

#### We Also Made History

#### Women in the Ambedkarite Movement



Urmila Pawar and Meenakshi Moon

Translated and with an introduction by Wandana Sonalkar





ZUBAAN

an imprint of Kali for Women 128 B Shahpur Jat, 1st floor

**NEW DELHI 110 049** 

Email: contact@zubaanbooks.com

Website: www.zubaanbooks.com

First published by Zubaan 2008 First paperback edition 2014 Original Marathi © Urmila Pawar and Meenakshi Moon 2006 English Translation © Wandana Sonalkar, Aalochna 2008

All rights reserved

1098765432

ISBN 978 93 83074 74 7

Zubaan is an independent feminist publishing house based in New Delhi with a strong academic and general list. It was set up as an imprint of India's first feminist publishing house, Kali for Women, and carries forward Kali's tradition of publishing world quality books to high editorial and production standards. Zubaan means tongue, voice language, speech in Hindustani. Zubaan is a non-profit publisher, working in the areas of the humanities, social sciences, as well as in fiction, general non-fiction, and books fo children and young adults under its Young Zubaan imprint.

Typeset at FACET Design, New Delhi Printed at Raj Press, R-3 Inderpuri, New Delhi 110 012

# We Also Made History Women in the Ambedkarite Movement



Beginning of the Kaala Ram Mandir satyagraha in 1930, with woman in the foreground and women at windows www.ertongbook.com

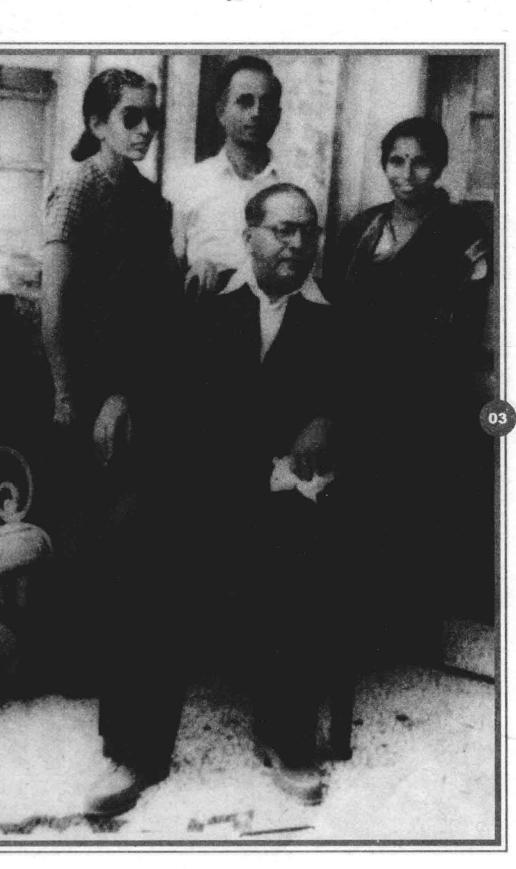


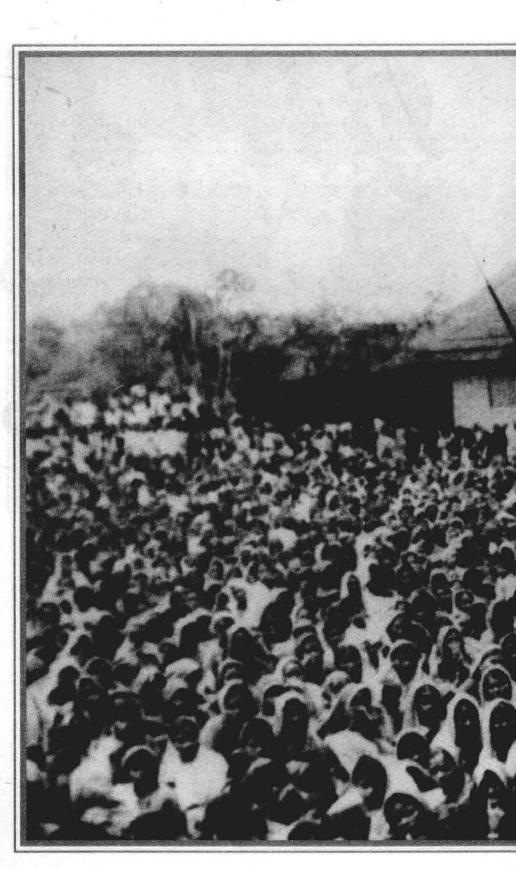
adi ni mados dice Dili "Lateria le-

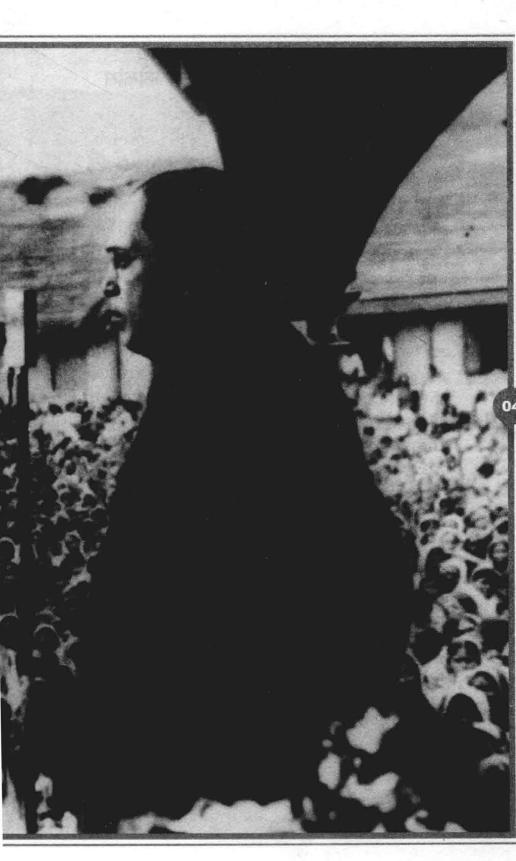
Women felicitating Dr. Ambedkar on hi becoming Law Minister, 1942

Dr. Ambedkar with his second wife, Maisaheb (standing)

Dr. Ambedkar addressing women's meeting (undated)







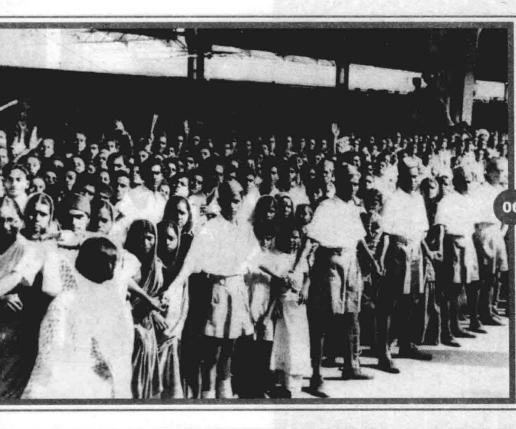
## महाद सत्याग्रहास जाणाऱ्या लोकांस जाहीर खबर.

ता. २५-१२-२७ पासून महाड येथे सुरू होणाऱ्या सत्याध्रहास जाणाऱ्या मंडळीस विनंतिपूर्वक कळविण्यांत येतें की, त्यांनी आपस्या-बरोबर ताट, तांच्या, कांबळी व तीन दिवस पुरेल इतकी भोजनाची सामुत्री जरूर आणावी. आम्ही तेथें भोजनाची व्यवस्था करणार आहोंत तरीपण प्रत्येकानें आपापली तयारी ठेवावी. डॉ. आंबेडकर व इतर सत्याग्रह कमिटीचें लोक मुंबईहून ता. २४-१२-२७ रोजी आग-बोटीनें निवणार आहेत. तर ज्यांना त्यांच्याबरोवर येणें असेल लांनी ता. १५-१२-२७ पूर्वी आपस्या जाण्यायेण्याच्या खर्चीकरितां ५ रुपये बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी सभेच्या ऑफिसांत आणून दिस्यास त्यांच्या-करितां स्वतंत्र बोटीची व्यवस्था करण्यांत येणार आहे. तरी ही सोय ज्यांना पसंत असेल त्यांनी ताबतोब आपली नांवें बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी सभेच्या ऑफिसांत नोंदवावी व सेकेटरीकडे ५ रुपये देकन पावती व्यावी. व ज्यांना कमिटीच्या मंडळीबरोबर यावयाचे नसेल लांनी दासगांवला उतरण्याची खबरदारी घ्यावी.

महाड येथें सत्यात्रहाच्यावेळी अलोट गर्दी होणार आहे. म्हणून त्यावेळी गर्दीमध्यें आपला मनुष्य अचुक ओळखता यावा या करितां सत्यात्रहांत भाग घेणाऱ्या स्वयंसेवकानें बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी सभेच्या नांवाचें पदक छातीवर लाविलें पाहिजें. ज्यांच्या छातीबर सभेच्या नांवाचें पदक नसेल त्यांच्या संरक्षणाची किंवा इतर कसल्याही प्रकारची जवाबदारी सत्यात्रह कमिटी आपल्यावर घेणार नाहीं. सब-रह पदकाची किंमत फक्त दोन आणे ठेवण्यांत आली आहे .व ते बहिष्कृत हितकरिणी सभेच्या ऑफिसांत विकत मिळेक.

आपखा,

सिताराम नामदेव दिश्यतरकाः, सेकेटरी मत्यावद कविटी





此为风铁,而女元笙IDF相切图。www.ertongbook.com



05 Notice of Mahaad satyagraha, 1927

**06** Women at a meeting being guarded Samata Sainik Dal (undated)

**07** Women's meeting at Bombay centre (undated)

**08** Family photograph of Ambedkar w his first wife Ramabai, son Yashwant an other family members

All photographs reprinted from the bood Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar published by Lokvangmaya griha, Mumbai (2007), as from other archival photographs made able by the same publishers.

# Contents

Recentled a state of Indiana Bent See Representations of the



Translator's Introduction 1
Author's Preface 38

Enveryoud by V D Dhadles

After the Conversion

13

word by I. D. Fliadke	43
PART I	Janes Janes
Social Background	53
Historical Background	67
Laying Down the Foundation for Education	75
From Slumber to Awareness	82
Organising Against Religious Prostitution	92
Dalit Women and the Tradition of Marriage	102
The Struggle for Equality	116
The Power of Organisation	135
Consciousness of Political Rights	141
Babasaheb's Views on Women	157
Enlightenment through Literature	167
Victory of the Dhamma	179
	Social Background Historical Background Laying Down the Foundation for Education From Slumber to Awareness Organising Against Religious Prostitution Dalit Women and the Tradition of Marriage The Struggle for Equality The Power of Organisation Consciousness of Political Rights Babasaheb's Views on Women Enlightenment through Literature

189

#### PART II

Ramabai Ambedkar 201 Radhabai Kamble 204 Jaibai Chaudhari 207
Tulsabai Bansode 211 Anjanibai Deshbhratar 212 Sulochanabai
Dongre 213 Bhikshuni Laxmibai Naik 215 Seetabai Gaikwad 218
Geetabai Gaikwad 220 Virendrabai Teerthankar 223 Ratibai Puranik 224
Geetabai Pawar 225 Meenambal Shivraj 229 Mukta Sarvagaud 231
Shantabai Bhalerao 239 Shantabai Dani 242 Sakhubai Mohite 247
Keertibai Patil 249 Indirabai Patil 254 Ramabai Gaikwad 256
Kausalyabai Baisantri 259 Nalinitai Ladke 265 Vimal Rokade 268
Parbatabai Meshram 271 Muktabai Kamble 277 Damayanti
Deshbhratar 280 Laxmibai Kaakde 284 Shantabai Sarode 288
Babytai Kamble 293 Seetabai Thakur 299 Shashikala
Dongardive 303 Chandrika Ramteke 306 Jayabai Bhalerao 310
Geetabai Bhagat 315 Chandrabhaga Jadhav 319 Shuddhamati
Bondhate 322 Sumanbai Bandisode 325 Vithabai Pawar 327
Sonutai Lanjewar 330 Meerabai Ambedkar 335 Sudha
Ramteke 338 Sarla Maurya 341 Bhikshuni Nandasheela 344
Bhikshuni Chandrasheela 345
i Harminal Background 67
14 Conclusion and population of the property o
References 356
Newspapers 358

### Translator's Introduction



There were different stones down at the river for kunbi women to wash clothes, and different ones for the Mahaars. I purposely washed my clothes on the kunbis' stone. Four of them came running in a trice and said, 'O Mhaarni, have your eyes burst or what? Can't you see it's the kunbis' stone?'

'Who are you calling a Mhaarni? So what if I washed my clothes there? Pour water on it and make it pure.' 'What a useless woman this is' they retorted. When they said this I ran and clutched the hair of one of them. I hated to be called a Mahaarin, it made me angry. There was a fight. There were four of them but I, alone, was a match for them. Then my father-in-law intervened and ended the fight."

My first verse I'll sing for Bheem
I'll be in the satyagraha and I'll see him
My second verse for him
Who gave us the right to draw water
For him, bai, we're happy in this van.
My third verse is for Ramaai's lord,
He made all the people like a happy bride.<sup>2</sup>

The reality of caste practice in village life in today's India is such that the incident narrated in the first paragraph, taken from one of the interviews with dalit women that form the second part of this book, could still occur today—that is, if a Mahaar woman were to commit such a provocative act. Untouchability has not been banished from India, even though it is 'banned' by law. Separate settlements of dalits are still located on the boundary of a village, on a downward slope, so that water used by them for washing flows outside. Dalits are still denied access to village wells used by other members of the community; their use of common grazing lands and other public spaces is contested by non-dalits. Underlying these exclusions is a threat of violence. And it is the women who bear the additional burden of work, the additional threat of sexual violence, constantly in their daily lives.

Yet the first quote does record a moment of rebellion, a memory cherished by the woman telling the story to the authors of this book. She is Shantabai Sarode, a remarkable woman from the Nagpur region in eastern Maharashtra, who trained as a wrestler and was often called to settle disputes between untouchables and non-dalits. According to her narrative, she went to prison eighteen times. She is indeed a unique personality, even in a gallery of remarkable women; but in the pages of this book we will find several stories of rebellion, rather than the narratives of violence and victimhood that we have come to expect from dalit women. There are of course accounts of early marriages, of abusive and violent husbands, of illtreatment at the hands of in-laws, as we might find in the lives of women of any caste. The social violence underlying the caste system is a reality they have to live with, and it is a subtext that runs through this book. What the book privileges, however, are the moments of overcoming violence, humiliation and exploitation, and the unique form of politicization that made it possible.

The second quote is from a song sung by women taking part in one of the satyagrahas<sup>3</sup> of landless agricultural workers carried out in 1964. Although some dalits in some parts of India own land, and not all the landless are dalits, dalits and adivasis — or tribal communities living in or displaced from forest land — make up the majority of landless agricultural workers. Some years after the death of B.R. Ambedkar in 1956, Dadasaheb Gaikwad led this movement of dalit agricultural labourers. Dalit women courted

arrest and spent time in prison, often with babies in their arms. The "Bheem" in the verse is of course an affectionate reference to Ambedkar. "Ramaai" is Ramabai Ambedkar, his first wife, referred to as "Rama-ai"—"aai" means mother in Marathi.

Dalit popular culture is full of references of this kind. The history of the dalit movement during Ambedkar's lifetime is a living part of dalit consciousness today, even as the generation that remembers Ambedkar's leadership grows older and gradually dies out. Songs about the struggles, about Bheem, about Ramaai who is venerated as a mother figure, are sung on various occasions when dalits, especially in Maharashtra, gather to celebrate, to commemorate or to protest. And yet, the specific and particular point of view of dalit women themselves rarely becomes a part of this cultural expression.

There are certain historical reasons for this. The Ambedkari jalsas4 that were built up as a cultural medium of the dalit movement towards the end of Ambedkar's life and which flourished in Maharashtra for some time after his death, used elements of existing folk forms such as the tamasha<sup>5</sup> as well as religious forms, but their performances and their troupes did not include women. This was because the appearance of dalit women in tamashas had always been heavily imbued with the culture of their sexual exploitation, of their availability to men of the upper castes. The exclusion of women from the jalsa troupes was thus motivated by the objective of emancipating them from this history of sexual exploitation. Throughout his life Ambedkar endeavoured to bring dalit women into public life in a new role, as speakers and chairpersons in public meetings, as movers and seconders of resolutions, and as teachers. The numerous accounts of women performing this role, which we find in both parts of this book, should be read in this light.

The exclusion of women from the jalsas however, implies that the voice of the dalit woman speaking for herself has been largely absent from dalit popular culture even up to the present time. The few autobiographies by dalit women that have been published in the last two or three decades have been rare exceptions.