

Brahmanical Patriarchy: In What Way Ambedkar Elucidated The Relations Between Caste And Violence Against Women.

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Abstract

Social exclusion as a label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown. This definition rests importance on conditions of numerous deficiency as the essential piece of social exclusion, generating clutches of socially excluded people; 'life on the margins' e.g. the poor, the old, the disenfranchised, the mentally ill, and the culturally alienated. This indulgent has industrialized in a context of a recognised discrimination of gender roles with a separated connotation of male = public (productive) and female = private (reproductive) compasses. Gender is not a source of social exclusion; it is an arbitrating component of disparity that forms the knowledge of women and men in dissimilar actions in diverse contexts, both positively and negatively. Social exclusion is itself a gendered term, resting as it does on a norm that associates inclusion with the public/male sphere of production. The dismantling of this norm affects men and women in different ways and male and female exclusion present real and immediate problems to the world's societies. But until the terms of inclusion are questioned, goals of gender equity may well. Ambedkar upholds that caste is enclosed class, and that Brahmans were the first class to raise the walls of endogamy, a custom that non-Brahmans certainly emulated, though not strictly. He rules out imposition by law-givers (caste existed prior to Manu), divine dispensation, and/or social growth as reasons for the spread of endogamy. Gabriel Tarde's law of imitation in an effort to show that the practice of imitation of endogamy flowed from higher to lower levels and that the extent of imitation varied inversely in proportion to caste proximity. Whereas castes closest to Brahmans imitated all three customs, those further away pursued only those beliefs present in caste principles. Moreover, we learn that enclosure and endogamy were always under threat of violation or innovation, and prescribed options of penalties, particularly excommunication, lead to the formation of new castes. Women as immoral, disloyal, and impure that is then used to justify his injunction against their freedom under all circumstances. Generally, I want to find out or major objectives of this paper, inferior status of women within caste groups; male superiority in all castes across the hierarchy. Several ritualistic tools had to be put in place to extinguish the threat of women's sexuality. The paper activities to create that sexual violence is also a procedure of caste violence by revisiting the unsuccessful cases of Bhanwari Devi, Khairlanji, Lalasa Devi and Delta Meghwal

Key words: *'existing Brahmanical social order', 'threat of women' sexuality' 'ideological suppression', 'devadasi system', 'honour killing or custodial killing', 'relative autonomy 'caste hegemony', 'surplus women' 'promiscuous women', ' dominant caste system''*

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I. INTRODUCTION

The caste system has always remained the bristle of Indian social stratification. It endures to form the everyday existence of the bulk of Indians. Caste rubrics and customs not only dye the daily effective of village life, nonetheless they have also positively entered hooked on modern day existence. The Indian caste structure categorizes persons in descendent instruction of grading into four equally limited varnas – the Brahmins (priests), the Kshatriyas (warriors), the Vaishyas (merchants) and the Shudras (servants), yonder these four castes is the fifth caste of the Ati Shudras or the achhoots (outcasts). The previously unattainable classes are also recognized as Dalit. Jodhka (2012) records that these four or five groups engaged dissimilar locations in the position grading, through the Brahmans at the top, shadowed by the additional three varnas in the instruction stated overhead, with the achhoots inhabiting a location at the actual lowest. Affiliation into these castes is exclusively founded on the unintentional issue of birth. The organization is rendering to profession and regulates a person's admission to affluence, power, and honour. The two utmost significant physiognomies of the Indian caste system have to ensure with endogamy and professional constraint (Ghurye, 1969). Stringent endogamy design safeguard that each associate of a class or sub-caste wed inside their identifiable caste. Some defilement of this, consequences in exclusion from one's clan and caste, in numerous circumstances it

consequences in an honour killing or custodial killing of the discrete who selects to espouse external their caste by one's individual intimate (Chakravarty, 2005). Beneath the caste system, each social group has to tolerate by deep-rooted duties and distinct standards of communal connections. The impression of 'purity' and 'pollution' is also dominant to the social group scheme. Hygiene is measured to be an actual significant worth in Hinduism, which is imposed by the caste organization (Velssasery, 2005). Untouchability was therefore revenue of exclusivism, a communal expedient that developed spiritual only by presence haggard obsessed by the pollution-purity compound. Severe professional limits were experienced inside the caste system wherever caste-based labour was compulsory on all classes (Barth, 1960), particularly the Shudras and the Ati-shudras by way of they remained the portionless ones.

The relative amid lessons and patriarchies is multifaceted and mutable. Not only are patriarchal scheme class distinguished, open to continuous and reliable reformulation, nonetheless important has sexual role appeared to be vital to the creation of lessons and leading principles. Over the relative concerning altering modes of production, male-controlled construction and class locus is both allied besides disjunctive. For instance, men and women in the similar lesson frequently obligate a difference admittance to formulae of social honour, to incomes, and to the means of production. Additional, however patriarchies are entwined by approaches of social collation, for instance, then with prevailing pyramids and modes of domination, they correspondingly seem to have no sole one to one relative with a assumed approaches of manufacture but appear to alteration finished overlay and reformulation. In this sagacity they must a 'relative autonomy' and a dissimilar interim. The subsists of women occur at the edge of caste and class disparity, particularly subsequently the account and supervision of sexual characteristics and girlish sexuality is complicated in the upkeep and imitation of social disparity.

This condition occurs in India today notwithstanding legitimate assurances of non-discrimination on the foundation of caste and gender (Article 15(1)), the accurate to lifetime and retreat of life (Article 21) besides the constitutional instruction to exactly defend Dalits from social unfairness and all procedures of mistreatment (Article 46). Furthermore, the Indian State has passed a sequence of laws defensive the privileges of Dalits and women, admitting the occurrence of discernment and violence against these units of society. A key law in this respect is the Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act 1989). The attendance of laws, though, deprived of attendant application to confirm private haven to Dalit women, besides devoid of concentrated labours to liberate the Dalit community as well as eradicate ingrained gender-and-caste prejudiced ideas of (in)equality as well as (in)justice, is not adequate.

The Indian government has the aforementioned recognized that the official militaries – caste, class, communal and intimate – accused against women's equivalent privileges are influential and form people's attitudes to receive universal gender in equality. Uncertainty human rights are the legitimation of humanoid requirements, at that time the requirements of Dalit women for individual safety, socio-economic growth and social impartiality are import textures for interference.

According to Kroeber (1930), statuses are a singular procedure of social lessons; their taxes and rules are unbending and unglued since one additional. Though, social movements alongside caste hegemony in the overseas and post-colonial eras have hugely subsidized to the rearrangement of caste controls. In accumulation, legitimate precautions attitude in illogicality to the conservativestandards and rubrics of the caste system. By means of the outline of legitimate modernism and autonomous seats, the brawl against caste disparity altered in numerous conducts as relegated groups comparable the Dalits and the inferior statuses were assumed equivalent nationality constitutional rights. Nevertheless, the declaration of privileges from Dalit and lower caste groups frequently clues to a reaction from the overriding castes and upper castes in the procedure of ferocity and carnages. Stimulating or contravening caste laws is painstaking as a defilement of the Shastra (scriptures) also preserved by way of a danger to the conservative social observe of caste (Senart, 1930). Defilement of caste standards, chiefly by lower-castes and Dalits is exposed to dangerous sentence. The caste scheme stretches legality to the upper caste males encouraging them through exemption flush afterward they obligate monstrous carnages comparable rape and murder. The anti-caste movement and constitutional safeguards have certainly dared the out-dated repetition of caste in many habits. Though, the dominant and upper-castes endure to relish licensed decided by their caste standing.

It is in this setting that it is significant to return to Dr B.R. Ambedkar's opinions on women. His apparition of a discrimination-free civilization remained the chief motivation overdue his notions around women. His Hindu Code Bill which however not approved by the government formerly, opinions at his foresight. He required women to obligate the right to divorce, the right to legacy and consent inter-caste weddings, before in other arguments, he hunted to deliver activities to women finished selections, which in turn would nassy empowerment. However the bill was not approved in the form recruited by Ambedkar, it prepared prime to an amount of advanced rules to recover the location of females. In a male-controlled civilization like India, Ambedkar distinguished that governmentalevents were the solitary habits to recover the disorder of women.

Subsequently he not only strained to transport instruction and consciousness amongst them, he likewise strained toward exertion in the governmental anterior.

II. HENCE OUR CONSTITUTION PROVIDES:

1. Equality before the law and equal protection of the laws; prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the ground of sex;
3. Empowers the State to make positive discrimination in favour of women and children;
4. Provides for Equality of Opportunity in matters of public employment;
5. Prohibits trafficking in human beings and forced labour;
6. Enjoins the State to provide equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work;
7. Enjoins upon the State to make provisions for securing just and humane conditions of work, and for maternity relief;
8. Executes a Fundamental Duty on every citizen to renounce the practices derogatory to the dignity of women;

Fashionable an ecosphere through limited capitals, controlled flexibility and no seepage ways noticeable, women are as soon as overtly susceptible. Communal disgrace, terror of shunning and lack of consciousness are certain of the details that halt women as off-limits commentary any ferocity or inequality. Deep-rooted patriarchy frequently bombs to classify misuses. The gender equality that Ambedkar had envisioned lengthwise through all additional equivalences, continues a vision. Once we tilt our radical images at this time in India, we frequently supervise Babasaheb Ambedkar. Some reference of Dr Ambedkar and his effort is frequently required to be limited. He develops a 'Dalit leader'. Whereas his work in contrasting and aggressive the caste system is maybe additional to nobody, such a procedure of cataloguing trashes to identify the other features of his effort. Features of his work which has promoted every Indian citizen. Besides up till now occasionally, once he is termed Father of the Indian Constitution, this develops an implementation in unfilled minimum effort. Here is barely any salutation of the obligation each inhabitant of this republic—irrespective of caste, gender, religion—be indebted him for preserving equivalence as an important precise. This is disfavour not only to Ambedkar nonetheless to the important principles of the feminist movement, an insignificant portion of which is to admit and rejoice influence—intelligent and then—of persons who don't numeral in the conventional conqueror pantheon. As well as Ambedkar's influence in the direction of fortifying the location of underprivileged segments is substantial. This comprises not just inferior background men and women, but also higher caste females. Separately since the abundant languages which initiative home his rudimentary confidence in the parity of women, Ambedkar's theorisation of the interweaved fauna of caste and gender-based domination in India was a ground-breaking achievement. His currently oft-quoted 1917 ragentitled *Classes in India* demonstrations in what way in the Indian situation, the exact habits wherein women as well as their sexuality are measured; all pivot on the upkeep of the class scheme.

He sketches this by screening how firm device of females concluded sati, child-marriage and limit of widow remarriage remained altogether planned to contract through the delinquent of 'surplus women'. To preserve the caste collection bounded, marriage separate the public had to be limited and to evade men since espousing outdoor the public these original approaches had to be deliberate. Women had to be measured, not men. To more exemplify this, Ambedkar receipts up whatever is measured—correctly or incorrectly—unique of the notable records of Hindu law, the *Manusmriti*. By way of renowned in *Against the Madness of Manu*, in his *Riddles of Hinduism*, which has been contrasting by dint of the adores of the Shiv Sena? "Ambedkar particulars Manu's low view of women, exactly stress his comment on the characteristic seductions by females of men foremost to nonconformity and infidelity as requiring governor. To the recurrent clarification of Manu's command... Ambedkar postulates the... depiction of a misogynist, whose law of divorce neither restricted a bloke as of generous up his wife nor pre-empted him as of deserting and or vending her..."

III. AMBEDKAR'S THEORISATION OF THE INTERLINKED NATURE OF CASTE AND GENDER-BASED OPPRESSION IN INDIA WAS A PIONEERING FEAT.

Certainly, in his announcement negotiation, Ambedkar expresses that nonetheless he persisted throbbing with the machineries of the Cabinet and the administration for particular period, he not as soon as acquiescent as forementioned subsequently he mandatory the Hindu Code Bill to progress law:

"The Hindu Code was the greatest social reform measure ever undertaken by the legislature in this country. According to scholars it also known as nasty development. Not any law approved by dint of the Indian administration in the previous or expected to be approved in the forthcoming can be related to it in argument of its consequence. To permission discrimination amongst class and class, amongst sex and sex'; the soul of Hindu society, unharmed and to go on transitory legislature connecting to monetary hitches is to variety a sham of our

Composition and to body a stronghold on a dung heap. This is the consequence I open to the Hindu Code. It is for its sake that I stayed on, notwithstanding my differences. "But when discussion on the Bill was delayed repeatedly, and then finally the Bill was dropped because of lack of time for its discussion, Ambedkar handed in his resignation because he had "to be true to himself". That he recognised the equal status of women and that he worked towards securing it legally at a time when barely anyone else was, is beyond question. But whether retrospectively labelling him as a feminist is necessary or sensible is a different question altogether. The paper endeavours to establish that sexual violence is also."

IV. CASTE-PATRIARCHIES, SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Caste patriarchy is fundamentally fastened in the directive of female sexuality and workforce. In his essay 'Castes in India', Ambedkar (1979) clarifies that caste is a structure of intrinsic classified disparities and endogamy is important to the nourishment of caste structure. Ambedkar practically comes to the assumption that women are the entries of the caste structure (Rege, 2013), by way of the load of endogamy remained linked to the procedures of women. By Ambedkar's secret differences by way of alignment estimation, Chakravarti (2009) spreads at the impression of 'classified patriarchies', by means of patriarchies remained determinedly incomplete in the grand arrangement of caste. The values and energies of caste-patriarchies were physically unlike on behalf of the women of progressive curriculums and the women of lower courses. Though here remained a constricted governor continuously the sexuality of the upper-caste females on the appearances of purity and pollution to uphold endogamy, the lower caste women were made sexually available to the upper-caste men over and done with the physical construction of ascendancy inside the caste system. Sexual obtainability of lower-caste women to the men advanced in classes remained faithfully authorized over and done with the tradition of *devadasi* (servant of God) wherever lower-caste, precisely Dalit women were wedded to the God and started into habitual prostitution (Vijayashree, 2004). The sexual mistreatment of lower-caste women inside the *devadasi* exercise is capsule in the Marathi expression, '*devadasi devachi, baykosaryagavachi*' sense '*devadasi is a servant of the God, wife of the entire village.*' The dictator has his individual habits to speak to/of the beleaguered. Therefore, dialectal has been contributory in feminist clarifications of the national makeup of all civilizations. Activists long-term have deliberated the descent of offensive arguments related to women besides their genitals. Unique queries encrustation the activist undertaking in India is exactly how one contract with verbal savagery, which is done interweaved by caste domination, directing bodies of females fitting to particular groups?

Sexualised verbal abuses, usually used in India mention to the genital chunks of mothers, sisters, and descendants. Though, the discourse on by what means women of specific castes are sexualised over and done with verbal abuses has been mainly absent. The cruelty of sexual violence, which establishes concluded semantic in contrast to Dalit women, is such that the aforementioned cannot be imitated in manuscript's horn of conversions or cleansing. Rural sceneries in India are seats where verbal violence is unbridled amenably against Dalit females to disrupt them. For example, one specific expression amongst the men as of Jat caste utters that "you must not really knowledgeable the terrestrial up until you must knowledgeable the Dalit women" (Khan, 2014). Voguish Uttar Pradesh the expression, "*a bloke remains not content up until he has consumed goat's milk as well as a Chamar woman's body*" is usually recycled amongst leading besides upper caste men. These expressions transport into view the landscape of expert which overriding/upper caste men isometrics over the anatomies of Dalit females and the level of exemption they relish straight subsequently obligating caste slaughters of a sexual landscape against Dalit women. Now Lalasa Devi's circumstance, beforehand clutching his prey the upper-caste squire allegedly said "*Chamar... whatever you can prepare to me?*" In deed subsequently, he was repeating the power he aerobics by means of an upper-caste man above Chamars, the susceptibility of Lalasa Devi by way of a immobilized Chamar woman besides the exemption relished through him, which confirms, he will not be located impeached. The sequence of rapes of Dalit women, corresponding in Lalasa Devi's circumstance, which must occur as soon as the wounded offered at evening to dismiss them, have been allied to the subject of absence of toilets as per the chief source of the rape. Though absence of rudimentary amenities divests one as of care and safety, a superior setting of hierarchy and hegemony is practical in the snatching and rape of Lalasa Devi, wherever she is 'solely' a Dalit woman besides the committee is an upper-caste man. The community using the aforementioned unbending construction can be decoded finished the influence trellis of caste system, which is essential to a community in all its features. Alternative, feature of Lalasa Devi's rape is that it happened on the carnival of Holi. The centenary of Holi, "*as soon as folk saturate one extra in tinted water, swallow intoxicants and involve in sensual production*" (Vanita, 2015, p. 276), has as well been connected through a sexually thrilling atmosphere wherever men escape with unsolicited sexual loans in the direction of females underneath the costume of frolicking Holi. Eve teasing besides hurling water balloons (Patel, 2014) on women throughout the Holi week is fortified and extensively experienced.

Nearby are mounting occurrences of "sexual developments in the direction of Dalit women through the property aristocracy throughout Holi centenary flush in newer asbeside with occurrences of their rape and

molestation” (Srivastava, 2007, p.36). Uttam Kamble has recognized the historicity of the repetition of sexually abusing Dalit women throughout the Okali commemoration which is alike to Holi, where upper caste men flung water on *devadasi* women and frolicked through their bodies exploiting the whole slice with the impartial squat of sexual interaction (cited in Jamanadas, 2000). Constructions of caste and patriarchy institutionalise the forms of Dalit women intended for the entertaining besides sexual pleasure of men who are positioned advanced than them in the caste hierarchy (Rowena, 2012). Dubey (2003, p. 241) minutes that the Kunbi agriculturalists in the Vidarbha area of Maharashtra, who are on the viewpoint for females of the Mahar (a Dalit sub-caste) caste employed in their arenas as labourers, frequently say through disrespect “*Stretch her an insufficient events of ounce and she will be silent.*” It is not astonishing that juncture that a monstrous corruption was dedicated against Dalit women by men of Kunbi and Kalar caste in Khairlanji which is correspondingly situated in the Bhandara region of Vidarbha region. The Khairlanji occurrence must be recited in the steadiness of Dalit women’s domination in the area slightly than a strange event, though the measure of violence was unparalleled. Khairlanji signifies the conclusion of periods of sexual violence against Dalit womenfolk by dominant caste men in one solo act. In altogether the overhead stated sexual smears the dominant caste men appeal Dalit women’s genitalia through “*derision, contempt, and hatred*” (Geetha, 2012, p. 1). The overriding class man repeats two truths by deed this, main he is mentioning to the ‘low’ birth rank of Dalit women and secondly, he is repeating the detail that Dalit women’s sexuality can be effortlessly “*exchanged, misappropriated, and continuous orientations to the woman’s ‘availability’ bolt version her a inert thing that can be effortlessly replaced upon*”.

V. GENDER HIERARCHIES, CASTE VIOLENCE

Women’s realism in the caste society cannot be unspoken as a similar involvement. The unsatisfactory social relations amid Dalit women and overriding/upper caste females are grounded on the ceremonial purity. Consequently, respect and disrespect of women in caste society is created on the ceremonial eminence of females. Vague the power-grid of caste and gender orders, Dalit women are situated at the lowermost stair, creating them triply oppressed in terms of caste, class and gender. It is for the reason that of this mechanical position that Dalit females were rendered ranks like - *devadasi*, *dai* (midwife), *dayan* (witch)” (Kumar, 2009, p.70). Dalit women’s mounting declaration fetched almost through admittance to education, constitutional rights and the Dalit movement, contest the caste and male-controlled ladders which trace them not only underneath the upper-caste men or Dalit men. Females as of upper-caste/dominant-caste upbringings have been contributory in committing sexual violence on Dalit women, lengthways by upper-caste/dominant caste males. Geetha (2012).

Interpret exactly how leading caste women have been complicit in the violence against Dalits by way of they have a pale in preservative their intelligence of self-purity, “distinct by philosophies of admiration and discernible by communal detachment amongst the castes”. The damage of power practiced through upper-castes outstanding to the social climbing of Dalit women is seized in the subsequent two expressions: “*Bitiya Chamar Ki, Nam Rajraniya* significance ‘*daughter of a Chamar, has a regal designation like that of the dominant queen*’ and ‘*Chappal par Chamarin Chale, Sandal Par Dhobniya... Hai Mor Rama Badal Gail Duniya*’ denotation ‘the Chamar woman is tiring Chappals; the washerwoman is wearing sandals... Oh my Lord Rama, the world has changed!!!’ (Kumar, 2009, p.72). The two expressions are thoughtful of habits in which social and economic flexibility of Dalit women tests the domination of leading and upper-caste groups. In Delta Meghwal’s rape and murder, the hostel warden Priya Shukla, a woman from the Brahmin community, ordered Delta to go to her male teacher’s room to clean it, where Delta was raped by the male teacher and next day her body was found in a water tank. There are multi-layered shades to this performance. Delta was the principal woman in her communal who was conferred by an admired prize as of the state government.

VI. RESPONSE OF THE STATE

The minute Bhanwari Devi was occupied to the police station by dint of the pracheta (block level worker), the Deputy Superintendent of Police specified that outstanding to individual hostility many brand untrue claims. Although investigative Bhanwari Devi intended for ciphers of wound, he contemptuously asked, “*Madam, do you know the meaning of rape?*” (Mathur, 1992, p. 22). The preconception of the police in Bhanwari’s condition was the substance was transported to the court. The decision assumed in Bhanwari Devi’s circumstance can be understood by way of an arresting instance of abandonment of justice, stranded on caste-membership or honour. In November 1995, the District and Sessions Court of Jaipur, Rajasthan, innocent five men who had gang-raped Bhanwari Devi uttering that “the rapists are middle-aged as well as consequently reputable countries, whereas rape is frequently committed by teenagers”. Moreover, the verdict conditions that “subsequently the delinquents were upper-caste men and comprised a Brahmin, the rape may well not have occupied residence, since Bhanwari was from a lower caste” (Sinha, 2003, p. 24). Taisha Abraham (2012) rightly points out how the judgement “naturalises rape as a passing phase in growing up,

thereby denying the fact that rape also revolves around issues of power and control” (p. 153). Rape here is also being seen as a form of recreation for adolescent males, who enlargeas of this childishnessas soon as they developadults or middle aged men. The groups of ‘respectable’, ‘upper-caste’ and ‘male’ were appealedto hypothesis an antithesis and strengthenBhanwari Devi who is ‘lower-caste’ and ‘female’, and consequently ‘non-respectable’. The decision refers to Bhanwari Devi’s status as a ‘lower caste woman’ to prove that she automatically becomes a ‘non-rape able’ entity for the upper-caste male. The judgement bases itself in the caste restrictions placed on social interactions within the caste system which forbid the higher castes to have social or sexual relations with the lower castes and Dalits. Notwithstanding, the judgement rejects the historical nature of caste patriarchies which have subjected lower-caste and dalit women in varying degrees to sexual exploitation at the hands of dominant and upper-caste males. The agency of the judge, in this case, is rooted in his own caste location which identifies Bhanwari Devi primarily as a ‘lower caste woman,’ rather than a citizen with constitutional safeguards. The judgement illustrates that Indian judiciary is not free from caste prejudice and patriarchal bias reducing social justice to a distant dream.

VII. FORMS OF VIOLENCE

The mainstream of the 500 Dalit females have confrontednumerousprocedures of violence completed the past five years, whichever in one event, or in a sequence of events of ferocity, in whichever or together the overallpublic and the domestic. The additionalrecurrentprocedures of ferocity that are committed against the mainstream of Dalit females are verbal abuse (62.4% of total women), physical assault (54.8%), sexual harassment and assault (46.8%), domestic violence (43.0%) and rape (23.2%), in descendent order. Though the residualprocedures of violence are confronted by comparativelyscarcer Dalit women (less than 10% of total women per form of violence), this does not reduction their seriousness, exactlysince of the qualitative issue of strengthexisting in these forms of violence.

Verbal abuse from associates of the universalcommunal, practiced by a group of women, comprisescriticalpractice of caste designations and caste descriptionsdebatably amounting to “hate speech”, in addition to sexually obviousabuses, gendered appellations and intimidations. One-third of these women have confronted violence frequently, representative the characteristic nature of this procedure of violence. This verbal abuse likewiseacmes the committers’ worldview where Dalit women are understood as deprived of any privileges in the “natural” caste hierarchy, as empty of someprerogative to capitals or respect, and by way ofcontinuouslysexually obtainabledeprived ofsomeobligation for the women’s agreement.

Saiamma, a 32-year-old Dalit woman who was chosen as president of the local MandalPrajaParishad in Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh in 1999, was battered and daunted by the dominant caste men who originallyfortified her to competitionselections. They said, “*You are a Mala woman; you are not qualifiedto be in this post... you cannot sit in the MPP seat in front of us. If you sit in that chair, it degrades us; you are eligible to sit only in a normal chair. Just sign wherever we say and apply for three months’ leave and go away! ...If you don’t listen to us, you cannot survive in this village.*” She considered her options, and eventually resigned from the position, allowing the dominant caste Vice-President to take over the work.

Verbal abuse often accompanied physical assault, perpetrated against women. Over events of physical assault on these women were logged, with womenfrontingunvarying physical assaults. This combination of violence further links in many cases to a spectrum of sexual violence, from sexual harassment and/or sexual assault, to rape or gang rape. Although many women had been raped in one or more incidents, when it came to sexual harassment and/or sexual assault, often the violence occurred several times. Where the male perpetrator has some social or economic hold over the woman, such as her employer, or simply belongs to a dominant caste, then this violence sometimes developed into regular, coerced or induced sexual encounters or sexual exploitation.

Kidnapping or abduction of Dalit women, as experienced by women, often led to their forced incarceration and even rape or sexual exploitation. The targets are Dalit women from the time they attain puberty. Hence, parents’ fear of their daughters being sexually assaulted and thereby becoming “unmarriageable” explains why, especially in northern states such as Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, Dalit women are getting married at ages as young as five years. At the extreme end of the sexual violence spectrum also lies forced prostitution, experienced by women across the four study states. Half of these women are Joginis, dedicated to temple goddesses from early ages in Andhra Pradesh and thereafter considered as religiously-sanctioned village prostitutes. Other women had been forced into prostitution after being sexually exploited by their dominant caste landlord-employers, or by their husbands, or in one case by the police.

Uma Kumari, a 24-year-old Dalit woman from Jammui district, Bihar was raped by a dominant casteman in 2003. The police assured her mother that they would arrest the accused that day itself. However, they did not take any action. Instead, hearing of the police case, the perpetrator and ten other men of his caste dragged Uma

and her mother to a nearby ravine that night and then took turns to gang-rape both women for 18 hours. They were left with the threat of death if Uma Kumaritook the matter further.

Incidents of forced incarceration have been endured by Dalit women, involving for some Women false cases leading to their detention, or arrest and imprisonment. The failure of the police to fulfil their duty to uphold law and order in these cases stemmed from police negligence or bias in initiating these cases against the women. Otherwise, half of these women had experienced being incarcerated in the perpetrator's home, or workplace, or in some isolated or rented building, bringing in the element of kidnapping and sexual violence from various non-state actors. When it comes to medical negligence, doctors and nurses have also demonstrated failure in their professional duty of care towards Dalit women, through careless or pressurised operations especially as regards family planning, or discrimination in turning away Dalit women in need of serious medical attention.

Five-months pregnant Suchitra Devi from Ghaziabad district in Uttar Pradesh miscarried in 2002 after being shoved, jeered at and humiliated by dominant castes while attempting to stand in the same queue to access the public distribution shop. She had been waiting for hours to receive her rations. The PDS shopkeeper furthered her humiliation by saying, "How many times have I told you, you don't even have to wait in the queue! Just come to my house at night and I'll give you all the 'ration' you want!" When she approached the traditional village panchayat for justice, they said that they could do nothing unless she knew who had pushed her. At this point Suchitra Devi realised "I will get no justice because I am a Bhangi".

VIII. EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE

Violence against Dalit women causes social, physical and mental trauma to women, much of which is long-term suffering. Where violence is committed with impunity, aided by the failure of the police to effect arrests and prosecutions, the fact of the perpetrators and their colluders in the violence freely moving about the village and often intimidating the woman and her family has a deep psychological impact. Significant are feelings of the futility of legal justice and fatalism about positive changes to address such violence.

Twenty-three women endured long-term sexual health complications, while seven women miscarried as a result of violence meted out to them. Sexual violence resulted in women becoming pregnant, though women either opted for or were forced to undertake abortions, and one woman's family killed her child at birth. Social effects of violence include economic punishment in terms of the destruction of Dalit women's livelihood or loss of employment or social boycotts (four women). Around 8% of Dalit women (39 women) expressed their inability to get married or to get their child married where especially sexual violence had occurred. Violence also restricted many Dalit women's freedom of movement, while eight girls quit their education due to violence. Otherwise, Dalit women were ostracised from their families (57 women), or their community (16 women), or deserted by their husbands (17 women), or forced to leave their homes (80 women) because of violence in either or both the general community and the family. Finally, 9.6% of women (48 women) experienced contempt or ridicule in the villages following the violence perpetrated against them, often reinforcing the idea that somehow the women were to be blamed for the violence meted out to them. Thus, the harm caused to Dalit women by violence does not stop at the act itself; it has long-term and multiplying social, psychological and physical effects that are not being addressed. Outside of the social movements and organisations working with the community, little supportive or counselling mechanisms exist in India today to deal with caste-and-gender based violence meted out to Dalit women. The result is that the lives of many Dalit women are underwritten by layers of trauma, hindering their rights to live with dignity and reach their full potential.

IX. COURAGE, STRENGTH AND RESILIENCE AND RESILIENCE OF DALIT WOMEN

Despite all these experiences of violence that leave grave marks on Dalit women's lives and dominant caste perpetrators constantly reiterating gender-based caste norms and Dalit gender subordination, the narratives of the Dalit women also evidence their courage, strength and resilience. To assert their right to live a life with dignity. Apart from the courage that Dalit women have shown during violence, their resilience in the post-violence phase is manifested in two respects: first, their determination to pursue a course of action, whatever may be the expected or unexpected outcome, to set right the harm done by the violence; secondly, the tenacity they have shown in their various attempts to sustain their lives against all odds, refusing to let their lives disintegrate further as a result of the violence they have experienced. Whether this was done with success or otherwise in terms of achieving a legal remedy for the injustice they had faced or improving their living conditions, what is significant are their efforts to survive and sustain their lives in some form or another.

It is ironic that instead of the Indian State being the custodian of constitutional rights, it is Dalit women themselves who often dare to uphold the rule of law in the face of the “rule of caste”. This is evident from cases where Dalit women assert their rights to equality and fundamental freedoms of life, and also where they approach established legal justice mechanisms instead of taking the law into their own hands as the perpetrators have done..

Vinnarasi, a 30-year old Dalit woman from Villupuram district, Tamil Nadu filed a police case of sexual assault against a dominant caste man who wanted to take over her land in 2002. She says, “A thing of this sort, a humiliating affair, has happened to me because I was born into a Dalit community. Never would such a humiliating situation befall a ‘high’ caste woman. I won’t leave the man who assaulted me without seeing him punished. To abolish the caste system and to procure punishment for all casteist and chauvinist men, I would act by extending all possible help to anyone working for this cause.”

Failure by the Indian state and civil society to respond to Dalit women’s legitimate expectations results in these women experiencing greater marginalisation, to the detriment of a healthy and vibrant democratic polity. There also lies a possibility of increased questioning of the rule of law as the appropriate means to securing justice. What Dr B.R. Ambedkar said in 1949 on the occasion of the

Third Reading of the Indian Constitution is well worth noting in this regard:

“On [enacting the Constitution], we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one [wo]man one vote and one vote onevalue. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our

political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up.

X. CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

In flouting of together national laws and global human rights values that forbid any physical, sexual or psychological violence against women, changing forms of intense acts exactly directing Dalit women are happening on a large scale crossways India today. That physical (affecting bodily integrity), verbal (affecting the psyche), and sexual (affecting bodily/sexual integrity) viciousness are the most shared, and frequently mutual, measures of violence proposes that at each level Dalit. Women’s personae are existence criticized. Furthermore, assumed that greatest of this ferocity is happening in public seats, the extradisgrace of existence dishonoured in community energies home a memorandum not only to all Dalit woman, but also to her family and community, that she is not careful well-intentioned of existence preserved with respect, admiration for human self-respect. By way of Dalit females also knowledge ferocity in the personal, they are efficiently left-hand through no safe seats in which to easily fast themselves and spread their full possible. Dalit women would seem to be tremendously susceptible to hostility mainly by leading caste folks in their villages and settlements. Dominant caste status, often shared with male-controlled standing and armoured by a dominant class situation (for example, being a landlord), efficiently legitimises numerous leading caste men’s implementation of power, authority and force over Dalit women. Furthermore, reading over Dalit women’s descriptions discloses the *pan-religious component* in that committers of ferocity come from all main Indian faiths – Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs, indicating that even in non-Hindu traditions the caste hierarchy trumps religious ideals of equality and respect for all human existences.

The variety of causal issues for violence in the overall community is straight attributable to universal *caste-class-gender factors* that assign *Dalit women’s* low rank in culture and resulting disempowerment and mistreatment. By the side of the core is patriarchy, which is gender-based and gender-biased against women. *Male workout of male-controlled influence to conquer women is openly established in their bouts on Dalit women’s sexual and bodily integrity*, as well as their privileges in inter-personal relations with men. All at once, patriarchy in India is prejudiced by the caste system and its characteristic disparities rising as of hierarchal arranging of the system. Dalit women develop exactly beleaguered for vehemence as an consequence of their placing at the bottom of together gender and caste ladders, which overlook violence against those Dalit females who break caste and untouchability standards by declaring their accurate to parity, or outlaws Dalit women’s movements, or thinks it socio-culturally satisfactory to commit sexual ferocity on Dalit women.

Furthermore, strengthening of Dalit women’s absence of or renunciation of access to land and additional economic capital over strength opinions to their real class relegation in order to recall them as usable

labour force aimed at their mostly dominant caste owners. There are also interconnections among disavowal of Dalit women's socio-economic privileges or right to maintenance, and the renunciation of their civil rights; that is, their aptitude to complaint and protect themselves contingent to a countless degree on their consuming a complete financial base. Lastly, *the lack of civil and political freedoms*, counting the correct to fairness and defence of the law in the occasion of ferocity captivating dwelling, support the disempowerment of Dalit females at all heights. Such ferocity is vital to the upkeep of class assemblies and unsatisfactory supremacy relatives in society, which helps to high point important parts needful crucial interference to protection Dalit women's important privileges. Likewise, the array of fundamental issues for ferocity in the family proposes the replica of the supermale-controlled caste system's standards in Dalit women's individual lives and connections in their public.

Finally, the culture of license built into the caste scheme has extensive insinuation to the extent that violence against Dalit women is worried. License for violence strengthens those caste-based philosophies of (in) justice triumph over self-governing privileges and the instruction of law in the republic. Fairness himself develops clear in rapports of caste-and-gender freedoms, with ferocity portion to support caste law and instruction at the heavy expenditure of Dalit women's rights. Violence against Dalit women therefore offerings one of the utmost tests to the communal justice system in the country, profession for instant and all-inclusive corrective act at all heights of the administration, law and order agents, the judiciary and civil society.

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