkly. “How is it improving if in the capital of the country they are poisoning a 19-year-old? People can see it happening in the roads and in the streets, but nobody sees what’s happening inside the house.” But others think differently.

Rajeena, the young woman who traveled outside the village for the first time, looks forward to expanding her horizons further — as her family expands. The couple’s fourth child is due early next year.

“If not today, change will come eventually,” her husband said. “The children will grow and the parents will age and eventually the children will bring change for themselves.”



Rajeena sits with her children and her husband, Mohammad Sagir, 25, an electrician who attends a gender sensitivity class and recently permitted her to leave the village by herself for the first time.

Swati Gupta contributed to this report. Photos by Poulomi Basu.