

GENDER, CASTE AND DISCRIMINATION: UNDERSTANDING DALIT WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION IN URBAN SETTING OF MUMBAI

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Abstract:

While, for the groups subjugated by caste and gender both as ideologies and structure, the urban setting offer possibilities of change from traditional ascribed, and given social status and identity, the urban experiences of these, social groups continues to be characterized by varied experiences of social inequalities and discrimination (social, economic and political),. My attempt in this paper is to understand as to how caste and gender locations emerge as contexts for unequal access to public space in urban setting of Mumbai. The paper draws on my intensive field work in BDD chawls of Mumbai, in Worli. We have tried to explore various dimensions of discrimination, resulting from the dynamics of caste, gender and urban space

Keywords: Gender, Caste, Discrimination, Space, Institution

Introduction:

The chawls-- working class dwelling space in urban setting of Mumbai -- play an important role in the history of Mumbai city. These chawls have been context of community culture in Mumbai's history, over the past century. Many chawls were built by the government, private agencies and after independence by MHADA (Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority) to accommodate the working class migrants to the city who came from different parts of Maharashtra for employment opportunities. The Chawls provided space for social interactions and material exchanges amongst the residents and making and imagining community. However, the Chawls are also characterized by divisions and conflicts on caste, region and religion lines. Moreover, the social interactions, material exchanges the constructions of community, had had consequences for gender relations and construction of gender identities. While urban setting offers possibilities of change from traditional ascribe, given social status and identities, the urban experiences of social groups who have been subjected to discrimination and inequality (social, economic and political). Continues to be characterized by varied experiences of social inequalities. Our attempt to in this paper to understand is to how caste

and gender location emerge as context for unequal access to public space in urban setting of Mumbai. The paper draws on our intensive field work in BDD chawls of Mumbai, in Worli. We had tried to explore various dimensions of inequality, resulting from the dynamics of caste, gender and urban space.

Methodology

Methodologically the paper attempts to explore the dynamics of caste and space from the perspective of inhabitants of chawls. This therefore is an attempt to understand the world of chawls dwellers, and their perspective to understand caste, gender, and discrimination. The paper also sees both the notion of space and discrimination as collectively on goingly constructed and reconstructed in everyday life situation. Thus, theoretically we draw from constructivist methodological perspective in social science research. Data collected through the in-depth interview. The questions were asking for the data collection is open-ended question. Focus group interview method also use with semi structural questions.

Ethical Consideration:

Before arranging the interview schedule, we already clarify all the queries of participants. It is also free to leave the interview any time. Participants were not to force to answer any questions if they felt uncomfortable. Participant's confidentiality and anonymity was maintained through the data collection process. Names of participants are change due to their privacy and confidentiality

The discussion is organized in three sections: the section one discusses social structure of discrimination with reference to BDD chawls Worli, Mumbai. The section two explores Dalit Women experiences of discrimination. Whereas, the third section discuss and elaborates consisting of discrimination and domination.

Section I

Social structure of discrimination with reference to BDD chawls Worli, Mumbai

The BDD Chawls in Worli has a century old history of Dalit Movement. Since the times of Dr. Ambedkar, the area was active in Dalit mobilization. All Chawls of BDD chawls constructed at four locations have identical chawls design. In BDD Chawls Worli there are 121 buildings of four storey structures, each floor having 20 rooms of 10 X 16 feet carpet areas. As the respondent (participant) buildings were initially build in 1924, as barracks for the prisoners by British authorities, People belonging to different caste stay in ghettos. Dalit are mostly concerted in 20 Chawls out of which 16 Chawls (Chawls no. 84-99) dominated by them are situated in a row other than that Chawls no.54 and chawls no.1,3,4 also populated by Dalit population . This corner of the area is called 'Engine Chheda', a Participant (respondent) told engine stands for locative engine and chheda must be about 'the area'. It suggests that most of the residence must have been working in railways. Just opposite to the building No. 97, there is an open ground. According to the participant (respondent) other sides of the ground lays the chawls dominated by Maratha and mostly were employed in Mumbai

police. Politically this area is vibrant and Dalit population is divided in number of Dalit fractions. Each room has a 'nahani' and Kitchen areas. Kitchen platforms were not originally provided, but for preparation of food. All rooms are provided with cross ventilation with a concrete 'jali' above the door opening in the common passage. A three meter wide common passage is use for a community as well as utility space and acts as a lobby for each tenement. Folding cots are laid in the passage when required for sleeping.

Section II

The idea of discrimination: Mapping in feminist scholarly engagement

Discrimination is multidimensional and multifaceted, phenomenon: it is emerging from interpersonal unfair treatment, such as insults to institutional and systematic bias such as the differentiate people based on caste or ethnic identity. Discrimination is inherent in the denial of services, denial of access to common resources, denial of participation resulting in domination, atrocities, social boycott and every kinds of denial of basic human rights. Discrimination is generally defined as the systematic behavioral manifestation of social categories based on bias targeted against group members with their so-called low levels of social power.

Further, social discrimination means dominant social group (social group refers to caste, religion, gender, ethnicity) denial the basis rights of other or minor social groups. Social discrimination describe in several forms. Discrimination can be divided in two main forms such as direct discrimination and indirect discrimination. Direct forms of discrimination describe exclude a specific individual or group from some possible opportunities. Indirect forms of discrimination occurs whenever an individual, institution or practice acts in such a way that intersects of some individuals are systematically favored and yet this does not involve direct discrimination (Lippert-Rasmussen 2006, 168).

The feminist scholarly discussion have attempted to explore the notion of discrimination in women social experiences , accordingly we have focused on four key thinkers who have contributed to elaborate and nuance understanding of discrimination and expressed in women experienced lives at diverse socio-cultural location. In her famous work 'The Second sex', Simone de Beauvoir has argued that woman is not born but made through a cultural context (1949); the gender identity thus is culturally and socially constructed phenomenon. She examined that in the patriarchal society the notion of women being perceived as 'others' and narrated the revolutionary and incendiary history of human by attempting the feminist perspective. She argues that the man occupies the role of the self, or subject; whereas the women are the objects, or others. She further argues that the women's are inessential, incomplete and mutilated. She critically extending this idea that the men's imposed their will on women's, where as women is doomed to or inwardness. She state that it is in natural for humans to understand themselves in opposition to others, this processes flawed when applied to the genders and men were effectively denying women's humanity.

She has explained about the profoundly imbalance gender roles in a chronological manner. In her work on 'facts and myths', she has explained about the female human's have occupied the subordinate position in the society. To find the answer for that question and to understand her own identities, De'Beauvoir studied the biology, psychoanalysis and historical materialism. According to her, those studies are indisputable 'essential', because it gives differences between men and women but it could not provide the justifiable inferences about the women's inferiority. According to her, all the men have taken in granted that women's are inferiority by destiny. To find the inferiority of women's she move to the history to trace the emergence of male superiority the emergences of male identity.

Further extending Simone De Beauvoir ideas of gender construction Joyce Ladner (1971) have narrated the experiences of Black low middle class growing girl from metro Politian cities in United Sates. Ladner claims that Black womanhood provided the model for the new liberated white middle class women. The focus of her analysis was structural institutionalized racism, which has exerted the strongest impact up on all facts of the Black women's life. She explores the term institutional racism in terms of policies, priorities and functions of system of normative patterns that subjected oppress and forced dependence through the sanctioning of unequal goals, inequality in status and access to goods and services. According to Ladner the Black cultural framework has its own autonomous system values, attitudes, sentiments and beliefs which cannot be assessed by the norms of white middle class culture. She further argues that to understand Blacks culture it was necessary to develop a new frame of reference which transcends the limits of white concepts (Bennett, 1970;44). Ladner has explored the myths and she argues that the Black women's are propagated to the institutional subjugation to perpetuate an oppressive class, but Ladner fails to claim the course of action for Black women. She highlighted on Black culture as non-material culture and emotive spiritual and authentic so, that humanistic and many counter act prevailing destructive forces in society.

Salvia Walby critically elaborates the idea of patriarchy and essential role of patriarchy in historical manner. In her book 'theorizing patriarchy', she raised the questions about women's discriminations, why are women disadvantaged comparing to men? Has this inequality been reduce in recent years? What difference if any does the increase in women's employment make to other areas of women's lives? Is the sexual double stand and past? Is it useful to talk of femininity as if it had one form? Is the increase in the divorce rate a sign of women's independent or men's fight from family responsibility (Walby,1989,6). She has raised these questions with four distinctive perspectives, Marxist feminism, radical feminism, liberalism and dual system theory to evaluate and compare the variety of framework against theoretical and empirical evidence. She made the recent changes in gender relation. She explained the importance of different sets of women oppression and she emphasizes how oppressions vary over the time how it could be difference between different social groups while theorizing patriarchy. Each chapter of her book addresses the nature and significance of the gender inequality in different spheres as well as by comparing different perspectives on gender inequality. Walby's describes the patriarchy as systems of structures involving a number of practices. She explain six patriarchal structures and their relatives importance for instance: the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal state, male violence,

patriarchal relation in sexuality and patriarchal culture. Her basic arguments were about the patriarchal role in controlling women's sexuality in different manner. According to her patriarchy as a form of male dominance over women; she argues that patriarchy has been socially and historically embedded through the multiple forms of rules and regulations. She analyzed the patriarchal relation in western societies in two major forms as public and private patriarchy has based on the exclusion of women from areas of social life where as the public patriarchy has been dominated to subordination from public life.(Walby,1989;87).

Critically extending this argument further, the Black Feminist thinker P.H.Collins shows that woman's identities shaped not by patriarchy alone, in case of black women, along with patriarchy, the race and class also construct and constitute their social identity (Collins 1990). P.H.Collins has contributed the concept, of Intersectionality in her famous work 'Matrix of Domination', which is one of the sociological paradigm who gives an insight on the issues of oppression that deals with race, class and gender. The race, class and gender recognize the different social classifications, but whether these dimension clearly interconnected? Collins have introduce interconnected nature of structural domination in her work entitled " Black Feminist thought : Knowledge ,consciousness and the politics of empowerment, she argues about there were many different ways one might experiences domination , one might facing the obstacles may overlapped with one another to other sociological features. According to Collins, race,sex and ethnicity affecting an individual in externally different ways like geography, socioeconomic status or even the time. Many feminist authors have contributed about the research towards the understanding and application of domination models in many realms of society.

Collins argument based on the specificity of Black Women's social locations, she further argued that it is necessary to re-conceptualize the notions such as discrimination domination and oppression in women's everyday lives. This interlocking system of gender oppressions systematic and institutional character to experiences domination suffered and encounter by Black Women.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the term Intersectionality emerges in writing's of Black Lawyer Kimberle Crenshaw from the critical race studies. Looking at the interlinking of race, class and gender, Kimberle Crenshaw conceptualized the notion of Intersectionality. Crenshaw underscores the 'multidimensionality' of marginalized subject's experiences. The concept of intersectionality rejects the 'single axis framework' advance by feminist and anti racist scholars to understand Women's subjugation. Instead, the intersectionality paradigms help to analyze the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black Women's social experiences (Crenshaw, 1991:1244). Kimberle Crenshaw has put forth the concept of Intersectionality to denote the various ways in which race and gender intersected to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's experiences (Crenshaw 1989:139). In her essay, 'Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist analyze of antidiscrimination, doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics', According to Crenshaw the concept of Intersectionality is not just an abstract of notion but it is the experience of multiple oppressions. She has written the essay on Intersectionality by giving the quotations of Black women's experiences. She demonstrated the shortcomings of race and gender discrimination. She further argues that all the women's were white, all the Blacks

are men, but some of them are brave. In the black women's studies, Crenshaw has given the conception of Intersectionality. Her ideas on Intersectionality was focused on most privileged group members, marginalize and multiple burdened groups who is suppressed by the multiple forms of discrimination. According to Crenshaw, the Intersectionality have given her politically progressive projects to demonstrate both the simultaneously of multiple oppressions and the complexity identity (Crenshaw,1989;140). Black legal scholar Crenshaw attacked on the assumptions made by underpinning anti-discrimination law, She argues that Black women's were Compelled to assert their race based or gender based discrimination instead of causes of action, which reflected their positions as intersectional subjects. She further argues that law only recognizes the race or gender based injuries but it fails to recognize the Black women's injuries because Black women's could not be wholly addressed by the existing doctrinal structure. That was existing legal apparent renders the court unable to see, that Black women could experienced discrimination in way that were both similar to and different from those experienced by white and Black men. Crenshaw challenge law and critique of law to the intersectional experience of those whom the movements claim as their respective constituents. Crenshaw noted that hen feminist theory and politics does not reflects women's experiences and women's aspirations and also have not included the voices of Black women's so that black women's were asking questions to Ain't we women?(Crenshaw,1989:169).her political aims to address flaws in the legal system. She argues that Black women's were frequently absent at the time of analysis like gender oppression or racism because the former researchers have only focuses primarily on the experiences of white women's and Black men later but completely neglected the issues of Black women. Her aim was to challenge both feminist and anti racist theory. She claims that feminist and anti racist have adopted the practice were completely neglected by the feminist to accurate and reflect the intersection of race and gender with respect to Black women's. According to Crenshaw the intersectional experiences have importance than the sum of racism and sexism. She argues that without intersectional perspective one could not sufficiently address the Black women's subordination. The key aspects of Intersectionality were the multiple oppressions. The concept of Intersectionality is not only applicable to a single person but it was a synthesis of experiences of a whole system. The Intersectionality plays an enormous significance role in a practical level of movement building. Many researcher have inspired the work carried by Crenshaw on Intersectionality, she specified the Intersectionality as a critical intervention into traditional identity politics (1991). Crenshaw differentiates Intersectionality in to two forms. The first was structural and second was political Intersectionality. Crenshaw argues that, intersectional subordination was often invisible with women who experience multiple forms of discrimination. She further argues of multiple discrimination was not addressed properly by the researchers. , they have given emphasis only a gender equality or anti racist frameworks. According to her, intersectional analysis has developed tremendously in the past decade and it was continued to develop vary rapidly, especially in the analysis of social life. She further argues that instead of analyzing the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's experiences. Crenshaw argues that the real problem of identity politics was elides intra-group difference. According to her the Intersectionality has a broad sense to analyzed the difference by exploring ascertain of multiple identities and ongoing necessity of group politics. Crenshaw was considered to be the creditable person who articulated Intersectionality as a theoretical

framework in context of legal study. While criticizing the identity politics she identified the three types of Intersectionality. Structural Intersectionality, political Intersectionality and representational Intersectionality While studying the structural Intersectionality she has given an evidence of connectedness of system and structures in society and how those systems have affected the individuals and groups differently. She argues that, the structural Intersectionality constitutes the political, economic, representational and institutional forms of discrimination and domination, where as the political Intersectionality refers to the how traditional feminist and antiracist politics have contributed to the marginalization of racial minority women. She provided the evidences by giving historical examples, which includes the American franchise, Marget Sanger refusal to allow African American women to participate in her sexual health movement and second wave feminist scholarship that clearly defines women's experiences as that of white, American or European middle class and educate women.

However, prior to this feminist discourse (almost 50 years before) Dr.B.R.Ambedkar analysis of intersection of caste and gender. Subsequent to articulation of the 'difference' as both an experiential and knowledge category, initially by feminist thinker Simone de Beauvoir and later by Black feminist thinker such as P.H.Collins and Bell hooks, lot has been written about sexism, racism and class as interlocking categories of inequality, subordination and oppression. This development has witaersed resonance in resent writing on Dalit Women. From late 19th Dalit Women have become subject of academic enquiry following Black feminist thinker's writings on Dalit women to have suggested the different way in which Dalit Women encountered caste and patriarchy. Starting from the ascertain of difference in their voice s, about their lives, to the different material and cultural context of exploitation and subjugation suffered by Dalit Women.

Women encounter discrimination in account of being women in patriarchal society, and under the social order constituted by patriarchy. Furthermore, women also encounter discrimination emerging from and experiences in context of their class as well as caste location. In this section we wish to address the multidimensional and multilayered discrimination women confront and resist that emergence due to the above that follow by these issues.

Section III

Experiencing and Contesting of Discrimination and domination.

This section elaborates on Women's experiences of discrimination and their attempts of resistance in institutional settings as part of both day to day working and living conditions. We will start interaction with women at work place.

Working place experiences – Working place is also the place of discrimination and domination. Meera, teacher in private school, shared her experiences of discrimination and domination in the educational institution. In our interaction she inform me that when she joined the school, at that time initially other teachers were unaware about her caste background, because her surname was common with other caste including so called upper caste. She pointed out that in everyday interaction in public intuition a clear caste identification act as basis for social interaction, or lack of it; the cultural and material networks and even everyday life relations are shaped by caste identities. Hence, for her colleagues knowing Meera caste identities was a pre condition or necessary background of that characterized work place interaction. Once they knew her caste background it became both easy and possible in their scheme and framework of sociality. Since one's caste identity is important the claims in deciding resources and dignity and respect- 'if you happen to be born in so called upper caste location you naturally claim right over resources and dignity; and if you are born in so called lower caste community your claim to be resources and dignity is denial by normal routine practice' It was of paramount important for Meera colleagues for know her caste. Once they succeeded in their task the teachers from upper caste background excluded her from their day today interaction. She told me, 'Once they knew my caste they started, abruptly as well as very consciously excluding me from their groups they stopped inviting me for tea and lunch break; their kids stopped playing with my kids'. She continued, 'after knowing my caste they stop inviting me to their prayer rituals and meeting and other plans such as going together to common cultural events.

Since Meera is a schoolteacher, she gradually became conscious of discriminatory practices operating at education institution and prevalence. 'Once my caste was known I immediately became incompetent, mediocre or sub standard'. Some teachers started looking at minor mistake of her parts as rooted in her caste background. Because she was from schedule caste community they had declare her to be incompetent and non-deserving. Her upper caste colleagues intentionally kept her out of the committee membership in which scholarships, free ships cases are decided. The upper caste teacher colleagues not only humiliate her from the presence or participation in their rituals, programs and events. When the backward caste students would like to fill their forms of fellowship or scholarship, the upper caste teachers were intentionally kept her away from this process. If the reserve categories students have made some minor mistakes for felling the forms then, the upper caste teachers always made highly humiliating comments based on their caste. Some teachers from the upper caste purposely use to announce in the common staff room about the mistakes of students who belongs to reserve categories to humiliate the backward caste teachers. Every time they intentionally use to highlight, the reserved category students that, they have even no common sense of how to fill the form; but they are taking the advantage of free ship or scholarships. Indirectly they use to comment on the reservation policy. These kinds of comments made publically by the upper caste teachers to humiliate the backward caste teachers in the staff common room. She further informs me that, in front of school main gate there is a statue of 'goddess Saraswati' who is assumed to be a goddess of education (according to Hindu ideology). Only the school principal or male teachers in higher caste were allowed to garland to the statue of 'goddess of Saraswati'. In this process the upper caste female teachers in the school only allowed distributing the 'prasad' (distribution of sweets indicating the summation of prayers) to all the

teachers. It is important to note that, it is highly discriminatory to the women teachers that they have not allowed to garland to the statue of 'goddess Sarswati', and women have accepted this naturalized discrimination as customary practice of discrimination by the male dominated society. The women teachers in the school too have accepted this discrimination and oppression that results from both ideology of caste and patriarchy.

Women working as sales girls in the garment shops

Radhika and Rashmi are young girls on their 20's. They work as sales girls in a garment shops. My interaction with them helped uncover another dimension of discrimination occurring an account of gender and class. These two girls help me understand the class and gender discrimination; women are subjected to informal work settings. Their experiences brings to forth, different character of the subordination and discrimination confronted by young women in insecure work situations where the labour relations are outside the framework of legal protection. According to Radhika though all women suffer subordination, their experiences of discrimination differ on account of their role in a work process. Their roles in work process also decide the pay they received. She said, 'The shop manager always prefer women who have fair complexion as sales girls place at front tables'. Whereas, women like her are those have little dark complexion are always do the packing work only. She narrated to me her experience about the famous sari shop where the manager always told her to work at the back table, because the customer in this locality come from upper caste and class background and may not buy any product from dark looking girl. She told me that even in this informal unorganized (therefore legally unprotected) providing detailed caste background is mandatory. The manger here is very particular is knowing and registering their caste background for giving them employment. Radhika also shared with me the problems of other women, who are working with her in the same shop. She informed me that the fair and well dressed attractive girls are mate the counter position of the shop their attractive appearance is seen as important aspects for increasing sales. But many a times these attractive girls, Radhika inform me, are more vulnerable to exploitation and subtle sexual abuse than the girls working at the back table. She explains that, because these girls are attractive they are use as showpieces to drape saris or try out dress on them. So they became object to show the other objects and goods to the customer. This humiliation and alienation is matter of everyday life work procedure that this girl has to suffer saliently. This makes Rashmi argues that sometimes she feels happy about her dark skin complexion and her caste background because of which she is not place to work at the central counters and therefore fells safer than good looking girls. Radhika elaborated on the idea of skin complexion discrimination in the shops and also highlighted the caste discrimination.

Radhika told me about the incidence which had occurred in 2012, about a girl who is working here as sales girl named Pooja. Pooja is good looking girl with fair complexion. Once a costumer comes for shopping but under that pretext he tried to misbehave with Pooja. Several times Pooja ignored the customer's behavior when the customer did repeatedly tried to harass her, Pooja told the manager about the behavior of customer. However the manager did not do anything. So that Pooja refuse to do the work with the same

customer and started handling another. Due to that the customer felt insulted and he argued with manager. The manager forced Pooja to help the same customer for shopping. Pooja continuously refused to do this work, so that manager discontinued her service immediately. All women working in the shop are aware the customer's behavior towards Pooja but no one could take any initiative to help her. But when she started to leave for home, Radhika and some other girls asked the manager about the reason for her suspension. The manager brushed aside their complaints, but this could not go on for a long. Women of this shop organized one-day strike against the shop management. This resistance by women resulted in the management withdrawing the suspension Pooja was subjected to and also arranged dress code for the women working in the shop. This case study suggests that for women from marginalized community working in informal unorganized and legally unprotected forms of employment every day work situation is a context for potential and real discrimination and harassment as well as daily struggle to negotiate and struggle against their experiences of work livelihood related subordination. Since their livelihood and survival depends on such work situation they are unable to evade the situation of discrimination and harassment, despite the fact they are struggling their harassment.

Women working as Home guards in Police

The following case study comes from organized sector employment in public institution. Here we wish to explore gender and caste discrimination and harassment encounter in public institutional spaces. Minakshi, a woman in her 30's working as police constable in home guard section. She pointed out that, as per rules and regulation women and men both are supposed to, and also undergo similar kinds of mental and physical training. However, women sometimes are exempted from hard physical training and after they are initiated into work position, are given less challenging task on account of their gender status. Training, but due to some physical and policy makers' restriction we as women are not doing some kinds of hard training. She discusses with me her experience of discrimination as women and as a Dalit Women in this work environment. She reasoned that she is the one of the most qualified persons who has acquired several awards and training commendation certificates, but at the time of selection of team leader, the seniors selected the male home guards as team leader even of women home guards team. This discussion on part of her senior clearly indicates gender bias operating in public institution which formally committed to gender equality.

Of course, this act of discrimination did not go without women police personnel resisting against it. Women collectively oppose this decision by putting forth up their objection to gender discrimination to the committee responsible for selection of team leader. They argue at least men should not be chosen to lead of women police personnel at least for questions to selection committee. As this result they withdrew their decision of appointing men leading police team. She further inform me that, 'I have completed the training with good remark and points than the women who selected as team leader but because I am the women in Dalit categories they deny my promotion as team leader'. After two and half years of struggle committee took note of her complaint and eventually because of her merit appointed a women, infact a Dalit women as team leader of women police team.

Nanda a 35 years old women, working as domestic worker. When I asked her about experiences of domination and discrimination, for a while, she keeps mum and her silence has given me the answer of my question. She explained that yes, 'I have face the experiences of discrimination and domination too. Even my parents in laws dominated me and they discriminate me amongst social and family events because I am widow '. She further argues that they discriminate her in multiple kinds of family decisions, festivals and social events. They always thought that, their son was died because of her . After the death of her husband they have actually tortured her in the initial stage even they have tried her to evacuate their house. But when they have not succeed to removed her from their lives , then they have impose so many restrictions on her like not to wear bindi, mangal sutra, not to wear new sari ,not to participate any social events and many other things. She has one daughter and two sons. Now she is living with her Parents in- lows, at BDD chawls Worli, Mumbai. For the survival of her family, she has taken a job in the company from last three years.

She exclaimed that while surviving she was facing multiple kinds of discrimination, her parents and in laws were always remind her about social fear; they were also talking with her about the limitations of widows. Even though after the death of her husband she use to wear the mangalsutra and binndi for going to the job or any other working place, because she always feel safe. When she comes near to her house, she uses to remove the mangalsutra and binndi because of the fear of social unjust. She also told that she was very much worried about her children, she always in fear that someone sometimes may take advantage of her.

Suman (age around 40-43 years) working as domestic worker. She told that the wages of house hold workers are comparatively very less than the workers working in different sectors. She told that job is highly insecure. It always depends on the behavior of the family. When I asked about humiliation in work place, she said that she is well aware of this kind of humiliation occurs in many work places but she had never faced it herself as her employers is very good and never did such things. She also told that the young girls (23-30 years old) working in this field are very firm and said that they would not like to undergo such humiliation and if faced with such a situation, they would stop working in that house. This kind of spirit was seen particularly in the young and somewhat educated workers than among elderly workers (age around 35-45 years). It is noticeable that the younger women are more confident and uncompromising in terms of fighting against discrimination, whereas the older women tried to console themselves by taking it as their fate and saying that they had no option other than undergoing this humiliation.

When I discuss with **Suman**, she told me her experience about the discrimination, in big families the work load is more but comparatively safer than the small family. It also depends on time because sometimes her job starts from early morning at 7 a.m. or it may sometimes extend up to late night. She further stated that domestic workers particularly Dalit Women are facing severe problems even in attending to nature's call as most employers won't let them use their washrooms. This is a serious problem, but remains unspoken and un-discussed even among the workers themselves. Workers generally feel shy about talking about it or mentioning it in public.

Suman said, employer is not giving any paid leave. Rather, if worker absent one day, the next day more work will be piled up. In her absence employer is not doing any work and keep it for her to come the next day and finish. In such a situation, even if she not well, isn't it better to go and finish the work rather than letting it pile up for next day? Suman mentioned, with pain, that in many families their work was supervised every day by at least one member of the family, who would keep roaming behind them the whole time they worked. Most of the times, the person supervising is an elderly male or female member of the household. Elderly women (grandmother) of the family of employers sometimes encourage even small children to keep a check over them. Suman mentioned that, in case any valuable item belonging to the employer is lost or misplaced, eyebrows were often raised against her. She told there are some cases where the police was called, employers gave statements regarding their suspicion on the domestic worker, and then formal complaints were launched even though there was no evidence. Sometimes intentionally owners may molest by giving some money to them or burglary thing may impose on them by using volgure language and tries to abuse them; sometimes unmarried young girls were found more victims than the old age women's. Violence is more prevalent in case of household workers.

Conclusion

In this context our research based on field observations and in-depth interactions with women in everyday life in urban setting of Mumbai shows different aspects of patriarchal control emerging and practiced on account of systems and structures of urban society. Thus women's social identities in the urban settings are shaped by the systems of caste, class, gender that structure the experiences of domination emerging through these systems and structures as well as the skin complexion. Thus in our explorations of gendered social identities shaped by the urban settings shows that both structures and practices constitute and normalize women's experiences of discrimination. The case of Minakshi, as policewoman working as home guard that I had an opportunity to interact with, the patriarchal control she encounter emerges from the system and structure of public institution. While she has undergone the similar training as her male colleagues, she is not chosen to carry out challenging and serious tasks. Furthermore, the experiences of Rashmi and Radhika highlight that along with patriarchal structure, gender, caste, class and skin color also constitute and shape their social identities and social experiences of discrimination. Both being from Dalit social background and dark in skin complexion, in their work setting they are forced to work in the store backtable and the fair looking girls are made to serve the front sales counters. Patricia Hill Collins have introduce interconnected nature of structural domination in her work entitled "Black Feminist thought : Knowledge ,consciousness and the politics of empowerment, she argues about there were many different ways one might experiences domination , one might facing the obstacles may overlapped with one another to other sociological features. This understanding is important understanding for our in-depth interactions with women such as Minakshi, Rashmi, Radhika and Nanda, especially the multiple level of overlapping categories of discrimination such as gender, caste, class, race and their location these women experience in their everyday work and social settings. Suman and Nanda's experience are shows that women experiences shaped by

multiple kinds of different categories like caste, gender, class, marital status, and location. The experiences of participants describes that in as women their gender, class and location are same, but their caste categories differentiate their experiences with other women.

In the above experiences of discrimination of Dalit women, we analyze these experiences with the different forms of theoretical backgrounds. Structural experiences are general and indirect form of discrimination. The study present social analysis of two layers interconnections of the concept discrimination on another level the everyday life situations, institutional and structural dimension.

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