



# A Sociological Analysis of Women Victims of Atrocities in Bihar

This study explores the violence faced by Dalit, OBC/EBC, and Muslim women in Bihar. It highlights issues like gender violence, caste discrimination, and religious hate crimes. The research also looks at legal failures, the struggles of victims, and the lack of support. It aims to bring awareness and suggest solutions for justice and protection.

### **KEY DISCUSSIONS**

Violence Against Women
Caste-Based Atrocities
Religious Hate Crimes
Legal & Judicial Barriers
Victims' Challenges
State & Institutional Failures
Psychosocial & Economic Impact
Policy & Legal Reforms



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### **FOREWORD**

It is with great pleasure that I present "A Sociological Analysis of Women Victims of Atrocities in Bihar", a study based on case studies of women victims and survivors of crimes, primarily from Dalit (Scheduled Caste), Bahujan (Economically Backward Classes/Other Backward Class), and Muslim communities in Bihar. This report has been compiled from the work of Bihar Legal Network, MKVS (Mazdoor Kisan Vikas Sansthan), and Eva Foundation.

For centuries, Dalits in India have faced systematic marginalization, exclusion, and violations of their human rights. The situation in Bihar mirrors this national reality. Dalit women are often subjected to severe discrimination and violence. This discrimination stems not only from entrenched gender biases but also from the deep-rooted caste system that continues to plague our society. In recent years, Bihar has witnessed a disturbing rise in atrocities, hate crimes, lynchings, social boycotts, assaults, and forced conversions, particularly targeting Dalits and Muslims.

In response to this, a group of lawyers and social activists, many from Dalit and Muslim backgrounds, united to form the Bihar Legal Network to seek justice for victims and survivors of crimes within the legal framework provided by the Indian Constitution and the law of the land. In this context, the primary task that Bihar Legal Network undertook was collecting and documenting the case stories of victims of crimes belonging to SC, EBC/OBC, and Muslim communities across 22 districts in Bihar.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Adv. Imtiyaz Ansari, Adv. Siraj Ahmad, Adv. Mukesh Paswan, Adv. Faiyaz Baitha, Adv. Mamta Minj, Adv. Nand Sagar, Adv. Ibrar Raza, Ms. Nisha Kumari, and Mr. Tridib Mondal for their tireless work in documenting these case studies. Their dedication has been instrumental in shaping the findings of this report.

I am also immensely grateful to CCFD-TERRE SOLIDAIRE for their generous financial support and guidance, which made this report possible. Special thanks are due to Dr. Sadanand Bag (Ph.D. from JNU, New Delhi), an independent researcher, for his meticulous work in compiling this report in a short span of time.

Last but not the least, I would like to acknowledge Mr. Naveen Gautam for his insightful suggestions, Mr. Sudipto Das for reviewing the work, and Mr. Navneet Chandra and Adv. Mohd. Shahrukh for their commendable efforts in final formatting and proofreading the report. Their contributions have ensured the quality and presentation of this work.

I hope this report serves as a valuable resource for readers, legal professionals, social advocates, and activists in their ongoing efforts to combat violence against women, especially those from Dalit, EBC/OBC, and Muslim communities in Bihar.

Savita Ali Director, MKVS

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### **ABBREVIATIONS**

| BJP:          | Bharatiya Janata Party                                                                        |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| EBC:          | Extremely Backward Class                                                                      |
| GO:           | Government Order                                                                              |
| IC:           | Internal Committee                                                                            |
| IIC:          | Internal Complaints Committee                                                                 |
| IPC:          | Indian Penal Code                                                                             |
| LC:           | Local Committee                                                                               |
| MKVS:         | Mazdoor Kisan Vikas Sansthan                                                                  |
| MLA:          | Member of Legislative Assembly                                                                |
| NCRB:         | National Crime Records Bureau                                                                 |
| NCSC:         | National Commission for Scheduled Castes                                                      |
| NCST:         | National Commission for Scheduled Tribes                                                      |
| NGO:          | Non-Government Organisation                                                                   |
| OBC:          | Other Backward Class                                                                          |
| PLV:          | Para-Legal Volunteer                                                                          |
| PWDVA:        | Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005                                          |
| PoA:          | Prevention of Atrocities                                                                      |
| POCSO<br>Act: | Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012                                         |
| PoSH Act:     | The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 |
| SC:           | Scheduled Castes                                                                              |
| ST            | Scheduled Tribes                                                                              |
| WHO:          | World Health Organization                                                                     |

### **Chapter-I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

As per World Health Organization (WHO) findings about 1 in 3 (35%) women worldwide have experienced either physical or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime. Violence against women is a social, economic, developmental, legal, educational, human right, and health (physical and mental) issue. Violence against women occurs throughout the life cycle from prebirth, infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood to old age.

The United Nations defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."

In India, crimes against women still remains a grave concern. The National Crime Records Bureau's (NCRB) 'Crime in India' report for the year 2022 shows that of the six million crimes that police in India recorded between 1 January and 31 December 2021, 428,278 cases involved crimes against women. It's a rise of 26.35% over six years - from 338,954 cases in 2016. A majority of the cases in 2021, the report said, were of kidnappings and abduction, rapes, domestic violence, dowry deaths and assaults. Also, 107 women were attacked with acid, 1,580 women were trafficked, 15 girls were sold and 2,668 women were victims of cybercrimes. With more than 56,000 cases, the northern state of Uttar Pradesh, which is India's most populous with 240 million people, once again topped the list. It was followed by Rajasthan with 40,738 cases and Maharashtra with 39,526 cases.

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Historically, oppressor castes in India have held power and influence, while oppressed castes have faced discrimination, socio-economic exclusion, and have been subjected to various forms of violence/crimes. India's over 200 million Dalits (formerly known as untouchables) find themselves among the nation's most marginalized citizens. They are condemned to the lowest echelons of society due to a rigid caste hierarchy. Despite progress in education, income, and health through state quotas, many Dalits still occupy occupations shunned by others, such as disposing of dead animals and cleaning sewers. The worse sufferers of this caste-based discrimination, exclusion and violence are the women and girls of the marginalised castes i.e. Dalit or Scheduled Castes (SC) and Adivasi or Scheduled Tribes (ST).

women#:~:text=The%20United%20Nations%20defines%20violence,private%20life%22%20(1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Violence Against Women," Drishti IAS, https://www.drishtiias.com/printpdf/violence-against-women

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> United Nations. Declaration on the elimination of violence against women. New York: UN, 1993. https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "Rising Crimes Against Indian Women in Five Charts." BBC News (Sept. 13, 2022), Delhi, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-62817218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> "In Pictures: The Many Lives of India's Dalits," BBC News, Dec. 21, 2023, https://www.bbc.com/news/in-pictures-the-many-lives-of-indias-dalits.

As far as crimes against women in the state of Bihar is concerned, Bihar witnessed a 16.8% increase in crimes against women in 2021, compared to the previous year as per the NCRB **Report 2021.** A total of 17,950 cases were reported, up from 15,359 in 2020. These crimes encompass various categories, including dowry deaths, cruelty by husbands or relatives, kidnapping, human trafficking, rape, and assault with intent to outrage modesty. According to the **National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5)**, Bihar ranks second only to Karnataka (48%) in cases of domestic violence. Additionally, the Bihar Economic Survey report indicates a 13.05% increase in the number of cases registered and disposed of relating to crimes committed against women in 2021-22, compared to the previous year.

In this context, **Bihar Legal Network and Mazdoor Kisan Vikas Sansthan (MKVS)**, jointly initiated a study to (a) document lived experiences of selected victims and survivors of crimes, particularly belonging to SC, EBC/OBC, and Muslim communities in Bihar; (b) conduct a sociological analysis of women victims and survivors of atrocities, particularly belonging to SC, EBC/OBC, and Muslim communities in Bihar to understand their plights, experiences and challenges; and (c) come up with certain recommendations that can be used for advocacy purposes for ensuring justice to the women victims of crimes in Bihar.

#### ABOUT BIHAR LEGAL NETWORK

Bihar Legal Network, an initiative started in 2021, is a network of over 250 Lawyers and Socio-Legal professionals coming from SC and ST and minority (Muslim) backgrounds across the State of Bihar. The network provides affordable legal support to the socially and economically backward, marginalized and vulnerable sections of society, who cannot afford legal resources to access justice. Along with that, the network provides counselling services to victims and survivors of crimes, and legal education & training to young lawyers, students, social workers, and activists.

The idea of this network originated from the politics of decentralizing power and address the growing wave of atrocities, hate crimes, lynchings, social boycotts, assaults, and forced conversions targeting Dalits and Muslims, particularly in the last decade. The network provided a platform for lawyers and social activists from Dalit and Muslim communities in Bihar to advocate for justice on behalf of victims and survivors of such crimes.

#### ABOUT MAZDOOR KISAN VIKAS SANSTHAN (MKVS)

MKVS is an organisation situated in Patna, the capital city of Bihar State. MKVS's primary objective is to empower and uplift Dalit and Muslim women in Bihar by recognizing and enhancing their leadership abilities, promoting feminist perspectives, and increasing their legal knowledge. MKVS aims to achieve this by creating opportunities of collaboration and partnership between Dalit women and mainstream women's networks, fostering unity and amplifying their collective voices. The goal of MKVS is to establish a more just and inclusive society for Dalit and Muslim women in Bihar.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "16.8% Rise in Crime Against Women in Bihar," The Times of India, Aug. 31, 2022, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/16-8-rise-in-crime-against-women-in-bihar/articleshow/93890820.cms.

#### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

- a. To identify and document lived experiences of women victims and survivors of atrocities in Bihar, encompassing various forms of crimes such as caste-based violence, gender-based violence, discrimination, and other targeted offenses.
- b. To conduct a sociological analysis of women victims of atrocities, particularly belonging to SC, EBC/OBC and Muslims in Bihar through the case stories documented.
- c. To provide recommendations and actionable insights that can contribute to the development of policies and programs aimed at supporting, rehabilitating, and empowering atrocity victims and survivors.

#### **TARGET GROUPS**

Women victims of atrocities belonging to SC, OBC/EBC and Muslim communities in Bihar.

#### UNIVERSE AND SAMPLING

The study collected/documented 200 stories of lived experiences in the form of case studies of victims and survivors of atrocities (143 Female & 57 Male), particularly belonging to SC, EBC/OBC and Muslims communities, from 22 Districts of Bihar, such as Patna, Sitamarhi, Gaya, Aurangabad, Katihar, Saran, Nalanda, Muzaffarpur, Begusarai, Bihar Sharif, Rohtas, Kaimur, Supaul, Munger, Kishanganj, Samastipur, West Champaran, Aara, Vaishali, Nawada, Siwan and Danapur. However, for the purpose of this study only the case studies of women victims and survivors of crimes belonging to SC, EBC/OBC and Muslim communities have been considered.

#### METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

The study adopted a mixed methodology of quantitative and qualitative tools. The data/information was collected from two sources i.e., primary and secondary.

The primary information collected was through documentation of case studies (stories) of victims of atrocities, particularly belonging to SC, EBC/OBC and Muslims in Bihar. The case studies were collected/documented by the Bihar Legal Network and MKVS along with its sister wing- Eva Foundation by:

- a) directly reaching out to the victims and survivors of crimes after getting information about them from local contacts
- b) in certain cases, the victims or their family members approached the Bihar Legal Network for legal assistance and support,
- c) though fact-finding of the media reports covered by various newspapers and social media platforms.

The secondary sources involved government reports, newspaper reports, research reports, etc.

#### LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study was conducted using random sampling to identify and document the case studies. Therefore, the data and results may not be representative of the target groups. However, we believe that the outcome of the study will help women victims of atrocities, particularly belonging to SC, EBC/OBC and Muslim communities in Bihar.

### **Chapter-II**

#### CRIMES AGAINST DALITS AND ADIVASIS IN INDIA

Historically oppressed, over 200 million Dalits who constitute 20% of India's population today still live on the fringes of society. They are born into a lifetime of marginalization, exclusion, and human rights violations. The term "Dalit" refers to the group commonly known as the "untouchables" in India and other South Asian countries, especially Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan. These individuals face systemic discrimination and stigma, affecting their access to education, employment, and social opportunities. <sup>6</sup>

Efforts have been made to address these issues, including reservations in state institutions for Dalits, which have narrowed gaps in education, income, and health to an extent. However, the struggle for equality and justice continues, and advocacy remains crucial to improving the situation for Dalits in India.<sup>7</sup>

The National Crime Records Bureau's (NCRB) 'Crime in India' report for the year 2022 shows Dalits in India continue to be vulnerable to caste-based atrocities. With 57,582 cases registered for committing crime against SCs in 2022, the data reflects an increase of 13.1% over 2021 (50,900 cases). The highest number of cases (18,428) accounting for 32% of the total cases were registered under simple hurt followed by cases under criminal intimidation with 9.2% (5,274 cases) and SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act with 8.2% (4,703 cases).

A total of 10,064 cases were registered for committing crime against Adivasis or STs, an increase of 14.3% over 2021 (8,802 cases). The crime rate increased from 8.4 in 2021 to 9.6 in 2022. The report reveals that 1,347 cases of rape and 1022 cases of assault on tribal women were reported in 2022. In crimes against STs, most are in the category of simple hurt cases (2,826).

In India, Uttar Pradesh (15,368), Rajasthan (8,752), Madhya Pradesh (7,733), and Bihar (6,509) reported the highest number of crimes against SCs. In UP, the number of crimes against SCs went up from 13146 in 2021 to 15368 in 2022 - an increase of 16%. The figure was 12714 in 2020. Madhya Pradesh (2,979) and Rajasthan (2,521) also recorded the highest number of cases over crimes against STs. <sup>10</sup>

#### Crimes against Dalit and Adivasi Women in India

In most of the cases of crimes in India, Dalit and Adivasi women are at the receiving end. Rape cases involving Scheduled Caste women, including minors, make up 7.64% of all reported cases, amounting to 3,893 incidents. Of these, 2,585 cases involve adult Dalit women, while 1,285 cases involve minors. Cases of Rape, Attempt to rape, Assault on women to outrage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> "Dalit-Born Life of Discrimination," OHCHR, https://www.ohchr.org/en/stories/2021/04/dalit-born-life-discrimination-and-stigma

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "Socio-Economic Overview of Dalits," Round Table India, https://www.roundtableindia.co.in/socio-economic-overview-of-dalits-in-india/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>"Crimes Against STs: Crimes Against SCs Went Up 13% and Against STs by 14.3% in 2022," The Times of India, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/crimes-against-sts-crimes-against-scs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

her modesty and Kidnapping of women and minors cumulatively stood at 16.8% (8,570 cases).

Cases of rape against Schedule Tribe women stood at 15% (1,324 cases) of the total cases reported. Cases of rape, attempt to rape, assault on women to outrage her modesty, and kidnapping cumulatively stood at 26.8% (2,364 cases).

Cases of murder, attempt to murder and grievous hurt were reported as 967, 916 and 1286 respectively against Scheduled Caste women. Similarly for Scheduled Tribe women, Cases of murder, attempt to murder and grievous hurt were reported as 199, 148 and 114 respectively.

The number of pending and disposed of cases of atrocities against SCs and STs that also give a very gloomy picture. A total of 70,818 cases of atrocities against SC were pending for investigation at the end of the year 2021, including previous year cases. Similarly, 12,159 Cases of atrocities against ST were pending for investigation.

A total of 52,159 cases of atrocities against SCs and 8825 Cases of atrocities against STs were disposed of by police. Charge sheeting percentage for the atrocities against Scheduled Castes ended with 80.0% and 81.4% for Scheduled Tribes.

A total of 263,512 cases of atrocities against SCs and 42,512 cases of atrocities against STs came for trial in the court. Out of these cases, trials in 10108 of atrocities against SCs were completed and 1947 cases for STs.

Conviction percentage under the SCs and STs (PoA) Act in conjunction with IPC remained at 36.0% for SCs and 28.1% for STs.

The number of cases acquitted (includes acquittal as well as the cases where the accused is discharged) is 5628 cases for SCs and 1399 for STs. At the end of the year 96.0% of cases of atrocities against SCs were pending for trial whereas for STs, the percentage stood at 95.4%. <sup>11</sup>

It is a matter of grave concern that, "[e]ven after the amendments came in force in year 2016, which generated a hope to the Dalit and Adivasis victims in accessing speedy justice, the implementation of the amended SCs and STs (PoA) Amended Act 2015 remains a challenge. With the audacity with which crimes are conducted it is very much evident that there is complete absence of fear and lawlessness. Apart from violence, being perpetrated on Dalits and Adivasis, there has been an increase in Untouchability practices in schools, access to drinking water, access to education, healthcare, and dignity remains a challenge. 12

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> "Crimes Against Dalits, Tribals Increased in 2021: NCRB," Maktoob Media, Sept. 5, 2022, https://maktoobmedia.com/crimes-against-dalits-tribals-2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Statement by National Dalit Movement for Justice (NDMJ)-NCDHR.

### **Chapter-III**

#### **BIHAR: ABRIEF PROFILE**

Bihar is a society deeply rooted in caste, characterized by entrenched semi-feudal structures and a predominantly rural economy. According to 2011 Census, Bihar is the third most populous state of India with a total population of 104,099,452, of which nearly 89% reside in rural areas. It is also India's most densely populated state, with 1,106 persons per square kilometre. The sex ratio stands at 918 females for every 1000 males. Almost 58% of Bihar's population is under the age of 25, which is the highest in India. With an urbanization rate of 11.3%, Bihar ranks as the second-lowest state in urbanization after Himachal Pradesh.

Hindi and Urdu are the official languages of the state, whilst the majority of the people speak one of the Bihari languages - Bhojpuri, Magadhi, Maithili or Angika. Maithili is also one of the recognised regional languages of India as per the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India.<sup>15</sup>

As per Bihar government's Bihar caste-based survey 2022 report titled as Bihar JaatiAdharitGanana, released on 2 October 2023, the total population of Bihar is 13 crore, out of which Other Backward Class (OBC) population in the State is 27.1286% while, the Extremely Backward Class (EBC) comprises 36.0148%. The Scheduled Caste population in Bihar is at 19.6518% while the Scheduled Tribe population is 1.6824% even as the General Caste population stands at 15.5224%. Among the Other Backward Class group, the Yadavas comprise 14.26% while the Kushwaha and Kurmi castes form 4.27% and 2.87% respectively. The report also revealed that Hindus comprise 81.9986% of the population while the Muslim share is at 17.7088%. <sup>16</sup>

#### Administrative Units of Bihar<sup>17</sup>

| Divisions                  | 9      |
|----------------------------|--------|
| Districts                  | 38     |
| Sub-Divisions              | 101    |
| CD Blocks                  | 534    |
| Panchayats                 | 8,406  |
| Number of Revenue Villages | 45,103 |
| Number of Towns            | 199    |
| Statutory Towns            | 139    |
| Police Stations            | 853    |
| Civil Police Stations      | 813    |
| Railway Police Stations    | 40     |
| Police Districts           | 44     |
| Civil Police District      | 40     |
| Railway Police District    | 4      |

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>"Bihar Profile," Census of India, https://census.gov.in.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> "India Census 2011: Urban and Rural Population," India Facts, https://indiafacts.in/india-census-2011/urban-rural-population-of-india

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>"Demographics of Bihar," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics\_of\_Bihar

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "Bihar Caste Survey | OBCs, EBCs Comprise More Than 63% of State's Population," The Hindu, Oct. 2, 2023, https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/bihar-caste-survey-obcs-ebcs-comprise-more-than-63-of-population/article67371818.ece

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>"Bihar State Profile," Government of Bihar, https://state.bihar.gov.in/main/Content.html?links&page=Bihar%20State%20Profile

# **Chapter-IV**

#### SITUATION OF DALITS IN BIHAR

Dalits in Bihar are a social group composed of many SCs, placed at the bottom of the caste-based social hierarchy. Dalits include some of the erstwhile untouchable castes who suffered various forms of oppression in the feudal-agrarian society of Bihar. They still suffer from stigma and untouchability even after it has been declared as an offence under the law of the land. They are socially frail, economically marginalised and politically powerless.

According to the 2011 Census, Dalits constitute 16% of Bihar's population. 21 out of 23 Dalit castes are categorized as Mahadalits, a new category created by the Bihar government to identify the most underprivileged Dalits. The Mahadalit castes include Bantar, Bauri, Bhogta, Bhuiya, Chaupal, Dabgar, Dom, Ghasi, Halalkhor, Hari (Mehtar, Bhangi), Kanjar, Kurariar, Lal Begi, Musahar, Nat, Pan (Swasi), Rajwar, Turi, Dhobi, Pasi, Chamar, and Paswan (Dusadh). The Paswan caste was initially left out of the Mahadalit category but was later included <sup>18</sup>.

Among the Dalits, the Musahars face extreme deprivation. They survive on rats, snails, snakes, and anything they can find, living in a kind of social thraldom. Sometimes, they even sell themselves and their families into lifelong servitude for paltry sums<sup>19</sup>.

Some notable challenges and struggles that the Dalits of Bihar went through were that, in the post-independence period, land reforms failures led to a lack of socio-economic mobility among Dalits, contrasting with the agricultural castes; Caste-based strife emerged between Dalit-supported Naxalite groups and state authorities backed by dominant social groups; Caste-based private armies, like the dreaded Ranvir Sena, perpetrated massacres against Dalits; some backward castes also became landlords due to partial success in land reform, leading to conflicts with Dalits.

However, in later years, there was a socio-political assertion among Bihar's Dalits. The government of Bihar has also undertaken various welfare drives since the 1990s to improve their condition. However, addressing the historical inequalities still continue to be an ongoing struggle in Bihar.

#### SITUATION OF DALITS WOMEN IN BIHAR

Dalit women in Bihar face a complex reality shaped by their caste, gender, and socio-economic status. The position of Dalit women is more deplorable, compared to their male counterparts. Like the Dalit women from other parts of the country, the Dalit women of Bihar are also twice disadvantaged. Dalit women are subjected to discrimination due to the gender bias that is deep rooted in Indian society as well as for belonging to Dalit community.

Dalit women experience endemic gender-and-caste based discrimination. They are vulnerable due to severely imbalanced social, economic, and political power equations. In Bihar,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "Dalit Communities of Bihar," Wikipedia,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalits in Bihar#:~:text=6%20References

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>"A Socio-Economic Analysis of Dalits," https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/229681603.pdf

Holi celebrations often involve sexually explicit songs, molestation, and even rape of Dalit women. Refusal to satisfy the sexual desires of upper castes has led to the burning of Dalit bastis (settlements) in some cases.<sup>20</sup>

In a corner of Bihar, Dalit women resisted upper-caste restrictions on jewellery by developing a unique form of adornment: tattoos. Using cow dung, bamboo, straw, twigs, and palm, they create intricate designs on their skin, expressing both identity and defiance.<sup>21</sup>

In an horrific incident that happened in 1997, members of the upper-caste Ranvir Sena attacked a Dalit village in Laxmanpur-Bathe, Bihar, which is widely known as Laxmanpur-Bathe Massacre. They raped, mutilated, and massacred Dalit women and men. The violence was a brutal expression of caste-based hatred and power dynamics. There are many instances, where violent search and raid operations on Dalit villages have also led to beatings, arrests, and torture of women in Bihar.

In a recent incident in Mosimpur village of Patna district, A Dalit woman in Bihar was brutally assaulted and stripped naked for refusing to pay an additional interest on a loan of Rs.1,500 she had taken from a village strongman. The man's son also urinated in her mouth, the police said.<sup>22</sup>

It is important to note that India has legal provisions in place to prevent offenses committed by individuals from non-SC/ST communities against members of the SC and ST. These protections are enshrined in **The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes** (**Prevention of Atrocities**) **Act**, **1989**. However, it is a matter of grave concern that in spite of having such legal protection, the cases of atrocities against the members of SC and ST have been on the rise every year rather than going down.

As per Government of India's Report of the SC & ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, for the year 2021, although there is a provision where the State government gives free legal aid to members of SC and ST. However, in the year 2021, not a single person has been given this legal aid. At the same time, in the year 2021, of 994 cases which ended in acquittal, not a single appeal against acquittal has been filed in superior courts in Bihar.<sup>23</sup>

The various provisions of The SC & ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 and The SC & ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Rules, 1995 have been dealt separately in the following chapter along with its implementation in Bihar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Dalit Women Speak Out: Violence Against Dalit Women in India, National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (Mar. 2006), https://idsn.org/reports/dalit-women-speak-out.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "In Pictures: The Many Lives of India's Dalits," BBC News, Dec. 21, 2023, https://www.bbc.com/news/in-pictures-the-many-lives-of-indias-dalits.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> "Dalit Woman Stripped Naked, Urinated Upon Over ₹1,500 Loan in Bihar," NDTV, Sept. 25, 2023, https://www.ndtv.com/dalit-woman-stripped-naked-urinated-upon-in-bihar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Report Under Section 21(4) of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment , Government of India

### **Chapter-V**

# THE SCHEDULED ÇASTES AND THE SCHEDULED TRIBES (PREVENTION OF ATROCITIES) ACT, 1989 AND

### THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND THE SCHEDULED TRIBES (PREVENTION OF ATROCITIES) RULES, 1995<sup>24</sup>

The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 (No. 33 of 1989), hereinafter referred to as the PoA Act, came into force on January 30, 1990. This legislation is designed to prevent offenses committed by individuals from non-SC and non-ST communities against members of the SC and ST groups. The PoA Act also provides for the establishment of special courts to try such offenses, as well as provisions for the relief and rehabilitation of the victims. The Act applies to the entire country, ensuring nationwide legal protection for SC and ST communities.

With an objective of delivering to members of SCs and STs, greater justice, the PoA Act was amended by the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Act, 2015 (No.1 of 2016), notified in the Gazette of India Extraordinary on 01.01.2016 and enforced with effect from 26.01.2016. The amendments broadly relate to rephrasing and expansion of some of earlier offences and addition of several new offences, addition of certain IPC offences committed against members of SCs and STs attracting less than ten years of imprisonment as offences punishable under the PoA Act, establishment of Exclusive Special Courts and specification of Exclusive Special Public Prosecutors to exclusively try the offences under the PoA Act to enable expeditious disposal of cases, power of Special Courts and Exclusive Special Courts to take direct cognizance of offence and as far as possible, completion of trial of the case within two months from the date of filing of the charge sheet, addition of chapter on the "Rights of Victims and Witnesses' and willful negligence of a public servant in discharging duties for registration of complaints, recording statement of witnesses, Conducting Investigation and fling charges and any other duties specified In the Act and Rules.

The PoA Act is Implemented by the respective State Governments and Union Territory Administrations, which are provided admissible Central assistance under the Centrally Sponsored Scheme for effective implementation of the provisions of the Act.

#### The main provisions of the PoA Act:

- i. Defines offences of atrocities and prescribes punishment therefore, (Section 3).
- ii. Punishment for willful neglect of duties by non-SC/ST public servants (Section 4).
- iii. Establishing an Exclusive Special Court for one or more districts, specifying Court of Session to be a Special Court for speedy trial of offences under the Act. Powers of these Courts to take direct cognizance of offences under the Act, duty of the State Government to establish an adequate number of Courts to ensure that the Act are disposed of within a period of two months as far as possible (Section 14).
- iv. An appeal against judgment of a Special Court or an Exclusive Special Court to the High Court (Section 14A).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid

- v. Appointment of Exclusive Special Public Prosecutors and Special Public Prosecutors for conducting cases in Exclusive Special Courts and Special Courts (Section 15).
- vi. Rights of Victims and Witnesses (Section 15A).
- vii. Preventive action to be taken by the law and order machinery (Section 17).
- viii. Measures to be taken by State Governments for effective implementation of the Act, Including:
  - a) Adequate facilities including legal aid, to the persons subjected to atrocities to enable them to avail themselves of justice;
  - b) Economic and Social rehabilitation of victims of the atrocities;
  - c) Appointment of officers for initiating or exercising supervision over prosecution for contravention of the provisions of the Act; and
  - d) Setting up of Committees at appropriate levels to assist the Government in implementation of the Act:
  - e) Delineation of "Identified Areas" (commonly known as "Atrocity Prone Areas") where members of SC/ST are vulnerable to being subjected to atrocities and adoption of necessary measures to ensure their safety. (Section 21 (2)).

The PoA Act has been further amended by the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Act, 2018, and after Section 18, Section 18A inserted which reads as under:-

"18A. (1) For the purposes of this Act-

- a) Preliminary enquiry shall not be required for registration of a First Information Report against any person; or
- b) The investigating officer shall not require approval for the arrest, if necessary, of any person, against whom an accusation of having committed an offence under this Act has been made and no procedure other than that provided under this Act or the Code shall apply.
- (2) The provisions of Section 438 of the Code shall not apply to a case under this Act, notwithstanding any judgment or order or direction of any Court."

The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Act, 2018, was notified in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary on 17.08.2018 and enforced on 20.08.2018.

The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Rules, 1995 under the PoA Act were notified on 31.03.1995, which, among other things, prescribed a minimum scale of relief and rehabilitation for the affected persons. The prescribed minimum scale of relief and rehabilitation under the Rules has been amended from time to time.

Consequent upon amendments done in the PoA Act, certain amendments had been necessitated in the PoA Rules. Accordingly necessary amendments were done in the PoA Rules by the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Rules, 2016, notified in the Gazette of India on 14.04.2016, which broadly relate to provision of relief amount for 47 offences of atrocity, rationalization of the phasing of payment of relief amount to

victims for various offences of atrocities, enhancement of relief amount to Rs. 85000/- to Rs. 8,25,000/-, depending upon the nature of the offences, payment of admissible relief amount within seven days, completion of investigation and filing of charge sheet in Court within sixty days, timely commencement of prosecution and periodic review of the Scheme for the rights and entitlements of victims and witnesses in accessing justice, by the State, District and Sub-Division Level Vigilance and Monitoring Committees In their respective meetings.

### SALIENT PROVISIONS OF THE POA RULES NOTIFIED UNDER THE POAACT:

- i. Precautionary and Preventive Measures to be taken by the State Governments regarding offences of atrocities (Rule 3)
- ii. Investigation of offences under the Act to be done by not below the rank of a DSP level Officer (Rule 7(1)).
- iii. Completion of Investigation and filing of charge sheet in court within sixty days and report forwarded to Director General of Police or Commissioner of Police of the State (Rule 7 (2)).
- iv. Setting up of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes Protection Cell at State headquarters under the charge of Director General of Police/1G Police (Rule 8).
- v. Nomination of (a) a Nodal Officer at the State level (not below the rank of a Secretary to the State Government), and (b) a Special Officer at the district level (not below the rank of an Additional District Magistrate) for districts with identified atrocity prone areas to coordinate the functioning of DMs, SPs and other concerned officers, at the State and District levels, respectively. (Rule 9 and 10).
- vi. Provision of relief in cash or kind or both to victims of atrocities as per prescribed norms within seven days. (Rule 12 (4) and Schedule).
- vii. State Government/Union Territory Administration to provide necessary authorization and powers to the District Magistrate for immediate withdrawal of money from treasury so as to timely provide the relief amount to atrocity victims (Rule 12(4A).
- viii. State Level Vigilance and Monitoring Committee under the Chief Minister to meet at least twice a year (Rule 16).
- ix. District Level Vigilance and Monitoring Committee under the District Magistrate to meet at least once every quarter (Rule 17).
- x. Sub-Divisional Level Vigilance and Monitoring Committee under the Sub Divisional Magistrate to meet at least once every quarter (Rule 17 A).

The PoA Rules have been further amended by the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Rules, 2018 and notified in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary, vide notification dated 27.06.2018. The amendments broadly relate to provision of relief to victims of unnatural offences (IPC 377, sr. no.44, col.(2) of Annexure -I to Schedule of PoA Rules), grievous hurt by throwing acid(IPC 326B, Sr. no.24, col.(2) of Annexure. I to Schedule of PoA Rules), omission of limit of 25 members of State Level Vigilance and Monitoring Committee (SLVMC {Rule 16(1) of POA Rules), provision of relief in case of death, injury, rape,

gang rape, unnatural offences, grievous hurt by throwing acid etc., damage to property, in addition to any other right to claim compensation in respect thereof under any other law.

#### RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POAACT

Responsibility for State implementation of the POA Act primarily lies with the Governments/Union Territory Administrations and their subordinate authorities (Police and Executive magistrates). At the Central level, as per the Government of India (Allocation of Business) Rules, 1961, the responsibility in regard to implementation of the PoA Act is allocated as under: -

#### **○** Ministry of Home Affairs

Criminal offences against members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, <u>including</u> those under the PoAAct.

#### **○** Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment

Implementation of the PoA Act, (in so far as it relates to Scheduled Castes), <u>excluding</u> the administration of criminal justice in regard to offences under the Act.

#### **⇒** Ministry of Tribal Affairs

Implementation of the PoA Act, (in so far as it relates to Scheduled Tribes), excluding the administration of criminal justice in regard to offences under the Act.

#### REPORT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PoAACT, 1989

Section 21 of the PoA Act casts certain duties on the Central and the State Governments to ensure effective implementation of the Act, and reads as follows:

#### "21. Duty of Government to ensure effective implementation of the Act:

- 1. Subject to such rules as the Central Government may make in this behalf, the State Government shall take such measures as may be necessary for the effective Implementation of this Act.
- 2. In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provisions, such measures may Include,
  - i. the provision for adequate facilities, including legal aid to the persons subjected to atrocities to enable them to avail themselves of justice;
  - ii. the provision for travelling and maintenance expenses to witnesses, including the victims of atrocities, during Investigation and trial of offences under this Act;
  - iii. the provision for the economic and social rehabilitation of the victims of the atrocities;
  - iv. the appointment of officers for initiating or exercising supervision over prosecutions for the contravention of the provisions of this Act;
  - v. the setting up of committees at such appropriate levels as the State Government may think fit to assist that Government in formulation or implementation of such measures;
  - vi. provision for a periodic survey of the working of the provisions of this Act with a view to suggesting measures for the better implementation of the provision of this Act;
  - vii. the identification of the areas where the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are likely to be subjected to atrocities and adoption of such measures so as to ensure safety for such members.

- 3. The Central Government shall take such steps as may be necessary to coordinate the measures taken by the State Governments under sub-section (1).
- 4. The Central Government shall, every year, place on the table of each House of Parliament a report on the measures taken by itself and by the State.

# STRUCTURES AND MECHANISMS FOR IMPLEMENTATION & MONITORING OF THE POA ACT,1989<sup>25</sup>

#### I. Special Courts

In accordance with Section 14 of the POA Act as amended and enforced with effect from 26.01.2016, for the purpose of providing for speedy trial, the State Government shall, with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of the High Court, establish an Exclusive Special Court for one or more districts. Further in the districts where less number of cases under the Act is recorded, with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of the High Court specify for such Districts, the Court of Session to be a Special Court to try the offences under the Act. These Courts have powers to take direct cognizance of offences under the Act, and it is the duty of the State Government to establish an adequate number of Courts to ensure that cases under the Act are disposed of within a period of two months, as far as possible.

State Governments and Union Territory Administrations of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, West Bengal, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu, NCT of Delhi, and Puducherry have designated District Session Courts as Special Courts.

For ensuring speedy trial of cases under the PoA Act, 176 Exclusive Special Courts, have also been set up by eleven States, as mentioned in the table below:

| S.<br>No. | State          | Total number of Districts in the State | Number of District with<br>Exclusive Special Courts |
|-----------|----------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1         | Andhra Pradesh | 13                                     | 01                                                  |
| 2         | Bihar          | 38                                     | 14                                                  |
| 3         | Gujarat        | 33                                     | 16                                                  |
| 4         | Jharkhand      | 24                                     | 04                                                  |
| 5         | Karnataka      | 30                                     | 08                                                  |
| 6         | Madhya Pradesh | 52                                     | 11                                                  |
| 7         | Maharashtra    | 36                                     | 03                                                  |
| 8         | Odisha         | 30                                     | 03                                                  |
| 9         | Punjab         | 23                                     | 03                                                  |
| 10        | Rajasthan      | 34                                     | 31                                                  |
| 11        | Tamil Nadu     | 37                                     | 17                                                  |
| 12        | Uttar Pradesh  | 75                                     | 65                                                  |
|           | Total          | 425                                    | 176                                                 |

#### **II. Special Public Prosecutors**

Section 15 of the PoA Act as amended, provides for appointing or specifying Exclusive Special Public Prosecutors and Special Public Prosecutors for the purpose of conducting cases in Exclusive Special Courts and Special Courts respectively. Accordingly, the States/Union Territories, which have set up Exclusive Special Courts and Special Courts, have appointed Exclusive Special Public Prosecutors and Special Public Prosecutors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid

As per the Report, in Bihar, Special Public Prosecutors have been appointed in 23 Special Courts and Exclusive Special Public Prosecutors in 14 Exclusive Special Courts, to plead the case under the PoA Act.

### III. Setting up of a) SC/ST Protection Cells at State Headquarters, and (b) Special Police Stations for SC/ST

Rule 8 of the PoA Rules, requires the State Government to set up a SC/ST Protection Cell at the State headquarters under the charge of a DGP, ADGP/IGP and assign to it the following responsibilities:

- i. conducting survey of, maintaining public order and tranquillity in, and recommending deployment of special police force in identified areas;
- ii. investigating causes of offences under the Act, restoring feeling of security among Sc/ST;
- iii. liaising with Nodal and Special Officers about law and order situation in identified areas;
- iv. informing the Nodal Officer and the concerned District Magistrate about implementation of the rights of victims and witnesses specified under the provisions of Chapter IVA of the PoAAct;
- v. monitoring investigation of offences and enquiring into wilful negligence of public servants;
- vi. reviewing the position of cases registered under the Act; and
- vii. submitting a monthly report to the State Government/Nodal Officer about action taken/proposed to be taken in respect of the above.

SC/ST Protection Cell have been set up in the States and Union Territories of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, West Bengal, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, NCT of Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh and

In Bihar, a Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Cell has been functioning under the charge of Inspector General of Police, (Weaker Section), with Supporting staff.

Special Police Stations for registration of complaints of offences against members of SCs and STs have also been set up by five States, viz. Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Kerala and Madhya Pradesh.

The Following table provide the details of Special Police Stations in Bihar for registration of complaints of offences against members of SCs and STs:

| State | Total<br>Number of<br>Districts | Number of<br>Special<br>Police<br>Stations | Name of District where Special Police<br>Station has been set up |
|-------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bihar | 38                              | 40                                         | Patna, Nalanda, Rohtas, Bhabhua, Bhojpur,                        |

| State | Total<br>Number of<br>Districts | Number of<br>Special<br>Police<br>Stations | Name of District where Special Police<br>Station has been set up                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|-------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bihar | 38                              | 40                                         | Patna, Nalanda, Rohtas, Bhabhua, Bhojpur, Buxar, Gaya, Jehanabad, Arwal, Nawada, Aurangabad, Saran, Siwan, Gopalganj, Muzaffarpur, Sitamarhi, Sheohar, West Champaran (2) East Champaran, Valshali, Darbhanga, Madhubani, Samastipur, Saharsa, Supal, Madhepura, Purnia, Araria, Kishanganj, Katihar, Bhagalpur (2), Banka, Munger, Lakhisarai, Sheikhpura, Jamui, Khagaria and Begusarai. |

#### IV. Nodal Officers

Rule 9 of the PoA Rules, provides for appointment of Nodal Officers for coordinating functioning of the District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police or other authorized officers.

Such officers have been appointed in the States/UTS of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, West Bengal, Chandigarh, NCT of Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir, Ladakh and Puducherry.

In Bihar, the Secretary, Home Department, functions as the Nodal Officer. Additionally, the Additional District Magistrate, in each district, has been designated as a Special Officer to coordinate the functioning with the District Magistrate/Superintendent of Police or other officers responsible for the implementation of the provisions of the POA Act and the Rules notified thereunder.

### V. Delineation of "Identified Areas" or "Atrocity Prone Areas" and undertaking of consequential steps.

#### i. Identification of atrocity prone areas

Rule 3(1)0 of the POA Rules, provides for identification of atrocity prone areas.

Andhra Pradesh, **Bihar**, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Haryana, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Rajasthan Tamil Nadu Telangana and Andaman & Nicobar Islands, have identified the Atrocity Prone/Sensitive areas.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF ATROCITY PRONE AREAS IN BIHAR

33 districts have been identified as sensitive from the point of view of atrocities against members of SC & ST. These districts are Patna, Nalanda, Rohtas, Bhabhua, Bhojpur, Buxer, Gaya, Jehanabad, Nawada, Aurangabad, Saran, Siwan, Gopalganj, Muzaffarpur, Sitamarhi, West Champaran, East Champaran, Vaishali, Darbhanga, Madhubani, Samastipur, Saharsa, Madhepura, Purnia, Bhagalpur, Banka, Munger, Sheikhpura, Begusarai, Khagaria, Katihar, Jamui and Araria.

#### ii. Appointment of Special Officers

Rule 10 of the PoA Rules, provides for appointment of a Special Officer not below the rank of an Additional District Magistrate in the identified Atrocity Prone Area, to coordinate with the District Magistrate, Superintendent of Police or other officers responsible for implementing the provisions of the Act.

Special officers have been nominated by Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, **Bihar**, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Kerala, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and UT Administration of Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, NCT of Delhi and Puducherry.

In Bihar, the Additional District Magistrate, in each district, has been designated as a Special Officer to coordinate the functioning with the District Magistrate / Superintendent of Police or other officers responsible for the implementation of the provisions of the PoA Act and the Rules notified thereunder.

#### VI. State and District Level Vigilance and Monitoring Committees

Rule 16 and Rule 17 of the PoA Rules, provide for setting up of the State Level Vigilance and Monitoring Committee under the Chairpersonship of the Chief Minister and the District level Vigilance and Monitoring Committees under the Chairpersonship of the District Magistrate to review implementation or the provisions of the POA Act.

Such Committees have been set up in the States/UTs of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, West Bengal, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu, NCT of Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh and Puducherry.

In Bihar, the State Level Vigilance & Monitoring Committee functions under the Chairpersonship of the Chief Minister to review the implementation of the Act.

And

District Level Vigilance & Monitoring Committees function under the Chairpersonship of District Collector.

And

At the Sub Division level, Sub Divisional Level Committees under the Chairpersonship of Sub Divisional Magistrate have been constituted.

#### VII. Constitutional Bodies to monitor safeguards provided for SCs and STs

#### A. National Commission for Scheduled Castes (NCSC)

The NCSC is a body established under Article 338 of the Constitution. Following provisions of Clause (5) of Article 338 lay down certain duties of the Commission, which have a bearing on prevention of atrocities against SCs:

- (a) to investigate and monitor all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes under this Constitution or under any other law for the time being in force or under any order of the Government and to evaluate the working of such safeguards;
- (b) to inquire into specific complaints with respect to the deprivation of rights and safeguards of the Scheduled Castes;

The NCSC has an Atrocities and Protection of Civil Rights Wing, which deals with cases relating to Scheduled Castes under the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 and the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, either on receipt of complaints from Individuals or information from other sources (including the media). Evaluation studies/surveys on these subjects are also conducted by this Wing.

The Commission has Regional Offices/Sub-Offices situated at Agartala, Ahmedabad, Bengaluru, Chandigarh, Chennai, Guwahati, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Lucknow, **Patna (Bihar)**, Pune and Thiruvananthapuram, with specified jurisdiction to cover States/Union Territories.

#### B. National Commission for Scheduled Tribes (NCST)

The NCST is a body established under Article 338-A of the Constitution. Following provisions of Clause (5) of Article 338 -A lay down certain duties of the Commission, which have a bearing on prevention of atrocities against STS:

- a) to investigate and monitor all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Tribes under this Constitution or under any other law for the time being in force or under any order of the Government and to evaluate the working of such safeguards;
- b) to inquire into specific complaints with respect to the deprivation of rights and safeguards of the Scheduled Tribes;

On receiving information about an incident of atrocity against a person belonging to ST, the Commission gets in touch with the law enforcing and administrative machinery of the concerned State and the District to ascertain the details of incident and the action taken by the District Administration.

The Commission has six Regional Offices at Bhopal, Bhubaneswar, Jaipur, Raipur, Ranchi and Shillong with specified jurisdiction to cover States/Union Territories.

### **Chapter-VI**

#### SITUATION OF OBC/EBC IN BIHAR

According to the caste-based survey conducted by the Bihar government, the OBCs (Other Backward Classes), which include both backward classes and extremely backward classes, constitute a whopping 63% of Bihar's total population. They are the largest social segment in the state. The EBCs (Extremely Backward Classes) alone form 36% of the population, making them a significant group. The survey also revealed that 33.16% of OBC families are poor. In comparison to SC, ST in the State of Bihar, the OBCs are economically and politically very strong. As per an analysis of the socio-economic backgrounds of all 243 MLAs of Bihar Assembly done by The Hindu, 33% of legislators in Bihar are OBCs. Bihar Assembly done by The Hindu, 33% of legislators in Bihar are OBCs.

#### Situation of OBC/EBC Women in Bihar

The situation of EBC and OBC women in Bihar is multifaceted while it's essential to recognize that individual experiences can vary significantly. Like women of other castes, EBC/OBC women also face discrimination based on caste, gender, and economic status. EBC and OBC women face challenges in accessing quality education. Although there have been efforts to improve literacy rates, disparities persist. Access to healthcare remains a concern for everyone in the state. EBC/OBC women often encounter barriers related to affordability, awareness, and infrastructure. Many EBC/OBC women are engaged in agriculture, informal labour, or small-scale businesses. Traditional gender norms impact EBC/OBC women's autonomy and decision-making.

#### Crimes against OBC/EBC Women in Bihar

As far as crimes against OBC women in Bihar are concerned, Kidnapping remains a significant issue, with 8,684 cases reported in Bihar in 2021. Bihar recorded 3,367 dowry cases during the same period and instances of sexual harassment increased, affecting OBC women as well.<sup>29</sup>

The factors that contributed to the rise in atrocities were excessive use of social media which made women vulnerable to cybercriminals. Lack of awareness, especially among adolescents, contributes to their exploitation and harassment. During the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown too, many women faced mental torture inflicted by their families or spouses.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> "OBCs Form Whopping 63%, EBCs Largest Segment," Hindustan Times, Oct. 2, 2023, https://www.hindustantimes.com/bihar-caste-survey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> "Bihar Caste-Based Survey Report | Poverty Highest Among Scheduled Castes, Lowest Among Kayasths," The Hindu, Nov. 8, 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> "33% of Legislators in Bihar Are OBCs," The Hindu (New Delhi), Nov. 7, 2023,

https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/in-the-bihar-assembly-32-legislators-are-obcs-24-belong-to-the-general-category-ebc-and-muslim-legislators-together-number-fewer-than-20/article67509156.ece.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>"16.8% Rise in Crime Against Women in Bihar," The Times of India, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/16-8-rise-in-crime-against-women-in-bihar/articleshow

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ibid

### **Chapter-VII**

#### CRIMES AGAINST MUSLIMS IN INDIA AND BIHAR

Hate crimes against Muslims in India have escalated significantly since 2014, with the coming of Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government to power at the center. These crimes surged nearly 30% between 2014 and 2017, doubling after Prime Minister Narendra Modi's landslide re-election in 2019. Notably, the violence during February 2020 in New Delhi resulted in the murder of over 50 Muslims in just six days.<sup>31</sup>

Uttar Pradesh (UP), one of India's most polarized states, has witnessed several incidents of crimes against Muslims. In 2015, a 52-year-old Muslim man was lynched in UP for allegedly storing beef in his home. The silence of political leaders, including Modi, drew global attention. Since then, there have been multiple attacks on Muslims in UP, where Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath's inflammatory speeches have fuelled tensions.<sup>32</sup>

According to the Human Rights Watch Report, between May 2015 and December 2018, at least 44 people (36 of them Muslims) were killed across 12 Indian states. Over 280 people were injured in more than 100 incidents during the same period.<sup>33</sup>

In the national capital, a sub-inspector was seen kicking Muslims offering Friday prayers on a road in Inderlok area in March 2024. The 34 second video that later went viral and led to the policeman's suspension<sup>34</sup>. In another incident, Residents of a Muslim-majority village in Assam's Karimganj parliamentary constituency have approached a local court against nine Assam Forest department officials for allegedly threatening them to either vote for the Bharatiya Janata Party candidate or get ready for eviction with the help of bulldozers.<sup>35</sup>

So far as crimes against Muslims in Bihar is concerned, the state has witnessed a number of anti-Muslim riots in the recent past. In March 2018, anti-Muslim riots erupted in Bihar. The violence began during a Hindu procession for the festival of Rama Navami in Bhagalpur. Clashes between Hindus and Muslims ensued, leading to further unrest in districts like Siwan, Gaya, Nalanda, and others.<sup>36</sup>

Last year, in April 2023, violence erupted during Ram Navami festivities in Bihar Sharif, Nalanda district. Seventy-seven people were arrested in connection with the clashes. The mob vandalised madrasa in Bihar Sharif and allegedly 4,500 books of Islamic literature were burnt in communal violence.<sup>37</sup>

https://medium.com/@cjwerleman/database-hate-crimes-against-muslims-in-india.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> CJ Werleman, "Database: Hate Crimes Against Muslims in India," Medium,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> "Uttar Pradesh: India's Muslim Victims of Hate Crimes Live in Fear," BBC News, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-62830634

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> "India's Muslims Fear for Their Future Under Narendra Modi." BBC News, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-57712561.

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### **Chapter-VIII**

### A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF WOMEN VICTIMS OF ATROCITIES IN BIHAR

As already discussed in the previous chapters, case studies of victims of various crimes committed against SC, OBC/EBC and Muslims in Bihar were collected / documented by Bihar Legal Network and MKVS along with its sister wing- Eva Foundation.

#### **Category-wise Cases**

Bihar Legal Network and MKVS along with its sister wing- Eva Foundation collected / documented around 200 case studies by (a) directing reaching out to the victims of crimes after getting information about them from local contacts, (b) in certain cases, the victims or their family members approached the Bihar Legal Network for legal assistance and support, (c) though fact-finding of the media reports covered by various newspapers and social media platforms.

Out of the 200 case studies, 57 case studies were of SC, OBC/EBC and Muslim men victims; and the rest 143 case studies were of SC, OBC/EBC and Muslim women victims of various crimes.

For this study, only the case studies of 143 women victims of crimes have been taken into consideration.

The following table provides the breakup of the total number of case studies documented category wise:

**Table-1: Category-wise Case Studies Documented** 

| Category    | No. case<br>studies<br>of Men<br>Documented | No. case<br>studies<br>of Women<br>Documented | Total No.<br>studies<br>Documented |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| SC          | 33                                          | 60                                            | 93                                 |
| OBC/EBC     | 03                                          | 43                                            | 46                                 |
| Muslim      | 21                                          | 40                                            | 61                                 |
| Grand Total | 57                                          | 143                                           | 200                                |

#### **District-wise Cases**

The case studies of victims of various crimes have been documented from 22 Districts of Bihar, such as Patna, Sitamarhi, Gaya, Aurangabad, Katihar, Saran, Nalanda, Muzaffarpur, Begusarai, Bihar Sharif, Rohtas, Kaimur, Supaul, Munger, Kishanganj, Samastipur, West Champaran, Aara, Vaishali, Nawada, Siwan and Danapur.

**Table-2: District-wise Case Studies Documented** 

| Sl.<br>No | Districts            | No. of Case Studies<br>Documented |
|-----------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1         | Aara                 | 1                                 |
| 2         | Aurangabad           | 27                                |
| 3         | Begusarai            | 3                                 |
| 4         | Bihar Sharif Nalanda | 3                                 |
| 5         | Darbhanga            | 1                                 |
| 6         | Gaya                 | 9                                 |
| 7         | Kaimur               | 2                                 |
| 8         | Kathiyar             | 2                                 |
| 9         | Kishanganj           | 1                                 |
| 10        | Madhubani            | 1                                 |
| 11        | Munger               | 1                                 |
| 12        | Muzaffarpur          | 27                                |
| 13        | Nalanda              | 9                                 |
| 14        | Nawada               | 7                                 |
| 15        | Patna                | 59                                |
| 16        | Rohtas               | 6                                 |
| 17        | Samastipur           | 2                                 |
| 18        | Saran                | 5                                 |
| 19        | Sitamarhi            | 25                                |
| 20        | Siwan                | 1                                 |
| 21        | Vaishali             | 6                                 |
| 22        | West Champaran       | 2                                 |
|           | <b>Grand Total</b>   | 200                               |

As per **Table-2**, out of the total 200 case studies documented, majority 59 cases have been documented from Patna, the capital city of Bihar, followed by 27 each case studies documented from Aurangabad and Muzaffarpur districts, 25 case studies from Sitamarhi district, and 9 each case studies have been documented from Gaya and Nalanda districts.

#### **Nature of Cases**

**Table-3: Nature of Cases (with Multiple Charges)** 

| Nature of Cases                                                              | No. of Cases |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Accidental Death                                                             | 1            |
| Assault or use of criminal force to woman with intent to outrage her modesty | 2            |
| Attempt to Murder                                                            | 3            |
| Attempt to Murder, Arms Act, Disturb to public, religious frenzy             | 3            |
| Attempt to Murder, Sc/St Atrocity                                            | 4            |
| Cheating                                                                     | 1            |
| Communal Violence                                                            | 4            |
| Counter Case upon the victim                                                 | 4            |

| Criminal trespass                                               | 1   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Custodial Death                                                 | 8   |
| Domestic Violence, Dowry Death, cruelty by husband or relatives | 29  |
| Excise Act                                                      | 5   |
| Gang Rape                                                       | 5   |
| Gang Rape, Murder                                               | 2   |
| Gang Rape, Sc/St Atrocity                                       | 1   |
| Hate Crime                                                      | 3   |
| Honour Killing                                                  | 2   |
| Kidnapping and Abduction                                        | 4   |
| Land Dispute                                                    | 1   |
| Maintenance                                                     | 6   |
| Minor Girl Rape, Murder, POSCO                                  | 3   |
| Minor Girl Rape, POCSO                                          | 8   |
| Minor Rape, POCSO, Attempt to Murder                            | 1   |
| Minor Sexual Assault, Sc/st Atrocity, POCSO                     | 1   |
| Mob Lynching                                                    | 6   |
| Mob lynching, Murder                                            | 3   |
| Murder                                                          | 7   |
| Murder & Sc/St Atrocity                                         | 7   |
| Obscene song on specific religion                               | 1   |
| POCSOand Sexual Assault under SC/ST Act                         | 1   |
| POCSOGangrape under SC/STAct                                    | 1   |
| Rape                                                            | 8   |
| Rape & Procuration of minor girl                                | 2   |
| Rape and Murder                                                 | 4   |
| Rape and Murder, Sc/St Atrocity                                 | 2   |
| Rape, Attempt to Murder                                         | 2   |
| Rape, Sc/St Atrocity                                            | 1   |
| Religious frenzy, Attempt to Murder, Arms Act                   | 1   |
| SC/ST Act 1989                                                  | 25  |
| Sewerage Death                                                  | 3   |
| Sexual Assault                                                  | 5   |
| Sexual Assault and Sc/St Atrocity                               | 7   |
| Sexual Assault, Attempt to Murder                               | 1   |
| Sexual Violence at Work place and SC/ST Act 1989                | 1   |
| Theft                                                           | 7   |
| Theft and Murder                                                | 1   |
| Wrongful restraint                                              | 2   |
| Grand Total                                                     | 200 |

Table-3 clearly shows that majority of cases of atrocities against women in Bihar is related to

domestic violence, dowry cases, cruelty by husband or relatives, rape, murder, kidnapping and abduction, assault on women, and sexual harassment. Many minor girls have also been victims of rape, murder, attempt to murder and sexual assault.

It is also evident from the table that, many cases of atrocities against SC women and men have been booked under 'The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989' because there is a legal remedy available for them in the name of this Act, which aims at preventing Commission of Offences by persons other than SC and ST against members of SC and ST, to provide for Special Courts for trial of such offences and for relief and rehabilitation of the victims of such offences. However, it is a matter of grave concern that, in spite of having such legal protection, the cases of atrocities against the members of SC and ST are increasing day by day rather than declining.

Although it is not a part of this analysis, it is important to mention here that, most of the SC men are victims of murder, abduction, assault and theft cases. The OBC/EBC men are victims of murder and accidental death cases. Whereas Muslim men are victims of hate crimes, lynching, attempt to murder, and theft cases.

#### **Key Challenges faced by the Victims of Crimes**

Some of the key challenges faced by the victims of crimes are the following:

- In most of the IPC Section 498A cases, accused is not arrested and bail is granted easily; accused travel openly and torture their spouses (wives).
- According to the Domestic Violence Act, cases should be disposed of within 90 days. However, in reality, it does not happen and the case remains pending in court for 2 to 3 years. Additionally, the Domestic Incident Report (DIR) was not submitted on time thereby causing the delay.
- When an offence is committed by persons other than SC/ST against members of SC/ST, the police do not add proper sections of the SC/ST (PoA) Act in the FIR. As a result, the accused get bail easily from the police station and in most of the cases they file countercases against the SC/ST victim's family. The victim's family also does not receive any compensation amount.
- The police and administration's behaviour towards SC women is very rude; they also abuse them with filthy languages.
- Whenever a SC woman goes to file an FIR, the police make her sign a blank sheet of paper and do not add proper sections of the SC/ST (PoA) Act in the FIR, thereby helping the accused to get bail easily.
- In cases, when an offence is committed against a minor, the police do not add proper sections of the POCSO Act in the FIR. As a result, the accused get bail easily.
- In most of the cases prosecuted by the Public Prosecutor (PP), the victim always suffers.
- In cases of mob lynching, the victims do not get any compensation from the government.
- In cases of custodial death and sewerage death, the police cleverly convert the nature of the death into a case of unnatural death.

#### Psychological, Social, and Economic impacts on Women Victims of Crimes

The most painful part in every crime is that, although it happened in a certain period of time, it leaves an indelible mark on the lives of the victims. It impacts every aspect of victims' lives, be it psychological, social or economic.

The **psychological effects** on the women victims of domestic violence include post-traumatic symptoms, substance abuse, panic attacks, depression, hallucinations, eating disorders, and self-harm. Crimes such as Rape, Gang rape, Physical and Sexual Assault have severe psychological consequences which affect victims' mental health and overall well-being. At **Social level,** women victims often face societal stigma, isolation, and blame, which can aggravate their trauma. As far as **Economic Impact** on women victims is concerned, it limits their economic independence which results in financial stress or desperation.

Therefore, addressing these impacts requires comprehensive measures, including legal reforms, awareness campaigns, and support systems for victims. Empowering women economically and socially is crucial for preventing and mitigating the effects of crimes against them.

### **Chapter-IX**

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, some specific recommendations have been made to end violence against women in general; specific recommendations to stop atrocities against SC (which includes SC women too) in India; and specific recommendations to address hate crimes and prejudice against religious minorities, especially Muslims in India.

#### Recommendations to end violence against women in India:

- 1. Enforce stricter laws and penalties for perpetrators of violence against women.
- 2. Provide better access to and support for survivors of violence, including shelters, counselling services, and legal aid.
- 3. Increase education and awareness campaigns to change societal attitudes towards women and violence.
- 4. Empower women through education, employment opportunities, and leadership roles.
- 5. Involve men in the fight against gender-based violence by promoting gender equality and challenging traditional gender norms.
- 6. Improve the responsiveness and effectiveness of law enforcement agencies and judicial systems in addressing cases of violence against women.
- 7. Collaborate with community organizations, NGOs, and other stakeholders to develop comprehensive and coordinated responses to violence against women.
- 8. Address underlying issues such as poverty, lack of access to services, and unequal power dynamics that contribute to violence against women.
- 9. Foster a culture of respect and zero-tolerance for violence against women in all sectors of society.
- 10. Continuously monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of interventions and policies aimed at preventing and addressing violence against women to ensure they are making a positive impact.
- 11. Regular training programmes, orientation programmes, workshops, and awareness sessions should be organised for the employees of One Stop Centre; and Protection Officers, appointed under the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 (PDWVA), who assist victims of Domestic violence in filing complaints, accessing legal aid and ensuring the implementation of protection orders, so that they can work for the implementation of PDWVA effectively.
- 12. Regular training programmes, orientation programmes, workshops, and awareness sessions should be organised for the Para-Legal Volunteers (PLVs), because they play a crucial role in bridging the gap between common people and legal services institutions. It will help them to effectively raise awareness among people about their legal rights and help them to resolve disputes and grievances through mechanisms like Lok Adalats, Conciliation, Mediation, and Arbitration.
- 13. Recently, to strengthen the enforcement of the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 (PoSH Act) and protect

working women from workplace harassment, the hon'ble Supreme Court of India, in one of its landmark judgments, has issued extensive directions to ensure the implementation of the PoSH Act across all organized and unorganized sectors. Therefore, immediate Government Orders (GOs) or directions should be issued by respective State Governments to ensure constitution of Internal Complaints Committees (ICCs), Local Committees (LCs), or Internal Committees (ICs) as required by the PoSH Act to all organized and unorganized sectors. Also, Regular orientation programs, workshops, and awareness sessions should be organised for the capacity building of the ICCs/LCs/ICs.

#### **Recommendations for Stopping atrocities against SCs in India:**

#### 1. Strengthen the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act:

- o The SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act (PoA Act) is crucial for protecting SC individuals. It must be enforced rigorously to prevent discrimination and hate crimes.
- o Fast-track Courts: Establish special courts to expedite trials related to atrocities against SCs.

#### 2. Education and Awareness:

- o Inclusive Education: Promote education that fosters tolerance, empathy, and understanding across communities.
- o Media Literacy: Educate the public about recognizing and countering untouchability and discrimination and stereotypes perpetuated by the media.

#### 3. Community Engagement:

- o Community Policing: Train law enforcement officers to engage with SC communities, build trust, and address biases.
- o Civil Society Initiatives: Support NGOs and organizations working to promote social harmony and combat untouchability and discrimination against Dalits.

#### 4. Political Leadership:

Leaders' Responsibility: Elected Leaders must condemn untouchability and discrimination, and hate crimes against Dalits unequivocally and promote inclusiveness.

## \* Recommendations to address hate crimes and prejudice against religious minorities, especially Muslims:

#### 1. Legal Reforms:

- o Strengthen Anti-Discrimination Laws: Enact and enforce robust antidiscrimination laws that explicitly protect religious minorities. These laws should cover mob lynching, hate crimes, incitement to violence, and discrimination.
  - The pending Prevention of Mob Lynching Bill, 2022 in the Lok Sabha must be discussed and passed by the Parliament as early as possible and Rules must be framed immediately by the State Governments for its effective implementation.
- o Fast-Track Justice: Expedite legal proceedings related to mob-lynching and hate crimes to ensure swift justice for victims.
- o Prosecute Perpetrators: Hold perpetrators accountable through fair trials and appropriate penalties.

#### 2. Education and Awareness:

- Inclusive Education: Introduce educational programs that promote tolerance, diversity, and understanding of different faiths. Teach students about the importance of respecting religious diversity.
- o Media Literacy: Educate the public on recognizing and countering hate speech and stereotypes perpetuated by the media. Encourage responsible reporting.
- o Interfaith Dialogues: Facilitate dialogues between religious communities to foster mutual understanding and dispel misconceptions.

#### 3. Community Engagement:

- o Community Policing: Training for law enforcement officers to engage with communities, build trust, and address biases.
- o Civil Society Initiatives: Support NGOs, community organizations, and religious leaders working to promote harmony and combat prejudice.
- o Public Campaigns: Launch awareness campaigns against hate speech, emphasizing unity and shared values.

#### 4. Political Will and Leadership:

- o Political Leaders' Responsibility: Elected Leaders must condemn hate crimes unequivocally. Their rhetoric matters and can influence public sentiment.
- o Inclusive Policies: Develop policies that actively promote religious pluralism, representation, and equal rights.

#### **5. International Cooperation:**

- o UN and Human Rights Bodies: Collaborate with international bodies to share best practices, monitor human rights, and hold nations accountable.
- o Peer Learning: Learn from countries that have successfully addressed hate crimes and promoted religious harmony.

It is pertinent to mention here that the above-mentioned recommendations are not exhaustive. Addressing the issues faced by SC, ST, OBC/EBC, and religious minorities such as Muslims requires a comprehensive approach involving government policies, NGOs, community organizations, and collective efforts so that we can create a just and equal society for all.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Violence against women in general has serious economic, social, and health consequences. It affects not only women individually, but also their families including children, their entire communities, and overall development. Violence negatively affects women's general well-being and prevents women from fully participating in the development process of the society.

In the case of Dalit women, because of their position at the bottom of India's caste, class, and gender hierarchies since time immemorial, Dalit women bear the brunt of violence of all castes, including their own. They experience rampant gender and caste-based discrimination and violence because of severely imbalanced social, economic and political power equations. In the opinion of many leading Dalit women activists, one of the reasons why Dalits, particularly women, bear the brunt of violence is because they have begun to speak up. The upper castes have been rattled by increasing assertion by Dalits and have been striking back.

In the case of Muslim women, violence against Muslim women is more brutal than Muslim men. They confront majorly three interconnected factors such as gender-based discrimination, religion-based discrimination, and socio-economic inequalities. These factors make them the most fragile and insecure group in Indian society.

From the above discussion it can be inferred that, any society, in which half of its population is not assured of safety, needs to reconsider its claim of being civilized. Therefore, empowerment of women through improving their education, job opportunities, representation in various sectors, and awareness about their rights and legal provisions would be a step in the right direction. We, as a society, must come together to fight against any kind of violence against women to achieve progress. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the chief architect of Indian Constitution and the messiah of Dalits in India had rightly said, "I measure the progress of the community by the degree of progress which women have achieved."

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### **Words of Wisdom**

# "I judge the progress of a community by how much progress women have made."

(Meaning: A community is truly progressing when women are given equal opportunities.)

#### "Political freedom cannot work without social freedom."

(Meaning: True democracy can only exist if people are treated equally in all aspects of life, not just politics.)

"If you don't have social equality, legal freedom means nothing."

(Meaning: Without social equality, laws that promise freedom aren't helpful in real life.)

"The history of India is a constant fight between equality and caste-based discrimination."

(Meaning: Indian history shows the struggle between those wanting equality and the power of the caste system.)

- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

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