Chapter III

Comparative Study of Films Kaala and Article 15

Cinema can play an important role in building a public ideology or opinion on any issue. Cinema and media can be used as a tool to perpetuate culture, values and tradition of society. We can hope that Indian films start representing the issues prevailing in society without any appropriation and biasness. Caste system is the bitter reality of Indian society. Indian cinema dealing with caste issues should not come as a surprise. The representation of Dalit life and concerns in Indian cinema has been a major issue of debate among film theorists in India. In 1970's Indian Cinema developed a more socially aware and politically oriented form of cinema known as Parallel Cinema. The mainstream Indian cinema maintains dominant caste hegemony by focussing on upper caste society. Lower castes have been ignored from mainstream films from the very beginning. Indian cinema focuses on the commercial aspect only and most of the audiences watch movies for entertainment purpose only. But now people from Dalit or lower castes demand a separate cinema to address caste-conscious issues of society. A collaborated approach by Dalit artists and filmmakers can bring a positive change in representation of caste differences. The cinematic experience can become a transformative moment whereby the audience propels the dialects of social transformation.

Suraj Yengde in his article *Dalit Cinema* elaborate the idea of Dalit cinema as a tool of resistance. He defines Dalit Cinema:

"Dalit Cinema has the potential to offer performatory resistance to the interwoven threads of the caste-capital nexus. By critiquing caste, gender, class and other forms of

oppression, Dalit cinema could foreshadow a cohesive battle against hegemonic caste supremacy" (*Dalit Cinema*, pp: 516).

Dalit cinema can be used as an effective tool to eternalize the lived realities of the marginalised section of society by including formerly ignored masses. By refusing to focus on entertainment purpose only, it could generate a critique of mainstream films. The production of films focussing on Dalit issues are result of struggles of Dalit filmmakers and artists and not of the mainstream filmmakers who celebrate culture and morals of Brahmins and other castes who are part of Hindu religion. Indian cinema is focussed in appropriation of caste issues in films by falsely connecting the myths with reality. Most of the films produced in cinema industry represent issues like globalisation, the interrelations of culture, class dynamics but we can rarely find a film presenting internal divisions and issues related to caste.

Achhut Kanya (1936) is the earliest movie that represent the dark side of caste atrocities. Earlier movies such as *Devdas, Achhut Kanya* plotted the intercaste love relationship between a couple in which one of the lovers belongs to Dalit community. The movies produced at that time were influenced by Gandhi's ideology about caste. Most of the filmmakers of that time were strongly influenced by Gandhian vision of caste and social reform movements. Gandhi was a national leader he launched many reform movements and anti-untouchability programmes for empowerment of lower castes. His philosophy related to caste system seems unprejudiced because it suggested many reform in caste base divisions and focus on human status of lower castes instead of advocating complete annihilation. The blend of gender and caste is plotted in Indian films in which caste identity of woman is much problematic than a man. In mainstream films, the blend of caste and class bias can be seen in films, with the hero of the film

belongs to upper caste. Dalits or lower caste are ignored in mainstream films as no specific reference is made to their identity and there caste is represented as the only reason for their subjugation. Dalits are often presented as violent or criminals. The Indian film industry fails to present Dalit cultural traditions, music art, literature or their food because most of the filmmakers and actors belong to upper castes.

In this chapter we will study two films first one Kaala by Dalit filmmaker Pa. Ranjith and second one Article 15 by an upper caste filmmaker Anubhav Sinha. Both of the movies focus on caste discrimination prevailing in Indian society. But the ideology and approach of Pa. Ranjith and Anubhav Sinha is totally different and one can easily notice it after watching the movies. Kaala is an Indian Tamil-language film written and directed by a Dalit filmmaker Pa. Ranjith. The film is set in Mumbai's slum area Dharavi and highlight the problems of the people who had migrated from different parts of country. It mainly focuses on the problems and issues of Dalit population living in urban parts of country. It incorporates the contradictory issues of contemporary subaltern politics. Ranjith's portrayal of caste issues seems real because it comes from an insider's perspective. But in Article 15 there is a scene where Ayan who is an IPS officer express his ignorance about caste base divisions. It is not easy to digest that how someone can qualify UPSC exam without knowing about history of Indian society. Even Aditi who is friend of Ayan knows that their mothers used separate utensils for the domestic help. In this way one can easily notice the differences of perspectives in the portrayal of caste issues in the films Kaala and Article 15. In his films Ranjith portrays Dalit characters as independent and strong enough to fight for their own rights. Kaala is not only an entertainment film but it is a film about revolution for bringing change in society. Bollywood ignores the endeavours of Dalits and misrepresent them

by appropriating their stories according to upper caste perspective. This is because of the difference in opinions regarding caste discrimination prevailing in society. But the scenario regarding portrayal of caste identity in films is changing as Dalit artists enter the domain of filmmaking and start presenting basic issues of caste system. Dalit-Bahujan filmmakers like Pa. Ranjith create a new form of cinema that incorporate issues of every section of society without any partiality. From centuries Dalits are deprived of land and other resources from where they can earn their livelihood. They work as workers in the fields of upper caste landlords and do other menial jobs in their households. Their exclusion from resources forces them to live outside the village and bound them to a lifelong servitude towards upper caste landlords. Land is a metaphor of life for Dalits and this is shown in the film Kaala. Pa. Ranjith in his film reminds us of caste discriminatory practices where Dalits were forced to live in isolation from other castes. It also reminds us how land and other resources belonging to Dalits were snatched. Ranjith's protagonists have increasingly been more outspoken in asserting their Dalit identity and it can be seen in the film Kaala. He is an Ambedkarite and his film Kaala was deeply political though the politics was represented symbolically and kept under the surface.

Ranjith in his film *Kaala* has mainstreamed and humanised the portrayal of Dalit and other oppressed characters and their stories. *Kaala* is different from earlier movies because earlier Dalit characters were often victimised, criminalised or exoticised. This is not the first film raising caste issues but none of the other films asserted Dalit identity the way *Kaala* does. In film *Article 15* Dalits are shown as victims who cannot fight for their rights. In this film Dalit characters are shown with lens of pity who need help of some upper caste person to fight for their rights. Only a few Dalit characters

like Nishaad and Guara assert their identity and want to change the discriminatory caste system but their efforts are crushed by a Dalit political leader for his individual profit. Nishaad who is a revolutionary type of person wants to change the society so that Dalit people can live with respect without any discrimination and oppression. This film is somehow influenced with Gandhian philosophy and we can easily notice in one scene in the police station where the lead actor Ayan, who is playing a police officer, is very clearly shown moving his chair and looking towards the portrait of Mr. Gandhi, on the other hand Ambedkar's portrait was also to his right which has not given much visibility and attention. In this scene we can notice the selective representation of the icons where Gandhi is more visible than Ambedkar, despite the fact that movie's subject centres around the philosophy of Ambedkar. Though Gandhi worked for social reforms but he did not work in the direction of annihilation of caste rather he wants to include Dalit or untouchables in Hindu society. Introducing a Brahmin police officer's character to save the helpless Dalit people is somehow influenced with Mr. Gandhi's philosophy. In film the symbolic presence of Gandhi in different forms was very political and show the filmmaker affection towards Gandhian philosophy. Director have mixed both Ambedkar's and Gandhi's ideologies together and it is very contradictory and not easy to digest because Ambedkar wants complete annihilation of caste while Gandhiji wants reforms in the existing social order. The film unveils the bitter face of caste atrocities and appeals larger audience about the current scenario in the country, where still Dalit women are raped and harassed at every corner of the society. In movie Article 15 Anubhav Sinha unveils the problems and issues lying within Dalit community through the character of a Dalit political leader and Nishaad who is a Dalit activist. Nishaad who is influenced by Ambedkar's ideology opposes Dalit-Brahmin union rally organised by Brahmin leader because he knows the bitter

reality of that uneven alliance. Later Nishaad was killed in as fake police encounter because he opposed the alliance between Dalit and Brahmin political parties. In this film Sinha comments over the current political scenario of our country. Nishaad who is an educated and aggressive Dalit activist reflects the new aggressive form of Dalit politics. Dalit political parties are suffering from current internal fragmentation and decline. The young and educated Dalit middle class focus on the need for economic empowerment.

Pa. Ranjith in his movie *Kaala* uses Dharavi as a model to unveil the current political and social order of our country. It is a political and social treatise hidden in a commercial format on the rich-poor divide. This film shows us that how a handful of powerful political leaders exploit the poor and ignorant masses for their personal profit. For these greedy political leaders money and land are symbols of power and for poor people land and money represents survival. Through the character of Karikaalan Ranjith represents an assertive and revolutionary form of Dalit-Bahujan politics. He criticised Hindutva politics and its corporate distributors. The Hindutva villain Hari Dada represents selfish leaders and industrialists who with the help of political power exploit the downtrodden masses. This film shows Dalits dispossession from their colonies by industrialists who use government authorities to snatch their land. It also shows the failure of laws to protect the rights of oppressed and exploited working class of society.

Though both *Kaala* and *Article 15* shows the bitter reality of caste discrimination prevailing in society but the approach of the filmmakers is totally different as *Kaala* focus on the caste problems prevailing in urban parts of country and *Article 15* focus on the caste problems prevailing in rural parts of country. Another point to be noted is that

Ranjith represents assertive and aggressive side of Dalit community whereas Sinha represents Dalits as meek, voiceless and ignorant who depend on an outsider for their peaceful survival. This difference in representation lies because Ranjith belongs to Dalit community and has real experience of caste discrimination whereas Sinha belongs to upper caste. Ranjith exhorts the people from Dalit community that their body is the only their only weapon to fight against caste discrimination. He suggests peaceful protests instead of violent activities to oppose the caste discrimination.

Sinha in his movie *Article 15* shows the violence committed against Dalit community because of their lower caste and portrays Ayushman Khurrana as a Brahmin Indian Police Service (IPS) officer who comes as a saviour of Dalit community. The film ignores the complexities of caste structure prevailing in urban part of country. The film shows that how Dalit assertion is crushed by upper castes because they think that lower castes have no right to live a respectful life. In the film three Dalit girls are gangraped and murdered because they ask for an increment of three rupees in their daily wages. The girls were raped and murdered because they dared to ask for three more rupees in their daily wages, and, Ayan, at one point tells a haughty CBI officer that this money is equivalent of a few drops of the mineral water he is drinking.

Ranjith in his films give a message to exploited and oppressed and says "Don't let this shit happen to you" but Sinha in film *Article 15* talk to the privileged and say "Don't let this shit happen if you are in a position to stop it or to do something about it." The film has a Dalit character named Nishad who is an activist belonging to Bhim Sangarsh Sangh. He orders Dalits to stop working for upper caste after a lynching incident, and this what-if scenario opens Ayan's eyes (and ours) the dystopia that would result. The streets would be overflow with garbage and other waste material and there is no one to

pick up the trash and clean the drains. This type of incident is shown in movie *Kaala* also when Kaala appeals all the Dalit workers in Mumbai to stop working for the upper castes so that everyone can realise the importance of Dalit community in society. He points out that if Dalits stop working for upper castes than it will disturbs the complete cycle of society and complicates everyone's life.

Kaala shows the corrupt face of government authorities and shows that how some powerful people appropriate law and order for their own profit. The film revolves around Dalit movement and delivers a beautiful message to society. Kaala unveils the complexities caste and class base divisions and shows that there is no implementation of laws for sake of Dalit community. Article 15 also shows us the corrupt face of government authorities. The film narrates the story of three Dalit girls who were raped and murdered by a contractor and some police officials. When the parents of Dalit girls file a missing complaint than those criminal police officers said that the girls will came back after some time and there is no need to file a complaint. But when Ayan asks them to file a register complaint and start a search operation for them than those police tried to convert the case into an honour killing case and arrest the parents of Dalit girls. But Doctor of government hospital prepare a report of brutal sexual assault and gang rape then the criminals tried to blackmail the doctor so that she will change her statement. Even the CBI officer is not much interested in a fair search and orders Ayan to leave the case so that he can appoint some other one who will hide the reality of case. In this way this film shows the unjust and cruel face of government authorities. The film shows that how caste decide the right or wrong in Indian society. The girls were raped because the criminals think that any Dalit have no right to raise their voice against them and they said that they want to teach a lesson to the whole community so that no one

from their voice against them. This type of narrowminded people do not treat Dalit and other subaltern communities as equal human beings. They do not want any change in social order for their own profit. And when some Dalit educated person questions these evil practices then their efforts were crushed by upper castes. In the movie the murder of Dalit girls and fake encounter of Nishaad points that if someone try to oppose the unjust social order than they have to pay a price for their identity assertion in Indian society. Though the approach of films *Kaala* and *Article 15* is different but both of the films focus on the unjust caste practices prevailing in Indian society.

Both of the films show the violence and brutal crimes committed against Dalit community because of their identity assertion. Ranjith in his film *Kaala* shows that how law fails in solving problems of Dalit community. In the film when municipal corporation cut the water connection of the whole slum then Lenin who is the youngest son of Kaala files a written complaint for the same but the authorities pay no attention towards his complaint and later the problem is solved by Selva who make an unauthorised or illegal connection in the water pipeline. Though Selva's approach is wrong and illegal but it solved the problem of community. Simultaneously what is the profit of Lenin's lawful and correct approach that cannot solve their problem. This unveils the blind and deaf side of government authorities who cannot see the problems of poor Dalit community.

For a majority of the artists from Indian cinema, art is beyond caste and it is true also but definitely there is caste among those who practice it. It is not true to say that Dalit issues were never represented by cinema but they were represented with a lens of pity and sympathy. Mostly Dalit issues have been spoken of and discussed at Dalit meetings only and they are rarely discussed by other part of society because no one from upper

caste is interested in the problems of Dalit community. But filmmakers like Ranjith, Manjule and many others take these issues to a common stage by representing them in movies. They want to communicate the pain of Dalit society through their movies. Ranjith in his film *Kaala* has creatively visualised the social and political flows rising as a result of anti-caste struggles of Dalit-Bahujan settlers is Dharavi. The movie also comments on the social and political order of Maharashtra. Most of the times urban slums are portrayed with the problems of sanitation and crime but Ranjith represent the slum of Dalit-Bahujans with a totally different perspective. In the movie Dalit are represented as equal human beings and they are represented with an originality. Ranjith himself belongs to Dalit community and we can notice the influence of his insider perspective in representation of Dalit community. He visualised the festivals, culture, art forms, family relationships and the political framework of the historically segregated Dalit community.

Indian cinema has presented the life and journeys of the upper caste society, fitting them into different plots and themes. Mainstream films are tragedies, comedies, romance, historical narratives, victories and the ghost stories of the upper caste society. This appropriated and fabricated history of upper caste society is result of the biased perspective of upper caste society because they praise their social structure and ignore the existence of Dalit community. Dalit community have no right to study and gain knowledge and this is the result of strategy of dominant society. *Kaala* oppose this fabrication and appropriation of history by showing the history and culture of Dalit-Bahujans with an originality. Ranjith in his movie shows that even now the shadow of Dalits is treated as polluting and their culture, traditions, food habits, dressing style are treated as derogatory and disgusting. Those who are born in upper caste society ignores

the presence of caste system as it never resulted in bitter experience for them but those who stay outside of it have to face new forms of oppression because of their outsider status. The biased ideology of caste is represented in a scene when Hari Dada who is corrupt political who show Hindu values, come Kaal's house and doesn't accept water offered by Selvi. When Kaala goes to meet Hari Dada then he expects Kaala to touch his feet but Kaala denies. The act of touching feet of upper caste people is result of the philosophy that upper castes are evolved from body of Hindu God Brahma. But Kaala's denial from touching Hari Dada is an act by which Ranjith criticise the upper caste morals and give a voice to the ignored and voiceless Dalit masses. In *Kaala*, Ranjith portray strong Dalit characters who celebrate their culture, art forms and assert their identity against upper caste society and fight for the rights of whole Dalit community.

Anubhav Sinha in his film *Article 15* shows that Dalit community is looked down upon with hatred and disgust by the upper caste society. There is a scene when Ayan want to eat some snacks from the plate of a fellow police officer but that officer said that he cannot eat from his plate because of caste restrictions. In rural India Dalit are conditioned in such a way that they accept all of the caste atrocities without any question. They accept the unjust system of society as their fate and if someone tries to oppose it then he or she have to face the consequences. There is a scene in the film when an upper caste political leader goes to Dalit community and try to show that he does not believe in unjust caste system of society and join them when some Dalit person are taking their food. But this is not the reality because he carried the food and crockery along with him and all this is just a part of his agenda to gain votes from Dalit community. Dalit people are always treated as an outsider in the community and people from upper castes never call them with their names and one can easily notice it in the

movie. This movie is a beautiful attempt to unveil the discrimination and humiliation face by Dalit community due to the exploitative caste system prevailing in our society.

There is a scene in the movie where one Jatav (Dalit) police officer shown slapping an upper caste senior officer who is a culprit in the gang rape and murder of Dalit girls. That slap is very symbolic because it is not a slap to an individual Brahmin officer rather it is a slap to all those who has been exploiting them since history. That slap is a sign of assertion of Dalit identity and consciousness. Though this movie is an attempt to show the caste atrocities and subjugation by upper castes where Dalits are not merely put as subjects but challenging the exploitative social structure. There have been some debates from the marginalised and Dalit sections on how can the upper caste Brahmin hero be investigating the Dalit issues and becomes the saviour for Dalit community as these Brahmins themselves are the main oppressors who exploit them and treat them as slaves. We can say that this film is an attempt to socialise the Brahmins by the Brahmin character. The filmmaker tried to show that it is equally important to allow a privileged upper caste person who should come forward and socialise his community and question their supremacy. The filmmaker tried to make the upper castes accountable for their discriminatory practices. The film shows that the upper castes should challenge the other upper caste because they have created this caste system for their own profit. It is true that India have been fighting against the caste system before independence, there were times in which we tried to eradicate it but we are unable to do it. So, it is equally important for upper castes also, who created this discriminatory caste system, to question it and challenge caste organisations themselves. Though the movie is unable to portray the Ambedkarite discourse, the director has done well in a way to make the larger audience aware, those who have least understanding about real life incidents of

caste oppression and subjugation. There is some misrepresentation of Dalit characters and appropriation of Ambedkarite philosophy by putting Ambedkarite, Gandhian and Marxist philosophy together, but overall, this film challenges the Brahmin supremacy over Dalits and other marginalised communities.

In the movie Kaala the use of colour blue and the paintings Buddha, Phule and Babasaheb Ambedkar to signify triumph of Ambedkar's ideology. The name of the colonies like Gautam Buddha Nagar, Periyar Chowk are symbols that represent the ideology of Dalit community. We can identify other references also like name of Kaala's youngest son Lenin represent the Marxist ideology and flags of Oppressed Republican Party represent the current political interests of Dalit-Bahujan community. Dalit-Bahujan identity focus on the shared oppression and exploitation of poor marginalised population. The localities and symbols used in the movie are representation of social and political ideology emerging out as a result of struggles of Dalit-Bahujan community. The film uses mythological references from Hindu scriptures like Manusmriti, Ramayana and other Brahmanical texts. By referring to Kaala as Raavan and Hari Dada as Ram, Pa Ranjith builds an allegory on the social system prevailing in our society. The mythological references don't stop with Raavan and Rama, there are also some reference of Balit Raja, KaalaKarikalan- a regional god who guard village boundaries. First time a hero from untouchable community dare to confront a powerful upper caste man in a Bollywood film. Kaala who is the hero of the film feel proud on his Dalit identity and assert his identity in public instead of hiding it. Hari Bhai who is follows strict Hinduism present himself as incarnation of Rama who will kill the 'Kaala' who is treated as Raavan and clean the dirty Dharavi.

Jarina who is a Muslim woman and ex-girlfriend of Kaala visits Hari Bhai's home with a good intention of constructing houses for the people of Dharavi with the help of her NGO but Hari Dada shows no interest in her project because of her religious identity. He expects that she would touch his feet and adore Hindu religious morals. But Jarina disappoints him by rejecting his expectations and leaves his home with high frustration. Ranjith through his movie shows that how a Muslim woman is treated by society. There is another incident in the movie where a Dalit woman was slapped by Hari Dada's goons during the protest at *Dhobi-Ghat*. But later the same person was slapped by another female character in the film. This slap by a woman to man is a sign of rejection of male dominance over females. In this way this film also comments on the gender discrimination issues prevailing in our society where woman is treated as property of a man. Before marriage she belongs to her father and after marriage she belongs to her husband, she never treated as an individual who have her separate identity. A woman has to change her identity at every step of her life according to the needs of her family. The film Article 15 also highlights that caste and gender issues could not be separated in India. This is the fact that these two girls were raped because they belong to lower caste and the criminals think that they could escape punishment easily. A Dalit women's life in India is full of complexities because of her triply marginalised status. Firstly, they have to face subjugation because of their gender status, second because of their caste and thirdly because of their economic status. The Dalit girls in the movie are the easy victims for upper caste criminals because of their caste, gender and poor economic status. This movie shows that caste system is violent by nature and the assertion of identity by Dalits result in the act of violence committed on Dalit community. Indian cinema has hardly focus on the planned violence committed on women from Dalit community. Caste, class and gender are interrelated in

case of Dalit women and their intersectionality is ignored in mainstream films. Whenever a Dalit woman have to face molestation and violence then it becomes that the maintained hegemony of caste status and her triply marginalised status in society is responsible for violation of basic human rights. In the film *Article 15* the two teenage girls were raped and murdered because they had asked for an increment of three rupees in their daily wages. But their employer who belongs to upper caste cannot digest the boldness of Dalit girls. The girls were raped not only because of their gender status rather it is a heinous act of maintaining caste hierarchy. From ancient times the body of Dalit women is treated as an object and they were subjected to violence because of their inferior status. Dalit women are positioned at the bottom of India's caste, class and gender status and they remain uneducated and exploited by upper caste society. Violence and sexual harassment are the tools used by upper caste males to humiliate lower caste women and show them their inferior status. Our society needs proper implementation of constitutional rights for the empowerment of Dalit community.

Ranjith also uses black and white colour to address the caste issues prevailing in society. Kaala who belongs to Dalit community wears black clothes while Hari Dada who is an upper caste leader wears white clothes. Generally black colour is treated as sign of evil and white is treated as sign of purity. But in this film Ranjith defines the black colour with a new definition and there is a scene in the film where Kaala says "Black is the colour of labour". Ranjith gives a spin to the traditional white-is-pure and black-is-evil logic. He shows the black or evil face of the upper caste political leader who wears white clothes. In the film Ram is bad and Raavan is good. Ranjith uses symbols and icons to propel the ideology of Ambedkar and Buddha. It is a story full of

binary opposites like black and white, good and bad, rich and poor, insider and outsider etc.

In the opening scene of the film washermen of Dharavi were protesting against authorities and land Mafia to stop construction at their workplace. Mafia have start housing project in Dharavi with the consent of ruling party politician Hari Dada who want to uproot these poor people on the name of development. They make fake promise of schools, hospitals, parks, playgrounds, community toilets and many other facilities. However, the slum dwellers want all these facilities but they do not accept this offer because of their leader Kaala know the intentions of land mafia. Actually, Kaala understands the full plans of Hari Dada and land mafia who deceive the poor immigrant people on the name of development.

The film also propagates message of Dalit-Muslim Unity and gave the message that Dalits adopted other religion because of discriminatory caste system prevailing in Hindu society. There is a scene in the film where Kaala visits Hari Dada's home after the death of his wife and son to warn him. But Hari Dada does not feel guilty for his crime rather he asked Kaala that he will forgive him if he will touch his accept and accept his superiority. But opposite to his expectations Kaala put his legs in front of Hari Dada and ask same thing to Hari Dada. Kaala leaves the room in anger after warning Hari Dada of serious consequences. First time a Dalit hero show the courage to talk at equal level an upper caste villain, irrespective of his position in caste hierarchy. This film is a part of the cinema of the oppressed, by the oppressed but for the audiences from every section of society so that they could understand the bitter and complex realities of caste system prevailing in India. Films like *Kaala* depict the harsh realities of exploited, oppressed and subjugated masses which are subjected to

atrocities for centuries. Filmmakers like Ranjith, Anubhav Sinha, Nagraj Manjule are creating a new wave in cinema industry by representing caste issues with originality.

In the film *Article 15* Anubhav Sinha criticise the opportunistic and shallow politics of contemporary India. After sixty years of independence, lower castes have now established themselves as powerful voting blocs and every wanted to gain these votes for their party and this leads to opportunistic political practices. Lacking coherent structure and organisation, the Dalit political parties have different goals and agenda in their manifesto. These political parties highlight the further divisions and problems of Dalit community. As Dalit is a political term and include all the marginalised and oppressed masses who are treated as untouchables in Indian society. The alignment of various political parties to caste categories was a particular moment in the mutual adaptation of caste and politics. In India Dalit politics has unfortunately become all about merely more representations. With representation as the only symbol for Dalit-Bahujan assertion, Dalit politics lost the velocity of offering a fresh agenda of leading the opposition with Various political and ideological formations. Dalit politics is caught in the evil game of extending representation by joining hands with different parties.

Both *Article 15* and *Kaala* shows us that how social media can be used as a tool for protest and any movement. It provides a common stage to propel the idea of social transformation. Social media help users to share their opinion about any particular event, protest or movement. Users can upload their recorded clips of any event or protest on media platforms and use it as a tool to criticise corrupt government authorities and unjust social system. Social media shows us the core reality that has been entirely visible to some people and invisible to other group that intentionally do not want to face reality. In film *Article 15* Nishaad uses social media as a tool for

protesting by spreading awareness about caste discrimination prevailing in society. He asks people of his community to stop working for upper caste society so that they can realise the importance of Dalit community in society. In movie *Kaala* also social media was used as a tool for initiating Dalit movement. With the help of social media all likeminded people come together and join hands for same cause. These films show us that how socially and culturally subjugated and economically weaker section of society such as Dalits can use internet resources as a tool to share their experiences and strengthen their struggle for equality and visibility. P.K. Nayar in his work *The Digital Dalit: Subalternity and Cyberspace* argues: "the internet has provided an online space for the expression and negotiation of a subaltern identity." (n.p.)

These films show us that social media help Dalit movement by providing Dalit community a platform where they can express their bitter experiences of oppression. It can be used as tool to give more visibility to Dalit and oppressed masses. Mainstream media platforms like news channels, cinema industry, printing media are controlled by a handful of powerful people of upper caste society. These traditional media platforms represent biased perspective on Dalit issues and they criminalised the protest or any other social movement initiated by Dalit community. Social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, You Tube have become a weapon in hands of marginalised community to unite and provides them a stage to communicate with one another. Social media brings a new revolution in Dalit struggles as it provides a space to historically excluded and ignored masses to share their own stories without any biasness. In this way these movies focus on the role of social media platforms as a tool to maintain equality and democracy.

Though the film *Article 15* uncovers several uncomfortable truths about our society but this film represents Dalits as voiceless and meek. Although the film is created with an objective of representing struggle of Dalit communities but failed to move beyond an upper caste perspective. But in movie *Kaala* the hero who belongs to Dalit community itself fight against the system which deprived them of basic human rights. In the movie Dalit characters don't seek help from upper caste community to rescue them from subjugation and exclusion. This film represents the lived experiences of Dalit characters who are often represented as weak and voiceless in mainstream films. In this way the approach and method of representation is different in both of the movies but both of the movies show the grim reality of caste discrimination prevailing in Indian society. *Article 15* represent Dalit characters with a lens of pity while *Kaala* represents Dalit characters as strong and assertive who fight for their own

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