A COMPARATIVE AND RELATIONAL ANALYSIS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE MANIFESTATION AMONG ROMA WOMEN IN HUNGARY AND DALIT WOMEN IN INDIA

By

SNEHA SANDEZ

Submitted to Central European University

Department of Gender Studies

In partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in Critical Gender Studies.

Supervisor/First Reader: Dr. Angéla Kóczé

Second Reader: Dr. Nadia Jones Gailani

Vienna Austria

June, 2023

Abstract:

Roma women in Hungary, as well as in the broader European context, and Dalit women in India face intersecting forms of discrimination and marginalization based on various factors such as race/ethnicity, caste, gender, class, and other identities. Within these communities, violence against women, particularly domestic violence, is a significant issue but is often side-lined due to pre-existing stereotypes and prejudices about the culture and members of these communities. I argue that to comprehensively understand the manifestation of domestic violence and gender-based violence within these marginalized spaces, it is crucial to adopt a historicized and contextualized analysis that goes beyond examining domestic intersectionality alone. By engaging in a comparative, intersectional, and relational framework, one can unravel the interconnectedness between localized versions of patriarchies in Roma and Dalit communities, to the white colonial patriarchy in Europe and the historical upper-class Brahminical patriarchy in India. Furthermore, this framework would also unravel the complex interactions of local-global processes such as colonialism, racial narratives, caste and class systems, which have shaped the present-day dynamics of patriarchy in racialized and marginalized spaces inhabited by Roma and Dalit communities, and how these relationalities impact women's experiences of domestic violence and gender -based discrimination.

Declaration:

I, the undersigned, Sneha Sandez, candidate for the MA degree in Critical Gender Studies declare that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the works of others, and no part of this thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Vienna, 3 June 2023.

Sneha Sandez
Signature

Acknowledgments

I am grateful and would like to extend my heartfelt appreciation to my advisor, Dr. Angéla Kóczé, for her guidance, valuable suggestions, unwavering support, empathy, trust, and immense patience throughout this entire process. I also would like to express my sincere gratitude to my Romani Studies family, Marton Rovid, and my friends I have been extremely fortunate to have here at CEU. I cannot imagine what Vienna and this master's degree would have meant to me without all your love, constant support, and friendship. I also extend my thanks to all my professors, especially my second reader Dr. Nadia, Dr.Q, and Anna Cseh from Gender Studies Department.

I owe Jackie Armijo, Joe, Fatima, Anna, and Sarah Werner Boada, for being there when I needed them the most.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to Amma, Elsa, and Francisca de Haan, whose unwavering trust, encouragement, and support never allowed me to give up on this endeavor. And, a big thanks and hugs to myself! :) <3

Table of Content

Introduction:

The Roma communities spread across Europe and the Dalit communities within the broader context of South Asia, and particularly India, have historically endured severe discrimination and marginalization on the grounds of race/ethnicity and caste respectively. These historical injustices continue to persist, resulting in their ongoing social, political, institutional, and everyday exclusion from dominant societies. Within these communities, both Roma and Dalit women face multiple layers and intersections of discrimination based on their race/ethnicity, caste, gender, class, and other aspects of their identity. Gender-based violence, and particularly domestic violence emerges as a most important but often overlooked issue faced by women within both Roma and Dalit societies. Through this research, I aim to explore and incorporate multiple perspectives, considering both historical and contemporary viewpoints to analyze how these deep-rooted manifestations of racism, casteism and mainstream patriarchies contribute to the broader framework of unequal social structures, gender-based violence, as well as the localized manifestations of patriarchies that shape women's lived experiences within these marginalized spaces. This paper is divided into four major sections. The first chapter aims to position Roma communities in Hungary and the broader context of Europe, Dalit communities in India, and the positions of women in both these communities respectively. The following two chapters explores the understanding of domestic violence in the mainstream feminist movements in Hungary and India and looks into factors which lead to the marginalization of Roma and Dalit women from these mainstream platforms, which paved way for the emergence of Roma and Dalit women's standpoints. Finally, the fourth chapter explores the connections between dominant historic version of patriarchies, and contemporary manifestation of patriarchal practices in Dalit communities and Roma community and their relations to domestic violence and gender-based violence.

Conceptual Framework: Theoretical Underpinnings:

In this research, I am going to bring in three core methodologies, namely comparative analysis, intersectional approach, and relationality, to demonstrate the similarities and differences in the experiences of Roma women in Hungary and within Europe, and Dalit women in India. The earlier sections of this thesis predominantly consist of contextual information, and here I draw on a comparative method of analysis and highlight the Roma and Dalit communities' different yet similar shared experiences in relation to white European society and Brahmanical society respectively. This will include exploring racialized histories, the representation of women within the race and caste hierarchies, and their relation to gender-based violence, particularly domestic violence within their communities. Additionally, I will compare the development of mainstream feminist movements in Hungary and India, uncovering both parallels and differences in experiences of inclusion and marginalization within the movements, which paved the way for the development of Roma women's standpoint and Dalit women's standpoint. While this method is widely used in social sciences, I believe comparative analysis has limitations in fully understanding the multi-layered interconnectedness and relational nature of the identified differences, similarities, histories of discrimination, and enduring inequalities, which ultimately continue to shape the lived realities of these communities today.[1] Therefore, I introduce intersectionality and relationality as guiding methodologies to delve deeper into the intricate lived realities of Roma and Dalit women.

Built on existing scholarship, I define intersectionality as a lens that enables one to magnify and distinguish and read through blind spots on how different vectors such as race,

[1] Reza Azarian, "Potentials and Limitations of Comparative Method in Social Science," International Accessed June 1, 2023. http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-429014.

gender, ethnicity, caste, class and others interact, intersect, and mostly reinforce subjective experiences of an individual or a group. Intersectionality, as a critical lens, was developed in the late1980's and 90's in the United States legal space to scrutinize arguments on color-blind objectivity and neutrality, and was later popularized by Kimberlee Crenshaw, an American civil rights advocate, and scholar of critical race theory in 1989.[2] The intersectional lens enables a language to magnify and recognize different realities of marginalized individuals or groups depending on who applies it, therefore the hidden subjective experiences and voices of discrimination when articulated become readable for others who might not necessarily have encountered similar experiences.

Crenshaw first applied the term in an essay "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics" in 1989, and later in 1991, in her influential work "Mapping the Margin: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Colour" to illustrate how the mainstream traditional feminist movements and anti-racist policies and interventions failed to include black women and their unique experience of discrimination, in relation to that of white women or that of black men, determined by her race, sex and further by class.[3] It is one of the very few theories that continue to reimagine, in other words, is a work in progress, and has traversed borders of disciplines, social movements, and geographical localities. For Crenshaw, intersectionality challenges the "single-axis framework" and explores how categories of race and gender interact in multiple dimensions to determine Black women's

[2] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039; Jane Coaston, "The intersectionality wars," *The Vox*, May 28, 2019.

[3] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color."

experiences of violence and discrimination.[4] Similarly, Leslie McCall defines intersectionality as the most important contribution from women's studies, and it helps comprehend how's subjects' multiple complex manifestations of identities and their experiences of oppression are intertwined to create individuals or communities lived experiences.[5] Patricia Hill Collins, argues that the general construction of group identities follows a binary framework such as white versus women of colour, heterosexual versus homosexuals, and us versus them binaries. On the other hand, intersectionality problematizes and questions this form of group constructions and provides a tool to critically analyze how individuals witness certain realities based on different interconnecting or overlapping identities.[6]. Furthermore, Stuart Halls, building on Crenshaw's argument of intersectionality as a "metaphor" explains how this framework has managed to traverse boundaries. For Halls, metaphors of social transformative have two main qualities, "they let us imagine what it means to challenge and change the existing structures of hierarchies, standard, and norms, and secondly, these metaphors come with analytical values" that enables one to think of the relation between the social and symbolic domains in this process of transformation."[7] I think the wokeness of intersectionality, as a metaphor, lens, or framework, comes with being able to apply and navigate different forms and manifestations of power relations and dominations across geographical locations and differences of everyday life, all along presenting possibilities to find common ground and transformative realities.

[4] Elizabeth, Morehead, and Margaret Hennessy, "At the Crossroads of Intersectional Feminism," *New America Weekly*, August 24, 2017.

[5] Leslie McCall, "The Complexity of Intersectionality," *Signs* 30, no. 3 (2005): 1771–1800; Patrica Collins, "It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation." *Hypatia* 13, no. 3 (1998): 62–82.

[7] Stuart Hall, "For Allon White: Metaphors of Transformation," *in Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds. D. Morley and K.-H. Chen (New York: Routledge, 1996), 287-305; Patricia Hill Collins, "Intersectionality as Critical Inquiry," in *Companion to Feminist Studies*, ed. Nancy A. Naples (Wiley-Blackwell, 2020), 105-129.

Lastly, I have reservations about the depth with which I apply the relational methodology in this research. However, I acknowledge my limited exposure to relationality and my struggle with writing, perhaps from waiting for the opportune moment, feeling, or that perfect sentence that never really arrived. Within the framework of relationality, my objective is not merely to make comparisons and hyper-visibilize the disenfranchisement of the communities that I study, but to explore the relationships between ideas and ideological mechanisms, frameworks of domination and control that continue to be sanctioned by predominant caste-based, Brahminical patriarchy, against Dalits in India, and racialized white patriarchy in Europe, specifically within the Roma communities. This is about building a relational network where people can establish kinship connections, thereby strengthening the sense of solidarity amidst differences. The distinction between comparative analysis and relationality lies in the approach taken. Here, a relational perspective delves into the reproduction of relational ties between social and historic phenomena and their mutually influencing and reinforcing impacts, while a comparative approach is more general, focusing on surface-level and contextual details and highlighting differences and separateness.

I ground my understanding of relationality based on the perspective presented by de Leeuw and Hunt, which calls for giving visibility to Indigenous peoples' lived realities on their own terms. Drawing inspiration from Shawm Wilson who works on indigenist methodologies, it is emphasized that relationships lie at the core of an Indigenist reality. In this worldview, relationships are the essence of reality, and reality itself is intertwined with relationships.[8] For Indigenous people, the very being is interconnected with others through relationships.[9] I emphasize that relationality and intersectionality are not merely metaphors that I intend to use

[8] Sarah de Leeuw, and Sarah Hunt, "Unsettling Decolonizing Geographies," *Geography Compass* 12 (2018): e12376, doi:10.1111/gec3.12376.

[9] Lauren Tynan,"What is Relationality? Indigenous Knowledges, Practices and Responsibilities with Kin," *Cultural Geographies* 28, no. 4 (2021): 597–610.

for academic purposes or for this thesis, but a practice intertwined with responsibilities towards my chosen kin I am privileged to have moving through different yet very familiar marginal spaces, across borders and continents, towards the country and small village where my roots lay, the communities I am learning and speaking with, towards women on whose shoulders I stand and above all myself. With this thesis, my goal is not to produce any "original" research here but rather to establish connections and identify patterns that shape the experiences of violence, specifically domestic violence, within the marginalized realities of Roma women in Hungary and Dalit women in India. Despite my intention to move away from extractive research practices, I acknowledge that I still fall into the same trap. I find inspiration in Lauren Tynan's works on relationality, indigenous knowledge, practices, and her thoughts on developing kinship, and I strongly resonate that practicing radical, critical relationality is challenging, especially within one's history of colonialism, Brahminical and white patriarchal notions, industrial capitalism, and neo-liberal imperialism which have predominated the different institutional frameworks I have moved through, and my position of not being an insider in the communities I am speaking with here.[10] I recognize my limitation, especially influenced by institutionalized teachings, which often encourage non-relational and industrial extractive research approaches. These approaches may prioritize timelines, restrictive academic writing styles, hierarchical notions of expertise, citation practices, name-dropping, and colonial discourses centred around "discovery," "originality" "identifying gaps", and "data collection."[11] Nevertheless, here I am, committed to making an attempt with my partial knowledge.

[10] Lauren Tynan, "Thesis as Kin: Living Relationality with Research," *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 16, no. 3 (2020): 163–170, https://doi.org/10.1177/1177180120948270.

[11] Lauren Tynan, "What is Relationality? Indigenous Knowledges, Practices and Responsibilities with Kin," *Cultural Geographies* 28, no. 4 (2021): 597–610.

Chapter 1: Positioning Roma and Dalit Communities in Context

1.1 Historical Contextualization of Roma in Europe and Hungary

Roma refers to a traditionally itinerant ethnic group that originated in north India, and they currently form one of the largest ethnic minorities living in Europe in different countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, Croatia, Spain, etc.[12] The Council of the European Union, 2021 report on "Roma equality, inclusion, and participation" states that the term "Roma" is used as an umbrella term to represent the diversity of the population, and refers to different groups such as Roma, Kale, Sinti, Gypsies, Romanichels, Boyash, Ashkali, Egyptians, Tsiganes, and eastern groups such as Dom, Lom, Rom and Abdal, and other travelers groups who might trace back to Romani origin while acknowledging the specificities of these groups.[13] It is estimated that there are about 10 to 12 million Roma living across Europe,[14] and approximately about 7,00,000 Roma live in Hungary, which constitutes about 7.05%, of the total Roma population, with differences in languages, religion, and other intra/inter group differences.[15] As an aftermath of long-standing historic oppression, violence, and systematic exclusion in political, social, and economic aspects, a vast majority of the Roma population faces challenges in terms of poverty, lack of education, access to health, poor living

[12] *Amnesty International,* "Human Rights in the Margins: Roma in Europe." https://www.amnesty.org.uk/files/roma_in_europe_briefing.pdf

[13] EUR_Lex, " Council Recommendation of 12 March 2021 on Roma equality, inclusion and participation 2021/C 93/01," *Official Journal of the European Union,* 19 March 2021.

[14] "Roma equality, inclusion and participation in the EU," *European Commission.Roma equality, inclusion and participation in the EU (europa.eu)*

[15] "The European Union and Roma- Factsheet Hungary," *European Commission,* 4 April 2014. file:///C:/Users/hp/Downloads/factsheet_hungary_en.pdf

conditions, limited or no opportunities to the mainstream labour market, and other forms of social exclusion which often results in categorizing the group as an underclass.[16]

"Roma Survey 2021" published by FRA, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, based on case studies in 10 European countries states that the Roma population forms the most vulnerable to human rights violations in the European Union (EU). Even though the EU and some of the countries in the region have introduced various Roma inclusion and strategic programs to promote the group's rights both at the national and regional levels, the execution of their rights is limited and too slow and continues to face challenges regarding access to education, health care, employment, and housing opportunities. The report observes that there is an increase in awareness among the Roma population about the presence of human rights agencies and NGOs to protect their rights, but there has been little to no real improvement when it comes to addressing discrimination. The survey report observes that "every fourth Roma respondent, which constitutes about 25% of interviewed individuals, felt discriminated against based on their ethnicity when looking for housing, health services and accessing other public resources. Even when the population is aware of the presence of rights agencies and access points to protect against ethnic discrimination, only very few reported incidents of violation to authorities. Besides, there is no improvement in accessing education with about 70% of young Roma dropping out of schooling from a very young age. However, in terms of access to paid employment, there has been improvement with over 60% of the Roma now accessing paid work.[17]

[16], Iván Szelényi and János Ladányi,"Theories of the Underclass – Comparative and Historical Perspectives", *Patterns of Exclusion: Constructing Gpysy Ethnicity and the Making of an Underclass in Transitional Societies of Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press) 2006: 5-37.

[17] "Roma In 10 European Countries: Main Results," *FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights*, Vienna 2022, *Roma in 10 European countries. Main results - ROMA SURVEY 2021 (europa.eu)

In comparison to the survey conducted by FRA in 2016 and the latest one in 2021, the country-specific report on Hungry illustrates a very minuscule change, with the situation of Roma remaining the same for the most part. For instance, among the interviewed population there is an increase in the awareness of international and local institutions working on behalf of the population. On the other hand, there is a slight increase in the number of people at risk of poverty, and a decrease in the total number of people who reported their experience of hate crime and harassment, reflecting the communities' limited trust and willingness to depend on police, legal system, and other state organizations based on the previous encounters of negative discrimination from the very institutions that are meant to help the communities.[18]

1.2 Exploring the Historical Context of Dalits in India

Within the context of South Asia, and specifically, India, the term Dalit refers to a diverse group of the population, recognized under the constitutional term "scheduled castes" based on the conditions of inequality resulting from systemic exclusion and the long prevailing social hierarchy of the caste system.[19] Based on the World Bank report, "Poverty and Social Exclusion in India," published in 2011, the Dalit population continues to be represented among the poorest of the population and has been subjected to social, political, economic, and institutionalized exclusion in almost all aspects such as education, health, legal system, opportunities for livelihood, jobs, etc.[20] Based on the 2011 census, there are about 200 million

[18] "Roma In 10 European Countries: Main Results," Vienna 2022.

[19] Inter-State Adivasi Women's Network (ISAWN) of Mainland India Indigenous Women's Forum of Northeast India (IWFNEI) Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP), Chian Mai, Thailand. *India NGO CEDAW Shadow Report and status of Adivasi/Tribal Women in India.* For the 58th Session of CEDAW, IV and V Periodic Report, Geneva. June 2014.

[20] "Poverty and Social Exclusion in India." *The World Bank, 2011.* https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/857771468260645048/pdf/613140PUB0pove158344B09780821386903.pdf

Dalits, scheduled castes within Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhist communities, in India, but the number is definitely higher considering that the census did not include Christian Dalits and Muslim Dalits, and about three fourth of the total Dalit population in the country resides in rural India.[21] And, it is estimated that there are about 97.9 million Dalit women.

"Dalit Women Rise for Justice: Status Report 2014-2020," defines caste, locally known as "*jaati*" as a system of social stratification that segregates people on the basis of their occupation, and is considered one the "most regressive social structure in the world."[22] Essentially, there are five different major caste categories within the Hindu religion, and they form the basis of caste-based social stratification. On the top of the hierarchy is the Brahmin, who are assigned the occupation of priests, and academics; followed by Kshatriya, the warrior class; Vaishya, merchants, traders, and landowners; Shudras, also the commoners, peasants, and servants; and Panchamas, or the Avarnas or the out of caste people. Communities that fell under the lowest group of caste categories such as Sudras and Panchamas identify themselves as Dalits, but were historically referred to as "Untouchables", "Depressed classes," and "Harijans."[23] Once a person is born into a certain caste category, it remains the same until their death, and there is no vertical mobility, unlike the class. Traditionally, caste is associated with one's occupation, the idea of purity, social ranks such as high caste or low caste, and whether or not one is allowed to access spaces such as temples, land, upper-class people's homes, etc. The only reason caste continues to prevail is through the practice of endogamy.[24] In other words, the caste system reinforces itself by controlling female bodies and by ensuring that

[21] "India: Official Dalit population exceeds 200 million," *International Dalit Solidarity Network: Working Globally Against Caste-Based Discrimination,* May 29, 2013, https://idsn.org/india-official-dalit-population-exceeds-200-million/

[22] "Dalit Women Rise for Justice: Status Report 2021," *All Indian Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch (AIDMAM)-NCDHR,* 2021. https://gcap.global/news/status-report-2021-dalit-women-rise-for-justice/

[23] "Dalit Women Rise for Justice: Status Report 2021," 22-23; Bhushan Sharma and K. A. Geetha, "Casteing Gender: Intersectional Oppression of Dalit women," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 22, no. 10 (2021).

[24] "Dalit Women Rise for Justice: Status Report 2021," 22.

women marry within the same caste and religious communities. However, at times even when someone converts to Christianity or Islam to get away from the caste hierarchy, caste continues to manifest as a new form of sub-categories within other religious communities such as Christian Dalits or Muslim Dalits." [25] While both Dalit men and women experience discrimination based on caste, Dalit women face triple alienation grounded on caste, gender, and class or economic hierarchies.[26] Besides, Dalit women encounter more discrimination compared to non-Dalit women, not only from members of the upper-caste and class groups but also from within their communities by Dalit men.[27]

1.3 Understanding the Historical Context of Roma Women in Europe and Hungary, and Dalit women in South Asia and specifically India.

Both Roma and Dalit women occupy one of the lowest statuses within their societies. Even though both groups inhabit different geographical spaces and histories, what prompts my comparisons between them is the striking similarities in the intersectional experiences of race, caste, and gender-based oppression these women experienced and continue to encounter through predominant structural inequalities in their respective societies. Suraj Yengde, an activist and Dalit scholar from India, and Margarete Matache, prominent anti-Roma racism scholar and director of the Roma center, FXB Center for Health and Human Rights at Harvard University, in their article, "Roman and Dalit experiences of persecution pave way for solidarity" states that both Roma and Dalit women are highly vulnerable to discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, race, caste, and gender-based violence. They also encounter

[25] "Caste in Islam, Christianity: Why SC is Pushing Center to Decide on Reservations For Dalit Muslims and Christians," *Outlook,* September 2022.

[26] Nandini Rao, "Marriage, Violence, and Choice: Understanding Dalit Women's Agency in Rural Tamil Nadu," *Gender & Society* 29, no. 3 (2015): 410–433, https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243214554798.

[27] Sunaina Arya, "Dalit or Brahmanical Patriarchy? Rethinking Indian Feminism," *CASTE: A Global Journal on Social Exclusion* 1, no. 1 (2020): 2018, https://www.jstor.org/stable/48644572.

patriarchal practices such as child marriage, trafficking within their communities, and various other forms of state-institutionalized oppression, including forced displacement, police violence, and race and caste-based discrimination while accessing their rights and other welfare services.[28]In this section, my focus will be specifically on examining the marginalization and exclusion of Roma and Dalit women from mainstream society.

Within the broader context of Europe, and more specifically Hungary, the plight of Roma women, their everyday discrimination, and their experience of violence mostly from outside communities has garnered attention. Roma women face multiple layers of discrimination due to their ethnic background, gender, and socio-economic status. Depending on their geographical position, class, and access to employment, Roma women's access to education, adequate quality healthcare, employment, and social services is often limited. Gender-based violence, both from outside and within the communities, including domestic violence and early forced marriages, is prevalent among Roma women. Societal prejudice against the Roma population, anti-gypsyism, and cultural barriers play a significant role in hindering their participation in decision-making processes and exercising their rights.[29]

According to Marina Csikós, a gender researcher and Roma feminist from Hungary, among the Roma population, the rate of individuals facing educational and employment challenges is significant. Based on the FRA, 2019, European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey: Roma women in nine EU Member states, average, among surveyed countries, over 81 percent of Roma individuals encounter discrimination in access to education and employment, and in Hungry the rate is higher at over 98 percent. The findings derived

[28] Suraj Yengde and Margarete Matache, "Roman and Dalit experiences of persecution pave way for solidarity*," Open Democracy*. June 13, 2017. https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/roma-and-dalit-persecution-parallel-experiences-pave-way-for-global-solidarity/

[29] *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey*, "Roma Women in Nine EU Member States" (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019).

from the FRA report reveal that among the nine countries examined, 66 percent of Roma boys between the ages of 16 and 24 face challenges accessing secondary education and securing employment. However, the situation is more severe for Roma girls, as 71 percent of them encounter similar obstacles. The issues of educational discontinuity for young Roma girls typically emerge at later stages, particularly during their teenage years. Within Roma communities, the imposition of traditional gender roles, early marriages, and early parenthood contribute to this problem. Simultaneously, external factors such as societal marginalization and discrimination, including the segregation of Roma children in schools and inadequate educational resources, further exacerbate the difficulties faced by these women.[30]

Moreover, there are reports of disturbing instances of medical misdiagnoses, stemming from language barriers and anti-Roma sentiments, which resulted in the placement of young students into special education programs, further perpetuating their segregation from their peers and mainstream society.[31] The occurrence of early school dropout among Roma women leads to a recurring cycle of marginalization within the labor market. As a consequence, a significant proportion of Roma women either face unemployment or find themselves employed in unfavorable conditions, such as low wages and limited economic opportunities. This worsens their vulnerability to marginalization on multiple fronts, including ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic status. Furthermore, marginalization in terms of education and employment opportunities has a direct impact on their health status and their ability to access quality public health resources. In Hungary, the life expectancy of Roma women is approximately ten years lower than that of non-Roma women. In addition to poverty and

[30] Marina sikós, "Doing Roma Feminist Knowledge Production in order to Challenge Hegemonic Knowledge Production: A Case Study of the Exhibition 'Roma Women Weaving Europe'," MA diss., Central European University, 2020; *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey*, "Roma Women in Nine EU Member States" (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019).

[31] Oliver, "School Segregation of Roma Children: Discrimination in Education in Hungary," *Humanium*, October 6, 2017.

inadequate access to quality healthcare, there exists a profound sense of distrust towards public health institutions. This distrust stems from the historical context of coerced and forced sterilization of Roma women across Europe, including Hungary.[32] As a result, Roma women often refrain from seeking public health services, contributing to disparities in healthcare utilization. The aforementioned forms of marginalization are further exacerbated for Roma women belonging to the LGBTQI+ communities. These women face heightened prejudice and discrimination, not only within their own communities but also due to the increasing prevalence of anti-Roma sentiments and an anti-LGBTI framework in Hungary.[33] However, there has been a significant effort, at least in official documents, from international bodies and organizations such as European Union (EU), the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), different United Nations (UN) bodies, Amnesty International, and the European Roma Rights Centre, and other national government and regional bodies to address the issue and advocate for the empowerment and inclusion of Roma women in Hungry, even though the effectiveness of the policies and intervention is questionable. However, what is predominantly missing in the case of Roma women within the context of Hungry and broader Europe is the lack of data regarding the number of cases of domestic violence, gender-based violence, and racialized forms of violence targeting against women. While it is widely acknowledged that domestic violence and gender-based violence within the racialized and marginalized are high, the lack of data makes it difficult to quantify the extent of the issue and to advocate for targeted policy-making that meets the nuanced realities of Roma communities and women within them.

In a similar manner, Dalit women within Indian society continue to occupy one of the lowest positions in society and face multiple forms of discrimination on the grounds of caste,

[32] Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, "Hungary: Reports of the forced sterilization of women (2000-2011)," (4 November 2011), HUN103861.E, https://www.refworld.org/docid/4f9695202.html.

[33] Marina Sikós, "Doing Roma Feminist Knowledge Production in order to Challenge Hegemonic Knowledge Production: A Case Study of the Exhibition 'Roma Women Weaving Europe'.

class, and gender. Based on the National Commission for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST)'s report, illiteracy continues to be highest among Dalit communities with about 75 percent of the young Dalit girls dropping out of school. Some of the reasons include poverty, limited access to , accommodation and transportation facilities in rural areas, and other social factors such as resistance from within families, who fail to see the importance of educating girls, early marriages and motherhood, and other safety reasons. These caste-based inequalities further permeate into the occupational sector, with almost 85 percent of Dalit women working in low-wage sectors such as domestic labor, street sweeping, scavengers in urban India and largely as agricultural workers in rural regions.[34] Moreover, other forms of disparities continue to occur with limited political participation, economic deprivation through landlessness, poverty, and social exclusion in public health services. Even though, the government of India in 1989 passed "the Prevention of Atrocities Act to counter the "caste-based atrocities and discrimination" targeted at Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes,[35] the number of cases of violence against Dalit women has not decreased and appears in the forms of gang rape, threats and attempts of rape, sexual assault, murder, mass attacks with physical assaults, social boycotts, etc.[36] It is estimated that about "ten Dalit women were raped every day in India" and the number remains highest in some of the north Indian states such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Rajasthan. Another study published in 2006 of about 500 Dalit women observed that "54% had been physically assaulted; 46% had been sexually harassed; 43% had

[34] Sonia Mahey, "The Status of Dalit Women in India's Caste-Based System," Master's thesis, University of Alberta.

[35] Anurag Bhaskar, "When It Comes to Dalit and Tribal Rights, The Judiciary in India Just Does Not Get It," *The Wire*, May 3, 2020.

[36] "Violence against Dalit Women," http://www.dalits.nl/pdf/HRC-11_briefing_note_-_Violence_against_Dalit_Women.pdf ; Ajay Kumar, "Sexual Violence against Dalit Women: An Analytical Study of Intersectionality of Gender, Caste, and Class in India," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 22, no. 10 (2021): 123-134

faced domestic violence; 23% had been raped, and 62% had been verbally abused."[37] They live with a "triple burden" from the intersection of caste, class, and gender dynamics. According to the 2019's National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB) report, about 10 Dalit women and girls are raped every day in India, but the conviction rate is less than 29%.[38] Nidhi Sadana Sabharwal and Wandana Sonalkar, in the article "Dalit Women in India: At the Crossroads of Gender, Class and Caste" states that aside from direct violence from men within their communities, Dalit women experience caste and class-based deprivation and institutionalized violence when trying to access education, health, economic and other resources.[39] All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch (AIDMAM), a unit of the National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR), in their Dalit women's status report 2021, identifies some causes for caste and gender-based violence as, Dalit women's claim for access to water, land, education, right to self-dignity, local self-governance, right to proper wages, ease of preying on Dalit women due to lack of sanitation facilities in their home, retaliation over unresolved family or caste disputes, and others.[40] In summary, parallel to the realities of Roma in the broader context of Europe, Dalit women are positioned at the lowest of the caste-based social hierarchies and they are targeted and discriminated against by the dominant upper caste groups for being Dalit and economically vulnerable, and patriarchal practices from men both within and outside the community.

[37] Clarinda Still, "Alcohol, Violence and Women's 'Suffering': 'Adulterer, tramp or thief, a husband is a husband," *Dalit Women: Honour and Patriarchy in South India* (1st ed.), Routledge, 2017. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315101132.

[38] "Violence against Dalit Women."

[39] Nidhi Sadana Sabharwal and Wandana Sonalkar, " Dalit Women in India: At the Crossroads of Gender, Class, and Caste," *Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric* Vol 8, No 2, July 2015, https://doi.org/10.21248/gjn.8.1.54 .

[40] *Dalit Women Rise for Justice: Status Report (2014-2020),* All India Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch, 2021.

Chapter 2: Evolution and Understanding of Domestic Violence

2.1 International Definitions of Domestic Violence

According to 2021, World Health Organization report on "Addressing Violence Against Women in Health and multi-sectoral politics: a global status report," the phenomenon of gender-based violence against women is defined as "violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately and is rooted in unequal gender power relations that disadvantage women. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental/psychological or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivation of liberty." [41] Furthermore, the understanding of violence against women (VAW) "encompasses, but is not limited to: physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, but also including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation; physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general communities, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere; trafficking in women and forced prostitution; and physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs."[42] Within the border category of gender-based violence, domestic violence forms the central. The United Nations observes domestic violence, also referred to as domestic abuse or intimate partner violence is one that counts for the largest segment of violence and is understood as, "a pattern of behavior in any relationship that is used to gain or maintain power and control over an intimate partner."[43]

[41] World Health Organization, "Addressing violence against women in health and multisectoral policies: a global status report," (2021)

[42] "Addressing violence against women in health and multisectoral policies: a global status report," (2021)

[43] "What is Domestic Violence?" *United Nations,* Access March 11, 2023.

Again, this could manifest in the form of psychological, physical, economic, or in the form of intimidation, terrorizing, manipulation, and other forms of acts that could frighten the partner, specifically women.

In Europe, most Centre and Eastern European countries adopted laws against domestic violence during the late 1990 and early 2000s. However, the ground reality of the laws and policies implementation and to what extent these were impactful for women depended much on the specific regional context and the country's political landscape. In other words, the impact and the mobilization of gender-based violence policies, more specifically DV, was never homogeneous or could be determined depending on the historical past or the influence of supranational conditionalities, from EU and UN, which were mostly top-down but reflected deeply on domestic contexts.[44] Andrea Krizan and Roggeband in their book, *The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence: Feminists Engaging the State in Central and Eastern Europe*, argue that the state's intervention in gender debates and policies such as on domestic violence, in the region, came with the state bodies challenging two major traditional norms. Firstly, the state had to challenge the idea of privacy, which previously meant the "principles of non-interference of the state and external bodies into the family realm", thereby contesting the division between public versus private and whether domestic violence is a private matter. Secondly, the state intervention also had to encounter the traditional gender hierarchies, roles, and patterns of power dynamics within the traditional patriarchal family structures.[45] In other words, the state implicitly had to recognized that domestic violence is a result of unequal gender dynamics and inequality in family and society and is expected in this process to play a

[44] Andrea Krizan and Conny Roggeband, "Introduction: The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence Reforms in Central and Eastern Europe," in *The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence: Feminists Engaging the State in Central and Eastern Europe.* (NY: Routledge, 2018),1-18.

[45] Andrea Krizan and Conny Roggeband, "Introduction: The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence Reforms in Central and Eastern Europe,"2-3.

transformative role in challenging traditional patriarchal gender roles and family policies to support victims and survivors of domestic violence.

2.2. Understanding Domestic Violence in the Hungarian Context

In the context of Hungary, the politicization of domestic violence as a gender equality issue was rather slow compared to other regional countries, and state recognition of the issue was mostly under international influence such as the Hungarian government's participation in the fourth world conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The first policy initiative addressing domestic violence only came into the political forefront in 1997 around the parliament debate on marital rape.[46]

For a long time, institutional structures and resources working directly on gender equality framework were negligible, and even if they did exist, their works primarily catered along child and family protection lines, which were considered feasible in the discursive and unfavorable political context of the country. This was developed predominantly keeping white Hungarian women's expenses in mind. Krizan and Zentai's article,"Institutionalizing Intersectionality in Central and Eastern Europe: Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovenia," brings to the forefront the competition that marginalized and discriminated groups faced when contesting for scarce state resources and support in Hungary's broader discourse on equality and redistribution. For instance, the authors observe that Roma rights and disability rights mostly had to compete with gender equality issues, leading to the marginalization of

[46] Andrea Krizan and Conny Roggeband, "Mapping Gendered Meanings of Domestic Violence Legal an Policy Reforms: Comparing Policy Change Over Time," in *The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence: Feminists Engaging the State in Central and Eastern Europe*, (NY: Routledge, 2018), 57.

the latter on the political agenda.[47]Taking into consideration Hungary's significant Roma minority population, the emphasis on equality for ethnic minorities primarily originated as a matter of foreign policy and as a response to the growing mobilization of Roma communities against ethnic discrimination. Simultaneously, disability rights gained prominence in equality debates and discourses.[48] Consequently, the gender and women's rights agenda failed to assume a prominent position amidst Hungary's competitive landscape for the government's resources and support. I think while this perspective sheds light on how mainstream women's movements approached rights activism, it overlooks the complex interconnectedness and interdependence between minority rights, particularly those of Roma, including Roma women, and people with disabilities, with the broader mainstream women's rights movements. Moreover, it remains puzzling that even when state and political actors prioritized ethnic minority and disability rights above gender rights, these groups did not necessarily reap the benefits or yield many positive outcomes from state interventions. Within the confines of this limited intersectional framework maintained by the mainstream movements, feminist movements, Roma initiatives and others, the plausibility of Roma women and women from other marginalized and racialized groups, for instance refugees, seeking support from mainstream women's movements becomes questionable.

In addition, with regard to passing regulations and policies for protecting victims and survivors of gender-based violence in Hungary, it was the consistent and intense NGO mobilizations, feminist activism, and the involvement of international organizations such as

[47] Andrea Krizan and Conny Roggeband, "Politicizing Domestic Violence: Dynamics of Gendered Structures"," in *The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence: Feminists Engaging the State in Central and Eastern Europe.* (NY: Routledge, 2018), 90-93

[48] Andrea Krizsan and Violetta Zentai, "Institutionalizing Intersectionality in Central and Eastern Europe: Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovenia," in *Intersectionality and LGBT Activist Politics: Multiple Others in Croatia and Serbia*, ed. Bojan Bilić and Marija Radoman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Andrea Krizan and Conny Roggeband, "Politicizing Domestic Violence: Dynamics of Gendered Structures," 90-93.

CEDAW that played foremost roles in passing laws such as "restraining orders applicable for violence between relatives" in 2009, and criminalization of domestic violence as a "specific crime" in 2012. Nevertheless, beyond these limited individual rights frames, the Hungarian policy framework does not work towards incorporating any direct gender equality framework. Insignificant effort and attention are directed from the state towards working on the prevention of gender-based violence and protection of victims or survivors beyond the restraining order, and instead, policies work around family and child protection and the rights of the perpetrators.[49]

On the other hand, feminist movements in the country have made strategic efforts to use terms that reflected different interpretations of the DV as a phenomenon considering different views of women's movements and their own meaning-makings. For instance, initially, the term "wife-beating" was used, but during the 2000s with the improvement in policy development the term "violence in the family" was introduced by NGOs and the state. In 2008, the term was replaced by "intimate partner violence" which eventually led to the use of the term "partnership violence" in 2013 in the Criminal Code.[50] Nevertheless, within the Hungarian context, the involvement of women's rights groups in the policy-making space was limited to the initial designing state but not to the implementation of the programs and monitoring for the actual impact these laws and policies had on the targeted population.[51] In the context of Hungary and Bulgaria, no major associations were established between the mobilization for women's rights and wider democratization processes and protests from marginal groups. Krizan and Roggeband suggests that the "Hungarian women's movement remained largely disconnected from wider human rights and democratization protests; they were neither invited to join, nor were they interested in joining in these platforms. While civil

[49] Ibid., 57-58.
[50] Ibid., 4.
[51] Ibid., 58-59.

rights, Roma rights, and LGBT rights groups often formed common platforms throughout the investigated years, women's rights groups were only sporadically part of these. Further, women's rights claims were rarely backed by these groups, with the exception of more recent support from international rights groups, such as Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch. This disconnect has seriously limited the legitimacy of gendered domestic violence claims as were as the constituency that supported them."[52] To summarize, based on the literature I have reviewed on gender-based violence and particularly domestic violence in Hungary, it appears that the current institutional framework and state policies operate from a top-down approach, lacking the inclusion of women's actual experiences and involvement of crucial stakeholders such as NGOs and the grassroots women's movements. Besides, this system and framework of domestic violence and gender-based violence policies, it is shocking to consider how women belonging to marginalized and racialized groups, such as Roma and others such as LGBTQI+ individuals and refugees, struggle to access the necessary support. Taking into consideration of Roma women within Hungry and within the broader context of Europe face triple and at times multiple intersection forms of discrimination grounded on ethnicity, gender, class hierarchies, citizenship status, and other longstanding stereotypes about the Roma communities, exacerbates the challenges faced by Roma women in comparison to average middle or lower caste Hungarian women, which establishes the limited effectiveness of the existing support system for women in marginalized positions.

[52] Ibid., 173-174.

2.3 Understanding Domestic Violence in the Indian Context: Perspectives within the Feminist Movement

Shalu Nigam in *Domestic Violence Laws in India: Myth and Misogyny* explores different factors that impact the manifestation of domestic violence debate in the context of India. She argues that, despite the persistent presence of gender-based violence, the Indian legal system has lagged in making significant legal progress and has failed to fully comprehend the complexities and manifestations of domestic abuse. Even though domestic violence is theoretically criminalized, it is often treated as a matter of the private sphere and as a lesser crime which indirectly encourages a culture of impunity. Essential services such as shelter homes, accessible medical facilities, legal awareness, support as well as rights related to matrimonial property division, remain scarce. Besides, despite the criminalization, the practice of dowry and dowry abuse continues to thrive among the majority of its population. Nigam reflects that for the most part, women's movements' intervention to address domestic violence primarily focused on passing laws, but in a society like India with long-standing patriarchal traditional structures and values system, the influence of law to make a rightful impact is limited.[53]

In the region, the high prevalence of domestic violence and multiple forms of abuse contributes to "high mortality rates among women but also leads to significant morbidity."[54] However, the laws in India have largely overlooked the issue of domestic violence, despite the prevalent incidents of violence against women. It was not until the late 1970s that women's groups began protesting dowry-related murders. The murder of 21-year-old Shashibala in 1979, shortly after her marriage, brought attention to the term "dowry violence," which came to

[53] Shalu Nigam, "Different Dimensions of Domestic Violence in India," in *DOMESTIC VIOLENCE LAW IN INDIA: Myth and Misogyny* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), 24-52.

[54] Jennifer L. Solotaroff and Rohini Prabha Pande, Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia, South Asia Development Forum, © World Bank Group, Washington, DC, 2014, http://hdl.handle.net/10986/20153.

symbolize cases of young women's deaths in their marital homes.[55] The factors contributing to domestic violence against women are multifaceted and interconnected. Sociocultural factors, such as limited options to avoid marriage, the stigma associated with divorce, widowhood, economic constraints, and social, and help support, force many women to continue to stay in abusive relationships and marriages for a long time. In addition, the pressure to meet the dowry demands and the transactional nature of marriages further aggravates a woman's vulnerability to harassment from the family. Besides, the existing laws in India have yet to address important aspects of domestic violence, including the battered woman syndrome, Stockholm syndrome, coercive control, and other intricacies, despite the high number of reported cases of domestic violence, cases of suicide, and dowry deaths each year.[56]

In the Indian context, within religious traditions that are primarily influenced by Hindu Brahminical values, marriage is regarded as a sacred institution. Following marriage, it is expected that a woman will relocate to her husband's home. In Hindu traditions and others in the region, the father of the bride presents his daughter, along with other valuables or dowry, to the groom in a ceremony known as '*kanyadaan*'. Through this ritual, the husband takes on the responsibility of controlling her life and sexuality. While the practice of dowry, which is criminalized by law, is implicitly associated with the concept of *kanyadan*, defined by upper-middle-class Brahminical values, it has also been adopted by other religious traditions, such as Christians, Muslims, and communities such as Dalits in the region.[57] Consequently, having a girl child gets seen as a burden within families, especially in relation to dowry practices, and within the institution of marriage the relationship is formed between the two families or patriarchs by offering the daughters. Within this hierarchical framework of marriage, a

[55] Shalu Nigam, "Different Dimensions of Domestic Violence in India," 44.
[56] Ibid., 44.
[57] Ibid., 29.
,"

woman's autonomy, decisions, and choices are disregarded, leading to her objectification and the undermining of her individuality and personhood.

Furthermore, the cultural traditions, rituals, and customs uphold the idealized image of a devoted wife, known as *pativrata*, who embodies the virtues of an exemplary mother, daughter, wife, and submissive daughter-in-law.[58] Chakravarti explains that the notion of the "*pativrata*" woman is employed under Brahminical patriarchal values to enforce self-imposed restraint, particularly among upper-caste women, in order to uphold their purity and chastity.[59] To put it differently, the female body is commodified as a means to uphold the honor of one's husband, the family, caste groups, or communities. Consequently, her sexual purity is utilized as a means to assert and establish one's masculinity and caste identity. This framework, deeply rooted in patriarchal values, by viewing women as carriers and preservers of traditional, pure, and moral cultural narratives ignores the individual identities of women and the democratic values of the state. Besides, this is highly patronizing and continues to reinforce the idea that women are inherently weak and in need of protection and control as daughters, wives, and mothers. According to this perspective, a woman's individual needs and interests must be subordinated to the broader interests of the family and the nation.[60]

Nevertheless, the very lack of awareness about the available resources, legal frameworks, distrust in police, the legal system, the state, and other service providers makes it almost impossible for women to reach necessary support, and these factors often get neglected by mainstream society, legal system, etc. While this is a general experience of women from middle-upper class in Indian society, the reality of Dalit women encountering domestic

[58] Ibid., 30.

[59] Uma Chakravarti, "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State," *Economic and Political Weekly* 28, no. 14 (1993): 579–85

[60]Shalu Nigam, "Different Dimensions of Domestic Violence in India," 24-52.

violence and even trying to get away is exasperated by the intersections of other dynamics it makes it almost impossible to seek correct help.

Sujatha, in "Redefining Domestic Violence: Experiences of Dalit Women," argues that domestic violence within Dalit communities is side-lined by many social researchers and is seen as a general issue faced by women and not specifically Dalit women, an issue of an internal or private matter, and inconsequential compared to the violence that Dalit women encounter in public by dominant groups.[61] Nevertheless, the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) published in 2006 demonstrated that women from Dalit communities experience a much higher rate of domestic violence, both physical and emotional violence, compared to the rest of the population.[62] Some of the reasons for domestic violence within Dalit communities included male alcoholism, dowry, suspicion of having affairs, husband's extra-marital relationship, and the other factors contributing to inter-caste marriages.[63] Alcoholism and demands of money by husbands, from Dalit women who either work as agricultural laborers or household servants are very often associated with family violence.[64] Other causes mentioned include not bearing male children, being good-looking in some cases or ugly in others, denying sex to their husband, demanding property, demanding freedom, or asserting her space and rights.[65] While some of the factors contributing to violence seem similar on a surface level, the ability to seek help and access both state and communities provided services differ vastly considering one's caste, class, educational, financial, and geographical location. Unlike upper caste women, Dalit women even when economically independent to a certain extent, are still expected to live

[61] Sujatha, D, "Redefining Domestic Violence: Experiences of Dalit Women." *Economic and Political Weekly* 49, no 47 (2014):19-22.

[62] "National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3)," *Ministry of Health and Family Welfare Government of India,* https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/frind3/frind3-vol1andvol2.pdf

[63] Sujatha, D, "Redefining Domestic Violence: Experiences of Dalit Women." *Economic and Political,* 19-22.

[64] Ibid., 19-22.

[65] Ibid., 20-21.

within the framework of ideal women like being obedient, pure, knowing one's place within the traditional family structure, etc.[66]Even if they reach out to the limited available resources, first-person responders such as police, community leaders, and local government bodies, often respond with skepticism, and at times reinforce stereotypes about the communities and their members.[67]

In summary, the available legal and institutional support for victims and survivors of domestic and gender-based violence is inadequate in both Hungary and India, regardless of whether it pertains to women from the middle or upper class within dominant groups. Within this setting, marginalized and racialized women are forced to depend on limited, yet highly prejudiced systems and services when they need support.

[66] Uma Chakravarti and Maithreyi Krishnaraj, *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*, First Edition, Theorizing Feminism (Mathura Road, New Delhi: SAGE Publications Pvt Ltd, 2018), https://doi.org/10.4135/9789353287818.

[67] Geetika Mantri, "How cops who 'counsel' domestic violence survivors dissuade them from filing complaints," *The News Minute*, May 23, 2022, https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/how-cops-who-counsel-domestic-violence-survivors-dissuade-them-filing-complaints-164268

Chapter 3: Evolution and Understanding of Intersectionality

To begin with, the call for intersectional analysis and standpoint by both Roma women in the broader context of Europe and Dalit women in India began first with their own realization of the multiple intersecting discrimination and the failure of mainstream women's movement and other states' initiatives to fully comprehend their experiences of gender-based violence and other discrimination, which is not the reality of most women from within the mainstream communities. One of the major misconceptions regarding discrimination faced by both Roma and Adivasi/Dalit women comes from the homogenization of the groups by mainstream institutions such as media, governments, policymakers, academics, etc., and from the opinion that discrimination is a general problem faced by these groups, thereby failing to understand the nuances of experiences encountered by women within these communities. Dr. Anna Mirga-Kruszelnicka, an anthropologist and Roma activist, in the article "Challenging Anti-gypsyism in Academia: The Role of Romani Scholars," argues that marginalization of the experiences of the Roma population across Europe happens by "homogenizing the perceptions and descriptions of these groups."[68] In other words, the Roma population is described based on the sameness of all its population, even when they are mostly living and dispersed across Europe, and stereotyped as people who are vulnerable to crimes, unemployment, and deviant from norms and ways of being in the mainstream society. In India, while the government has identified and categorized groups on the basis of social inequality, within the wider context of its population, Dalits are still homogenized and are attributed to various stereotypes such as deviant groups, superstitious, unhygienic, unwilling to get educated, not interested to work, or

[68]Anna Mirga- Kruszelnicka, "Challenging Anti-Gypsyism in Academia: The Role of Romani Scholars," *Critical Romani Studies* 1, no. 1(January 1, 2018): 8-28.

change or to be part of the mainstream society.[69] Alexandra Oprea, in "Promises and Prospects of the Romani Women's Movement in Central and Eastern Europe" critics that in Western feminism, predominated by middle-class white women, the possibilities for Roma women to claim and to represent themselves, their culture, and their concerns have historically been denied.[70] This stands parallel to the experiences/ encounters, and representation of women from developing countries such as Dalit women in India and of Muslim women, who are almost always denied and often categorized based on existing stereotypes such as victims, traditional, backward, and waiting to be rescued by "powerful sisters", white western feminists, or elite upper-class Brahmanical feminists from their primitive societies. Opera states that within the mainstream Western feminist movements, the Roma population and more specifically Roma women are, "always being the gazed upon and never the gazer, the object and never the subject."[71] In other words, the power to produce scholarship about Roma women, and their experiences and to speak about them has been taken over by white feminists, and the Roma women on the other hand become data and stories that get repeated in conferences, academic classrooms, and other decision-making places without them being actively involved.

In the settings of Dalit/Adivasi women representation in India, up until very recently, Brahminical feminism, represented by upper class and caste, often English-speaking, university-educated women, has inclined to lead, and take on the character of western white feminists' role to speak and rescue the lower caste and indigenous women from their backward

[69] Anurag Bhaskar, "When It Comes to Dalit and Tribal Rights, The Judiciary in India Just Does Not Get It," *The Wire,* May 3, 2020.

[70] Alexandra Opera, "Promises and Prospects of the Romani Women's Movement in Central And Eastern Europe," In *A Reflexive History of the Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe, e*dited by Kocze, Angela & Zentai, Violetta & Jovanovic, Jelena & Vincze, Eniko, 247-261. Routledge, 2020.

[71] Alexandra Opera, "Promises and Prospects of the Romani Women's Movement in Central and Eastern Europe, 2020.

communities.[72] Both in the context of these marginalized women, the dominant women's movements in their communities often reproduce colonial paternalistic representations and continue to reinforce the existing caste hierarchies and the colonial value systems, and this comes at the expense of homogenizing the group experiences and by not refuting the deep-rooted racial and class inequalities within the women's movement. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's observation in her essay "Can the subaltern speak?" that the "subaltern voice will always be co-opted, misrepresented and thus doomed to preserve the colonial status hierarchy"[73] can be rightfully applied to understand the consequence of the mainstream white western feminists call to rescue Roma women, and the upper class Brahminical feminist attempts to save Dalit women. Similar to Spivak, Chandra Talpande Mohanty, in her essay "Under the Western Eyes," calls out the Western feminist use of the term "third-world women" [74] and the essentialization of the diverse groups' experiences as a single monolithic group, who are traditional, victims, and in need to be rescued by the west from their "uncivilized/ barbaric brown men" in the context of India, and the Roma men and their communities way of being in the context of Roma women reinforces some of the previous colonial and contemporary imperialistic notions about these population within the feminist movements of the respective regions.[75] While there might be a handful of liberal feminists from dominant groups, critical of their privilege and positions, the emphasis of white feminists in Europe and the upper-class and caste Brahminical feminists in the context of the Indian sub-continent continues to look at the

[72] Sanjana Pegu, "Why Understanding Brahminical Patriarchy is Of Utmost Importance," *Feminism in India*, November 23, 2018, https://feminisminindia.com/2018/11/23/brahminical-patriarchy-understanding/.

[73] Angela Kocze, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic & Vincze, Eniko, "Introduction: Romani Feminist Critique and Gender Politics," In *A Reflexive History of the Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe.* 1-25, Routledge, 2020; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," *Die Philosophin* 14 (27):42-58

[74] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *Boundary 2* 12, no.3 (1984): 333, https://doi.org/10.2307/302821

[75] Angela Kocze, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic & Vincze, Eniko, "Introduction: Romani Feminist Critique and Gender Politics," In *A Reflexive History of the Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe* 4. Routledge, 2020.

experiences of marginalized women through the prevailing imperialistic and existing stereotypical gaze of the colonizers which will never be redemptive. Besides, these mainstream feminists become the gatekeepers preventing feminist voices from within the Roma communities or the Dalit communities from reaching mainstream platforms.

3.1 Perspectives on Intersectionality from Roma Feminists

Within Roma and Dalit women's movements, the call for intersectionality emerged through the works and activism of members, mostly feminists, in their attempt to encapsulate their unique differences in experiences and inequality in relation to mainstream women's movements and other political movements. Sharon Doetsch-Kidder in *Social Change and Intersectional Activism: The Spirit of Social Movement* referring to the works of political scientist Edwina Barvosa, observes that "people living and working at the intersections of different forms of oppression experience conflicts and contradictions that encourage questioning and critical thinking, which is why they often offer fruitful insights that bridge difference and gaps in political work."[76] Both at an individual level and as communities, "these experiences of conflict between different identities can unravel the stories one tells oneself- about who one is and how the world works, who is "good" and "bad"- and one's feeling of "authentic self-fulfilments".[77] Within this understanding, the call for intersectionality from Roma and Dalit women's movements, and also from other marginalized communities, arises from the want to tell their different stories of existence at the margins, that would encapsulate their complexities, accumulate connection between members and groups, and for possibilities

[76] Sharon Doetsch-Kidder, "Introduction" in *Social Change and Intersectional Activism: The Spirit of Social Movement*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 4.
[77] Ibid., 5.

to build systems of accountability. Besides, this calls us to think about what additional framework might be applied and bring light on to break the vicious cycle of systemic inequalities and discriminations that defines people's everyday experiences in the margins, and how we, both as the privileged and the marginalized continue to work out of it.

According to Balogh Lidia, in "Roma Gender Politics in Hungary and Feminist Alliance in Practices," the connection between Roma ethnicity and social exclusion in various European countries is widely acknowledged. While it is generally agreed that Crenshaw's model can address issues related to poverty and socioeconomic disadvantages, there is a significant gap in how it is applied to facilitate the understanding of the intersection between gender and race/ethnicity and to conceptualize the multiple forms of discrimination faced by Romani women.[78] In her 2009 publication *Missing Intersectionality*, Angela Kocze delves deeply into the influence and intricate interplay of race, ethnicity, gender, and class in shaping the lived experiences of Roma women within the broader European context. Kocze argues that the discourse on gender-based violence and mainstream women's movement in Hungary and the region often overlooks the crucial aspects of intersectionality and fails to recognize how various intersecting identities impact the realities of marginalized women. According to Kocze, Romani women encounter multiple forms of inequality predominantly manifested in domains such as education, employment, healthcare, and housing, yet the anti-discrimination and intervention policies inadequately address the intersections of these inequalities and the gaps in social policies. Besides, the discussions on gender-based violence, and importantly domestic violence, are being sidelined in mainstream debates.[79] Ethel Brokes and Angele Kozce reflect

[78] Lidia Balogh, "Roma Gender Politics in Hungary and Feminsit Alliances in Practice." in *The Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. by Angela Kocze, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic and Eniko Vincze (London, New York: Routledge, 2019),178-192.

[79] Angela, Kocze, *Missing Intersectionality: Race/ Ethinicty, Gender, and Class in Current Research and Policies on Romani Women in Europe* (Budapest: CEU University Press, 2009).

that sections of Romani women and activists have embraced and have employed intersectionality within Romani political activism as a means to challenge the singular ethnic identity emphasized by the Roma movement, and they seek to contest the oversimplified notion of 'Romani women' as a one-dimensional concept.[80] Nevertheless, on the other hand, Lidia Balogh states that certain other sections of Romani women are characterized by a tendency to shy away from confrontational actions or deeply challenging gender roles within both the Romani communities and society as a whole. Balogh observes that, Roma women's organizations typically prioritize issues related to redistribution, such as improving access to healthcare, education, the labor market etc without having to question patriarchal norms. However, this focus on redistribution sometimes comes at the expense of addressing gender issues, such as combating sexism, and concerns related to antidiscrimination and gender-based violence.[81] This marginalization of rights-based discourse within Romani women's activism is not limited to Hungary but is observable in various other European contexts as well. Nevertheless, there is a broad consensus among Romani women's movements and scholars that intersectionality plays a vital role in acknowledging and amplifying the diverse forms of discrimination that impact Romani women.

[80] Ethel C Brooks, "The Possibilities of Romani Feminism," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38, no. 1(2012) :1-11; Angela, Kocze, *Missing Intersectionality,* 2009.

[81] Lidia Balogh, "Roma Gender Politics in Hungary and Feminsit Alliances in Practice," in *The Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. by Angela Kocze, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic and Eniko Vincze (London, New York: Routledge, 2019),178-192.

3.2 Perspectives on Intersectionality from Dalit Feminists

In the context of India and Dalit women, Gopal Guru in his prominent article "Dalit women talk differently" illustrates the importance of an intersectional lens to recognize the unique lived realities of Dalit women defined by categories of caste, gender, class, and other internal and external dynamic, which directed the development of Dalit women's movement. Comparable to that of Hungarian settings and the emergence of the mainstream feminist movement, the context of the Beijing conference certainly drove feminist mobilization around the "politics of differences" in India. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize the existence of independent Dalit women's mobilizations even before Beijing submit in different regions such as in Bangalore, Karnataka, a south Indian state, Pune and Delhi in the North-Indian region. These earlier and post-Beijing mobilization of Dalit women were responding back to external factors such as the non-Dalit forces, mainstream feminist movements in India dominated by upper-class and middle-class women from urban regions, trying to homogeneous the issue of Dalit women, and internal factors such as patriarchy from within the communities.[82]

Guru states that the earlier Dalit activists, in the context of India, argued that non-Dalit feminist arguments lack credibility and have a limited understanding of the challenges faced by Dalit and Adivasi women due to differences in their social positions. He refers to an exchange with Gail Omvedt and Rajini Kothari to argue that the need for Dalit women to voice their experiences differently in political spheres ascended from a sense of betrayal by leftist political movements, for whom the category of caste collapsed into class framework, and by mainstream feminist movements, which essentialized the category of women to create a

[82] Gopal Guru, "Dalit Women Talk Differently," *Economic and Political Weekly* 30, no. 41/42 (1995): 2548, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4403327.

homogeneous experience and a façade face of solidarity cutting across all caste, religion, class, and regional divisions. [83]

This division was exacerbated with the mainstream feminist movements, mimicking the white feminism from the 1970s pushed claims such as, "all women are Dalit women" while failing to comprehend or recognize systems and markers of discrimination such as caste and class identities in analysis conducted and movements led by non-Dalit, Brahminical upper and middle-class, urbanized women activists. Amidst the emergence of various political and feminist movements during that period, Dalit women struggled to connect and align themselves as these mainstream movements failed to address their specific needs and experiences of historical injustices. For instance, when eco-feminism gained popularity in India, in relation to similar global movements, in the late 1970s and 80's with a focus on raising environmental consciousness, there were numerous incidents where members from Dalit communities uprooted saplings planted by the forest department, expressing their differences and frustration. This resistance sheds light on the deeper issues of land ownership and historically unequal access to common property resources such as water bodies and sacred groves, which were controlled by upper-caste groups for religious symbolism.[84] Essentially, members of Dalit communities for the longest period were prohibited from owning property or agricultural lands but were forced to work on them at discriminatory wages and practices.[85] Within this historic reality, the call for eco-feminism by elite-upper caste women's groups did not reflect and connect to the basic needs of Dalit women, who were fighting for their basic rights and protections against caste, gender, and class-based discriminations.

[83] Ibid., 2548–2550.

[84] Ibid., 2548–2550.

[85] Bharat Dogra, "Land rights elude Dalitws," *Civil Society*, March 2016, https://www.civilsocietyonline.com/agriculture/land-rights-elude-dalits/

Furthermore, in the context of women's solidarity on an Indian national and international scale, there are underlying contradictions that existed and continue to prevail between high-caste and Dalit women. Uma Chakravari, in her prominent essay, “In Her Own Write: Writing from a Dalit Feminist Standpoint,” argues that it took a very long period for the “city-based women’s movement” dominated by upper-class Brahminical consciousness to attempt the caste consciousness that breathes in lower and marginalized Dalit women’s spaces. Initially, in the 1980s, the distinct presence of Dalit women as a separate, distinct voice was less apparent. This period is often referred to as the 'silent' or 'silenced' years in Dalit women’s scholarship, while women in urban areas actively participated in the broader women's movement.[86] However, as time passed, autonomous women's groups based on differences in experiences began to form, and there was a growing recognition and assertion from Dalit women that the experience of caste discrimination played a decisive role in the women's struggle in India. Chakravarti, further observes that independent women's mobilization shifted towards addressing the triple oppression faced by Dalit women, and this oppression stems from the intersection of caste-based discrimination, the social stigma associated with one’s caste, labor exploitation, and the gender-based challenges Dalit women encounter, including the violation of their dignity and rampant sexual violence. In upper-class non-Dalit and Dalit women’s spaces, these contradictions manifested through subtle forms of caste discrimination perpetrated by upper-caste upper-class women against Dalit women in urban areas. Additionally, in rural areas, there are manifested as instances of humiliation, threats, sexual violence, and domestic and community violence targeting Dalit women. These manifestations of inequalities based on caste and class, which have recently become vocalized by the emergence of social media activism, highlight the challenges and tensions within the pursuit

[86] Uma Chakravarti, “IN HER OWN WRITE: Writing from a Dalit Feminist Standpoint,” *India International Centre Quarterly* 39, no. 3/4 (2012): 142.

of women's solidarity in India.[87] It is important to note that not all women are Dalits, and women's experiences in the context of India, vary based on diverse backgrounds and occupations. Moreover, in the realm of gender-based violence, both from within and outside the Dalit communities, the focus on external political factors alone could not fully explain the realities of violence experienced by Dalit and tribal women. In conclusion, the failure of mainstream feminist groups to create space and to critically capture the complexity and perspectives of Dalit women's lives, particularly in caste-based oppression and sexual violence, called for a different Dalit women's movement that understands and acknowledges these differences in both from within and outside.

While the intersectional framework has been encouraged by feminists and scholars from the margins, there is still lacking in terms of how mainstream institutions, policymakers and other macro-level stakeholders apply the same to comprehend the multi-layered discrimination at the margins, particularly here for domestic violence or gender-based violence. While there are some efforts to analyze local intersectionality within marginal communities, without relating them to immediate mainstream and global movements over time, we might only get to understand the present form of social inequalities to some extent and fail to see beyond the surface as to why and how some of these social inequalities continue to persist. In her article, "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come" Vrushali Patil, an associate professor of sociology and chair of the Department of Global and Sociocultural Studies at Florida International University, argues that the manifestation of gender dynamics and sexualities are, "neither universal nor Western categories but are, instead, products of intricate transnational webs of racial and imperial entanglements." She encourages us to shift our attention solely from domestic intersections, to

[87] Uma Chakravarti, "IN HER OWN WRITE: Writing from a Dalit Feminist Standpoint," 142-145.

understanding how domestic realities exist in relation to the global or dominant groups and phenomena.[88] I think by applying this intersectional, yet relational approach would help us avoid reinforcing stereotypes about communities we come from and speak with. Consequently, in the remaining two sections of this work, I will look into the two major arguments, firstly on marginalized communities' culture as a cause for gender-based violence, and the argument of unique forms of patriarchies within the communities that gets told over and over to downplay, justify and prejudiced both Roma and Dalit women and their experiences of gender-based violence and domestic violence. I apply both intersectionality and relational framework to argue that the phenomenon's of gender-based violence and domestic violence within marginalized and racialized communities cannot be viewed in isolation, and call for a relational approach.

.

[88] Vrushali Patil, "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come," *Signs* 38, no. 4 (Summer 2013): Intersectionality: Theorizing Power, Empowering Theory, doi:10.1086/669560.

Chapter 4: Understanding Patriarchies

From the contextual background I offered in the first two chapters, it is apparent that within both mainstream and marginalized communities, gender-based violence and, more specifically, domestic violence do not affect individuals in the same way or could have uniform consequences. Unfortunately, mainstream movements, policy experts, institutions and other stake holders tend to depict gender-based violence and domestic violence in marginalized spaces as a cultural phenomenon attributed to the "other." Here the word culture refers to the culture of the whole community and individuals from within the group. This sort of generalization is significantly evident in the case of Roma and Dalit communities, where the presence and reporting on gender-based violence and domestic violence are not taken seriously and is attributed to inherent culture of the whole group. In this section, I will explore the issues that arise when linking gender-based to group culture, and how the effort to defend and preserve cultures, often comes at the expense of women's autonomy and inaccurate representations.

One significant relational aspect that is crucial from my point of view is the intricate manifestation and understanding of patriarchies, within both the Roma and Dalit communities. In the first section of the chapter, I will predominantly discuss how the present version of patriarchal practices, and gender norms came into prominence within Dalit communities, by examining the historical context of Brahminical patriarchy and its impact on marginalized groups over time. Further, I will establish the relationship between different forms of patriarchies, Brahminical patriarchy, and white colonial patriarchy, within the Indian context to understand how its impact continues to contribute to gender-based violence and domestic violence. In the last section of this chapter, I would juxtapose the presence of patriarchal occurrence within the Dalit communities with different yet interconnected power dynamics that manifest within the context of Roma communities, in relation to the mainstream white racialized patriarchal society. By looking deeply into the context that enabled the development

of patriarchies in both the Dalit and Roma communities, in relation to that of dominant mainstream Brahminical and White colonial patriarchies, my aim is to bring in multiple perspectives and analyze how these historical and structural manifestations of casteism and racism contributes to the broader unequal social structures and systems that shape women's lived experiences and violence within these marginalized and racialized spaces.

4.1 Brahminical patriarchy and its Impact on the Construction of Dalit Women's Identity

Within the Indian context, the manifestation of patriarchy is rooted in caste-based social stratification, which is unique to the region.[89] This phenomenon, known as "Brahminical patriarchy," along with the later influence of colonialism continues to shape and impact unequal structural dynamics of caste, class, gender, religion, and other factors as we see it today. While the term "Dalit Patriarchy" has gained popularity, I argue this terminology needs to be contextualized within the history of patriarchal structures of the region and within the border conversation and scholarship that emerged among Dalit feminist scholars.[90] Their intersectional, relational, understanding and interpretation are significant to understand how patriarchy manifests within Dalit communities, its impact on gender-based violence, and particularly domestic violence.

Like some other Dalit scholars whom I bring in this section, I refrain from labeling patriarchy within the Dalit communities as "Dalit patriarchy" as it implies and reinforces the mainstream interpretation of gender-based violence within the communities and families as a cultural and traditional phenomenon, when it clearly isn't distinct from gender-based violence in other mainstream dominant communities.[91] Uma Chakravarty coined the term "Brahminical Patriarchy" to describe a masala or a combination of patriarchy and casteism within the broader South Asian and more specifically the Indian context. According to Chakravarty, the

[89] Uma Chakravarti, "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State," *Economic and Political Weekly* 28, no. 14 (April 3, 1993): 579-585; Gail Omvedt, Review of "Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai" by Uma Chakravarty, *Economic and Political Weekly* 35, no. 4 (January 22-28, 2000): 187-190; Sunaina Arya, "Dalit or Brahmanical Patriarchy? Rethinking Indian Feminism," *CASTE: A Global Journal on Social Exclusion* 1, no. 1 (2020): 217-228.

[90] Aparna Dixit, "Patriarchy: A critical interpretation," *Wesleyan Journal of Research* 13, no. 27 (2020): 86-92.

[91] _____, "Patriarchy: A critical interpretation."

development of Brahminical patriarchy can be understood in two periods: firstly, during the first millennium BC, when Brahminism and patriarchy took root, and secondly, during the 19th-century Indian colonial era, which solidified the present-day manifestation of Brahminical patriarchy, which is unique to South Asian regional context.[92]

The initial stage of Brahminical patriarchy involved the social stratification of society into a caste-based hierarchy, documented through religious epics, texts, and literary works.[9394] Instead of delving into the detailed origins of Brahminical patriarchy, in this section, I will only be focusing on the evolving status of women as defined by Brahminical patriarchy over time. Gail Omvedt, an Indian sociologist and human rights activist of American origin, references Uma Chakravarty and highlights that, even though Indian puranas, sacred texts, and other religious literature written in the Sanskrit language, as well as the works of scholars and poets from higher castes, contain numerous contradictions, there are two consistent ideas regarding the status of women as one class.[95] Chakravarty's quote from Pandita Ramabai , one of the earliest Indian social reformers, further demonstrates this argument.

> "Women of the high and low caste, as a class were all bad, very bad, worse than demons, as unholy as untruth, and that they could not get moksha like men. The only hope of their getting this much-desired liberation from karma and its results, that is countless millions of births and deaths and untold suffering, was the worship of their husbands."[96]

[92] Uma Chakravarti, "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State, 579-585; Gail Omvedt, Review of "Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai" by Uma Chakravarty, 187.

[93] Ibid., 579-585

[94] Ibid.,580.

[95] Ibid.,"579-585.

[96] Gail Omvedt, Review of "Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai" by Uma Chakravarty,187.

In the *Manusmriti,* one of the prominent orthodox Brahminical texts, there are explicit calls for the control of women due to their perceived "lustful and sexually aggressive nature."[97] Omvedt makes references made by Chakravarty from the original Manusmriti text's interpretation, which represents women as a class and as dishonest, unreliable, promiscuous, etc, and in need of control by men from within their upper-caste communities. Manu observes that,

> "Drinking, associating with bad people, being separated from their husbands, wandering about, sleeping and living in other people's houses are the six things that corrupt women...By running after men like whores, by their fickle minds, and by their natural lack of affection women are unfaithful to their husbands even when they are zealously guarded here. Knowing that their very own nature is like this, as it was born at the creation by the Lord of Creatures, a man should make the utmost effort to guard them. The bed and the seat, jewellery, lust, anger, crookedness, a malicious nature, and bad conduct are what Manu has assigned to women." [98]

Even though women as a unified class category were perceived as lesser human and lower to men in physical, intellectual, and spiritual status, the caste system went to further divide and allocate them with roles, norms, privileges, and disadvantages based on the needs and desires to establish and maintain caste structures. Chakravarty explains that, during that period, the dominant thought of Brahminical patriarchy passed on through literary and sacred texts accessible only to the upper-caste men, created a drastic contrast between the lives of upper-caste men, categorized by "extreme ritualism," and the lives of upper-caste women, marked by "extreme bondage."[99] The upper-caste women were subjected to various forms of restriction and seclusion within their households, including early child marriages, and the prohibition of widow remarriages. In order to gain religious merits and respect, upper-caste women were expected and taught to demonstrate unwavering devotion and commitment to

[97] Uma Chakravarti, "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State," *Economic and Political Weekly* 28, no. 14 (April 3, 1993): 579-585.

[98] Gail Omvedt, Review of "Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai," 188.

[99] Ibid., 187.

their husbands and family, treating them as gods, which in return according to the religious basis of samsara promised possible upper-caste and sex mobility through rebirth in their next lives.[100]

While upper-caste women's lives were defined by confinement within their households, the situation was different for lower-caste Dalit women. Dalit women, who were from lower-caste groups such as untouchables, were perceived in opposition to virtuous upper-caste women and were often depicted as sexually promiscuous, aggressive, and unattractive, yet very available to upper-caste men. Charu Gupta in "(MIS) Representing the Dalit Women: Reification of Caste and Gender Stereotypes in the Hindi Didactic Literature of Colonial India" explore how Dalit women's image was developed in binary opposition to upper caste women, and this development in literature has eventually moved into building the social positioning and identity construction of lower caste and class women. Even though these images of Dalit women in upper-caste men's imagination were not real, but have played a significant role in reinforcing caste hierarchy and hierarchy among women, upper-class women, and Dalit women. On one hand, these literature and sacred texts depicted upper-class women as symbols of purity, only as "*pativrata*" or ideal wives, who worships their husband with almost respect like a god and would be responsible for passing the values and tradition of one's caste to her sons. On the other hand, Dalit women were represented as being impure, with bodies that could be violated, and "*kutnis*" which translates into a vampire.[101]

[100] Uma Chakravarti, "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State," 582.

[101] Charu Gupta, "(Mis) Representing the Dalit Women: Reification of Caste and Gender Stereotypes in the Hindi Didactic Literature of Colonial India, *Indian Historical Review* 35, no. 2 (2008): 101-124.

In addition, Gupta, argues that the early existing Hindu literatures, sacred texts and manuals provided guidelines for high-caste women to maintain modest behaviour by avoiding loud speech, conflicts, gossip, and excessive interaction with other women, as these specific traits and activities were associated with Dalit women and served as a distinguishing factor of one's class and caste.[102] Often times, literature depicted the qualities of upper-caste, loyal, ideal women to that of Hindu goddess such as Sati, Sita and Savitri who stories envisions them as an ideal wife, daughter, mother, sister, who selflessly gives one's life for the goodness of one's family and communities.[103] Early works of literature and writing warned upper-caste women to remain vigilant against the perceived improper, adulterous, and dishonoured lower-caste women, as they were primarily responsible for numerous wrongdoings in the past and present, which in Hindu religious sense justified why they were born into lower-caste groups. If the upper caste women were engaged with or listened to, it would attract negative influences into the pure hearts of the good women.[104] For the most part, these views have been passed on and continue to reinforce stereotypes about women from Dalit communities. Interestingly, this construction of differences on the grounds of caste were further imbalanced among women further reinforcing the ideology of 'otherness' by creating a sense of binary perspective, and this stands parallel to the representation of white women in opposition to the colonial other, where the white colonial women stood for right, good, and the colonial women of color from margins were constituted as wrong and bad ones. And, these distinct behaviours became powerful representations of high-caste Hindu womanhood.

[102] Ibid., 101-124.

[103] Shalu Nigam, "Different Dimensions of Domestic Violence in India," in *DOMESTIC VIOLENCE LAW IN INDIA: Myth and Misogyny* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), 143.

[104] Charu Gupta, "(Mis) Representing the Dalit Women: Reification of Caste and Gender Stereotypes in the Hindi Didactic Literature of Colonial India, 101-124

An interesting example Gupta brings in is the colloquial saying that goes as *Kanyaon ki Pothi ya Kanya Subodhini,* aboiut girls and women, and drew a distinction between higher-caste and lower-caste women. It emphasized that upper-caste women abstained from fights, abusive language, and inappropriate speech. These characteristics were attributed to only lower-caste women, who were perceived as frequently engaging in quarrels, using abusive language, and shouting during confrontations. The use of "obscene" language was considered a characteristic of low-caste women, and Dalit women were depicted as vulgar and lustful in their speech. Besides, their perceived inferiority was evident in their expression of anger during disputes and fights with other women, which were believed to occur frequently and with great intensity within the Dalit communities. She is seen as a chaotic, with protruding lips, and displaying signs of emotional distress. Interestingly, these judgements continue to persist in the cultural representation of Dalits as inherently violent even today.[105] This got me thinking about the prominent swear words I am familiar with in my mother tongue, Malayalam, and their relation to caste-related humiliations. For instance, in Malayalam, some of the swear words I am familiar with have strong caste connotation and is closely related to marginalized groups. For instance*, "Chetta", "chettakudil"* which are part of everyday vocabulary to imply someone unworthy, and untruthful, literally suggest the modest dwelling of the poor. On a similar note, the word "*Chantha"*, which translates to refers to the only public sphere where all people, especially Dalits mingled and were allowed to move around freely. Then words like *"ashrikaram"* which translates to distasteful or vulgar were another predominantly Brahminical slur word but have over time become less prominent today. In short, the construction of Dalit women's and communities' identity in opposition to that of upper-class women and that of Brahminical values through literary works, everyday practices, and

[105] Ibid., 101-124.

languages played a role in defining the upper-caste imagination of the other, Dalits, within the Indian and the broader South Asian context.

In contrast to the emphasis on purity associated with upper-caste women, the lower-caste women's sexuality has a different set of expectations and rules set by Brahminical men. For instance, Omvedt highlights the hypocrisy of the alleged "extremely ritualized" Brahminical men for using religion and caste structures for compelling prostitution specifically for women from the Shudra caste, who were considered untouchables and marked the lowest caste group, while imposing chastity and seclusion for women within their own upper-caste groups.[106] It is disappointing to see how sex work in relation to caste systems continues to persist even to the present day. Grounding on Ambedkar's arguments on caste analysis, Sharmila Rege states that while the argument of women's choice could be brought to explain sex work, in the context of India, a lot of women's entry into sex work is pre-determined by one's caste. Besides, the caste-connected presence of social inequality such as poverty, lack of access to education, and unemployment makes women from Dalit communities more prone to sex trafficking and forced prostitution. Therefore, for Rege, the manifestation of caste today not only determines "caste-based differentiation of labor, sexual division of labour but also the division of sexual labour."[107]

Omvedt, furthermore expands on Chakravarty's argument that while caste-based ascribed qualities and positions were viewed and justified as natural merits, women as a single class were viewed as inherently "libidinous" and in need of external control by men, who acted as their protectors and morally superior and wise guardians, while also supporting their ritual

[106] Gail Omvedt, Review of "Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai," 188.

[107] Sunanina Arya and Aakash Singh Rathore, "Introduction: Theorising Dalit Feminism." in *Dalit Feminist Theory: A Reader,* ed. Sunaina Arya and Aakash Singh Rathore (New York: Routledge, 2020).

and socio-economic lives. Deducing from *Manusmriti* and the interpretation and allocation of roles for women within the text, Chakravarty introduces the concept of a "caste-patriarchy bargain." She explains that upper-caste women, under the earlier Brahminical patriarchy, made bargains and maintained their caste and class-based privileges by remaining *pativratas* or loyal, subordinate women who dedicated their lives to the well-being of their husbands and their communities. However, Omvedt notes that Chakravarty does not address whether such a bargain was ever possible for lower-caste women. Nevertheless, referencing other scholarships, it is crucial to acknowledge that Dalit women, belonging to lower caste groups, did not have any such bargains and were positioned at the lowest status in society, and in opposition to the values and ideals of upper-caste women.[108]

Moreover, the upper-caste Brahminical depiction of Dalit women's bodies in absolute contrast to the ideals of chastity, purity, and modesty encouraged by and for upper-class, middle-class, and high-caste women, had implications in undermining and challenging Dalit men's masculinities. These portrayals characterized Dalit women as excessively sexual, and lacking in modesty, and defined them to labels of shamelessness and prostitution. The influence of Orientalist narratives, especially under British colonialism and pre-existing Brahmanism, further solidified the perception of Dalit women's inferior social standing, emphasizing their perceived sexual accessibility or the upper-caste men's authority and power over lower-caste women's bodies. They were believed to have multiple partners, which were inappropriate for a 'decent woman' and possessed questionable sexual morals. High-caste men viewed Dalit women as objects of sexual desire, yet unworthy of love, marriage, or caste mobility. Consequently, the representation of the Dalit female body encompassed contradictions, as it was simultaneously regarded as unfeminine and attractive, disgusting and desirable,

[108] Gail Omvedt, Review of "Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai," 189-190.

untouchable but available, and concurrently unattractive and beautiful for upper-caste men. The prevalent sexual exploitation of Dalit women was often rationalized by attributing it to their alleged promiscuousness and lower status of birth.[109] Primarily, these dynamics served to reaffirm the dominance of upper-caste men over lower-caste or Dalit men, perpetuating and reinforcing strict caste hierarchies.

Unfortunately, these manifestations persist in the present day, as evidenced by the very high prevalence of rape, murder, and sexual assault cases targeting Dalit women. These incidents primarily occur in different regions of India, notably rural areas and Northern India, where conflicts over land ownership and other dynamics, such as lower caste members seek access to education and religious places previously forbidden for Dalits.[110] Nonetheless, within urban areas of India, caste-based discrimination is still prevalent, albeit often in a more subtle form. One example of this is the practice of forbidding one's daughter from marrying a person belonging to a lower caste, even though I think the subtlety of this particular example may be subject to serious scrutiny![111]

In addition to the hyper-sexualization of Dalit women, there were also a considerable number of popular beliefs about lower-caste women, who did not and at times forbidden to follow the tradition of purdah, covering of one's bodies. For example, women belonging to lower-caste communities, such as Ezhavars, Nadars, and others, were prohibited from covering their upper bodies, especially breasts, in public spaces. They were subjected to "breast tax" or

[109] Uma Chakravarti, "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State, 579-585; Sunanina Arya and Aakash Singh Rathore, "Introduction: Theorising Dalit Feminism." in *Dalit Feminist Theory: A Reader,* ed. Sunaina Arya and Aakash Singh Rathore (New York: Routledge, 2020).

[110]Attacks on Dalit Women: A Pattern of Impunity," *Human Rights Watch,* https://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/india/India994-11.htm

[111] Ramanath Jha, "India's caste problem has a silver lining : urbanization and inter-caste marriages, *The Print,* April 2019.

mulakkaram in Malayalam, which was imposed by upper caste men, depending on the size of breasts, and was prevalent in the region of Travancore, which is present-day Kerala.[112] In addition, there was also subjected to stereotypes for working in public spaces and physically demanding work, such as in fields, having simpler food habits, and living their children. Additionally, it was claimed that Dalit women had an easier time giving birth and breastfeeding due to their physical labor, which was thought to make them immune to pain during childbirth, and this representation continues to public health services. On the other hand, upper-caste women were strongly associated with experiencing pain during childbirth, to the extent that the absence of pain was viewed as potential evidence of witchcraft.[113] In conclusion, caste difference was certainly marked by the construction of gender differences between the upper-caste and Dalit women, which let them maintain a higher moral and caste superiority over the lower castes. Besides, these constructions reflected the fears, and anxieties of upper-caste Brahminical and of other higher-caste men, contributing to the collective marginalization and discrimination of Dalit women.

However, during the colonial period in 19th century India, Brahminical patriarchy undertook a different form or got reconstructed. Chakravarty refers to this period as an "alliance between feudalism and imperialism," wherein Brahmins held utmost authority over the caste framework and the broader Hindu communities. Simultaneously, certain sections of the lower-caste communities, under colonial institutions, were undergoing a process termed "Sanskritization." Chakravarty introduced the term “Sanskritization” to refer to a social phenomenon where members of the lower caste groups began to adopt or mimic the values and

[112] Sheryl Sebastian, “Kerala’s Casteist Breast Tax And The Story of Nangeli,” *Feminism in India,* September 2016.

[113] Charu Gupta, “(Mis) Representing the Dalit Women: Reification of Caste and Gender Stereotypes in the Hindi Didactic Literature of Colonial India, 101-124.

practices of the upper castes. [114] In a very comparable manner, we had upper-caste English-educated Indian elites adopt Victorian Christian principles and sexual moralities, with the hope of being equal to white colonizers. Consequently, the upper-caste value systems, outlook on women, control, and oppressions within marriage and family systems, earlier widely prevalent among upper castes, were dispersed and passed on to other sections of the Indian society. [115] When some reformists argued that the colonial period brought about positive changes for women, such as the banning of the practice of sati and acceptance of widow remarriage, the period also witnessed strict control of women from lower-caste groups and the forced conformity to upper-caste standards, which resulted in the new construction of an ideal Hindu woman who ascribed to the Brahminical values. [116] Moreover, in the new framework of Brahminical patriarchy and colonial influence, the violation of Dalit women's bodies by upper-caste men and white men, and the failure of lower-caste men to protect against upper-caste violence, control and silence Dalit women's voices within the communities were interpreted and viewed with humiliation and perceived as a failure or deficiency in Dalit men's masculinity. I think this historicization of relationships and development of patriarchies from within one's geographical regions and across continents, such as Brahminical and White colonial patriarchies, has significant impacts on how localized versions of patriarchies, and gender dynamics emerged within Dalit communities, and continue to appear in the present-day. And this would further help gain critical perspectives on how these interconnected dynamics manifest in cases of domestic violence and gender-based violence within communities.

[114] Gail Omvedt, Review of "Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai" by Uma Chakravarty, *Economic and Political Weekly* 35, no. 4 (January 22-28, 2000): 187-190; Uma Chakravarti and Maithreyi Krishnaraj, *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*, First Edition, Theorizing Feminism (Mathura Road, New Delhi: SAGE Publications Pvt Ltd, 2018)

[115] Gail Omvedt, Review of "Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai" by Uma Chakravarty, 189.

[116] Uma Chakravarti, "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State, 579-585

4.2 Exploring the Connection between Brahminical Patriarchies, White Colonial Patriarchies and Contemporary Patriarchal Practices in Dalit Communities and Roma Communities

In more than one sense, I would interpret the appearance of present-day patriarchy and gender roles in the Dalit communities as a trickle-down effect of the Sanskritization process that went on during the colonial period. When it comes to domestic violence and gender-based violence, within marginalized groups such as Dalits, the mainstream media and the involved stakeholders tend to attribute the issues to communities' culture, and values.[117] However, Dalit feminist scholars argue that to understand and address the presence of gender-based violence, and particularly domestic violence requires one to acknowledge how different social inequalities within specific Dalit communities manifest today in relation to the continued presence of caste dynamics. Rather than attributing domestic violence to a single cause, such as the communities' culture, this phenomenon should be recognized as an outcome of enduring oppression. As a caution of note, I would also like to reemphasize that the term Brahminical patriarchy does not necessarily suggests only members from the upper caste but denotes anyone who pushes for hierarchy-based social stratification. And, like misogyny does not totally require men to engage in it, and similarly, the practice of Brahminism is not limited to Brahmins alone .[118]

Sunaina Arya in "Dalit or Brahminical Patriarchy? Rethinking Indian Feminism" based on works from previous prominent scholars such as Gopal Guru, Uma Chakravarti, and V Geeta sums up their explanation for Dalit patriarchy and states that previous scholars argued that the manifestation of patriarchy within the communities is distinctive from that of upper

[117] Leti Volpp,"Feminism versus Multiculturalism," in *Domestic Violence at the Margins*, eds. Natalie J. Sokoloff and Christine Pratt (London: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 39-49.

[118] Sunaina Arya, "Dalit or Brahmanical Patriarchy? Rethinking Indian Feminism," *CASTE: A Global Journal on Social Exclusion* 1, no. 1 (2020): 222-223.

caste groups and experiences of women. These scholars reflect that Dalit men under the exploitation, discrimination, and humiliation from upper-caste men, exhibit violent behavior towards women from within their communities, who are already victims of caste-based discrimination from upper-caste men and women. This perceived sense of failure and deficiency in the masculinity of Dalit men, in contrast to that of upper-caste men's masculinity, is revealed with men within the Dalit communities wanting to dominate Dalit women by policing their access to education, determining whom they marry, whether or not they marry within their communities based on the choices made by one's family members, restriction of women's movements, etc, and this significantly reflect how upper-caste men policed women within their own communities. [119] D Sujatha, a researcher with Anveshi, Women's Studies Research Centre, based in Hyderabad, in the South Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, observes that "unlike women from the dominant castes, Dalit women are used to working outside the home and their labor is considered crucial for the survival of the family. More often than not, the home runs on her income since the man tends to spend his on himself, including alcohol."[120] Whereas in urban India, Dalit women predominantly work as domestic labors, construction workers, and other causal laborers, and in rural India, about 70% of Dalit women work as agricultural laborers. [121] Moreover, nowadays, women from various caste groups are increasingly engaged in employment outside their homes. However, disparities arise in terms of the opportunities available to these women, which often is influenced by their caste and access to resources. Consequently, it is important to note that women's participation in the workforce is not universally seen as a significant threat to the communities and patriarchies,

[119] Sunaina Arya, "Dalit or Brahmanical Patriarchy? Rethinking Indian Feminism."

[120] Sujatha, D, "Redefining Domestic Violence: Experiences of Dalit Women." *Economic and Political Weekly* 49. no 47 (2014):19-22

[121] Sonia Mahey, "The Status of Dalit Women in India's Caste-Based System," Master's thesis, University of Alberta

especially within lower caste and marginal spaces. So, there are multiple stances that need to be taken to understand domestic violence in Dalit communities.

On a general note, like most women across different communities, Dalit women also endure domestic violence within their families and gender violence within their communities. I don't perceive this as very distinct from the experiences of gender-based violence encountered by women in upper-caste groups. This reminds me of Christine E. Rasche's statement about the experiences of battered women in diverse racial backgrounds compared to white women in the US. She states that "a punch in the eye or a kick in the stomach is probably the same no matter what color you are or what language is being shouted at the times."[122] However, what sets this different for Dalit women in relation to women from other upper castes, is that they further face gender-based violence from upper-caste men, and occasionally from women, when they pursue work opportunities solely on the grounds of caste.

Oftentimes, violence against Dalit women is seen as a means to discipline and penalize both Dalit men and women for challenging the existing structures and caste-based hierarchies.[123]. And, this violence is directly been linked to the upper-caste men demonstrating their superiority over the Dalit men and their perceived entitlement to Dalit women's bodies. Within these complex dynamics of patriarchies and the assumed masculinities, rather than tackling caste-based discrimination, Dalit masculinities come out with wanting to control Dalit women's movements as a way to resist Brahmanical patriarchy and upper-caste men. In essence, the clash between the expected Brahmanical patriarchal gender roles, and the construction of both upper and lower-caste men's masculinities, centered around controlling and asserting authority over women's bodies leads to gender-based violence, and domestic

[122] C. E. Rasche, "Minority Women and Domestic Violence: The Unique Dilemmas of Battered Women of Color," *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 4, no. 3 (1988): 150–171, https://doi.org/10.1177/104398628800400304.

[123] Sunanina Arya and Aakash Singh Rathore, "Introduction: Theorising Dalit Feminism." In *Dalit Feminist Theory: A Reader*, ed. Sunaina Arya and Aakash Singh Rathore (New York: Routledge, 2020).

violence within these marginalized groups. In short, the targeting, marginalization, and discrimination come in terms of "power relations to men in a patriarchal society."[124] Therefore, while it is fundamental to directly address domestic violence within marginalized spaces such as in Dalit communities, it is equally important to attempt towards grasping and challenging the caste-based social dynamics and their relations to other inequalities that may not be immediately apparent on the surface.

Furthermore, Arya argues against labeling the manifestation of patriarchy within the Dalit communities as "Dalit patriarchy." She contends that firstly if we were to label the patriarchy of groups based on their caste identity, it would result in never-ending variation of patriarchies depending on numerous castes, classes, and other groups. Besides, this diverts attention from the actual underlying causes and predominant factors, Brahminical patriarchy, that have contributed to the forms of male dominance within this group, which persist to this day. In addition, this view suggests that there exists an intrinsic characteristic unique to the group and the behaviors of men and the experiences of women within it, which might imply that the marginalized cultures are inherently violent towards women and backward in contrast to the dominant society and justify the problem without necessarily trying to address the root causes. Further, this also assumes that these cultures are stagnant and stuck in time.[125]

Arya observes that the marking of patriarchy with the lower-caste groups, such as Dalit patriarchy something separate and different from that of Brahminical patriarchy is based on a shallow understanding of caste-based stratification and discrimination within these social orders. In addition, within this framework, while "Dalit patriarchy" specifically denotes patriarchy within Dalit communities, "Brahminical patriarchy" does not simply imply patriarchy within the Brahmin communities. Instead, it signifies patriarchy that permeates

[124] Sunanina Arya and Aakash Singh Rathore, "Introduction: Theorising Dalit Feminism."

[125] Leti Volpp,"Feminism versus Multiculturalism," in *Domestic Violence at the Margins*, eds. Natalie J. Sokoloff and Christine Pratt (London: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 39-4.9

Indian society as a whole.[126] In other words, as I mentioned earlier in this section, Brahminical patriarchy does not necessarily suggests just Brahmin men (priest and scholarly men who occupy the top space in caste-hierarchy),but is used to tag people and institutions that emphasize the stratification of people based on forms of pre-determined hierarchies. Furthermore, in the present day, this manifestation of patriarchy is not solely based on one's caste but is rather multifaceted and complex. It occurs at the intersection and overlapping of other identities, such as religion, urban and rural differences, language, sexuality, and more. And, for women from Dalit and other racialized and marginalized communities, caste-based discrimination happens in a vertical structure and gender-based discrimination happens in both horizontal and vertical forms, resulting in a triple burden.

Besides, the other problem with labelling patriarchies, here Dalit patriarchy or Roma patriarchy, and also feminist views such as Dalit standpoint or Roma standpoint, through specific caste and ethnic terms, is that at times if without proper contextualization, the terminologies might homogenize the experiences of Dalit communities or Roma communities as one.[127] Whereas the manifestation of inequalities differs vastly depending on the subject's class, geographical location, education, employment status, etc. For instance, the experiences of Dalit women in urban Kerala, a South Indian state, which went through communist social and land reforms, would be vastly different from that of illiterate Dalit women from rural Tamil Nadu, another South Indian state, where communities follow strict caste norms.[128]

While Brahminical patriarchy formed a structure within India and the broader South Asian region, within the setting of early Europe, the manifestation of patriarchy within society took the base in family, the rule of the authoritative father, which became fundamental in the

[126] Sunanina Arya and Aakash Singh Rathore, "Introduction: Theorising Dalit Feminism."

[127] "Introduction: Romani Feminist Critique and Gender Politics," in *The Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. by Angela Kocze, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic and Eniko Vincze (London, New York: Routledge, 2019),5.

[128] K P Sethunath, "Land Reforms Reshaped State: Prof. P K Michael Tharakan." *Deccan Chronicle*, Nov 2016.

bigger political governance. As I have discussed earlier within the context of South Asia, the term patriarchy has multiple interpretations, in a similar manner it is important to consider the historical specificities and spatial dimensions of how the term and its presence formed within the borders of Europe, and what forms the white patriarchy took on as it traversed beyond into colonies, colonial narratives, and into the local version of patriarchies, such as within Roma communities, and its more nuanced manifestations.

Vrushali Patil, in the article, "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come," discusses how the earlier, more authoritative version of white "patriarchy" and later modern patriarchy from west grappled with colonialism, colonial discourses, and structuring of the society based on racial hierarchies. Patil explains that in the earlier classical form of patriarchy, white colonialist justified their authority to colonize and rule over others by deriving from the traditional patriarchal models which prevailed within the European family structures. Like the authoritative father who ruled over women and children in the family, the white colonist depicted the indigenous people, and people in the colonies as "childlike, lacking self-control and rationality," thereby justifying their authority to colonize. Patil states that "colonizers routinely asserted that natives were like children, incapable of self-control and rational thought, responding best to firm paternal control and beatings." This meant building colonial narratives and representing the colonized other through "rationalization, feminization, and infantilization," and this formed the foundation for the framing of the authoritative transnational racial and cultural hierarchies both outside and within Europe. [129]

With the emergence of modern patriarchy, which was not very different from the earlier authoritative white patriarchy, white colonialists changed the usage of patriarchal notions to

[129] Vrushali Patil, "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come," *Signs* 38, no. 4 (Summer 2013): Intersectionality: Theorizing Power, Empowering Theory, doi:10.1086/669560.

justify their colonial adventure more with a paternalistic frame. This meant rather than being authoritative patriarchy, white colonialists took on a fatherly or a guardian attitude justifying their action through civilization's mission of liberating and enlightening the so that uncivilized barbaric and savage other. For instance, within the British colonial discourse, the colonist took on the job to guide, educate and liberate the immature and primitive Indians into more English one's. Another example, Patil mentions is the representation of Arab men by the French colonizers as sexually deviant and highly oppressive to women, and it became the sacred responsibility of white French patriarchy to liberate the oppressed Arab women. We see the consistent framework being played on even today justifying American imperialism within West Asia and the North African region.[130] In conclusion, the patriarchal manifestation of earlier colonial Europe predominantly had both racialized and gendered frameworks, and this permeated into the various manifestation of patriarchies within domestic and localized communities.

In addition, Patil also explains while colonial paternalism, on one end feminized and infantized the men from the colonies and the non-white communities as a way to assert their masculine dominance, the anti-colonial men tried to re-establish their masculinity and subjectivity by asserting power within their communities, that reflected the white European patriarchal norms. It is intriguing to note that the anti-colonial narratives, rather than challenging the development narrative, political frameworks, and nation-state model advocated by the European colonizers, aimed to assimilate and gain acceptance within those structures. They wanted to adapt and be perceived as equal to white colonizers and played a significant role in shaping localized masculinities, "anti-colonial nationalist patriarchies," gender norms,

[130] Vrushali Patil, "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come."

and division between public and private spaces, which largely mirrored the description of white patriarchy. [131]

As mentioned previously, the combination of early Brahminical patriarchy and colonialism has significantly shaped and continues to exert a strong influence on the understanding of patriarchy in Indian society. Moreover, it contributes to the complex dynamics of hyper-nationalist political patriarchy that we witness in present-day India. Within the confines of Europe, the Roma communities were positioned as the internal other, playing a significant role in displaying transnational racial and cultural hierarchies. Brioni and Comberiati, in the article "The Internal Others: Representing Roma," states that within the earlier European literary works, "Roma was suspended between a positive "a living symbol of freedom in nature" and a negative stereotype, "a primitive who has failed to rise out of nature: a lying, thieving, dirty, work-shy, promiscuous savage who abducts children and even engages in cannibalism. The negative and positive stereotypes work to similar effect, casting the Gypsy as an eternal outsider and in a realm of antisocial self-interest irrevocably at odds with civilization."[132] This categorization involved the historicization of Roma communities with roots in India, which was once Europe's biggest colonial project and resulted in the construction and portrayal as feminized, irrationalized, infantilized other in the continent. Such representations reinforced the notion of their otherness within the border dependence and the need for external control and governance. Furthermore, this is also seen in representing Roma as backward communities and the presence of gender-based violence, policing of women within the communities though early marriages, and restrictions of women's mobility as a

[131] Vrushali Patil, "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come."

[132] Simone Brioni and Daniele Comberiati, "The Internal Other: Representing Roma," in *The Internal Other: Representing Roma* (Cham: Springer, 2019), doi:10.1007/978-3-030-19326-3_5.

meant to represent the communities perceived backwardness in response to that of the civilized white citizens and liberated white women.

Kocze, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic and Eniko Vincze, in the chapter "Introduction: Romani Feminist Critique and Gender Politics" argues that, "patriarchy is a common experience of many and all women in varying degrees in all communities and cultures. Although Romani men benefit from patriarchal hierarchies that subordinate women, patriarchy does not stem from Romani cultural traditions. [133] Consequently, the manifestation of patriarchy and gender-based violence should be seen in relation to persistent social inequality within the communities and the long-prevailing patriarchal norms. For instance, the UNDP report, "Nowhere to Turn: Gender-Based Violence Against Roma Women," states that with the negligence from the mainstream society, the Roma communities and the family structure tend to provide protection and stability to individuals. Within the traditional Roma communities, women are expected to take care of the household, and children, and men are expected to work outside and provide for the family. These dynamics predominantly leave the decision-making power to Roma men, leaving women vulnerable to control and dependency on men. [134]

The predominant expression of patriarchy within the Roma communities is evident within the family structures, particularly in relation to gender roles and expectations placed on women. For example, arranging a daughter marriage within the communities, under the likening and supervision of the male members is viewed as essential for maintaining the family reputation and reaffirming male masculinity. Therefore, girls from a young age are raised with the idea that their primary responsibility is to become dutiful daughters, wives, and mothers,

[133] Kocze Angela, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic & Vincze, Eniko. "Introduction: Romani Feminist Critique and Gender Politics," 8.

[134] " Nowhere to turn- Gender-based violence against Roma women,"*UNDP,* December 2018, https://www.undp.org/eurasia/publications/nowhere-turn-gender-based-violence-against-roma-women.

and take on the responsibilities within their households rather than education. Additionally, there is a significant dropout rate among young Roma girls from educational institutions, reflecting the influence of patriarchy on educational choices and the bigger impact of other social inequality such as poverty, racism in schools, limited access to safe and quality education, etc.[135] While patriarchy from within any communities is unjustifiable, I think it is critical to reflect on the relational interplay between mainstream media representations, prevailing stereotypes about the Roma communities, and the evolving position of women. This relational dynamic, influenced by historical, social, and political factors, has a significant impact on the preservation of patriarchal practices such as early marriages, control of women's movement, etc within racialized and marginalized Roma communities. Angela Kocze and Julija Sardelic's article titled "Roamni Women-Dangerous Women? Contesting Myths and Struggling Realities" argues that within mainstream media Roma women are depicted as "unwanted, unclean, and threatening" or as "benefit tourists" who misuse the liberal welfare systems of the European Union, or even as beggars on the streets. Conversely, Roma women are also portrayed as "wild, free-spirited, serendipitous, mysterious, women" who still pose a threat to the dominance of patriarchy. This dichotomy between the free-spirited and dangerous Roma women, as opposed to the virtuous white women, legitimizes the demonization and the need to control Roma women by Roma men and the mistrust from mainstream society. These perceptions persist in both historical and contemporary contexts, as these "dangerous women" continue to represent the challenge of the patriarchal imaginations and structures across Europe.[136]

[135] Nowhere to turn- Gender-based violence against Roma women."

[136] Angela KOcze and Julija Sardelic, "Romani Women-Dangerous Women?: Contesting Myths and Struggling Realities," *Dangerous Women Project.org. June 2016. https://dangerouswomenproject.org/2016/06/05/romani-women/*

While there is some progress in shifting the gender dynamics, there remains strong opposition from Roma male leaders and elders from within the communities, against Roma women's movements that are pushing for challenging patriarchy from within their communities. This is further established by arguments made by Roma male leaders opposing the initiatives led by Roma women and LGBTQI activists who work to confront patriarchal practices within the communities. For example, Jelena Jovanovic and Violetta Zentai, discuss this in their article, "Gender Relations and the Romani Women's Movement in the Eyes of Young Romani Men: The Potentials for Transversal Politics" where they demonstrate how the older generation of Romani male leaders and some women leaders devalue young women's initiatives. They highlight that, "….Romani feminists still experience older generations of Romani men understanding and devaluing their standpoints, experiences, and work." Many Romani male leaders and elderly women activists from the communities, perceive the emerging Roma feminist movement as bringing shame and creating division within the communities. [137]

Like Dalit women within the context of Brahminical patriarchy, Roma women have also been subjected to hyper-sexualization as a consequence of colonialism, the othering, and being marginalized within Europe. In the article titled "Imagining the Gypsy Women: Representations of Roma in Romanian Museum," Iulia Hasdeu argues that the portrayal of Roma women from the sensibility of white Europeans has consistently depicted them as mysterious and driven by intense desires, such as sexual and emotional qualities. These representations often contrast Roma women against the image of pure, moral, and virtuous white women. Hasdeu recalls an incident during her fieldwork in Romanian villages where the

[137] Jelena Javanoic and Violetta Zentai, "Gender Relations and the Romani Women's Movement in the Eyes of Young Romani Men: The Potentials for Transversal Politics," in *The Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Angela Kocze, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic and Eniko Vincze (London, and New York: Routledge, 2019), 135-158.

local school principal when asked about the Roma communities, responded, "What else do you want to know if Gypsy women are beautiful? Yes, they are beautiful, as long as you wash them properly."[138] While on one end, mainstream white society tries to reinforce the stereotypical image and othering of Roma communities through the imagination of Roma women's identity, there is also pressure from within the communities to restrict Roma women's identity in relation to patriarchal gender roles, that enable the position and superiority of Roma men from within the communities and outside. Casey, Rionach in the article, " 'Caravan wives' and 'decent girls': Gypsy-Traveller women's perceptions of gender, culture, and morality in the North of England," argues that the gendered status and roles of women from within the communities are modelled as a mean to cultural preservation. While this manifests across class, caste and race categories for all white, black, Asian or Roma women, the intensity with which these duties of cultural preservation fall on marginalized is tripled with the intersection of various marginalizing identity markers and structural barriers. The establishment of appropriate behaviours and communities expectations regarding marriage, family, and childcare is partly based on a curated understanding of what it means to be a Roma, in relation with mainstream dominant white society, which reinforces both gender subordination of women within the communities and the expectation of white supremacist patriarchy. Women from within the marginalized groups are expected to be the carriers of communities 'cultural and traditional aspects. This is evident within the differences in ideological and political practices held on certain sections of older Roman women assert the moral superiority of their culture as a form of resistance against mainstream racism from white society, often leading to a patriarchal demand for the preservation of traditional practices.[139] This imperative to uphold

[138] Iulia Hasdeu, "Imagining the Gypsy Woman," *Third Text* 22, no. 3 (2008): 347-357, doi:10.1080/09528820802204714

[139] Rionach Casey, "'Caravan wives' and 'decent girls': Gypsy-Traveller women's perceptions of gender, culture and morality in the North of England," *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 16, no. 7 (2014): 806-819, doi:10.1080/13691058.2014.911961.

Roma culture in the context of Hungry and Europe in general, and that is Dalit in the context of India, manifested in the control of women's bodies, like whom women from within the communities can marry, their opportunities to schooling, employment, underlines the complicated manifestation of sexism, generated caste and race dynamics, both from outside and within the communities and the connection between personal conduct and broader social structures. Here the construction of other by the Brahminical patriarchy, white supremist patriarchy and notions of settler colonialism which continue to manifest in modern neo-liberal takes on a gendered form through the representation, and policing of women.

This dichotomy depiction of Dalit women versus Brahminical women, and Roma women verses white women, had direct connotations in terms of how women from these groups are perceived both by women from within the group and outside. G. Wasileski and S. L Millier, in the article "Bad Victims? Understanding social service providers' responses to Roma Battered Women," demonstrates the prejudiced views and cultural attribution held on by social workers who work with Roma women seeking shelter and state protection. The authors states that the majority of social workers serving Roma women held on to a view that "violence in Roma families is very prevalent and it is something so common and nothing for them that they are not asking for help." Another social worker implied that "Roma women do not view domestic violence as a problem or do not see themselves as victims of a crime." [140] This downplaying of violence against women by both social workers and some of the Roma women themselves can be understood by considering the general position of women within the communities and how people positioning themselves outside the communities' view others. Within Roma communities, women's roles are predominantly confined to their households as

[140] Gabriela Wasileski and Susan Miller, "'Bad' victims?: Understanding social service providers' responses to Roma battered women," *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 38, no. 2 (2013): 173-189, doi:10.1080/01924036.2013.822819.

mothers and wives, while men continue to engage with the world outside the communities. This dynamic aligns with the stereotypical heteronormative family structure. Additionally, the patriarchal family structure, gender dynamics, extreme living conditions such as poverty, and lack of access to resources further discourage women from seeking help in cases of violence within their families or communities.

For example, when it comes to domestic violence, the prevalence of stereotypes about the Roma communities directly influences how much recognition and validation Roma women's experiences receive from social workers and society in general. Some women's shelter workers in Slovakia contextualize the experiences of Roma women by highlighting the social discrimination, poverty, lack of education, and harsh living conditions they face. Consequently, the majority of shelter workers believe that Roma women may perceive their victimization as just one of many challenges that characterize their difficult environment. Securing housing and meeting basic daily survival needs for the family may take precedence over addressing individual women's victimization, especially for Roma families living in settlement camps. A government official also notes that the Roma population often lives in impoverished conditions, sometimes without basic amenities like running water, and their priority is to seek better living conditions.[141] In other words, for Roma women and individuals from marginalized spaces, immediate concerns such as providing the next meal for their children and having a roof over their heads take priority over taking legal action against their abusive partners. They may endure physical beatings and emotional harassment as long as their basic needs are met.

Interestingly, the focus of mainstream feminist literature and other sources has predominantly been on culture when discussing domestic violence, specifically highlighting

[141] Gabriela Wasileski and Susan Miller, "'Bad' victims?: Understanding social service providers' responses to Roma battered women," 173-189.

cultures that are perceived as "other" or non-white. In her work, "Defining Violence Against Women," Shamita Das Dasgupta discusses primarily focusing on the context of the US and argues how mainstream white society has assumed that "other cultures," particularly minority cultures, are more accepting of women abuse compared to US culture. This assumption persists despite the fact that woman abuse occurs across various cultural contexts. Dasgupta states that, American mainstream society tends to believe that domestic violence is primarily limited to minority ethnic communities, individuals with lower socio-economic status, and those with darker skin colors.[142] A similar parallel can be drawn within the context of Europe, specifically in Hungary and Roma women, and upper-class Dalit women in India, where the prevalence of domestic violence is understood as a product of communities' culture and backwardness. Dasgupta emphasizes that it is crucial to scrutinize why beliefs and customs that oppress women are recognized as "culture" within society, while the empowering aspects that benefit women are often overlooked or marginalized.[143]

Sharon Angella Allard, in work ""Rethinking Battered Women Syndrome: A Black Feminist Perspective" explore how the stereotypes regarding marginalized women, such as Black women in the context of US and the consequence these images results which marginalized and racialized women seek support. Angella states that, the dominant cultural and social expectations of a passive, weak, and fearful white middle or upper class victim of domestic violence do not always align with the experiences of black women, who are viewed as aggressive, assertive, strong by mainstream society. Allard also emphasizes how racism, sexism, and classism further complicate black women's ability to seek help. Furthermore, the

[142] Shamita Das Dasgupta, "Women's Realities: Defining Violence Against Women by Immigration, Race, and Class," in *Domestic Violence at the Margins*, eds. Natalie J. Sokoloff and Christine Pratt (London: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 56-71.

[143] Ibid., 67.

cultural notion of distinguishing between "good" and "bad" women plays a role in the courtroom. Battered women are expected to conform to the stereotype of a "normal" woman, and deviating from these expectations can undermine their credibility as victims. Race exacerbates this distinction, with passive white women being associated with the "good" archetype, while black women and women of color may be unfairly viewed as the "bad witch." Consequently, white women are more likely to receive the assistance they deserve, while black women and women from other communities face skepticism and diminished credibility due to their perceived deviation from societal norms.[144] This relationality can been seen in the experiences of both Roma and Dalit women within they are predominantly viewed as the negative other, and therefore immune to violence.

While it is indispensable to challenge and address the patriarchal behavior of men within the Roma communities, I think it is important to place this strong resistance towards women's movements and the anxiety of causing divisions within the broader framework of white patriarchy, internal- colonialism, and othering. Like men in any other marginalized or mainstream society, Roma men from within the communities benefit from their patriarchal privilege. Thus, it is of utmost importance for women within the communities to actively challenge and contest these patriarchal practices. For the mainstream communities, policymakers, and members involved with the communities, it is essential to recognize the interconnectedness between the manifestation of patriarchy within Roma communities and the historical and present-day expressions of political, social, and economic marginalization. Moreover, to position and acknowledge how the perceived threat to Roma masculinities posed by mainstream white masculinities within the cross-border dynamics within the regional

[144] Sharon Angella Allard, "Women's Realities: Defining Violence Against Women by Immigration, Race, and Class," in *Domestic Violence at the Margins*, eds. Natalie J. Sokoloff and Christine Pratt (London: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 194-205.

borders and beyond. In conclusion, I think breaking through these long-standing patriarchal practices and gender norms within Roma communities and other racialized and marginalized communities, requires us to understand of how this dynamic came into existence in the past and to the present day, taking into account the prevailing manifestation of inequalities and gender-based violence.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, both Roma women in Hungary and in the broader context of Europe, and Dalit women in India face multiple forms of discrimination based on race, caste, gender, class, and other factors. Within both these racialized and marginalized groups, Roma and Dalit women's representation and sexuality are used by dominant groups, namely white colonial patriarchy and Brahminical patriarchy, firstly to impose, control, and reinforce existing social dynamics. While the prominence of domestic violence and gender-based violence within these communities are often side-lined and stigmatized as a representation of the group's values and cultures, I argue that it is only through the historized and contextualized relational analysis of dominant patriarchy's manifestation across borders, we can truly understand the multiple processes and periods that contributed to the construction and emergence of specific localized versions of gender dynamics and patriarchies as we see them today. By recognizing the interconnectedness and relationships between localized versions of patriarchy in Roma and Dalit communities, upper-class Brahminical patriarchy, and white colonial patriarchy, I think we can gain a new perspective on the specific manifestations of domestic violence and gender-based violence within marginalized and racialized spaces. This approach would further allow feminist movements, involved policymakers, and activists within these communities to address the issue without reinforcing and hyper-visualizing negative stereotypes. And, the intersectional and relational framework, incorporating both domestic and global practices and realities, could further facilitate conversations within the communities and with mainstream movements.

Lastly, restating Patil's arguments, I conclude that when applying intersectionality as a method, by only concentrating on domestic intersectionality would maintain the reinforcement of the existing negative perspectives of the communities. Therefore, we need to examine, how these presumed domestic intersectionalities are interconnected within a specific context,

sometimes across communities and across continents. The ideas of "local" and global" should be "recentred" to grasp that these are not separate people or things or phenomena, but rather exist only in relation to various historical and present times' global and domestic processes.[145] To understand, gender-based violence and domestic violence within these racialized and marginalized spaces, such as Roma communities in Hungry and within broader Europe, and Dalit communities in India, we need to acknowledge how these phenomena emerge from multiple histories and oftentimes layered interactions of multiple local-global processes and factors such as colonialism and racial narratives, caste system, class dynamics etc. Therefore, I presume that adopting an intersectional and radical relational approach is significant for developing appropriate methods of engaging with domestic violence and gender-based violence within racialized and marginalized communities. Besides, our approaches should also acknowledge the slowly evolving nature of domestic or local spaces, while also recognizing the fast pace of globalization, and only by doing so, we can better understand and empathically address the changing complexities of marginal spaces.

[145] Vrushali Patil, "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come," *Signs* 38, no. 4 (Summer 2013), doi:10.1086/669560.

Bibliography

Allard, Sharon Angella. "Women's Realities: Defining Violence Against Women by Immigration, Race, and Class." *In Domestic Violence at the Margins*, edited by Natalie J. Sokoloff and Christine Pratt, 194-205. London: Rutgers University Press, 2008.

Arya, Sunaina. "Dalit or Brahmanical Patriarchy? Rethinking Indian Feminism." *CASTE: A Global Journal on Social Exclusion* 1, no. 1 (2020): 217-228. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48644572.

Arya, Sunanina, and Aakash Singh Rathore. "Introduction: Theorising Dalit Feminism." *In Dalit Feminist Theory: A Reader*, edited by Sunaina Arya and Aakash Singh Rathore, 1-25. New York: Routledge, 2020.

"Attacks on Dalit Women: A Pattern of Impunity." *Human Rights Watch*. https://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/india/India994-11.htm.

Azarian, R. "Potentials and Limitations of Comparative Method in Social Science." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 1, no. 4 (2011): 113-125. Retrieved from http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-429014.

Balogh, Lidia. "Roma Gender Politics in Hungary and Feminist Alliances in Practice." In *The Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Angela Kocze, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic, and Eniko Vincze, 178-192. London and New York: Routledge, 2019.

Bhaskar, Anurag. "When It Comes to Dalit and Tribal Rights, The Judiciary in India Just Does Not Get It." *The Wire*, May 3, 2020.

Brioni, Simone and Daniele Comberiati. "The Internal Other: Representing Roma." in *The Internal Other: Representing Roma* (Cham: Springer, 2019), doi:10.1007/978-3-030-19326-3_5.

Brooks, Ethel C. "The Possibilities of Romani Feminism." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38, no. 1 (2012): 1-11.

Casey, Rionach. "'Caravan wives' and 'decent girls': Gypsy-Traveller women's perceptions of gender, culture and morality in the North of England." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 16, no. 7 (2014): 806-819. doi:10.1080/13691058.2014.911961.

"Caste in Islam, Christianity: Why SC is Pushing Centre to Decide on Reservations For Dali Muslims and Christians." *Outlook*. September 2022. https://www.outlookindia.com/national/caste-in-islam-christianity-why-sc-is-pushing-centre-to-decide-on-reservations-for-dalit-muslims-christians-news-223149

"Casteing Gender: Intersectional Oppression of Dalit Women." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 22, no. 10 (2021): Article 1. doi:10.1086/669560.

Chakravarti, Uma. "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class and State." *Economic and Political Weekly* 28, no. 14 (April 3, 1993): 579-585. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4399556.

Chakravarti, Uma. "In Her Own Write: Writing from a Dalit Feminist Standpoint." *India International Centre Quarterly* 39, no. 3/4 (2012): 134–45. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24394281.

Chakravarti, Uma, and Maithreyi Krishnaraj. *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens. First Edition, Theorizing Feminism.* Mathura Road, New Delhi: SAGE Publications Pvt Ltd, 2018. https://doi.org/10.4135/9789353287818.

Coaston, Jane. "The intersectionality wars." *The Vox*, May 28, 2019.

https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/5/20/18542843/intersectionalityconservatism-law-race-gender-discrimination.
Collins, Patricia Hill. *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*. Duke University Press, 2019. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11hpkdj.
Collins, Patricia Hill. "Intersectionality as Critical Inquiry." In *Companion to Feminist Studies*, edited by Nancy A. Naples, 105-129. Wiley-Blackwell, 2020.
Collins, Patricia Hill. "It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation." *Hypatia* 13, no. 3 (1998): 62–82. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3810699.
Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039.
"Dalit Women Rise for Justice: Status Report 2021." *All Indian Dalit Mahila Adhikar Manch (AIDMAM)-NCDHR*, 2021. https://gcap.global/news/status-report-2021-dalit-women-rise-for-justice/.
Dasgupta, Shamita Das. "Women's Realities: Defining Violence Against Women by Immigration, Race, and Class." In *Domestic Violence at the Margins*, edited by Natalie J. Sokoloff and Christine Pratt, 56-71. London: Rutgers University Press, 2008.
de Leeuw, Sarah, and Sarah Hunt. "Unsettling Decolonizing Geographies." *Geography Compass* 12 (2018): e12376. doi:10.1111/gec3.12376.
Dixit, Aparna. "Patriarchy: A critical interpretation." *Wesleyan Journal of Research* 13, no. 27 (2020): 86-92.
Doetsch-Kidder, Sharon. "Introduction." In *Social Change and Intersectional Activism: The Spirit of Social Movement*, 4-9. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
EUR_Lex. "Council Recommendation of 12 March 2021 on Roma equality, inclusion and participation 2021/C 93/01." *Official Journal of the European Union*, 19 March 2021.
Gail Omvedt. Review of "Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai" by Uma Chakravarty. *Economic and Political Weekly* 35, no. 4 (January 22-28, 2000): 187-190: https://www.jstor.org/stable/4408843.
Gupta, Charu. "(Mis) Representing the Dalit Women: Reification of Caste and Gender Stereotypes in the Hindi Didactic Literature of Colonial India." *Indian Historical Review* 35, no. 2 (2008): 101-124.
Guru, Gopal. "Dalit Women Talk Differently." *Economic and Political Weekly* 30, no. 41/4 (1995): 2548. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4403327
Hall, Stuart. "For Allon White: Metaphors of Transformation." In *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, edited by D. Morley and K.-H. Chen, 287-305. New York: Routledge, 1996.
Hancock, Ian. "The 'Gypsy' Stereotype and the Sexualization of Romani Women." In *Gypsies and Travellers in Housing: The Decline of Nomadism, edited by Peter Somerville and Robin A. Humphreys*, 159-173. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. DOI: 10.1057/9780230611634_10.
Hasdeu, Iulia. "Imagining the Gypsy Woman." *Third Text* 22, no. 3 (2008): 347-357. doi:10.1080/09528820802204714.
"Human Rights in the Margins: Roma in Europe." *Amnesty International*. https://www.amnesty.org.uk/files/roma_in_europe_briefing.pdf.
Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. "Hungary: Reports of the forced sterilization of women (2000-2011)" 4 November 2011, HUN103861.E. Accessed from https://www.refworld.org/docid/4f9695202.html.
"India: Official Dalit population exceeds 200 million." *International Dalit Solidarity*

Network: Working Globally Against Caste-Based Discrimination. May 29, 2013. https://idsn.org/india-official-dalit-population-exceeds-200-million/.

Inter-State Adivasi Women's Network (ISAWN) of Mainland India Indigenous Women's Forum of Northeast India (IWFNEI) Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP), Chian Mai, Thailand. "India NGO CEDAW Shadow Report and status of Adivasi/Tribal Women in India. For the 58th Session of CEDAW, IV and V Periodic Report, Geneva." June 2014.

Iván Szelényi and János Ladányi. "Theories of the Underclass – Comparative and Historical Perspectives." *In Patterns of Exclusion: Constructing Gypsy Ethnicity and the Making of an Underclass in Transitional Societies of Europe*, 5-37. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Jha, Ramanath. "India's caste problem has a silver lining: urbanization and inter-caste marriages." *The Print*, April 2019. https://theprint.in/opinion/indias-caste-problemhas-a-silver-lining-urbanisation-and-inter-caste-marriage/223336/

Jovanovic, Jelena, and Violetta Zentai. "Gender Relations and the Romani Women's Movement in the Eyes of Young Romani Men: The Potentials for Transversal Politics." In *The Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Angela Kocze, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic, and Eniko Vincze, 135-158. London and New York: Routledge, 2019.

Kocze, Angela. *Missing Intersectionality: Race/Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in Current Research and Policies on Romani Women in Europe*. Budapest: CEU University Press, 2009.

Kocze, Angela, and Julija Sardelic. "Romani Women-Dangerous Women?: Contesting Myths and Struggling Realities." *Dangerous Women Project.org*. June 2016. https://dangerouswomenproject.org/2016/06/05/romani-women/.

Kocze, Angela, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic, and Vincze, Eniko. "Introduction: Romani Feminist Critique and Gender Politics." In *A Reflexive History of the Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe*, 1-25. Routledge, 2020.

Krizan, Andrea, and Conny Roggeband. "Introduction: The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence Reforms in Central and Eastern Europe." *In The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence: Feminists Engaging the State in Central and Eastern Europe*, 1-18. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Krizan, Andrea, and Conny Roggeband. "Mapping Gendered Meanings of Domestic Violence Legal and Policy Reforms: Comparing Policy Change Over Time." In *The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence: Feminists Engaging the State in Central and Eastern* Europe, 57. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Krizan, Andrea, and Conny Roggeband. "Politicizing Domestic Violence: Dynamics of Gendered Structures." In *The Gender Politics of Domestic Violence: Feminists Engaging the State in Central and Eastern Europe*, 90-93. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Krizsan, Andrea, and Violetta Zentai. "Institutionalizing Intersectionality in Central and Eastern Europe: Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovenia." *In Intersectionality and LGBT Activist Politics: Multiple Others in Croatia and Serbia*, edited by Bojan Bilić and Marija Radoman, 153-178. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Kumar, Ajay. "Sexual Violence against Dalit Women: An Analytical Study of Intersectionality of Gender, Caste, and Class in India." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 22, no. 10 (2021): 123-134. Available at: https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol22/iss10/11.

Mantri, Geetika. "How cops who 'counsel' domestic violence survivors dissuade them from

filing complaints." *The News Minute*, May 23, 2022. https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/how-cops-who-counsel-domestic-violence-survivors-dissuade-them-filing-complaints-164268
McCall, Leslie. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs* 30, no. 3 (2005): 1771–1800. https://doi.org/10.1086/426800.
Mohanty, Chandra Talpade "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." *Boundary 2* 12. no.3 (1984): 333, https://doi.org/10.2307/302821.
Morehead, Elizabeth, and Margaret Hennessy. "At the Crossroads of Intersectional Feminism." *New America Weekly*. August 24, 2017. https://www.newamerica.org/weekly/crossroads-intersectional-feminism/.
"More inter-caste marriages happen when groom's mother is educated, finds study." *The News Minute.* https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/more-inter-caste-marriages-happen-when-grooms-mother-educated-finds-study-68983.
Nigam, Shalu. "Different Dimensions of Domestic Violence in India." In *Domestic Violence Law in India: Myth and Misogyny*, 24-52. Abingdon: Routledge, 2022.
Oliver. "School Segregation of Roma Children: Discrimination in Education in Hungary. *Humanium*, October 6, 2017.
Opera, Alexandra. "Promises and Prospects of the Romani Women's Movement in Central And Eastern Europe." In *A Reflexive History of the Romani Women's Movement: Struggles and Debates in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Angela Kocze, Violetta Zentai, Jelena Jovanovic, and Eniko Vincze, 247-261. Routledge, 2020.
Patil, Vrushali. "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come." *Signs* 38, no. 4 (Summer 2013). doi:10.1086/66956.
Pegu, Sanjana. "Why Understanding Brahminical Patriarchy is Of Utmost Importance." *Feminism in India*, November 23, 2018. https://feminisminindia.com/2018/11/23/brahminical-patriarchy-understanding/.
"Poverty and Social Exclusion in India." *The World Bank*, 2011. https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/857771468260645048/pdf/613140PUB0pove158344B09780821386903.pdf.
Rao, Nandini. "Marriage, Violence, and Choice: Understanding Dalit Women's Agency in Rural Tamil Nadu." *Gender & Society* 29, no. 3 (2015): 410–433. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243214554798.
Rasche, C. E. "Minority Women and Domestic Violence: The Unique Dilemmas of Battered Women of Color." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 4, no. 3 (1988): 150–171. https://doi.org/10.1177/104398628800400304.
Roma equality, inclusion and participation in the EU." *European Commission. Roma equality, inclusion and participation in the EU* (europa.eu).
"Roma In 10 European Countries: Main Results." *FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights,* Vienna 2022.
Rose, Gladin, and Janaky Sreedharan. "Brahmanical patriarchy: A paradigm of patriarchal power." *Research Journal of English Language and Literature* 3, no. 2 (2015): 190 196.
Sabharwal, Nidhi Sadana, and Wandana Sonalkar. "Dalit Women in India: At the Crossroads of Gender, Class, and Caste." *Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric* 8, no 2 (2015). https://doi.org/10.21248/gjn.8.1.54.
Sebastian, Sheryl. "Kerala's Casteist Breast Tax And The Story of Nangeli." *Feminism in India*, September 2016.
Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey. "Roma Women in Nine EU Member States." Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019.

Senanayake, Harsha, and Samarth Trigunayat. "Brahmanical Patriarchy and Voices from Below: Ambedkar's Characterization of Women's Emancipation." *Open Political Science* 3, no. 1 (2020): 175-182. doi: 10.1515/openps-2020-0014.

Sharma, Bhushan. "Narratives of Dalit Women and 'the Outsider Within': Toward a Literary Practice of Dalit Feminist Standpoint." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 22, no. 4 (2021): Article 3. Available at: https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol22/iss4/3

Sharma, Bhushan, and K. A. Geetha. "Casteing Gender: Intersectional Oppression of Dalit women." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 22, no. 10 (2021): Article 1 https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol22/iss10/1.

Sikós, Marina. "Doing Roma Feminist Knowledge Production in order to Challenge Hegemonic Knowledge Production: A Case Study of the Exhibition 'Roma Women Weaving Europe'." MA diss., Central European University, 2020.

Solotaroff, Jennifer L., and Rohini Prabha Pande. *Violence against Women and Girls: Lessons from South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC*: World Bank Group, 2014. http://hdl.handle.net/10986/20153.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Die Philosophin* 14 (27):42-58.

Still, Clarinda. "Alcohol, Violence and Women's 'Suffering': 'Adulterer, tramp or thief, a husband is a husband." In *Dalit Women: Honour and Patriarchy in South India*, 1st ed., 123-134. Routledge, 2017. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315101132.

Sujatha, D. "Redefining Domestic Violence: Experiences of Dalit Women*."Economic and Political Weekly* 49, no. 47 (2014):19-22.

"The European Union and Roma- Factsheet Hungary." *European Commission*. 4 April 2014. file:///C:/Users/hp/Downloads/factsheet_hungary_en.pd.

Tynan, Lauren. "Thesis as Kin: Living Relationality with Research." *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 16, no. 3 (2020): 163–170. https://doi.org/10.1177/1177180120948270.

Tynan, Lauren. "What is Relationality? Indigenous Knowledges, Practices, and Responsibilities with Kin." *Cultural Geographies* 28, no. 4 (2021): 597–610.

"Violence against Dalit Women." Accessed March 11, 2023. http://www.dalits.nl/pdf/HRC11_briefing_note_-_Violence_against_Dalit_Women.pdf.

Volpp, Leti. "Feminism versus Multiculturalism." *In Domestic Violence at the Margins*, edited by Natalie J. Sokoloff and Christine Pratt, 39-49. London: Rutgers University Press, 2008.

Wasileski, Gabriela, and Susan Miller. "'Bad' victims?: Understanding social service providers' responses to Roma battered women." *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 38, no. 2 (2013): 173-189. doi:10.1080/01924036.2013.822819.

"What is Domestic Violence?" United Nations. Accessed March 11, 2023. https://www.un.org/en/coronavirus/what-is-domestic-abuse

Yengde, Suraj, and Margarete Matache. "Roman and Dalit experiences of persecution pave way for solidarity." *Open Democracy*. June 13, 2017. https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/roma-and-dalit-persecution-parallel-experiences-pave-way-for-global-solidarity/.