

Gender-Violence and Access to Justice for the Dalit Woman

Final Report

December 2011

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Publisher:



Navsarjan Trust

**Village: Nani devati, Sanand-Bavla Road,
Ta. Sanand, Dist. Ahmedabad, Gujarat.**

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Publisher's Note

Access to justice through the criminal justice system is a primary concern for those who have been historically marginalized and discriminated against. India's caste system is one of the oldest forms of hereditary discrimination. Yet a further stratum of discrimination takes place with the intersectionality of gender and caste. To analyze gender in the context of caste is to find a vulnerable, at risk group of Indian society – Dalit women. In the struggle for caste equality and access to justice the significance of gender often remains hidden. This study exposes this concern.

This study, **Gender-Violence and Access to Justice for the Dalit Woman: Final Report**, and its companion, **Final Report Supplement: Statistical Tables by District and Police Station**, were undertaken by Navsarjan Trust, in collaboration with Minority Rights Group International, London. The research addresses Dalit women's vulnerability as victims of gender-violence and reviews the effectiveness of the mechanisms and laws of the criminal justice system to protect and punish. While giving a glimpse of the Dalit women's struggle, the study hopes to expose the social realities and the legal structures that need to be reformed so that the lives of these women may become a bit better.

There is much work to be done within each Dalit family and community to promote the rights and dignity of its women and to end the violence to which these women are subjected. There is work to be done to keep Dalit women safe in the workplace, on the roads and in the larger society. And there is work to be done to achieve justice through the law. But who will take on this responsibility on behalf of these women and girls? Is it the sole responsibility of civic society organizations to be their advocates or does the State of Gujarat have a role? Can the police become more aggressive protectors of the law? Which government leaders will step forward to address the issues of gender and caste violence at the highest levels of the State and the criminal justice system? If everyone were to take even some responsibility, then the issue of gender violence would take on the seriousness and urgency among those who have the power to save lives. And, ultimately, reform and enforcement of laws to protect women and Dalits can bring needed reform to the criminal justice system as a whole.

I would like to thank all the Navsarjan team members involved in data collection and case study follow up: Mr. Arvind Makwana, Ms. Niru Chorasiya, Mr. Malji Singal, Mr. Virji Chavda, Ms. Manjula Solanki, Mr. Dahyabhai Dafda, Ms. Manjula Makwana, Mr. Baldevbhai Makwana, Mr. Kalpesh Asodiya, Ms. Darshana and Ms. Jasmita Makwana. I am most appreciative to Mr. Kantibhai Parmar and Ms. Sushma Vaniya for their determination and hard work in the compiling and analyzing of the data. Finally, I thank Ms. Karen Sobel, volunteer from American Jewish World Service, United States, for assistance in writing and finalizing this important document.

Dalit women must feel confident to access political justice mechanisms. Their voices need to be heard. A show of solidarity to end today's injustice will be the next step towards the full liberation of these Indian citizens from the violence they have carried silently for far too long.

In solidarity,
Manjula Pradeep
Executive Director, Navsarjan Trust
Gujarat, India
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Introduction

In 1989 the Indian parliament passed The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Prevention of Atrocities Act in a bold attempt to guarantee basic human rights to the most vulnerable in Indian society. The Act appropriately defined the economic, political and property-related offenses committed against the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as “Atrocities” and set out a system whereby special courts would be authorized to bring to trial all matters under the Act. But as the twentieth anniversary of the Act passed in 2009, many leaders in the disadvantaged castes felt less than enthusiastic about the achievements that the Act and pertinent Indian Penal Codes had promised to deliver. Of particular concern was evidence that Dalit women, that group of people situated at the very bottom of the caste hierarchy, continued to be victims of crimes of violence and received little protection under the law. The criminal justice system provided neither deterrent nor consequence for the criminals and thus the crimes went unabated.

It is for this reason that Navsarjan Trust, with the support of Minority Rights Group International, has undertaken a systematic study of gender-violence on Dalit women, for the years 2004-2009. This research aims to show that Dalit women remain vulnerable to violence that pervades their villages, their homes and their most intimate relationships. This violence is perpetrated not only by Non-Dalit men, but also by members of the women's own communities and households. The study addresses a special subset of violence termed “accidental deaths of Dalit women.” These deaths are classified as accidental as no one is accused of direct responsibility for causing the death. Yet, historic precedent and anecdotal evidence link many of these suspicious or unnatural deaths to ongoing harassment which, in time, leads the victim to take her own life. This research also aims to look at the legal system and its effectiveness to bring justice to the victims. At each stage of the legal process it charts compliance with legal procedures and, finally, considers whether the five year conviction rate of 0.7% makes a mockery of the criminal justice system as a means for gender-violence justice.

The Indian State recognizes 160 million people who suffer discrimination on the basis of caste. Another 40 million suffer the same despite conversion from Hinduism to other non-caste based faiths. This ancient form of discrimination was sanctioned by Hinduism, India's dominant religion, and adopted by many Muslims and Christians within India. However, it was abolished and its practice prohibited by the Constitution of India in 1950. The terms Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes refer to all those marginalized by these hereditary distinctions. Dalit is an identity coined for the community who were treated as untouchables. Dalit means community which is oppressed or depressed due to caste system.

Methodology

Reasons for Selection of Districts

In 2011 the State of Gujarat continues to ride the wave of India's new economic prosperity, holding the distinction as India's richest state with a GDP per capita income twice that of the country as a whole. However, while certain sectors of the population are thriving, other citizens, particularly Dalit women, have still to secure basic human rights protection under the law.

For the purpose of intensive review of the Dalit women of Gujarat this study was limited to the three districts of Bhavnagar, Kutch and Rajkot, from among the twenty six state districts. These districts were chosen for several reasons: Rajkot and Kutch were among the top eight districts to be declared atrocity sensitive by the Government of Gujarat in 2008; the three districts ranked first, second and sixth in the number of registered murder and rape cases on Dalit women for the years 1989 through 2006; and sufficient facts and data were provided by each district's police stations for meaningful statistical analysis. In addition, Navsarjan Trust has an established rapport and ongoing contact with the Bhavnagar Dalit community. In the past it has not worked intensively in Kutch and Rajkot; thus Navsarjan's lack of advocacy for Dalit women's protection from crime and access to justice in these districts was an additional variable for interpretation of the data.

Data Collection

Through the Right to Information Act, Navsarjan sent an Application to the office of the District Superintendent of Police of Rajkot, Bhavnagar and Kutch Districts to obtain data on registered cases of atrocities against Dalit women by Non Dalits, violence on Dalit women by Dalits and accidental deaths of Dalit women from 1st December 2004 to 30th November 2009. A tabular format was provided by Navsarjan to the District Superintendent of Police in three districts. The information on Atrocities against Dalit women were cases of violence on Dalit women registered under the Prevention of Atrocities act, 1989 and under the Indian Penal Code, 1860. The information on violence against Dalit women by Dalits were cases of violence registered under relevant sections of Indian Penal Code, 1860. Cases of domestic violence on Dalit women under the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 were not obtained as these cases are reported to the District Protection Officers and there are no legal implications in this act.

It is important to note the low percentage of police stations that responded to this request in spite of punishments and fines that may be levied for non-compliance with the RTI Act. Data was received from 41% of police stations for Non-Dalit on Dalit crime, 44% of police stations for Dalit on Dalit crime, and 49% of police stations submitted Accidental/Unnatural Deaths data.

Once the initial data was reviewed, three cases from each district were identified for further investigation. For each case a Navsarjan field researcher conducted a personal interview with each victim and her family, visited with the local police to review, receive an update on the case and acquire a copy of the Charge Sheet or Summary, met with the assigned public prosecutor, conducted additional fact finding if needed, and was in attendance at any court proceedings. These Case Studies have been submitted for use in this report and field researchers continue to actively monitor the status of each of the cases.

Data Analysis

The data was analyzed for the purposes of (1) to understand the current forms, depth and intensity of reported violence on Dalit women, and (2) to assess the effectiveness of the criminal justice system to provide recourse for these crimes.

Terminology

A review of pertinent Indian laws enacted to protect the rights of women is helpful for analysis of the data. The Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989, states, "Whoever, not being a member of a SC or a ST, intentionally insults or intimidates with intent to humiliate a member of a SC or a ST in any place within public view, assaults or uses force on any woman belonging to SC or ST with intent to dishonour or outrage her modesty, (or) being in a position to dominate the will of a woman belonging to a SC or a ST, uses that position to exploit her sexually to which she would not have otherwise agreed, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than six months but which may extend to five years and with a fine." The Act increases to imprisonment for life any Indian Penal Code offense against a member of a SC or ST that is punishable with imprisonment for a term of 10 years or more, if the offender is not a member of a SC or ST. Additionally the Act provides for the appointment of Special Courts and Special Government Prosecutors for expediting the proceedings under this Act. The Indian Penal Code (IPC) further specifies laws for the protection of all women. Important sections relating to gender-violence are the following: Dowry Death (304B), Abetment of Suicide (306), Assault or Criminal Force to a Woman with Intent to Outrage her Modesty (354), Rape (375), Punishment for Rape (376), and A Husband or Relative of Husband of a Woman Subjecting Her to Cruelty (498A). In addition, any offense that is punishable with imprisonment for a term of 10 years or more, when perpetrated by a Non-Dalit on a Dalit woman, must also be filed as an Atrocity Act crime.

For the purpose of this study, as per the Atrocities Act, an atrocity is defined as a Non-SC or Non-ST assault on a SC or ST woman with intent to publicly humiliate, dishonour or outrage her modesty or to exploit her sexually against her will.

This study's concerns are all gender-based crimes that victimize Dalit women. It is acknowledged that every crime represents unspeakable suffering of a grievous magnitude. Yet, for the purpose of this report, to best appreciate the magnitude of this violence, statistics are grouped and identified by the following terminology:

Grievous crimes are murder, rape, kidnapping, abduction, acts of outraging modesty or other crimes which produce serious physical injury to a Dalit woman by a Non-Dalit.

Non-grievous crimes are crimes of physical violence without physical injury or crimes of mental harassment to a Dalit woman by a non-Dalit.

Cruelty by In-laws and Dowry Act crimes are crimes against a Dalit woman by her husband and/or his family.

Cruelty by In-laws crimes are willful conduct which drives a woman to commit suicide or cause injury to her life, mental or physical health. They also include harassment of the woman to coerce unlawful demands for property. When the death of a woman is caused by burns or bodily injury within seven years of her marriage and it is shown that before her death she was subjected to cruelty or harassment in connection with any demand for dowry, this is identified as a *Dowry Act crime*.

Dalit on Dalit grievous crimes are murder, rape, kidnapping, abduction, acts of outraging modesty and other crimes of physical violence or mental harassment, with or without physical injury, to a Dalit woman by a Dalit who is not a family member.

Accidental or unnatural deaths are those deaths of Dalit women which are registered as accidental deaths in the Police stations. These unnatural deaths include catching on fire, consuming poison, hanging oneself, sickness, drowning, accident and other.

Part 1 – The Violence

In Bhavnagar a Muslim doctor instructs a Hindu Charmar (SC) woman to remove her clothes and then attempts to sexually assault her while alone in the examination room.

In Bhavnagar a 21 year old Hindu Vankar (SC) woman dies from a self-inflicted gun shot wound after a lengthy period of harassment by her husband and in-laws. Her sense of hopelessness and despondency reaches a low when her husband does not permit her to travel to her parents' home for the Rakhi festival.

A 50 year old Hindu Vankar (SC) woman collecting firewood outside her Rajkot village is attacked by three Patel men wielding an ax, wooden stick and steel pipe. Caste relations in her village are particularly volatile and during the attack the men yell the hateful caste-based threat, “Sala Dhedao ne mari Nakho, Jivta salgavi Nakho,” Burn Them Down!”

In Kutch, after a rickshaw breaks an underground water pipeline that passes in front of a SC woman's home, she asks the Mochi rickshaw driver to repair the break. Instead, a fight ensues and the woman is stabbed to death in front of her children.

While traveling alone on a scooty in Bhavnagar a Hindu Chamar (SC) woman is stopped by three men, pulled to the side of the road, harassed and physically attacked. A sexual assault by the village Sarpanch is averted when a rickshaw passes by.

These excerpted cases describe the vulnerability of Dalit women to ongoing acts of violence that pervade their communities, their homes and their most intimate relationships. Violence happens on public roadways, in hospitals and in the sanctuary of one's own house. The accused include trusted physicians, village heads, strangers and family. Violence is random and also the culmination of years of abuse. To understand the forms, depth and intensity of this violence, this study investigates three separate categories of reported violence over a period of five years, 1 December, 2004 through 30 November, 2009.

Violence on Dalit women by Non-Dalits

The three districts in the study recorded a total of 185 crimes against Dalit women by Non-Dalits. Of these, the Prevention of Atrocities Act was violated 165 times, for in some instances more than one act of atrocity was committed within a single crime. The 185 crimes included one murder, 20 rapes or gang rapes, 19 acts of outraging modesty, 22 kidnappings, 20 abductions and 18 cases of serious physical injury. Classified for the purpose of this study as 93 grievous crimes and 92 non-grievous crimes, this breakdown highlights the grim fact that 50.27% of the cases resulted in death or grave physical injury to the woman.

Violence on Dalit Women by Dalits

Within the Dalit community a Dalit woman is often the victim of crime that reflects the structure and hierarchy of power within the traditional Indian family. In the traditional structure a married woman lives with and is subservient to her husband and his extended family. In the past, acts of cruelty and/or harassment by the husband's family were seen as entitled, private family matters, not criminal activity. Today, the Indian Penal Code provides legal protection for the legal rights of a married woman and provides punishment under the Cruelty by In-laws and Dowry Act. However, acts of violence on Dalit women continue.

The three districts in this study recorded a total of 704 crimes against Dalit women by Dalits. Of these, 416 were Cruelty by In-laws and 31 were Dowry Act crimes. There were two hundred and eighty-eight crimes on Dalit women by Dalits who are not family members (grievous and non-grievous). The 288 crimes included 4 murders, 4 attempted murders, 12 rapes, 39 acts of outraging modesty and 16 cases of abetment to suicide.

Accidental/Unnatural Deaths of Dalit Women

In order to quantify the current forms of violence against Dalit women, this study includes the subset of violence termed Accidental/Unnatural Death of Dalit women. Statistics on accidental deaths are recorded by police stations; however police have made no record of subsequent investigations into possible criminal activities linked to these deaths. While an act of violence and a criminal case are not the same, it is clear from the nature of these suspicious deaths that these women suffered from violent ends to their lives. How might one begin to understand the link between ongoing harassment by one's husband and/or in-laws and a woman's eventual untimely and unnatural end? The three districts recorded a total of 370 accidental/unnatural deaths of Dalit women. The cause of these deaths were recorded as the following: 204 caught fire, 60 consumed poison, 10 hanged themselves, 38 were due to a sickness, 17 drowned, 9 were due to an unidentified accident and 34 were classified as other.

Some Observations

Under-reporting of Violence

When looking at the data on numbers of reported violent crimes against Dalit women, it is important to remember that many crimes are never reported to the police and therefore never appear on any statistics.

In 2006, the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR) published a detailed study of violence against Dalit women in four states in India. In it, they found that of the Dalit women surveyed who had experienced violence, 40.2% were unable to seek any type of legal redress and another 26.5% were blocked in their attempt to seek redress before they reached the police. The study also found that 1.6% of women obtained informal justice at the community level without involving the legal system and that 17.4% of women were blocked from obtaining legal redress either by the police or by other state actors. This meant that in 85.7% of instances of violence experienced by women in the four states, they did not or were unable to gain entry to the legal system at all. This suggests that the official figures of numbers of incidents of violence against Dalit women reported to the police in Gujarat are significantly lower than the actual number of incidents which take place in reality.

Incomplete data received

This report is a study of both violence towards and criminal justice for the Dalit women of Gujarat. Yet this study has determined that criminal justice data is insufficient as a definitive measure of the pervasive violence directed at the population.

Consider the percentage of police stations that submitted data for review, despite the legal mandate for compliance, as recorded in Table 2. Crimes of Non-Dalit violence on Dalit women in Rajkot were submitted by only 25% of police stations (9 of 36 stations), with the greatest percentage of data submitted for Dalit on Dalit violence in Kutch, reported by 68.18% of police stations. In fact the data utilized was submitted by an average of only 45% of the 101 police stations included in the three Districts. Thus, the total number of gender-violence filings in this study cannot be used to suggest the total number of acts of violence reported to police in the three Districts. In fact, it suggests the opposite; that a picture of more pervasive violence would emerge with 100% of police station response.

Table 1: Response to Data Requests from Police Stations by District

	Bhavnagar District		Kutch District		Rajkot District		Total of 3 Districts	
	43 police station		22 police station		36 police station		101 police station	
	Police stations that provided data	Police % stations that provided data	Police stations that provided data	Police % stations that provided data	Police stations that provided data	Police % stations that provided data	Police stations that provided data	Police % stations that provided data
Non-Dalit on Dalit women crimes	19	44%	13	59%	9	25%	41	41%
Dalit-Dalit on Dalit women crimes	15	35%	15	68%	14	39%	44	44%
Accidental/unnatural deaths of Dalit women	20	47%	14	64%	15	42%	49	49%

Registered criminal complaint data does not include non-grievous crimes of violence registered through use of an Application filing. An Application, forwarded to the sub-district magistrate under criminal procedure code section 107, calls upon both parties to amicably settle only that part of the complaint which relates to breach of peace between the parties within six months. A Dalit victim of gender-violence is often illiterate of legal procedure and unfamiliar with the process for registering a complaint. A victim is often pressured into filing her complaint as an Application, and/or deceived into believing that the Application is the same as an F.I.R.

Part 2 – The Justice

Under the Criminal Procedure Code, the legal process that must be followed when an alleged Atrocities Act crime has occurred is clear. The handling of an investigation must begin and remain the primary responsibility of the district's Deputy Superintendent of Police. The Act imposes provisions for the appointment of Special Courts and Special Government Prosecutors to expedite proceedings under the Act. The prescribed order and timetable if identified, of the legal procedure is as follows:

1. First Information Report (F.I.R.) – immediate filing of form upon learning of alleged crime
2. Arrest of accused
3. Granting of bail to accused
4. Filing of Charge Sheet or Summary – within 30 days of F.I.R. filing in Atrocities Act cases and due 90 days from F.I.R. filing in all other cases
5. Court proceeding to determine conviction, acquittal or compromise

It should be noted that the same procedure is also followed in every criminal case; however the appointment of a Deputy Superintendent of Police is not required for non-Atrocity Act crimes.

Filings

The importance of filing an F.I.R. as soon as a crime has been suspected or discovered, followed by the immediate arrest of the accused cannot be overstated. The nature of gender-violence is such that it may not be possible to permanently preserve physical evidence. Bodily injuries may heal. Evidence of rape and sexual abuse may be scrubbed away. Witnesses to mental or physical harassment leading to suicide and other unnatural deaths may be silenced over time. The cause of death may remain undetermined even as bodies are prepared for cremation. Prompt arrest of the accused is also very important because it removes the possibility of their committing further acts of violence against the victim or exerting pressure on the victim to withdraw the case.

For these reasons this study takes a hard look at evidence of police station delays at various stages of the legal process. District reports identify the period of time it took for an F.I.R. to be filed once a crime was suspected or discovered by police. Police stations identified whether each case's F.I.R. was filed on the same day, or whether the filing was delayed by 1-3 days, 4-6 days, 7-15 days, 16-30 days, or more than 30 days. Once an F.I.R. was filed, the accused needed to be arrested as soon as possible. It is the nature of violence against Dalit women that the perpetrator is frequently known to the victim so she can identify him to police in the FIR. Police stations identified the cases where the arrest was made immediately, or delayed, using the same timeline outlined for the F.I.R. And finally, police stations identified the timetable for filing the Charge Sheet or Summary. For Atrocities Act cases a Charge Sheet or Summary was identified as delayed if filed 30 days or more from the date of the F.I.R. filing. All other cases were delayed if filed 90 days or more from the F.I.R. filing.

Evidence of delays at every step of gender-violence crimes is indeed disturbing. The total number of crimes by Non-Dalits on Dalit women was 185. Delays in filing an F.I.R. occurred in 54% of cases, delay in arrest of the accused occurred in 77% of cases and delay in filing the Charge Sheet or Summary occurred in 26% of cases.

Evidence of delays for the 704 crimes by Dalits on Dalit women reveal the following: Delays in filing an F.I.R. occurred in 62% of cases, delay in arrest of the accused occurred in 89% of cases and delay in filing the Charge Sheet or Summary occurred in 17% of cases.

Of interest is that for both Non-Dalit on Dalit violence and Dalit on Dalit violence the percentage of delays in filing the Charge Sheet or Summary was significantly lower than the percentage of delays for F.I.R. and arrest. This suggests that once the F.I.R. was filed, in a majority of cases the police completed their investigation within the proscribed time table. Also of note is the number of delays that extended beyond 30 days. As evidenced in Tables 2 and 3, in each step of the process only a small percentage of F.I.R.s, arrests and Charge Sheets or Summaries were delayed past 30 days.

Table 2: Non-Dalit on Dalit Crime Case Delays

	Bhavnagar District 62 registered cases		Kutch District 72 registered cases		Rajkot District 51 registered cases		Total delays in 3 Districts 185 registered cases		Total delays over 30 days in 3 Districts	
	Delays	Over 30 days	Delays	Over 30 days	Delays	Over 30 days	Total Delays	%	Total Delays	%
F.I.R. filing	38 cases (61%)	3 cases (5%)	35 cases (49%)	4 cases (6%)	27 cases (53%)	2 cases (4%)	100	54%	9	5%
Arrest of accused	43 cases (69%)	2 cases (3%)	60 cases (83%)	5 cases (7%)	40 cases (78%)	3 cases (6%)	143	77%	10	5%
Charge Sheet or Summary filing	14 cases (23%)	4 cases* (7%)	26 cases (36%)	8 cases * (11%)	8 cases (16%)	1 cases (2%)	48	26%	13*	7%

* Delay of 30 days or more from Charge Sheet or Summary deadline, due one month from F.I.R. filing in Atrocities Act cases and due 90 days from F.I.R. filing in all other cases.

Table 3: Dalit on Dalit Crime Case Delays

	Bhavnagar District 176 registered cases		Kutch District 267 registered cases		Rajkot District 261 registered cases		Total delays in 3 Districts 704 registered cases		Total delays over 30 days in 3 Districts	
	Delays	Over 30 days	Delays	Over 30 days	Delays	Over 30 days	Total Delays	%	Total Delays	%
F.I.R. filing	71 cases (40%)	12 cases (7%)	203 cases (76%)	109 cases (41%)	163 cases (62%)	34 cases (13%)	437	62%	155	22%
Arrest of accused	161 cases (91%)	17 cases (10%)	241 cases (90%)	39 cases (16%)	225 cases (86%)	30 cases (11%)	627	89%	86	12%
Charge Sheet or Summary filing	42 cases (24%)	16 cases* (9%)	48 cases (18%)	19 cases * (7%)	28 cases (11%)	11cases (4%)	118	17%	46*	7%

* Delay of 30 days or more from Charge Sheet or Summary deadline, due one month from F.I.R. filing in Atrocities Act cases and due 90 days from F.I.R. filing in all other cases.

One case study from Bhavnagar District illustrates the relationship between filing delays and the lack of police diligence to pursue justice for Dalit women crime victims. A SC woman was attacked with an attempt of sexual violence made against her. After fleeing her attackers, who included the village Sarpanch, the victim, with her parents' assistance, registered an F.I.R. the same day. No further action was taken by police so after three months the family contacted Navsarjan Trust to seek legal support for the case. Navsarjan lawyers assisted in registering an F.I.R. with the National Human Rights Commission, which then pressured local police to properly register her case which they had not previously done. On 1 August, nearly four months after the crime, Atrocities Act and IPC charges were filed. The case continues in the court.

Bail

Under provisions in the Atrocities Act, the court may not grant bail to someone arrested for rape or murder of a Dalit woman. In 20 cases of rape of Dalit women by Non-Dalits the following occurred: in one case bail was granted, one case the F.I.R was quashed by the Gujarat High Court, in one case a Summary was filed, although it did not mention which type, in one case a Summary B was filed (where the police determine the case was a false complaint) and in 16 cases no information regarding bail was available. Additionally no information was available for the one murder case filed.

The three districts filed a total of 12 cases of rape and 4 cases of murder of Dalit women by Dalits. Similar to Atrocities Act cases, the Criminal Procedures Code provides that bail should not be given in serious cases. In the rape cases the following occurred: in 4 cases bail was not granted, 5 cases bail was granted, one case a Summary A was filed (where the police determine the complaint is true but the accused cannot be indentified so no further proceedings can happen), one case a Summary B was filed (false complaint) and in one case no information regarding bail was available. Among the four murders, in one case bail was not granted, one case it was filed as ABTD which means that the accused has died so the case cannot continue to the court. and in 2 cases no information regarding bail was available. The District of Bhavnagar must be singled out for its adherence to court provisions regarding bail, as all of the rape and murder cases for which bail was denied occurred only in this district.

Conviction

For a Dalit woman, access to justice does not refer only to the legal filing of paperwork. It means that the criminal justice system will objectively consider the case and convict and punish those guilty of violence against them. It means that the criminal justice system will serve as a deterrent against future crimes by sending the message that the court has no patience for and will prosecute to the fullest measure of the law any and all crimes of violence against the most vulnerable in society. However, as criminal cases move through the justice system there is scant access to justice for the Dalit woman.

Consider the current status of the above cases as described in Table 4. Of 889 registered cases (185 cases of violence by Non-Dalits and 704 cases of violence by Dalits), only 6 cases, 0.7% of the total, resulted in a conviction of the accused. Also significant is the lack of even one conviction of a Non-Dalit accused of violence against a Dalit woman. Given that 50.27% of Non-Dalit on Dalit crimes were of a grievous nature - cases that resulted in death or grave physical injury to the woman - what is the meaning that not one case has ended in a conviction?

Further, a full 50.5% of all cases remain pending in the session's court. And the police stations did not provide any information on the case status of 32.7% of filed cases. In other words, only 17% of all cases have reached a court settlement or judgment.

Table 4: Present Status of Registered Gender-Violence Crime Cases

Status of Case	Non-Dalit on Dalit 185 registered cases	Dalit on Dalit 704 registered cases	Present status of all registered cases 889 registered cases	Present status of all registered cases by percentage
Conviction	0	6	6	0.7%
Acquittal	42	71	113	12.7%
Pending in court <i>Case has not been moved to trial by public prosecutor</i>	25	424	449	50.5%
Compromises <i>Amicable settlement reached by parties</i>	0	10	10	1.1%
Summary A <i>Police determine the incident is true but accused is not identified</i>	0	4	4	0.4%
Summary B <i>Police determine the case is a false complaint</i>	2	6	8	0.9%
Summary C <i>Due to lack of evidence complaint is determined to be neither true nor false</i>	1	0	1	0.1%
Summary <i>A summary was filed but the details were not mentioned</i>	1	5	6	0.7%
Non-Cognizable Final <i>No arrest without warrant; no further proceedings</i>	0	1	1	0.1%
Information not available <i>No follow-up record of case status submitted</i>	114	177	291	32.7%

Part 3 – Violence and Justice by District

As a useful measure to those district police, judiciary and government officials who must respond to the challenges of this study, several pertinent statistics are provided for District-District comparison. Averages were calculated based on the number of police stations that submitted data in each district. As previously stated, conclusions are limited because of the lack of reporting by a majority of police stations in the three districts.

Of particular note is the average number of reported acts of violence against Dalit women per police station in each district (see Table 5). For all categories of violence, Bhavnagar District recorded the least number of reported violent acts, an average of 19.1 per police station, significantly less than both Kutch and Rajkot, who ranked second and third, respectively. By contrast, in each Rajkot District police station, an average of 34.8 gender-violence cases were filed for the years 2004 through 2009. Bhavnagar District also recorded the least number of delays in F.I.R. filings and arrests of the accused for both Non-Dalit on Dalit crime and Dalit on Dalit crime and the least number of Charge Sheet or Summary delays for Non-Dalit crime. In only one category did Rajkot rank ahead of Bhavnagar (see Tables 6 and 7).

As Bhavnagar District recorded the lowest average reported acts of violence, the lowest average filing delays, the lowest average Charge Sheet or Summary delays for Non-Dalit crime, and was the only district to adhere to court provisions regarding bail, one explanation may be found in the established relationship and ongoing contact between the district's Dalit community and Navsarjan Trust during the years of the study. Navsarjan's community presence included Dalit legal rights education, pro bono attorney representation and the support and advocacy of a local case worker.

Table 5: Average Number of Acts of Violence Against Dalit Women per District Police Stations

	Bhavnagar District Average acts per police station	Kutch District Average acts per police station	Rajkot District Average acts per police station	3 Districts Average acts per police station
Non-Dalit on Dalit violence	3.3	5.5	5.7	4.5
Dalit on Dalit violence	11.7	17.8	18.6	16
Accidental deaths of Dalit women	5.3	8.9	9.3	7.6
Total average acts of violence per police station	19.1	33	34.8	29

Table 6: Average Number of Case Delays for Non-Dalit on Dalit Crimes per District Police Stations

	Bhavnagar District Average acts per police station	Kutch District Average acts per police station	Rajkot District Average acts per police station	3 Districts Average acts per police station
F.I.R. filing	2	2.7	3	2.4
Arrest of accused	2.3	4.6	4.4	3.5
Charge Sheet or Summary filing	0.7	1.9	0.9	1.1

Table 7: Average Number of Case Delays for Dalit on Dalit Crimes per District Police Stations

	Bhavnagar District Average acts per police station	Kutch District Average acts per police station	Rajkot District Average acts per police station	3 Districts Average acts per police station
F.I.R. filing	4.7	13.5	11.6	9.9
Arrest of accused	10.7	16.1	16.1	14.3
Charge Sheet or Summary filing	2.8	3.2	2	2.7

Conclusion

The Dalit woman is at risk. She is at risk of becoming a victim of violence perpetrated by an outsider, but even more frequently by a member of her own community. She is at risk of becoming a victim of an unnatural death due to family discord. And she is at risk of turning to the criminal justice system for protection but finding little support and even less justice. Statistical analysis of the data indicates that for Dalit women neither the frequency of Non-Dalit on Dalit crime nor Dalit on Dalit crime has changed at all over the five year period of this study. The rate of crime remains steady with no indication of abatement in the coming days. Several conclusions can be drawn from the data and analysis provided in this report.

1. The legal process demands adherence to mandated timetables at all levels of report filing and follow-up. The question must be considered as to the relationship between a filing delay and the ability of police to secure evidence and witnesses. Police and the judiciary must consider the relationship between delays that result in a lack of evidence or an ineffective investigation and the dismal conviction rate of 0.7% over the five year period. Conversely, if the delays decreased, would there be a positive effect on the conviction rate? This study suggests that there is a relationship between gross delays at every stage of the criminal investigation and the fact that only 17% of all cases have reached a judgment or court settlement. These delays may also explain the inability for police divisions to provide any follow up record for the status of 32.7% of filed cases.
2. No timetable is mandated for a case to reach judgment in the courts. However 50.5% of cases that were filed between two and seven years ago continue to linger in the system and provide no justice or resolution for the victim. This study suggests that additional inquiry is needed to begin to understand the cause for and suggest a solution for these judicial delays.
3. Can the justice system serve as a deterrent for crime when there is no consequence for the criminals? Given that 50.27% of Non-Dalit on Dalit crimes were of a grievous nature, cases that resulted in death or grave physical injury to the woman, what is the meaning that not one case ended in a conviction? This study questions all levels of the justice system to consider their part in denying justice for these victims.
4. Gender-violence victimizes women who are targets of criminal acts as well as women who suffer any unnatural violent end to their lives. The Indian Penal Code identifies abetment to suicide as a criminal act; and it accounted for 2% of Dalit on Dalit crimes in this study. However, accidental/unnatural deaths accounted for 29% of all filed acts of violence on Dalit women. Is it possible that a percentage of these accidental/unnatural deaths were actually abetment of suicide crimes that went uninvestigated and remain unsolved? Would more effective police investigations have led to abetment to suicide or even murder charges against family members of the victims? What evidence of ongoing harassment that could be a criminal act is being tolerated or ignored by the families and the courts? And how can the justice system become more proactive in non grievous cases in order to protect these victims before their despondency leads to untimely deaths?
5. This study has identified a statistical connection between the involvement of a local civic society organization working on behalf of Dalit women's rights and greater adherence to the legal provisions for filing and processing cases of violence against Dalit women by police stations. Navsarjan and other non-governmental organizations play a vital role as advocate and legal counsel as victims pursue their cases in the courts.
6. And finally this study closes with a question and challenge to each police station employee, member of the judiciary and government official who sits before a crime victim: What reason can you provide her to pursue justice through the court system? What is the incentive when the effort will most certainly end without conviction or of punishment for the accused? And what can you do to better her odds?

Appendix

Table 8: Atrocities Act cases against Dalits Registered in 22 Districts of Gujarat, 30th January 1989 to 31st December 2006

District	Atrocity Act cases against Dalits		Rape and murder cases against Dalit women			Deputy Superintendent of Police led investigations	
	Ranked by greatest number of Atrocity cases	Total Atrocity cases against Dalits	Ranked by greatest number of rape and murder cases	Rape cases	Murder cases	Total Atrocity cases led by Dy. S. P.	Percent of Atrocity cases led by Dy. S.P.
Banaskantha	I	2177	4	30	16	1456	67%
Ahmedabad	II	1678	8	15	11	378	23%
Kutch	III	1651	1	43	29	1234	15%
Rajkot	IV	1631	2	33	27	834	52%
Junagadh	V	1257	5	26	18	656	52%
Surendranagar	VI	1253	18	9	9	1005	80%
Vadodara	VII	1124	7	19	16	885	79%
Patan	VIII	1041	10	13	10	306	29%
Bhavnagar	IX	820	6	22	18	650	79%
Sabarkantha	X	755	17	10	3	186	25%
Surat	XI	749	3	35	18	655	87%
Godhra	XII	697	16	11	3	254	36%
Anand	XIII	657	13	11	7	629	96%
Kheda	XIV	634	11	14	8	619	98%
Jamnagar	XV	579	9	18	6	541	93%
Gandhinagar	XVI	577	14	10	5	471	82%
Amreli	XVII	532	11	8	14	264	50%
Valsad	XVIII	370	20	2	3	155	42%
Narmada	XIX	302	21	0	0	157	52%
Dahod	XX	242	14	10	5	117	48%
Navsari	XXI	240	21	0	0	105	44%
Porbandar	XXII	162	19	5	2	85	52%
TOTALS		19,080		344	228	11,612	61%

Note: Ahmedabad City, Mehsana, Bharuch, Dang and Ahwa are not included in this information.
Source: Information collected from the District Superintendent Police Offices of Gujarat.

Table 9: Official Cause of Accidental/Unnatural Deaths of Dalit Women by District

District	Hang Oneself	Catch Fire	Consume Poison	Drown	Sickness	Accident	Other	Total Deaths
Bhavnagar	2	57	21	0	17	0	9	106
Kutch	6	78	10	15	1	9	5	128
Rajkot	2	69	29	0	20	0	20	140
Cause Total:	10	204	60	15	38	9	34	370

Table 10: Gender-Violence Crimes on Dalit Women by Year, Dec. 2004 through Nov. 2009

	12/04-11/05	12/05-11/06	12/06-11/07	12/07-11/08	12/08-11/09
Non-Dalit on Dalit crimes	33	45	38	34	35
Dalit on Dalit crimes	138	145	137	160	124

Note: $p < .05$, $X^2 = 2.54$, and 8.56 $df = 4$, respectively

Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989 and Indian Penal Code (IPC), excerpted

Atrocities Act, Section 3 (1) (11):

Whoever, not being a member of a Scheduled Caste (SC) or a Scheduled Tribe (ST), assaults or uses force on any woman belonging to SC or ST with intent to dishonour or outrage her modesty, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than six months but which may extend to five years and with a fine.

Atrocities Act, Section 3 (1) (12):

Whoever, not being a member of a Scheduled Caste (SC) or a Scheduled Tribe (ST), being in a position to dominate the will of a woman belonging to a SC or a ST and uses that position to exploit her sexually to which she would not have otherwise agreed, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than six months but which may extend to five years and with a fine.

Atrocities Act, Section 3 (2) (5):

Whoever, not being a member of a SC or a ST commits any offense under the Indian Penal Code (IPC), punishable with imprisonment for a term of 10 years or more against a person or property on the ground that such person is a member of a SC or a ST or such property belongs to such member, shall be punishable with imprisonment for life and with fine.

IPC 304B. Dowry Death, excerpted:

Where the death of a woman is caused by any burns or bodily injury or occurs otherwise than under normal circumstances within seven years of her marriage and it is shown that soon before her death she was subject to cruelty or harassment by her husband or any relative of her husband for, or in connection with, any demand for dowry, such death shall be called "dowry death", and such husband or relative shall be deemed to have caused her death. Whoever commits dowry death shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than seven years but which may extend to imprisonment for life.

IPC 306. Abetment of Suicide, excerpted:

If any person commits suicide, whoever abets the commission of such suicide, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

IPC 354. Assault or Criminal Force to Woman with Intent to Outrage her Modesty, excerpted:

Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any woman with intending to outrage or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby outrage her modesty, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which shall not be less than five years but which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine.

IPC 375. Rape, excerpted:

A man is said to commit "rape" who...has sexual intercourse with a woman under circumstances falling under any of the six following descriptions:

1. against her will; 2. without her consent; 3 with her consent, when her consent has been obtained by putting her or any person in whom she is interested in fear of death or of hurt; 4. with her consent, when the man knows that he is not her husband, and that her consent is given because she believes that he is another man to whom she is or believes herself to be lawfully married; 5 with her consent, when at the time of giving such consent, by reason of unsoundness of mind or intoxication or the administration by him personally or through another of any stupefying or unwholesome substance, she is unable to understand the nature and consequences of that to which she gives consent; 6. with or without her consent, when she is under sixteen years of age.

Exception: Sexual intercourse by a man with his own wife, the wife not being under fifteen years of age, is not rape.

IPC 376. Punishment for Rape, excerpted:

Whoever...commits rape shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which shall not be less than seven years but which may be for life or for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine unless the women raped is his own wife and is not under twelve years of age, in which cases, he shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both.

IPC 498A. Husband or relative of husband of a woman subjecting her to cruelty, excerpted:

Whoever, being the husband or the relative of the husband of a woman, subjects such woman to cruelty shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine. For the purpose of this section, cruelty means (a) any willful conduct which is of such a nature as is likely to drive the woman to commit suicide or to cause grave injury or danger to life, limb or health (whether mental or physical) of the woman; or (b) harassment of the woman where such harassment is with a view to coercing her or any person related to her to meet any unlawful demand for any property or valuable security or is on account of failure by her or any person related to her to meet such demand. Punishment - imprisonment for 3 years and fine.

Nine Case Studies from the Districts of Bhavnagar, Kutch and Rajkot

Case 1: Bhavnagar District

Victim 1 is a woman from the Hindu Charmar Scheduled Caste and lives in the village of Chomal, Taluka Gariyadhar. She was sexually abused in February, 2008. The accused is a 30 year old doctor and is a Muslim.

The victim suffered from an infection on her buttocks due to a previous injection and was in need of medical treatment by the accused, a doctor. The doctor scheduled her for an evening appointment and indicated that assistance from a nurse was unnecessary. The victim was brought to the appointment by her father and brother. Her father attempted to accompany her into the examination room but was asked to leave by the doctor. The doctor instructed the victim to remove all her clothes. He then unzipped the zipper on his own pants and attempted to sexually assault her. The victim shouted and the doctor left the room.

Societal pressure and the fear of public response caused the family to wait five days before contacting police. The charges of Atrocities Act 3 (1) (11) and IPC sections 354 and 376 (GH) were filed. According to the research field report the victim's family was pressured by the accused to seek a compromise. They are currently fighting for a legal compromise (where the public prosecutor states in court on her behalf that she does not want to fight the case and would like to make a settlement with the accused).

Case 2: Bhavnagar District

Victim 2, a 19 year old single woman from the Hindu Chamar Scheduled Caste, lives in Lakhnaka, Taluka Gadhada. In April, 2008 she was physically attacked and an attempt of sexual violence was made against her. The attackers were three men. The primary person accused is a Sarpanch, a village head, from the Patel Forward Caste, and is 32 years old.

The victim was on a scooty traveling home alone after a school exam in a secluded area. Three men stopped her from driving and did not permit her to continue. They caught her by the hand, pulled her to the side of the road and began to swear at, harass and physically attack her and attempted to sexually assault her. While this was happening a rickshaw passed. The victim shouted for help and the accused ran away.

The victim returned home, told her parents about the attack and the F.I.R. was registered the same day. The family waited for further action by the police but nothing happened. After three months the family contacted Navsarjan to seek legal support for the case. Navsarjan lawyers assisted her to register an F.I.R. with the National Human Rights Commission on 25 July, 2008. The Commission put pressure on the local police who then properly registered her complaint on 1 August. Charges of Atrocities Act 3 (1) (10) and 3 (1) (11) and IPC sections 114, 354, 504 and 506 (2) were filed. An attempt at a compromise was not possible so the case is continuing in the court.

Case 3: Bhavnagar District

Victim 3, a 21 year old married woman from the Hindu Vankar Scheduled Caste, lived with her husband in Taluka Talaja. She died on 9 August, 2009 from a self-inflicted gunshot wound after a lengthy period of physical and mental harassment from her husband and in-laws. Her husband, from the Hindu Vankar Scheduled Caste, is accused of abetment to suicide.

In the days leading to the suicide the victim and the accused were having an ongoing argument over the victim's desire to travel to her parents' home for the Rakhi festival. Her husband would not permit her to go as he wanted to wait five days due to his teaching obligation. Because of this disagreement the accused continued to harass the victim until, utterly despondent, she took her life.

The F.I.R. was filed by the victim's mother within 24 hours of the death. The accused was arrested after 15 days. The Charge Sheet, delayed by one month, indicates the charge of abetment to suicide, IPC sections 114, 306 and 498. Witness statements confirm ongoing physical and mental harassment by the accused and the victim's sense of hopelessness and despondency.

Case 4: Kutch District

Victim 4, a 40 year old married woman, was from a Hindu Scheduled Caste and lived in Nana Kapaya, Taluka Mundra. She was murdered on 6 May, 2009. The accused is from the Mochi Forward Caste.

At the time the victim was living with her husband and children when the accused, an auto rickshaw driver, broke an underground water pipeline that passed in front of her home. The victim told the accused to repair the break but he started to fight with her and her son and stabbed her with a knife to the chest, which resulted in her death. A newspaper report claims the victim first slapped the accused, which caused him to go to his home, retrieve the weapon and return to stab the woman.

The case was registered in the Anjar Police Station by the Deputy Superintendent of Police. It was registered under Atrocities Act, 3 (1) (10) and 3 (2) (5) and IPC sections 302 and 504. The F.I.R. was filed two hours after the incident, the arrest of the accused was within 24 hours and there was no delay in filing the Charge Sheet. Bail was not granted. A social welfare officer visited the family.

Currently the accused is in prison and the case is pending in court without judgment. There was no attempt to reach a compromise. The government social welfare fund has paid the family 1.5 lakhs rupees. The victim's family was forced to migrate to another village. Her children live with her in-laws. Her husband has no home. He migrates in order to do labour work.

Case 5: Kutch District

Victim 5, a 17 year old girl, is from the Maheshvari Scheduled Caste and lived with her family in Mundra City. She was kidnapped in October, 2009 by the accused, a 30 year old Muslim.

The accused was familiar to the family. He and the victim had been together two or three times previous to the incident. On 9 October the victim disappeared from her home. After 9 days the family registered an F.I.R. with the police about a possible kidnapping. The accused and victim were found to be together. Charges of Atrocities Act 3 (1) (12) and IPC section 366 were filed. When the girl became 18, of legal age, she chose to return to live with the accused. A compromise was reached and no further legal action was taken.

Case 6: Kutch District

Victim 6 is a 17 year old unmarried girl from a Hindu Scheduled Caste who lives in the village of Mothala, Taluka Naliya. In September 2009 she was kidnapped and raped by a 22 year old Hindu SC laborer from Uttar Pradesh.

The underaged girl was living with her parents and doing masonry labor work alongside the accused. On the day in September when the girl did not return home, the parents feared that she was with the man. They reported her disappearance and the police began their investigation. The police found the daughter with the man and returned her to her parents. An F.I.R. was filed on 16 November and the man was charged with kidnapping and rape, IPC sections 363, 366 and 376. The girl was immediately married off to another person and the family is no longer interested to pursue the charges against the accused in court for fear that attention brought to the case will have a negative effect on the girl's future.

Case 7: Rajkot District

Victim 7 is a 50 year old woman from the Hindu Vankar caste, living in the village of Naranka, Taluka Morbi. In June 2009 she was attacked and threatened by three Patel men ranging in age from 30s to 50s.

On the morning of the crime the victim left her home to collect dry firewood. While alone, outside the village, three Patel men came upon her and began to harass and beat her. They yelled the caste-based threat, "Sala Dhedao ne mari Nakho, Jivta salgavi Nakho," Burn Them Down!" They used an axe to cause injury to her hands and beat her on her body with a wooden stick and steel pipe. Finally they threatened to kill her if she reported the crime. It should be noted that relations between dominant castes and Scheduled castes in this village are particularly volatile.

Local people came to her aid and, after her husband arrived, she was taken to the government hospital for treatment. Injuries to her thumb, arm and backside were serious. Police arrived to the hospital and an F.I.R. was filed by 11 am. The accused were arrested and immediately were released on bail. Charges of Atrocities Act 3 (1) (10) and IPC sections 324, 504 and 506 were filed. The District Superintendent of Police is responsible for the case. There was, unusually no attempt by the accused to persuade the victim to accept a compromise and the case continues in the court.

Case 8: Rajkot District

Victim 8 was a 38 year old Dalit woman and mother of three from the village of Bandra, Taluka Gondal. On 18 September, 2009 she was found dead after hanging herself due to continuing discord with her husband. Her husband, his three siblings and two of their spouses have all been charged with harassment and abetment to suicide.

The victim and her husband were also cousins, part of an extended Dalit family. They lived together with the husband's three siblings and their families during their fifteen years of marriage. Problems began when the husband wanted to migrate for work but his wife did not want to leave. The entire family verbally harassed her, put pressure on her to give them 50,000 rupees from her parents and encouraged her to kill herself.

Two days after her death her parents were informed and they immediately filed an F.I.R. against the entire family. Charges include Atrocities Act 3 (1) (7) and IPC sections 306, 323 and 498-A. The case is pending in the Sessions court without settlement as the husband and his children have gone into hiding; however the family informed the field worker that they planned to resolve the case on their own and asked him not to become involved in the matter.

Case 9: Rajkot District

Victim 9 is a 35 year old Hindu Dalit married woman from the village of Pipradi, Taluka Jasdan. On a night in February 2009, at 2 am, she was awoken from sleep and raped by a 45 year old Koli Patel farmer.

The victim was alone with her three children because her husband had left their home to tend his fields. The accused entered the home with a knife, covered the victim's mouth so she would not be able to scream for help and succeeded to rape her while her children slept nearby. The next morning at 9 am she filed an F.I.R. at the police station and the accused was arrested the next day. The charge is IPC section 376. An attempt to reach a compromise out of court was unsuccessful and the case is pending in the court.

- i Henceforth referred to as The Atrocities Act
- ii Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population based on Government of India Census, 2001
- iii <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/india-business/Bihar-grew-by-1103-next-only-to-Gujarat/articleshow/5405973.cms>
<http://business.rediff.com/slide-show/2010/apr/23/slide-show-1-the-top-10-cities-in-india-by-gdp.htm>
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- iv “While boasting about its development and progressiveness, the Government of Gujarat also needs to be questioned on the grounds of implementation of laws and sections for the protection of Dalit Women's rights.” Source: A Status Report on Violence Against Women in Gujarat, State Human Rights Commission, April 2009
- v Source: Director, Social Welfare Office, letter no. Ajk/c-1/2008/2993, dated 29/05/2008. Atrocity sensitive districts means that there are more chances of violence against Dalits there
- vi Source: District Superintendent of Police, Gujarat, see Appendix, Table 8: Atrocity cases against Dalits Registered in 22 Districts of Gujarat, 30th January 1989 to 31st December 2006
- vii See full text of cited sections in Appendix: Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989 and Indian Penal Code (IPC), excerpted.
- viii See abbreviated text of cited sections in Appendix: Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989 and Indian Penal Code (IPC), excerpted.
- ix See full text of cited cases in Appendix: Nine Case Studies from the Districts of Bhavnagar, Kutch and Rajkot
- x See Appendix Table 9: Official Cause of Accidental/Unnatural Deaths of Dalit Women by District
Aloysius Irudayam S.J., Jayshree P. Mangubhai and Joel G. Lee, Dalit Women Speak Out: Violence Against Dalit Women in India, National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights, National Federation of Dalit Women, Institute of Development Education, Action and Studies, 2006, p. 499 - 501
- xii See Appendix Table 10: Gender-Violence Crimes on Dalit Women by Year, December 2004 through November 2009

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