

## **CHAPTER-3**

# **DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF DALIT WOMEN IN HARYANA**

### **Introduction**

Following 75 years of freedom, India is close to accomplishing the situation with one of the world's biggest powers. It has accomplished large numbers of those dreams which were seen by the Indian Constitution makers. For example, right to education which was one of the directive principle earlier has been included in fundamental rights, therefore, making it free and necessary for those who cannot afford it. Women are given reservations in local self-government institutions consequently, fulfilling the dream of various political reformers. The projected Gross domestic product positioning of India at the world level in 2021 is sixth. Be that as it may, notwithstanding such accomplishments there are numerous objectives that are still left to be accomplished for India. There are incongruities within the social order on different premises. As examined in the last chapter, caste and gender are two significant grounds of disparities in India. At the point when Indian culture is inspected based on caste stratification, it could be observed that the Dalits have not been able to arrive at the same level of achievements in numerous areas where other caste groups are. The same is relevant to the circumstance of women in India. However, what is more, essential to see here is that when the groups who are women and Dalit simultaneously, circumstance turns out to be much more terrible for them. Their condition is more terrible among all. There are contrasts in the status of upper-caste women and lower-caste women in social, economic, and political fields. These current contrasts and disparities have brought about various effects of social changes on different caste groups. Along these lines, it becomes important to learn about the imbalances that different caste groups face.

The following chapter proposes to examine the status of Dalits, women, and Dalit women in a comparative manner. The three aspects have been selected pertaining to our dimension of research i.e., social, economic, and political. The various

subsections have been selected within these three aspects for the concentrated study of Haryana. The following sections have been included in the present chapter: -

- a. Literacy
- b. Work participation
- c. Crimes against women and Dalit women
- d. Political Participation

## I. Education

Literacy rate according to World Health Organization is “the proportion of the adult population aged 15 years and over which is literate, expressed as a percentage of the corresponding population, total or for a given sex or group, in a given country, territory, or geographic area, at a specific point in time, usually mid-year. For statistical purposes, a person is a literate who can with understanding both read and write a short simple statement on his/her everyday life.”<sup>85</sup>

It is widely believed that the literacy rate among women highly affects their health, knowledge of family planning, sex ratio, birth rate, death rate etc. There is a saying which says, ‘if a girl gets educated, then the two families get educated along with her.’ It signifies the urgency of girls’ education. Table 3.1 shows the literacy rate of Dalits, Women, and Dalit women.

**Table: 3.1 (District-wise Literacy Rate in percentage)**

Sr. No.	District	Dalit	Women	Dalit Women
1	Ambala	64.0	67.3	57.1
2	Fatehabad	47.2	51.5	39.5
3	Jhajjar	63.2	63.6	54.2
4	Karnal	55.0	58.4	47.4
5	Mewat	55.6	28.2	45.2
6	Panipat	57.6	57.7	48.7

<sup>85</sup> Source <https://www.who.int/data/gho/indicator-metadata-registry/imr-details/1141>

7	Sirsa	46.7	53.2	39.9
8	Bhiwani	57.2	55.5	47.5
9	Gurugaon	64.9	67.7	56.3
10	Jind	52.9	53.2	44.0
11	Kurukshetra	57.4	60.8	50.0
12	Palwal	54.8	45.0	42.5
13	Rewari	65.0	61.3	54.4
14	Sonipat	60.5	61.0	51.4
15	Faridabad	58.5	63.7	48.7
16	Hisar	53.4	54.6	44.3
17	Kaithal	49.9	51.8	41.3
18	Mahendargarh	63.7	57.3	52.2
19	Panchkula	61.5	67.0	54.7
20	Rohtak	59.5	63.2	51.0
21	Yamunanagar	63.3	63.0	56.3

Source: Census of India 2011 (district handbook)<sup>86</sup>

According to the census of 2011, the average literacy rate in Haryana is 75.6%. The literacy rate among the Dalits in all districts is below the average literacy rate of Haryana. That shows the secondary positioning of Dalits in terms of education. The literacy rate of women is also below average literacy rate but it is more or less equivalent to the literacy rate of Dalits. What is more worthy to note here is that the literacy rate of Dalit women among all the three categories is lowest in all the districts of Haryana, there is just an exception of Mewat district. This is the situation of Dalit women despite the fact that there are laws for progressive reservations for them in the field of education.

## **II. Economical Profile**

### **a) Work participation in Cultivation**

A person is considered a cultivator if he/she is working to cultivate land as the employer, either as a single worker or with a family. That land could be owned or

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<sup>86</sup> Census of India 2011, Source: [https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/dchb\\_haryana.html](https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/dchb_haryana.html)

purchased from any private institution or person or government for payment in money. Payment could be done on the basis of sharing of crops or in kind or in money.<sup>87</sup> Table 3.2 shows the percentage share of cultivators out of the total population of concerned groups of Dalits, women, and Dalit women.

**Table: 3.2 (percent share of Cultivators among Main workers according to categories)**

Sr. No.	District	Dalits	Dalit Women	Women
1	Ambala	0.9	0.2	9.4
2	Fatehabad	2.5	1.2	4.9
3	Jhajjar	0.9	0.5	3.4
4	Karnal	1.4	0.5	1.3
5	Mewat	1.0	0.4	2.3
6	Panipat	0.7	0.3	1.3
7	Sirsa	2.6	1.2	3.3
8	Bhiwani	3.2	1.4	6.0
9	Gurugaon	0.6	0.2	0.8
10	Jind	1.4	0.7	5.8
11	Kurukshetra	0.9	0.1	0.7
12	Palwal	1.3	0.5	1.9
13	Rewari	0.7	0.4	3.7
14	Sonipat	0.8	0.3	2.6
15	Faridabad	0.5	0.2	0.3
16	Hisar	2.3	1.2	6.4
17	Kaithal	0.9	0.3	2.6
18	Mahendargarh	1.0	0.4	4.1
19	Panchkula	1.0	0.6	1.1
20	Rohtak	0.7	0.3	2.6
21	Yamunanagar	0.9	0.1	0.4

Source: Census of India, 2011

<sup>87</sup> Source <https://labourbureau.gov.in/WL%20K5-6%20Chap%201.htm>

The percentage of cultivators among women, in general, is higher than the percentage of cultivators from Scheduled castes except for Kurukshetra, Faridabad, and Yamunanagar districts. The above data makes it clear that the women who work as cultivators own land either on their own or on the name of their family. The low percentage of cultivators among Dalits establishes the fact that Dalits own a very less amount of land. Among all the three groups the percentage of cultivators among Dalit women is the lowest in all the districts. It demonstrates the economic backwardness of Dalit women in terms of owning land.

#### **b) Agricultural Labour**

Agricultural labour is a person who works on others' land for wages. Wages could be given in form of money, in-kind or share in production/crops. Generally, the employment as agricultural labour is irregular therefore the income, they get is also not regular or permanent and it is very low in amount. The land on which agricultural labour works is not owned by themselves. Being an agricultural labour demands lot of manual workload. Therefore, the work as agricultural labour which needs more physical labour are assigned to the males such as ploughing the field. Females do work such as harvesting, transplanting the samplings etc. Table 3.3 shows the percentage of agricultural labourers out of the total population of concerned groups of Dalits, Women, and Dalit women from all the districts of Haryana.

**Table: 3.3 (Percentage of Agricultural labourers among Main Workers according to categories)**

Sr. No.	District	Dalits	Dalit Women	Women
1	Ambala	7.0	1.5	0.7
2	Fatehabad	13.2	5.9	2.8
3	Jhajjar	5.2	2.0	0.8
4	Karnal	10.2	4.2	2.1
5	Mewat	2.9	0.8	0.9
6	Panipat	5.6	2.4	0.4
7	Sirsa	16.0	6.5	3.1

8	Bhiwani	8.2	3.8	1.5
9	Gurugaon	2.5	1.0	0.4
10	Jind	11.0	5.3	2.1
11	Kurukshetra	12.6	5.4	2.5
12	Palwal	3.9	1.6	1.0
13	Rewari	2.4	1.1	0.5
14	Sonipat	7.7	3.9	1.9
15	Faridabad	1.4	2.5	0.3
16	Hisar	12.0	6.5	2.7
17	Kaithal	10.6	3.9	1.7
18	Mahendargarh	2.4	1.0	0.5
19	Panchkula	2.6	1.0	0.5
20	Rohtak	4.7	1.9	0.8
21	Yamunanagar	8.8	1.3	0.6

Source: Census of India, 2011

According to presented data, the percentage of agricultural labour is high from Dalit category whereas in cultivation women from general category consist the high percentage. It indicates that most of the Dalits do not own land and work as wage laborers in the fields owned by others. If the status of Dalit women and women would be compared then it becomes clear that women are engaged more as cultivators than agricultural labour whereas the percentage of Dalit women is high in agricultural labour than cultivators in all the districts. It means that Dalit women are engaged more in works that demands manual labour because they do not own means of production and because of their low level of education. Whereas women from the upper caste do not prefer to work as agricultural labour because of the good household income. Family abundance significantly affects the will of individuals to chip away at low wages. Consequently, the business status of other relatives and dissemination of pay inside the family could be significant determinants to comprehend the work status of women.

### c) Marginal workers

According to Labour Bureau of Government of India, the worker who works for at least six months or more in a year are known as the main workers whereas Marginal worker is those who work for less than 183 days or six months in a year are termed as Marginal workers.<sup>88</sup> A high percentage share in marginal workers indicates more days of unemployment and hence a high level of poverty. Generally, landless labourers and people who work as agricultural labourer consist most of the marginal workers. Figure 3a shows the percentage share of marginal workers out of the total population of the concerned groups of Dalits, Dalit Women, and Women.

According to the given data in graph 3a, the percentage share of Dalits as a whole is higher as marginal labour except five districts Hisar, Kurukshetra, Jind, Sirsa, and Fatehabad. In these five districts, Dalit women's percentage as marginal labour is the highest of all. Women's percentage share as marginal labour is the lowest of the three categories in all the districts. It indicates that the group which remains jobless in major part of the year majorly consists of Dalit and Dalit women. One reason for being a marginal labour is that Dalits are the one who does not own much land and work as agricultural labour throughout the year. Though the job of agricultural labour is seasonal and it is not regular, therefore, they are termed marginal labours. It also highlights the level of poverty among the Dalits.

It emerged in many studies that the Dalit women who belong to families having low level of household income tend to have higher work participation even if it is for the marginal time. According to the periodic Labour Force Survey of 2019-2020, the female work participation rate of Scheduled Caste during 2019-2020 was 22.7 whereas it was 17.2 for the females from the 'other category' at all India level.<sup>89</sup> The literacy rate among general women is comparatively high. They usually have degrees in higher education and education plays a convincing role in providing a satisfactory job in labour market. There is higher illiteracy rate among scheduled caste women. They do not have enough opportunities to participate in

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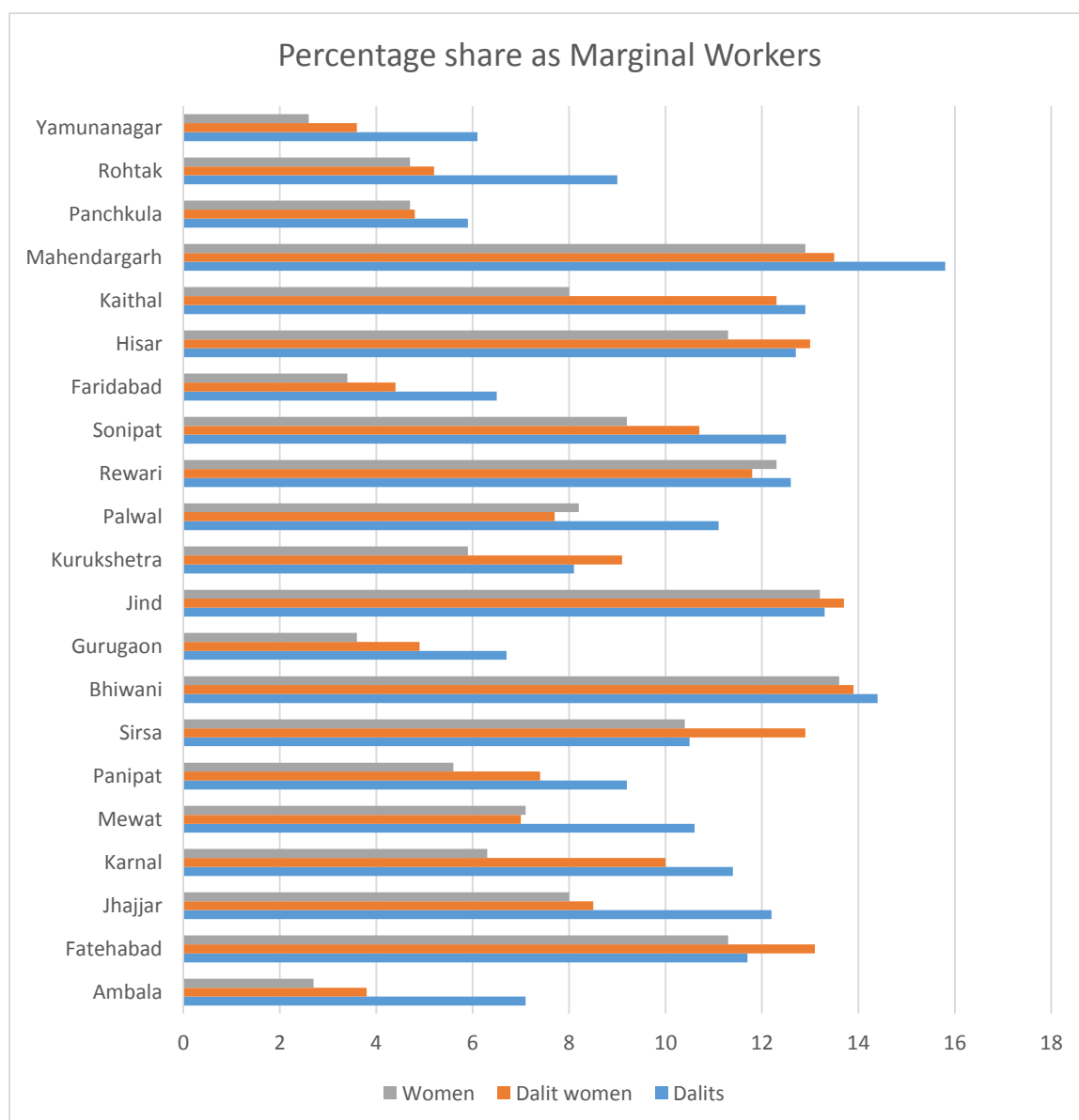
<sup>88</sup> Source: <https://labourbureau.gov.in/WL%20K5-6%20Chap%201.htm>

<sup>89</sup> Source

[https://www.mospi.gov.in/documents/213904/301563//Annual\\_Report\\_PLFS\\_2019\\_20m1627036454797.pdf/18afb74a-3980-ab83-o431-1e84321f75af](https://www.mospi.gov.in/documents/213904/301563//Annual_Report_PLFS_2019_20m1627036454797.pdf/18afb74a-3980-ab83-o431-1e84321f75af)

educational activities and Dalit families usually have low household income. Illiterate women tend to participate more in works of manual labour even on low wages. Therefore, there is a high rate of work participation of scheduled caste women as workforce and despite this fact, they get low wages and are highly discriminated against in labour market.<sup>90</sup>

**Graph: 3a (Percentage share of marginal workers according to categories)**



Source: Census of India, 2011

<sup>90</sup> Singh, P., & Pattanaik, F. (2020). Unequal Reward for Equal Work? Understanding Women's Work and Wage Discrimination in India Through the Meniscus of Social Hierarchy. *Contemporary Voice of Dalit* 12(1), 19-36.

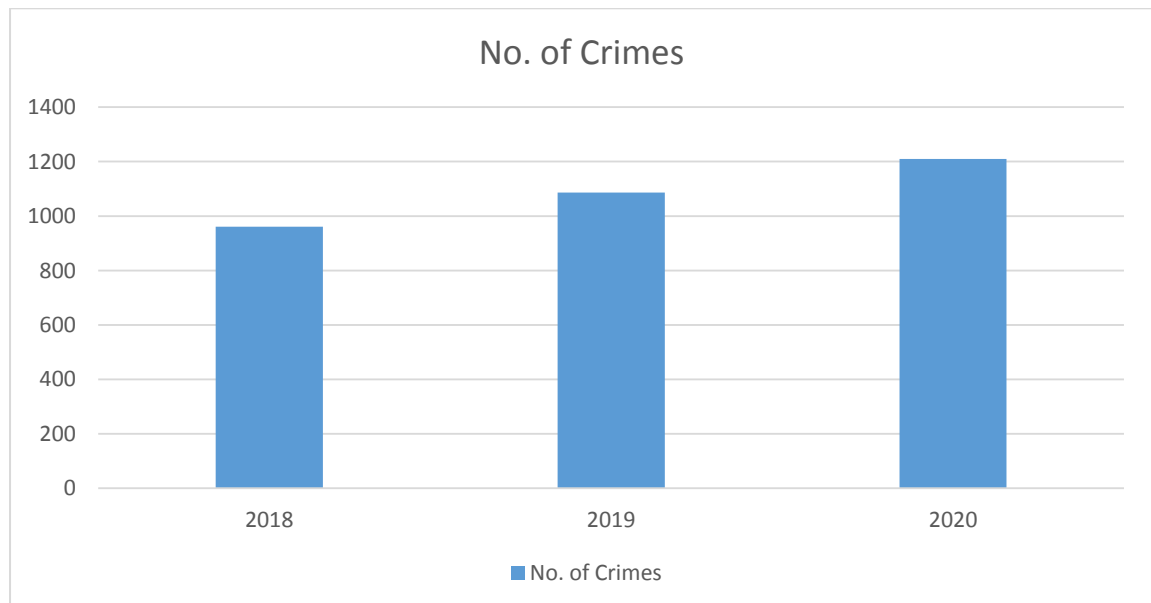


### III. Crimes against Dalit Women

Crimes against Dalits in India are usually systematized and utilized to reaffirm structural caste hierarchies against Dalits. According to the data of the National Crime Record Bureau 2020, a person from a scheduled caste faced crime in every 10 minutes in India in 2020. The total cases registered for Crimes against Scheduled castes in 2020 were 50,291. There is an increase of 9.4% from the previous year. This is the case despite the fact that there was a pandemic and laws against such crimes. The Prevention of Atrocities Act 1989 has been enacted to for the prevention of atrocities, discrimination, and hate against scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Graph 3b shows the data related to crimes against SCs in Haryana. All the Cases mentioned here are done by non-SCs. According to NCRB there are 961, 1086, and 1210 such registered cases in 2018,2019, and 2020 respectively. There is an increase of 11.4 in crimes that occurred in 2020 from the last year in Haryana. The rate of crimes against scheduled Castes in Haryana is 23.7 in 2020.

**Graph: 3b Number of registered cases of crimes against SCs by Non-SCs in Haryana.**



Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Crime in India, 2020<sup>91</sup>

<sup>91</sup> NCRB data, 2020, Source [www.ncrb.gov.in](http://www.ncrb.gov.in)

The crime rate against women in India through the year 2020 was 81.1 according to NCRB data. The number of total cases of crimes against women in the year 2020 was 3,71,503. However, when it comes to Dalit women in India, they face discrimination under the intersectionality of caste, class, and gender. Crimes such as Rapes are used as intended weapons to reinforce hierarchies against Dalits and to oppress the scheduled Caste women. According to NCRB data of 2019, in India, around 10 Dalit women are Raped every day in India.<sup>92</sup> In the year 2020, the rate of rape against women (per lakh population) in Haryana is 10.0 and it is 3.8 for Dalit women.

These are the gross facts when many cases of sexual violence in India remained unreported. Data from National Family Health Survey-4 (2015-2016), highlighted that 99% of cases of sexual violence remain unreported in India.<sup>93</sup> The cases which are intentionally targeted against women are termed as ‘Crimes against women. Such cases are classified into two categories.

**a) Crimes under Special and Local Laws (SLL)**

- The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956
- The Dowry (Prohibition) Act, 1961
- The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929
- The Indecent Representation of women (Prohibition) Act, 1986
- The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987
- Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005
- The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013

**b) Crimes against Women under the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (IPC)**

- Acid Attack (Section 326A and 326B)

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<sup>92</sup> NCRB Data, 2019, Source <https://ncrb.gov.in/hi/node/2974>

<sup>93</sup> NFHS data, 2015-2016, Source <https://www.livemint.com/Politics/AV3sIKoEBAGZozALMX8THK/99-cases-of-sexual-assaults-go-unreported-govt-data-shows.html>

- Rape (Sections 375, 376, 376A, 376B, 376C, 376D and 376E)
- Attempt to commit rape (Section 376/511)
- Kidnapping and abduction for different purposes (Section 363-373)
- Murder, dowry death, Abetment of Suicide, etc. (Section 302, 304B and 306)
- Cruelty by husband or his relatives (Section 498A)
- Outraging the Modesty of women (Section 354)
- Sexual Harassment (Section 354A)
- Assault on women with intent to disrobe a woman (Section 354B)
- Voyeurism (Section 354C)
- Stalking (Section 354D)
- Importation of girls up to 21 years of age (Section 366B)
- Word, gesture or act intended to insult the modesty of a woman (Section 509)

Some of the data has been collected from the National Crime Record Bureau of 2020 related to crimes against women and Dalit women under different sections of IPC which is as follows.

**Table 3.4 (Cases of outraging the modesty of a woman, Section 354)**

Category	Victims	Rate (per lakh population)
<b>Women</b>	2585	19.1
<b>Dalit women</b>	175	3.4

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Crime in India, 2020

**Table 3.5 (cases of Sexual Harassment, Section 354A IPC)**

Category	Victims	Rate (per lakh population)
<b>Women</b>	890	6.5
<b>Dalit Women</b>	54	1.1

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Crime in India, 2020

**Table 3.6 (cases of Assault or use of Criminal Force on women with Intent to Disrobe, Section 354B)**

Category	Victims	Rate (per lakh population)
<b>Women</b>	385	2.8
<b>Dalit Women</b>	20	0.4

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Crime in India, 2020

**Table 3.7 (cases of Stalking, Section 354D)**

Category	Victims	Rate (per lakh population)
<b>Women</b>	432	3.1
<b>Dalit Women</b>	14	0.3

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Crime in India, 2020

**Table 3.8 (cases of Insult to the Modesty of Women, Section 509)**

Category	Victims	Rate (per lakh population)
<b>Women</b>	183	1.3
<b>Dalit women</b>	9	0.2

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Crime in India, 2020

**Table 3.9 (Cases of Rapes against women for three years 2018,2019 and 2020 under Section 376)**

Category	2018	2019	2020
<b>Women</b>	1296	1480	1373
<b>Dalit women</b>	171	221	195

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Crime in India, 2020

The Data shows a low number of Crimes against Dalit women under all mentioned sections. The data in respect to crimes against Dalit women is leaning on registration of FIR<sup>94</sup> under Prevention of Atrocities Act,1989. However, Dalit women and girls who are victims of sexual violence usually gets threat and pressure from the dominant castes, from society, from other communities, from

<sup>94</sup> FIR is a First Information Report which gets filed by the Police on receiving any information about a knowable offence. It is an official document. It could be filed by the victim of the offence or someone else could file on behalf of the victim.

their own family etc. A big failure is on the part of police department in lodging a FIR against such crimes under Prevention of Atrocities Act. “Due to pressure from high-level politicians to clamp down on caste-based atrocities within the state, district-level authorities aim to bring down the number of rape cases registered under the SC & ST (POA) Act.”<sup>95</sup>

One important factor for not lodging an FIR is the low literacy rate among Dalits and Dalit women. Education leads someone to know more about the laws and legal procedures and it is evident from the data that the literacy rate is high among non-SCs and non-STs therefore, the number of reporting cases is high for them. Whereas the literacy rate is comparatively low amongst the Dalits. In Most of cases of crimes they do not even know that if there are any provisions against such crimes in the Indian constitution or not. For example, crimes such as stalking and eve teasing. Crimes such as these are considered as day-to-day incidences and people or Dalit women do not wonder to file any complaints regarding the same.

A survey was conducted by Swabhiman society and ‘Equality Now’ organization in Haryana state and take into consideration the 40 cases of rapes committed against Dalit women and girls in a time period between 2009-2020. The survey found out that in more than 80% of cases, “all the accused involved were from dominant castes and in more than 90% of the cases, at least one of the accused persons was from a dominant caste.” The report also mentions data of 2019 by the State Crime Record Bureau of Haryana which states that in 2019 out of 105 rape cases committed against Dalit women, in 88.5% of the cases the culprits were from the dominant castes. Out of the total 40 cases, 12 cases were dropped during police investigation, 8 cases were dismissed or acquitted by the court and in 3 cases FIR was not even registered. 10 cases are still going on in courts. These data show the

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<sup>95</sup> G.C.Pal, Caste-Gender Intersectionality and Atrocities in Haryana: Emerging Patterns and State Responses (2018), published by Journal of social Inclusion Studies as cited in Report: Justice Denied: Sexual Violence & Intersectional Discrimination – Barriers to Accessing Justice for Dalit Women and Girls in Haryana, India – Equality Now, Published by Swabhiman Society and ‘Equality Now’ organization. Source: <https://www.equalitynow.org/resource/justicedenied/>

barriers for Dalit women in accessing Justice and causalities on the part of the Administration.<sup>96</sup>

#### IV. Political Participation

India has rich democratic culture in terms of the participation of women in Politics. It is also evident from the female participation during the freedom struggle. Female leaders like Pandita Ramabai, Sarojini Naidu, Savitribai Phule were such ladies who participated in the freedom struggle with no less courage and enthusiasm than the males. Women got their political right of suffrage even before the independence period. In 1918, women who owned property were given some limited suffrage rights. Later, all women got the right to vote gradually between 1919-1929. However, in the first Lok Sabha election after independence, there was 4.4 percent elected women of the total seats. there has been a steady increase in their participation in Politics. The 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha election has the highest women participation till now and it has increased to 14 percent in 2019 elections. In any case, Haryana is a state where the male-centric standards began getting difficulties from society a lot after we got independence. Chasing after the present examination, it becomes important to be familiar with the political portrayal of women in Haryana. There is data related to the performance of contesting candidates in Haryana in Table 3.10 on the basis of males and female in the years 2009, 2014 and 2019.

**Table3.10 (Performance of contesting candidates in State Legislative Assembly Elections)**

Year of election	2009		2014		2019	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No. of contestants	1153	69	1235	116	1061	108
Elected Contestant	81	9	77	13	81	9

Source: Election Commission of India

<sup>96</sup> Report: Justice Denied: Sexual Violence & Intersectional Discrimination – Barriers to Accessing Justice for Dalit Women and Girls in Haryana, India – Equality Now, Source <https://www.equalitynow.org/resource/justicedenied/>

The above table shows data of Contestants and number of contestants won in state legislative assembly elections of Haryana in respective years. The percentage of seats won by female contestants in 2009 is just 10 percent of total seats. It increased to 14.4 percent in the year 2014 and there was steady decline in the percentage share of females in 2019 elections. Again, females were able to secure only 10 percent of seats.

**Table 3.11 (Elector’s performance in State Legislative Assembly elections)**

Year	2009		2014		2019	
Category	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No. of Electors	7149834	5967308	8796794	7506938	9874523	8511907
No. of electors who voted	5238707	4243222	6737327	5674868	6778736	5710221
Percentage of electors who voted	73.27	71.11	76.59	75.59	68.65	67.09

Source: Election Commission of India

According to the above table, the percentage of female electors in all the three state legislative assemblies is less than the male electors. That indicates the low level of female participation in Politics.

Political representation of Scheduled castes has been always a controversial issue even before independence. There are always debates on reservations provided to the marginalized groups. Reservations are the special privileges provided to downtrodden people to help them overcome historical injustices and caste-based discrimination. “Presently, central government-funded higher education institutions reserve 22.5 percent of seats for SCs and STs (15% and 7.5% respectively). This has been raised to 49.5 percent by including 27 percent for OBC groups. In the lower house of Parliament and State assemblies, the same percentage is followed for the SCs and STs although demographics often dictate percentage of reservation.”<sup>97</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Verma, V. (2019). A Crisis of Representation: Interests, Identities and Politics. *Journal of Social Inclusion Studies* 5(1), 1-18.

But even after representation, there is not enough political representation of Dalits. The situation become worse when we talk about the women from scheduled castes. The percentage of Dalit women as contestants as well as electors has always been the lowest of all categories. In the Haryana State assembly out of total 90 seats, 17 seats are reserved for scheduled castes.

**Table 3.12 (Nomination Filed, Contesting Candidates and Winner in State Legislative Assembly elections)**

Year	2009			2014			2019		
Category	Dalit Men	Dalit Women	General Women	Dalit Men	Dalit Women	General Women	Dalit Men	Dalit Women	General women
Nomination Filed	245	53	219	234	68	257	221	63	212
Contesting Candidates	181	10	59	178	31	85	167	32	76
winner	15	2	7	14	4	9	14	3	6

Source: Election Commission of India

In table 3.12 the data is given for Dalit men, Dalit women, and general women contestants for the year 2009,2014 and 2019. According to the data, Dalit women occupied just 2.2 percent of seats in 2009 elections, 4.4 percent in 2014, and 3.3 percent of total seats in the year 2019. However, the percentage share of seats occupied by Dalit male is higher than the general women. It is maybe because of the reservations Scheduled castes have in state assemblies. No one else than Scheduled Caste can contest election on the seats reserved for SCs. But out of these 17 reserved seats Dalit women have not secured even 1/4<sup>th</sup> seats in any of the elections. In 2009, SC women secured only 11.7 percent of the reserved seats, 23.5 in 2014 and it was17.6 in 2019 elections.

Table 3.13 shows the data related to voter turnouts of Dalits, Dalit women, and general women in State legislative Assembly elections of the year 2009, 2014, and 2019. After so many years of women getting suffrage right, politics is still



considered a sphere meant for men. Therefore, the percentage of voter turnouts for males is always higher than the female voters. The data given in table 3.13 indicates that the voter percentage of the Dalit male is higher than the Dalit women and general women. However, the percentage of female voters was lowest in the 2009 election. But it is higher than the general women in last two elections. Dalit women are using their caste identity, alongside their identity as village-level activists, to further their interests beyond the realm of women's activism. They do that to make a difference and to change the system. This confirms that they are aware that political society operates differently from civil society. They understand the importance of political power.<sup>98</sup>

**Table 3.13 (Electors' performance in State Legislative Assembly elections)**

Year	2009				2014				2019			
Category	SC Men	SC women	General Women	General Women	SC Men	SC women	General women	General women	SC Men	SC women	General women	General women
No. of electors	1360883	1143286	4824022	4824022	1601997	1374595	6132343	6132343	1770854	1533475	6978432	6978432
Electors who vote	988165	797753	3445469	3445469	1242800	1047766	4627102	4627102	1245512	1053548	4656673	4656673
%age of electors	72.6	69.7	71.4	71.4	77.5	76.2	75.4	75.4	70.3	68.7	66.7	66.7

Source: Election Commission of India

The 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act 1992 furnished constitutional sanctity to Panchayats as the third sphere of self-governance in India. It enlarged the space for people's representation and their agency in matters of governance and moved decision-making closer to them. The Act particularly sought to correct the

<sup>98</sup> Govinda, R. (2006). The Politics of Marginalized: Dalits and Women's Activism in India . *Gender and Development*, 181-190.

prolonged marginalization of poor, marginalized, and underrepresented people such as women, scheduled tribes (STs) and scheduled castes (SCs). This Act along with the ensuing State Acts on Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) provided for mandatory provisions of (a) reservation of seats and (b) the obligatory gram Sabha meetings have given SCs in villages an opportunity to participate in the political decision making. After, 73rd amendment to Panchayati raj, it is seen that ladies have shown strong fascination with involving panchayat workplaces and executing capacities for the individuals. Additionally, women's portrayal in each panchayat political race has expanded past 33% reservation laid in the constitution. Because of affirmative actions of the Act, SCs are occupying leadership positions in local bodies. However, their leadership has yet to achieve significantly social acceptance, as envisaged in the spirit of the Constitution. Caste-based identities and practices still continue to exclude them from exercising their leadership roles. Socio-economic vulnerabilities limit their capacities to articulate and to act upon their claims and concerns. The gap between the formal recognition of the right to participate and its actualization still remains large even after 19 years of constitutional mandate. Table 3.14 shows the data related to candidates belonging to the reserved category elected against the UR seats in the 2010 PRI elections of Haryana.

**TABLE 3.14 (candidates belonging to reserved category elected against the UR)**

Panch			Sarpanch			Member of Panchayat Samiti			Member of zila Parishad		
SC	SC(W)	W	SC	SC(W)	W	SC	SC(W)	W	SC	S(W)	W
426	101	566	79	17	215	37	7	57	2	2	9

Source: State Election Commission, Haryana

The data of PRI elections shows that the predominance of SC women is entering through seats held explicitly for them. But their representation is very low through the seats which do not have government intervention. The above table shows that the representation of women through unreserved seats is highest among all the three reserved categories mentioned here. The representation of Dalits and Dalit women is low comparatively. Along with that, the seats which are reserved for the

general women are dominated by the women belonging to the upper caste whereas the seats which are reserved by the SCs are explicitly occupied by the Dalit males. Therefore, it is evident that the patriarchal norms are becoming more stringent within the scheduled castes because of the low literacy rate among SCs. Another reason for patriarchy coming out so stiff among Dalits is that the advantages of globalization and modernization has not reached to them yet. They are still struggling to come out from their historically structured caste identities.

The investigation and portrayal relating to social, financial, and political factors for Haryana's social construction portray that Dalit women are in an exceptionally disadvantageous circumstance. The above investigation shows that the particular types of separation that Dalit women battle against are delivered by the consolidated load of caste, class and male centric society. Social convictions about populace, the monetary impulses of being reliant upon upper castes for work and job, and the weakness forced by sexual orientation subjection to make the existences of dalit women particularly hard. The issue of untouchability, separation and other common freedoms infringement of Dalits must be examined in an appropriate point of view particularly in regards to women.