

**TOWARDS A VISION OF THE WHOLE SKY: TRACING THE CHANGING
CONTOURS OF DALIT LIFE IN BABY KAMBLE'S *JINNAAMUCHA*
AND URMILA PAWAR'S *SAAYDAN***

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Abstract:

Autobiographical writing was one of the genres employed by Dalit women in India to explore new possibilities for constructing, confirming, and subverting their caste based gendered subjectivity. These writings are a literary and historical corpus for both the Dalit Movement and Dalit Feminism through their unmediated version of experiential history and provided an alternative discourse that disrupted authorized representations of history/ reality. Dalit women's autobiographies have come into print only from the beginning of the 1980s, yet they are a testimonial record of the 20th century Dalit Movement, its transformational nature and Dalit women's participation therein. By writing it into existence they bring into focus the specific socio-cultural location of the Dalit women. This paper, through an analysis of two Dalit women's autobiography belonging to three different generations, assesses how collective activism and consciousness has affected Dalit women's subjectivity; also, how modernisation, urbanisation, industrialisation and social mobility has affected a redefinition of the identity contents of the 'I'. The texts chosen for study are Baby Kondiba Kamble's *Jinna Amucha/ The Prisons We Broke* (1985) and Urmila Pawar's *Aaydan/ The Weave of My Life* (2003); Baby Kamble's autobiography, though published in 1985, was written at least twenty years before its actual date of publication and records in vivid detail life in a Mahar village in the 1920s Maharashtra and after, and the socio-cultural upsurge wrought by the Ambedkarite Movement that awakened not only a Dalit consciousness but also a Dalit Feminist consciousness. Pawar's *Aaydan* in 2003 traces the contours of a multiply inflected Dalit female subjectivity and the changing connotations of caste in a modern urban setup.

Keywords: autobiography, Dalit womanhood, experiential history, Caste

Indian society from time immemorial has been structured around the hierarchical *varna-jati* system, the foundation of which is laid on the notion of ritual purity and pollution. This relegated a section of Indians to the sub human level, whereby even their shadows were deemed defiling, because of their being born into an 'untouchable' *varna-jati* (translated into English as 'caste'). Throughout the history of India these 'untouchable' castes have been named by names assigned to them by others, mostly to despise them or to show contempt. In the regional languages, *Chura* in Punjabi, *Bhangi* or *Lal-Bhangi* in Hindi, *Mala* and *Madiga* in Telugu, *Paraiyan* in Tamil, *Pulayan* in Malayalam, *Koragas* in Tulu and Konkani. *Dalit* was the term chosen by these oppressed castes to name themselves during the vibrant mass movements of the late nineteenth sixties and seventies.

Historical and Social Milieu of the Dalit Movement in India

The colonial encounter in India resulted in multiple modernities emerging from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards through the inroads being made by the Western capitalist

economy and educational institutions established by the Christian missionaries. It opened up opportunities for 'lower caste' men and women to be employed in the newly established mills and factories and have access to modern education whereas these avenues were earlier closed for them because of caste considerations. The criticisms by Christian missionaries of Hindu customs and practices compelled the 'enlightened' upper caste Indians to be pro-active in the reformist movements and envision a cohesive Hindu society. This reformist discourse underlined that differential qualities, skills, diet and hygiene were the basis of caste-based untouchability. Thus, covertly holding the lower castes responsible for the caste-based prejudices of purity and pollution. As against this, emergent modernist thinkers during the nineteenth century from the Bahujan Dalit castes like Jyoti Rao Phule critiqued the caste system as exploitation of the *shudras*, *atishudras* and women by the Brahmin and money-lender class. This counter discourse initiated by Jyotiba Phule received its peak impetus in the first half of the twentieth century through the Ambedkarite repudiation of the caste system. It created a radical self-perception and inspired awareness among the Dalits to view their oppression within the broader framework of an oppressive societal structure. The Ambedkar counter discourse during the early part of the twentieth century relied on a dual mode for its propaganda – relying on one's own caste-based institutions, media and organizations for creating awareness and participation among the Dalits, and simultaneously, agitating for equal rights in the public arena. There were marked struggles for access to public places culminating with the burning of the *Manusmriti* by Ambedkar in December 1927. Ambedkar counter publicly emphasized the participation of the Dalit women in their struggle against the hegemonic caste structure of society through separate women's conferences held with every general meeting which have now come to light through the documentation of these oral narratives by Urmila Pawar and Meenakshi Moon. This documentation, in the mode of history as 'lived experience', narrates the revolutionary upsurge of the Dalit women at the Mahad Satyagraha in 1927. Ambedkar's clarion call to the women to discard customs, habits, clothes and accessories which were the markers of their untouchable caste status and, thus, symbolically the markers of their indignity, disrespect and self-abnegation are 're-remembered' (to use Toni Morrison's phrase) through the oral narratives of these women activists. As Ambedkar stated:

...The problems of living have to be tackled by men and women together. If men alone undertake this task (annihilation of caste) they will, I have no doubt, take a longer time. If women, however, take this up, I believe that the task can be successfully completed sooner... Therefore, you must attend the Parishads. Give up your old habits... It is these customs that mark the stigma of untouchability. These customs were forced upon us at some point in history... All those things that mark you as an untouchable – you must drop them. The way you drape your saris marks you as untouchable... Clothes bring more grace than jewellery... Knowledge and education are not for men alone. They are essential for women too.

(Rege, 2013, p. 71)

This emancipatory call awakened in them a political awareness and an understanding of the co-relationship between acquiring modern education and true emancipation. Ambedkar's exhortation to the Dalits to 'Educate, Organise and Agitate' inspired them to action and an alternate life path which gave them the courage to protest against the cuts in wages of women textile workers, promotion of compulsory education for Dalit girls through scholarships,

appointment of Dalit teachers and ban on marriage of girls until the completion of education. (Rege, p. 73) This marked the “difference” of the Ambedkarite women’s counterpublics from the discourse of the women’s movement “unmarked” by caste which inhabited a space in complicity with the privileges conferred by upper caste patriarchy. Access to education and scholarships in schools and hostels during the 50s and 60s gave birth to a new breed of educated Dalit women in Maharashtra who came of age during the 70s and 80s and provided a re-thinking and re-orientation of the mainstream frames of feminist analysis and the Dalit Movement. It contested an essentialised Indian Feminist identity and an assumed male identity for the Dalit Movement. Autobiographical writing was one of the literary genres employed by Dalits to articulate political, social and economic oppression and challenge existing social and literary structures. For the Dalit woman, writing the self was to explore new possibilities for constructing, confirming and subverting their caste based gendered subjectivity.

Baby Kondiba Kamble’s *Jinna Amucha/ The Prisons We Broke*

In *The Prisons We Broke* Baby Kamble posits a subjectivity within a larger familial and historical framework and brings to light a perspective on identity and experience, hitherto, relegated to the margins. She asserts that her writing is to tell the truth, in other words, a gesture of “talking back” through an experiential history that would break the old discourses of identity. The fluid merging of the first person autobiographical “I” with the communal “We” implying homogeneous beliefs, attitudes and experiences is, thus, anchored in a collectivity and is an evocation of an oppressive past and also a record of the resistance to such oppression. The events narrated in the text not only articulate upper caste oppression but is also self-critical of the superstitions, illiteracy and, oppression of the Dalit patriarchy. Despite the privileging of the “We” over the “I” we are aware of a subjective critical consciousness at work in the rendering of past events:

‘Hindu philosophy has discarded us as dirt and thrown us into their garbage pits, on the outskirts of the village. We lived in the filthiest conditions possible. Yet Hindu rites and rituals were dearest to our hearts. For our poor helpless women, the haldi-kumkum in their tiny boxes was more important than even a mine full of jewels. We desperately tried to preserve whatever bits of Hindu culture we managed to lay our hands on. And yet no one tried to understand us. Our minds somehow kept on hoping against hope – that we too would be able to live like the upper castes, that we also would be able to enjoy wealth like the Patil’s wife and practise the same rituals as them. (*The Prisons We Broke*, 2014, p. 18)

‘During epidemics, there would be many animals lying dead in the pens all over the various settlements and localities... They would ask the Mahars to carry the carcasses away... Everyone would rush to the place, as did the vultures, kites and dogs that competed with the Mahars!... After one animal was cut, the meat was divided into portions and the women would immediately begin to transport the food... The woman would balance the basket on her head with one hand, and with the other, she would continually ward off flies and birds... Their heads would be drenched with blood, puss and other putrid secretions oozing out of the meat... Anybody who came across these women would have easily taken them for a group of hadals.’

(*The Prisons We Broke*, p. 85-86)

Her narrative is a searing account of the abominable living conditions of the Mahars inflicted on them by a hierarchical caste based societal structure and is laced with ironical pathos on the Dalit situation, yet is a strategic utterance intended to provoke outrage at the injustice of it all. The emergence of an early Dalit Feminist episteme is visible in the narrative which critiqued the status of a Dalit girl during the early part of the twentieth century and the violation inflicted on them by their own menfolk:

‘The other world had bound us with chains of slavery. But we were human beings. And we too desired to dominate, to wield power. But who would let us do that? So we made our own arrangements to find slaves – our very own daughters-in-law! If nobody else, then we could at least enslave them.

Young girls, hardly eight or nine or ten years old, were brought home as daughters-in-law. Girls, even younger were married off ...

(*The Prisons We Broke*, p. 87)

‘In those days, at least one woman in a hundred would have her nose chopped off ... Husbands flogging their wives as if they were beasts would do so until the sticks broke with the effort. The heads of these women would break open, their backbones would be crushed, and some would collapse unconscious... Women led the most miserable existence...’

(*The Prisons We Broke*, p. 98)

Located in the general text of struggles, her narrative engages with a greater objectivity in dealing with hegemonic inconsistencies within the cultural practices of the group. As Gopal Guru states, “the life story of baby Kamble and other Dalit women writers decisively destroys the myth which certifies Dalit patriarchy is democratic. Baby Kamble in her narratives of Dalit women’s sufferings brings out the worst form of exploitation and physical torture that the Dalit male inflicted on dalit women. The physical torture not only involved physical injuries but also inflicted deep psychological pain, leaving a scar of humiliation in the minds of dalit women.”(*The Prisons We Broke*, 2008, Afterword, p. 166) Baby Kamble’s autobiography articulated “a complex relational understanding of social location, experience and history” (Rege, 2013, p. 95) which “destabilise received truths and locate debate in the complexities and contradictions of historical life.”(Mohanty, C.T. , 2003,p. 244) It operates as a counterpublics to the upper caste explication of the caste system which emphasised on the socio-religious ideology and its ritual aspect, as well as the Karma philosophy of Hinduism. Uma Chakravarti states that upper caste explication “gives an overemphasis on the ideology of the caste system, namely, on its ritual aspect, to the exclusion of material conditions and questions of power. This is a consequence of focusing on the brahmanical view drawn from brahminical texts. It completely evades the views of dalit writers who provided a counter view on the caste system by focusing on the *experiential* dimensions of caste based oppression.”(2003, p. 6-7)

Urmila Pawar’s *Aaydan/ The Weave of My Life: A Dalit Woman’s Memoir*

Urmila Pawar’s *Aaydan* translated into English as *The Weave of My Life* by Maya Pandit, foregrounds at the outset the caste-based authentication of the autobiographer’s self. Her narrative starts with a representation of her community whereby she recounts the history behind

the remote location of her village. Located within that narrative is a sub-text of resistance by her great grandfather Hari against mercenary Brahmin priesthood and the rigorous operation of the principle of pollution-purity practiced by the Brahminical priesthood. It seems the Brahmin priest would not enter the village to perform the rituals of marriage or ceremonial worship but would climb a tree on the outskirts of the village ‘muttering some chants’(Pawar, 2008, pp.9). If a marriage was being conducted, then the bride and groom would be standing in the pandal and the Brahmin priest would be up on a tree at a distance. Then he would shout the word ‘sawadhan’ meaning ‘beware’ and the marriage would take place with the beating of drums. The priest would climb down from the tree and sprinkle holy water from his *panchpatra* with a *pali* on the coins kept as his *dakshina* to wash away the pollution but would not forget to carry off all the grain, rice, coconuts etc. kept as his *dakshina*. Her great grandfather found the conducting of ceremonies from a distance humiliating and in a meeting in his village decided to put an end to it by deciding to conduct the ceremonies by themselves. The priest offended at this challenge questioned his knowledge of Sanskrit to conduct a marriage. Hari countered by stating he had knowledge of Sanskrit and recited a few *shlokas* to demonstrate it. Not to be cowed down the priest stated that without the knowledge of *pranayama* he would not be able to divine the past and future. When Hari asserted that he knew it, the priest challenged him to a contest where both would sit in pits dug deep inside the ground for eight days in their respective burial and cremation places and the mouths of the pits would be covered with mud. On the fifth day the priest died in the pit and Hari won his challenge. That was how the hereditary right to village priesthood came to their family.

The oral historical narrative of the Pawar family was generated and passed down through generations by the women of the family. Embedded in this subtext is the narration of an individual history as part of a larger group narrative of a subjugated group. The self in the narrative invokes identification with various caste-based oppression and exclusion from public sphere wherein it is relegated to the margins of the social order. It critiques the extreme poverty and the sub-human living conditions of the Mahar community as a direct result of the traditional segregative *varna* ideology. This ideology differentially structured the different groups’ access to material resources. Their exclusion from all sources of material resources through the rigorous implementation of the pollution-purity principle was responsible for their being underemployed or being employed in subsistence level jobs with no scope for self-upliftment. Pawar brings to light the economic exploitation and humiliation of her community members by the upper castes through their description of the Mahar women being paid only with leftover/ stale food for their manual labour by the upper castes,

...All of them had served the upper castes in different ways throughout the year. Someone had laboured in the fields, woven baskets of various shapes and sizes for them. They would ask to be compensated for their work. Especially houses that performed the customary Mahar duties, such as beating the dhol, disposing off dead animals, reaching messages, would go to beg as a matter of right.

..But the Kulwadi women who gave them food would pour everything together in their baskets. Whatever they wanted to give --- dal,vegetable, kheer – would all be poured on the rice, in a mixed mound. Women would bring back basketfuls of rice, in which many things were mixed.

Not wanting the remaining rice to go rancid, they would put it into a basket, and hold it against the running water in the river. Shaking the basket against the flowing water, they would rinse it till only the clean rice remained in the basket. Sometimes, they would wash the rice at home. They poured the insipid, cooked rice in an earthen pot and put it on the stove on low heat. Their entire house would survive for two days on those leftovers. In some houses the flesh of dead animals would be eaten. But that was forbidden in our house.

(Pawar, 2008, pp. 50-52)

The institutionalised nature of ‘untouchability’ practised and its ramifications on individuals is evident in Pawar’s narration of being picked on by her teacher in the village school to clean the classroom and its verandah:

I was a frequent target for HerlekarGuruji. He always made me do the dirty work, like cleaning the board, the class, collecting the dirt and disposing it off. Besides, our school verandah was used as a sort of toilet by buffaloes and cows. Students in every class took turns cleaning it. When it was the turn of our class, I alone was forced to clean the entire mess.

(Pawar, 2008, pp. 67)

She brings into focus the hypocrisy of the pollution-purity principle inherent in the caste system by narrating the fact that during Holi festival the Mahar (untouchable caste) men were tasked with cutting and transporting huge trees which would be later burnt ritually by the upper caste people. The arduous task of felling and carrying the huge trees were done manually by the Mahar youth, but once the holy rituals started, the Mahars were debarred from participating in even the trivial details as their touch was considered defiling. During the ceremony the upper caste men prayed for the well-being of the village and, also, prayed that no misfortune or calamity should befall the upper caste people. To avert any misfortune befalling them they prayed that the calamity should be directed to the Mahars. This was how the Mahars were compensated for their toil and labour. Besides being hilarious, it also poignantly highlights the superstitions, ignorance and oppression inflicted on the “untouchable” castes. Pawar’s narration of these incidents is an intervention in the dominant’s discourse’s culturally ordained fictions and is a testimony to the shared oppression faced by her group as members of the Dalit community.

The turning point in the Mahar people’s plight comes when they convert to Buddhism inspired by the call given by Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, an icon for the Dalits. Pawar feels the revolutionary portend of this act even at a subjective level. The impact that it had on her and her community’s life is detailed in the Preface to her autobiography:

When I look back upon my life, I see the period of conversion from Hinduism to Buddhism as its most significant. Neither the children nor the elders had any idea what religion or conversion meant, of its significance, and about who could act as our guide as far as conversion was concerned. Yet we did convert. The meaning of the transformation began to become clearer to us gradually through the changing rituals and traditions and through the guidance of our political leaders.

(Pawar, 2008, pp. x)

As a corollary to the conversion, marked changes were gradually happening even though replacing the idols of gods and goddesses was not an easy task. Earlier the people prayed to the

gods for something they needed and this old habit of praying for needs was difficult to erase. Later the Buddhist religious leaders impressed upon them that praying for personal gratification was not the true path of worship. The true path is to strengthen one's own will and forge it in such a way that one can deal with life's vagaries and good fortune with equanimity. For the new converts, wearing of white clothes during rituals and ceremonies was mandated, especially for ceremonies like the naming of a child, marriages and funerary rites. For a community which earlier had only rags to cover themselves, it was a welcome change to be dressed in white. The leaders opined that the white colour symbolised purity and any stain on a white cloth appeared magnified, hence, it was the duty of the newly converts to maintain a spotless character.

Pawar locates the community's resistance to the established order in their conversion to Buddhism. It implies the rejection of the *varna* based oppressive societal structure and claiming the agency to articulate their humanity and dignity. The momentous decision to convert by the Pawar family, who were hereditary priests of their community, meant abandoning their age-old religious rituals and practices. The trajectory of events which led to the conversion of the family is narrated through the consciousness of the young girl Urmila, who was oblivious to the enormity of the occasion. Also, at work here is the delineation of a historical moment through subjective rendering of experiential history. She narrates that on hearing the sad news of Ambedkar's passing on, the village elders decide on the whole village converting to Buddhism,

...Everyone in the house was weeping. Nathuram Kamble sat sobbing uncontrollably on a bench in the verandah. Aaye, Manjulatai, Shahu – everybody was weeping. I too began to weep since they all were. After a while, Nathuram said that he would go to Mumbai the next day for the last *darshan* of Babasaheb and left. Gradually I came to know who Babasaheb was and then the conversion happened quite suddenly.

From the surrounding villages crowds of people marched to the grounds of Colgate College in Ratnagiri till it resembled a sea of humanity. We were there too, along with Govindadada and the other villagers. Several instructions were being issued from the loudspeakers hanging overhead. Then came reverberating sound of '*BuddhamSaranamGachchami*' and we too joined the chanting of the crowd.

After the ceremony, we came home...

(Pawar, 2008, p. 109)

It is a testimony of her experiential self's realisation that one can be united against hegemonic power only by refusing to engage with that power on its own terms. Only by articulating new visions for oneself and new concepts to dare otherwise, can a marginalised group bypass the ancient dichotomies.

Unable to escape the stigma of untouchability in a rural traditional societal structure despite acquiring the respectability of education, Pawar and her husband relocates to Mumbai hoping that anonymity in the city would assure them the dignity that they deserved. Unfortunately, Pawar soon confronts the reality that the stigma of caste identity is still not open to erasure or effacement. She narrates an incident of being rebuked by the mother of her daughter's friend for inviting them for her daughter's birthday party and letting her partake of the birthday cake when she later stumbles upon the fact that UrmilaPawar belonged to the untouchable caste. Urmila Pawar recalls that even after she was promoted as the chief of her branch in the office that she worked in, her subordinates were rude to her on account of her

being a Dalit woman. Also, Pawar felt that despite living in an urban metropolis like Mumbai she could not provide her children the luxury of an English medium education due to financial constraints; she realised later that her children had serious misgivings regarding their upbringing as they felt that had they been admitted to English medium schools they would have been saved from developing linguistic inferiority complex. The mainstream society's prejudiced notions and stigma attached to the 'untouchable' castes is brought to the forefront when she narrates certain tragedies occurring in her family due to the oppression of caste - her own brother's suicide on account of being falsely implicated for fraud and others' refusal to accept his innocence because of his caste; the doubts regarding the death of her son under accidental circumstances in an anti-reservation medical college exposes the inescapable nature of caste marginalisation. Her experiential self contests the contemporary dominant discourse's myth that caste discrimination is no longer a practice in modern India.

Conclusion

Baby Kamble's *Jinna Amucha/ The Prisons We Broke* and Urmila Pawar's *Aaydan* are located in the Ambedkarite counterpublics and are documentary texts on the transformative power of resistance to oppression. It brings alive a bygone era of oppression along with contemporary mutations of the caste system and the verdict that "untouchability" and caste based oppression are still prevalent, sometimes overt and sometimes covert. Both authors' engagement with the articulation of a Dalit gendered Self confronts the hurt and pain that a Dalit woman encounters in claiming her wholeness and dignity. The self-presencing in the text projects a nuanced conception of identity. Though politically engaged their texts project a contemplative individual consciousness and contests dominant cultural models of identity grounded in the conception of experiential politics.

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