

Negotiating Caste, Identity Crisis and Resistance: A Feminist Study of *Ants Among Elephants* by Sujatha Gidla

Lovely Bhatia

(Corresponding Author)

Research Scholar

Department of English

Himachal Pradesh University

Summer Hill, Shimla, Himachal Pradesh

heerlovely13@gmail.com

Deepali Dhaul

Associate Professor

Department of English

Himachal Pradesh University

Summer Hill, Shimla, Himachal Pradesh

Abstract

Dalit literature has emerged as a powerful medium of resistance and self-expression, giving voice to communities that have long been silenced by dominant socio-cultural structures. In contemporary times, narratives within Indian Dalit literature unveil the harsh realities faced by the Dalit community while celebrating their resistance, resilience and quest for social justice. This research paper focuses on Sujatha Gidla's *Ants Among Elephants*, which offers a thorough analysis of the systemic oppression and resilience found in the Indian social landscape, particularly within the caste system. In her memoir, Sujatha Gidla discusses her life, her family, and the predicament facing the entire Dalit community. This paper analyses the complex entanglements of caste, selfhood, gender and political existence that emerge through the narrative. Gidla's academic perspective explores the significant impact of education in promoting empowerment and upward social mobility among marginalised communities. Using theoretical and critical perspective of Dalit aesthetics and Dalit feminism, the study aims to investigate caste, gender, socio-economic issues, and resistance against discriminations of Dalit people in Indian society. Dalit women life writing help to understand the inhuman practice of discrimination, violence, humiliation and untouchability, against Dalit women based on caste, identity crisis, labour exploitation, and sexual harassment.

Keywords: caste, Dalit Literature, Dalit feminism, gender, identity crisis, resistance

1. Introduction

Dalits, formerly known as Untouchables, have been subjected to the worst kind of ill-treatment and oppression at the hands of upper-caste people. The Sanskrit root word “*dal*,” which means “to crack, split, be broken or torn,

asunder, trodden down, scattered, crushed, and destroyed,” is where the word “Dalit” came from (Kumar, 2010, p. 45). Dr. B.R. Ambedkar used the word in his work *The Untouchables*, referring to them as “Broken Men,” which refers to the original ancestors of Untouchables in the English translation of Dalit (Bharathi, 2012, p. 11). The history of the country is marked by movements and struggles against caste-based discrimination and untouchability. Various reformers, movements, and historical events have contributed to shaping the narrative of caste struggles and societal reforms. As Sharankumar Limbale (2014) argues, “Dalit literature is a genre of writing that creatively depicts the hardships, enslavement, dehumanization, mockery, and poverty that Dalits face. This literature is merely an idealized portrayal of sorrow” (Limbale, 2004, p. 30). Its main focus is to oppose caste hypocrisy, following B.R. Ambedkar’s ideology of equality, liberty, and justice. It aims to spread brotherhood among humans.

Dalit life writing has emerged as a powerful literary and political form that challenges the silence of mainstream Indian literature. While autobiographies foreground collective histories of caste oppression and social exclusion. From the critical study of Sujatha Gidla’s *Ants among Elephants*, this research paper closely studies the profound struggles and resilient resistance of Satyamurthy and Manjula, who belong to the *Mala* caste. By examining the lived experiences of Manjula, it is found that caste-based discrimination, gender inequalities and violence, and the enduring constraints and oppressions were imposed by the upper castes from the British colonial era to contemporary times. In the context of Dalit women, this research also helped to clarify the complex intersections of caste, identity, and resistance.

In this paper, a feminist interpretation of a Dalit autobiographical literature goes beyond just highlighting female characters or gender-based suffering. Rather, it looks at how caste affects women’s access to political voice, education, sexuality and labour. Such a reading foregrounds Dalit women’s lived experiences as sites of knowledge production, challenging universalist feminist frameworks that ignore caste and Dalit political traditions that marginalize women’s narratives.

Sujatha Gidla comes from a Christian Dalit family of the *Mala* community in Andhra Pradesh, shaped by caste oppression and radical politics. Her family had a strong revolutionary background. As a student activist, Gidla actively participated in the strike against academic injustices based on students’ sociocultural, caste, class, and economic backgrounds. She was the only woman participant of her time; as a result, she was detained from her academics for three

months. Gidla subsequently relocated to the United States of America. She quit her job during the recession in 2019 at the age of 26 and started working as a conductor on the New York City Subway. Read through a Dalit feminist lens, her life narrative highlights the close link between marginalisation and resistance.

Ankita Das, writing for *Feminism in India*, highlights that Gidla fills a crucial gap in post-independence historiography by distinguishing between Dalit men and Dalit women, which is often ignored in both mainstream feminism and male-centred Dalit politics. Through the feminist lens, *Ants Among Elephants* gives a compelling account of the voices that have been silenced in these historical initiatives and have been restored. The ants are not merely silent victims of caste and gender abuse; they are also the counter-narrators. History will remember and be reminded of such resistance since the ants, despite being continuously tramped on, have never failed to sting the elephants (Das, 2020).

Similarly, Pankaj Mishra, in *The New York Review of Books*, situates that Gidla's book is a significant contribution to Dalit literature in English, praising its ethical and nuanced representation of historical suffering. As he remarks, "The book blends memoir, history, ethnography, and literature" (Mishra, 2017), Gidla expands the scope of Dalit life writing and shows how personal narratives function as powerful political interventions central to Dalit feminist critique.

2. Research Methodology and Research Question

This paper offers a Dalit feminist reading of Sujatha Gidla's *Ants Among Elephants*, situating the text within the theoretical interventions of Dalit aesthetics and Dalit life writing. Scholars such as Anupama Rao, Sharmila Rege, Gopal Guru, and Sharankumar Limbale, argue that Dalit life writing is not just personal stories, but a form of social and political protest. It focuses on how caste, gender and political consciousness intersect in Gidla's narrative, and how Dalit women's experiences remain marginal within both mainstream feminism and male-centred Dalit politics. The study is guided by the following research question:

1. How does *Ants Among Elephants* challenge dominant feminist and Dalit political narratives?
2. In what ways does Gidla's narrative reveal the specific burdens faced by Dalit women due to the intersection of caste and gender?

-
3. How does Dalit autobiographical writing function as a form of resistance and self-assertion?

Through this lens, the paper sheds new light on Dalit feminist debates by demonstrating that Dalit women's life writing is a crucial site of theory, not merely testimony. The paper contributes to ongoing discussions on how Dalit feminist perspectives reshape the understanding of caste, identity, and life writing in contemporary Indian literature.

3. Burden of Caste and Gender

In *Ants Among Elephants*, Sujatha Gidla strategically shifts narrative voice to foreground the structural burden of caste and gender. Gidla uses first-person perspective narration when she starts describing her uncle's life journey; she switches to third-person perspective narration to describe the hardships of the family and community. This narrative shift signals that Dalit oppression exceeds individual experience and must be understood as historically produced social condition. Gidla depicts in her book the resilience and revolution against caste oppression, gender discrimination, and the fight for equality. As she clarifies in the introduction of the book, "My stories, my family's stories, were not stories in India. They were just life" (Gidla, 2017, p. 1). It is revealed that the book narrates the real-life incidents that took place in the life journey of the author, her mother Manjula, and maternal uncle Satyamurthy.

Ants Among Elephants opens with Gidla speaking directly to her American readers, who have only experienced racism on the basis of skin color. The Untouchables, who are given menial jobs, are not allowed to live in the village. They must live outside the village boundaries, "are not allowed to go to temples or share water sources, and cannot eat with or use the same utensils as caste Hindus" (Gidla, 2017, p. 2). Such practices shows that caste controls space, labour, and dignity. Dalit women experience this burden more because they face both caste exclusion and gendered responsibilities.

Gidla's uncle K.G. Satyamurthy represents political resistance in the text. His turn to communist ideology reflects the failure of post-independence democracy to address caste injustice. She also traces caste oppression across generations through the story of her great-grandparents, Venkataswami and Atchamma, were born in the Khammam district in the 1800s and belonged to a nomadic clan. They pursue their livelihood by wandering various forests for fruits, honey, and

roots. The village land was fertile and yielded good profits from farming. Seeing this, the local zamindar decided to seize control. He imposed taxes on land use and offered loans for essentials like seeds, salt, and clothes. When the villagers couldn't repay the loans, he took their land as compensation and turned people into daily wage earners in their own lands.

In Hindu society, the caste system assigns occupations based on birth and marks certain communities as impure. In Polukonda village, people without caste were later labelled as Untouchables because their living conditions were considered polluting. As a result, Sankarapadu was marked as an Untouchable colony within Polukonda. Hinduism is the dominant religion in India, based on caste and relegates Untouchables to manual labor and menial tasks. Justified through religious doctrine, this system marginalizes Untouchables, forcing them to live outside village boundaries and denying them basic human dignity. *Gidla's* shows that this system controls everyday life.

Her mother Manjula's life clearly shows that caste oppression intersects with gender discrimination. She experienced double discrimination as an Untouchable and, within the Untouchable caste, faced gender discrimination as a woman, as described by the writer with examples. Manjula earned gold and silver medals in her studies. Her proud father, Prasanna Rao, joyfully attended the award ceremony to accept her medals. Manjula grew up as the most mischievous person in the family right from her childhood. After her mother's death, she is loved by her father Prasanna Rao, but later controlled by male family members. Her younger brother Carey beats her every day, instructing her to behave like a proper lady and discouraging her interactions with other girls. In college, her family strictly controls her behaviour and appearance. She is deliberately made to look "as unattractive as possible" (*Gidla*, 2017, p. 113), and is not allowed to wear half-saris. During one visit, her father gives her plain white clothes, stricter than what even Brahmin widows wear. Because of this, people mock her by calling her "Musali Papa," meaning "old lady." Notably, these decisions were made without consulting Manjula herself, exposing the lack of agency afforded to women, even within a Christian household. This highlights the parallels between Hindu and Christian traditions in marginalizing women's voices.

Sujatha *Gidla's* work powerfully illustrates the Dalit Feminist argument that Dalit women experience oppression at the intersection of caste, class, and gender. *Gidla's* narrative also shows how Dalit women like Manjula are excluded both from mainstream feminism and male-centred Dalit politics. Questions of

caste discrimination, poverty, hunger, public violence, and sexual exploitation reminded outside its feminist agenda. As Sharmila Rege claims that Dalit women remain “outsiders within” dominant social and political movements. The masculinization of Dalit movement and the savarnization of womanhood subjected Dalit women to interlocking oppressions of caste, class, and gender (Rege, 2003, p. 91). Dalit women were also marginalized within patriarchal Dalit political movements, where gender concerns were subordinates to caste struggles.

In his 1995 essay “Dalit Women Talk Differently,” Gopal Guru also talks about how Dalit women have to deal with double silencing because they are left out of both “male-dominated Dalit politics and mainstream Indian feminism.” He argues that it’s crucial to acknowledge their unique perspective as “valid and authentic” (p. 2549). This idea helps us understand that women’s dignity in Indian society is often shaped not by their individuality but by caste, class, and social power. Gidla’s portrayal of Manjula’s life reflects this double marginalization. Manjula’s experiences of domestic violence, social control, and economic hardships are never recognized as a feminist issue. Through Manjula’s everyday struggles, Gidla challenges the masculinization of Dalit politics and savarnization of womanhood that Rege critiques.

Historically, Indian women have endured systemic discrimination through practices like child marriage and *sati*. Women are often protected, exploited, or avenged not to safeguard their dignity as individuals but because of caste, class, and personal jealousy. In *Ants Among Elephants*, women repeatedly become sites of caste conflict rather than subjects with agency. Gidla shows this clearly through two incidents. First, the Kapus sought help from Dalits such as Satyam to protect Kapu women. Second, the Surya Samajists, a high-caste group, supported Aseervadam, a lower-caste boy, in his conflict with Manjula. This reveals that caste authority protects male ego while ignoring women’s consent.

The text also exposes caste-based ideas of respectability. Brahmin girls are valued for appearing old-fashioned, which is read as a sign of purity while lower-caste Christian Women are stereotyped as sexually immoral and described as “cheap and easy” (p. 138). Such differential treatment reveals that caste, more than gender, determines how women are judged. As Sharmila Rege (1998) explains, in the Brahmanical social order, caste divisions and sexual divisions work together. Higher caste status often depends on controlling women to the private sphere, while the visible participation of lower-caste women in social

labor reinforces assumptions about their sexual availability. Brahminism uses this to mark lower-caste men as impure because they can't control "their" women (Rege, 1998, p. WS-44). *Gidla's* narrative shows that women are not treated equally but they are judged according to caste.

This critique also extends to mainstream feminism. As Anupama Rao points out, Indian feminism largely emerged from upper-caste women's struggles and rested on "the responsibility of denying caste as a problem for gender" (Rajan, 2009, p. 209). *Ants Among Elephants* directly challenges this position by centring a Dalit woman's life where gender oppression cannot be separated from caste humiliation. Dalit women experience double patriarchal oppression due to their lower social and economic position. They are oppressed inside their own community by Dalit men and outside by dominant-caste men. As Uma Chakravarti notes that "upper-caste men have long exercised sexual and social power over Dalit women, which reflects their control over lower caste" (Chakravarti, 2018, p. 81). Manjula's married life exposes that caste and patriarchy work together to oppress Dalit women. Married to a man much older than her, she endures domestic violence and humiliation but continues to work, raise her children, and protect her self-respect. Her struggle reflects the intersections of caste and gender, where Dalit women face exploitation both at home and in public life.

Caste also controls love and personal relationships. In another revealing incident of caste-based discrimination, Flora, who is in love with Satyamurthy, acknowledges that their relationship is impossible due to caste differences. Her statement "Your caste and mine are not one. You are a Christian, meaning a *Mala* Christian, an untouchable. We are Brahmins" (*Gidla*, 2017, p. 70), reveals that caste endogamy blocks emotional choices and preserves upper-caste purity. *Gidla* further reveals that caste shapes the body and self-image. Dalits are often portrayed as physically inferior by caste Hindus, a dynamic evident in Satyam's description of Flora as "high-caste features—fair skin and a distinct caste nose" (p. 65), exposing that Dalits' internalize caste hierarchies. As Limbale argues, Dalit consciousness emerges from recognizing this internalized oppression and turning it into awareness and resistance.

By recalling the *Vetti* system, where Dalit families were forced into lifelong bonded labour, *Gidla* connects present injustice to historical oppression. The Dora's *gadi* (house) symbolized tyranny, slavery, and cruelty and served as a place of torture, rape, and murder (*Gidla*, 2017, p. 40). As Rege (1998) argues,

“The diversity among Dalit women highlights the need to centre Dalit feminist liberatory knowledge in all liberation efforts. This requires examining how gender, race, class, caste, and sexuality intersect and recognizing that the Dalit feminist perspective itself can be questioned and revised” (Rege, 1995, p. 45). Gidla’s narrative does this by showing that Dalit women’s suffering and resistance cannot be understood without confronting caste as lived, structural reality.

Mainstream literature often portrays women in these customary roles, depicting issues like a husband’s dominant attitude, mistreatment of in-laws, sexual harassment within the family, and domestic violence. These themes are frequently explored by feminist writers, shedding light on age-old violence prevalent in orthodox families. Mainstream literature has, so far, ignored and suppressed the voices of the marginalized, confining them within the existing social structure. *Sarvajanik Satyadharma*, written by Jothiba Phule, called attention to the issue of gender equality and urged people to treat women with greater respect and to educate them (Singh, 2014, p. 37).

4. Education, Resistance and Identity

Gidla shows how institutions such as education, religion and marriage reproduce caste patriarchy. Manjula’s experiences in universities reveal that higher education does not dissolve caste prejudice but often reshapes it through moral policing, regional discrimination, and social exclusion. At Andhra University, Manjula faced criticism from fellow Christian women for interacting freely with peers and going to cinema. Despite being postgraduate students, their narrow-minded views reflected internalized caste and gender bias. As M. N. Srinivas (2012) found that even though the Christian missionaries worked hard to convert people in India, they only changed the faith but not the cultural practices. Christian’s social status in their community still largely relies on the caste they belonged to before their conversion.

Despite facing many challenges, she persevered and continued her journey alone. She builds supportive network with assertive women, and encounters the belief that “marriage is a compulsory norm, particularly for women” (Lamb, 2011, p. 49). As a motherless child, it was assumed that marriage would offer her protection. Gidla exposes the patriarchal exploitation through the dowry demand in Manjula’s proposed marriage showing that education alone cannot dismantle caste patriarchy.

The intersections of caste, gender, and societal norms intertwine to punish women for circumstances beyond their control. Manjula's broken engagement sparked rumours that severely damaged her reputation, turning her into a social outcast. Manjula's self-awareness deepened after completing her post-graduation. Education opens doors to rationalism and logic. Education offers access to political awareness and intellectual autonomy. At home and finally at peace, she began to reflect a growing individual consciousness. She came to understand that existence gains meaning through action and hard work. While gender consciousness relates to women as a group, self-consciousness is rooted in individual awareness. As Socrates said, "The aim of life is the perfection of the soul, achieved by knowledge, particularly knowledge of oneself" (Velmans, 2000, p. 11).

Manjula's life illustrates how education produces political consciousness without securing social equality. Her brother Satyamurth's engagement with communist ideology plays a crucial role in shaping Manjula's political awareness. Her sharp response during a job interview, where she openly questions the meaning of democracy, reveals a critical awareness and exceeds institutional expectations. This moment exemplifies what Anupama Rao (2009) discusses in *The Caste Question* that the Dalit political subjectivity demands both material equality and cultural recognition. Rao writes that Ambedkar envisioned justice not merely as legal inclusion but as "Political adequacy (equalization) and acknowledgment of cultural exclusion are two specific forms of redress that Ambedkar believed were necessary for the Dalit to become a fully humane society" (Rao, 2009, p. 23). Manjula's critique exposes the failure of democratic institutions to address caste-based exclusions, even while claiming formal equality.

Gidla extends this critique of political and social norms through her own refusal to conceal caste identity in the United States. When she declares herself an untouchable and is met with the response, "Oh! But you are so touchable" (Gidla, 2017, p. 3), the moment destabilizes caste as naturalized identity. This moment allows Gidla to reclaim her identity without shame, transforming what was historically a marker of exclusion into a site of political assertion. She is unapologetic and unconventional and challenges caste norms through her honesty. Read through Sharankumar Limbale's notion of Dalit consciousness as a "revolutionary mentality connected with struggle" (Limbale, 2004, p. 32), emerging from lived experiences of humiliation and exclusion.

The internal conflicts and emotional suppression experienced by Dalit women raise serious concerns about mental health. Sujatha Gidla briefly touches on

this issue through Manjula's story. Ajita Chakraborty (1990), in her essay "*Mental Health of Indian Women*," observes, "One can say that neurosis is a way of expressing emotional difficulties when the usual ways of resolving them fail" (p. 43), provides a useful framework to interpret Manjula's temporary breakdown. Her distress reflects the cumulative burden of caste humiliation, domestic violence, professional struggles, and her suppressed anxiety. Sujatha's suffering reflects the collective pain of Dalit women denied the privileges of caste, wealth, and male power.

Gidla discovered her own identity in the free land of America, regardless of her caste and creed. She spent her entire life attempting to determine what a good human being needs. According to her, the identity problem is built on untouchability levels and occupational forces. In current India, Dalits are viewed as the ghettos of traditions and practices. Limbale's formulation of Dalit literature provides a critical framework for reading Gidla's self-representation. Limbale defines Dalit literature as "writing about Dalits by Dalit writers with a Dalit consciousness" (Limbale, 2004, p. 19), emphasizing that authenticity emerges from lived experience rather than aesthetic refinement.

The socio-economic situation of the Dalit community is revealed in Limbale's *Akkarmashi* (1986), in which he describes the community's painful struggle. In this book, Limbale describes his family's battle to find a position in society. Similar to Limbale, Sujatha Gidla was severely oppressed by the society's divided mind. Identity crisis is the process of discovering one's position in a world of intense rivalry and fragmentation. Gidla was struck with the notion of self-awareness at a very young age in her life. Talking about identity formation, Maya Vinai (2013), in her article, says,

Caste, class, and gender are complete choppers along which identity formation occurs in India. Social changes, urbanization, and reservation have unquestionably decreased the thickness of caste oppression; however, they have lamentably neglected to eradicate it by and large. Consistently, newspapers and media journalists report instances of honor killings, caste-based rape, and oppression (Vinai, 2013, p. 56).

5. Conclusion

Dalit women have historically faced oppression, marginalization, and silencing within deeply entrenched casteist and patriarchal social structures, yet they

have also persistently resisted these forms of domination. Dalit life writing has emerged as a powerful medium through which Dalit women articulate their lived experiences, reclaim voice, and challenge dominant narratives that have traditionally excluded them. Rooted in lived reality, struggle, and resistance, Dalit aesthetics foregrounds pain, protest, and assertion as central elements of creative and political expression.

This paper has shown that Gidla's narrative functions as a Dalit Feminist life narrative that exposes caste and gender-based discrimination. Gidla stands out because of her radical political history. *Ants Among Elephants* gives a compelling account of the voices that had been muted in these historical endeavours and reintroduces those silenced voices by examining them through the prism of feminism. This paper closely studied the profound struggles and resilient resistance of Satyamurthy and Manjula, who belong to the Mala caste. By examining the lived experiences of Satyamurthy and Manjula, it is found that caste-based discrimination, gender inequalities and violence, and the enduring constraints and oppressions were imposed by the upper castes from the British colonial era to contemporary times.

In an interview with *The New Indian Express*, Gidla argues that caste oppression cannot be addressed in isolation from other structures of inequality. Her insistence that caste is not merely a "Dalit problem" but a structural problem affecting the entire society (Gunasekaran, 2018). Gidla links the women's question directly to caste oppression by underlining the urgency of an intersectional Dalit feminist politics.

References

- Bharathiraja, S. (2012, February). *A study of social realism in the select Indian Dalit autobiographies* (Doctoral dissertation, Annamalai University).
- Chakraborty, A. (2001). Mental health of Indian women. In B. V. Davar (Ed.), *Mental health from a gender perspective* (pp. 43). Sage Publications.
- Chakravarti, U. (2018). *Gendering caste: Through a feminist lens* (Rev. ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Das, A. (2020, January 7). *Review of Ants among elephants, by S. Gidla. Feminism in India*
o <https://feminisminindia.com>
- Gunasekaran, R. (2018, February 11). *Sujatha Gidla, author of Ants among elephants: My book wouldn't stand a chance in India* [Interview]. *The New Indian Express*.
<https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2018/feb/11/sujatha-gidla-author-of-ants-among-elephants-my-book-wouldnt-stand-a-chance-in-india-1771747.html>

-
- Guru, G. (1995). Dalit women talk differently. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 30(41/42), 2548–2550.
- Kumar, R. (2010). *Dalit personal narratives: Reading caste, nation and identity*. Kolkata: Orient Blackswan.
- Lamb, S. (2018). Being single in India: Gendered identities, class mobilities, and personhoods in flux. *Ethos*, 46(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/etho.12178>
- Limbale, S. (2004). *Towards an aesthetic of Dalit literature: History, controversies, and considerations* (A. Mukherjee, Trans.). Orient Longman.
- Mishra, P. (2017, December 21). *Gods oppressed children*. *The New York Review of Books*. <https://www.nybooks.com>
- Rajan, R. S. (2001). *Singposts: Gender issues in post- independence India*. Rutgers University Press.
- Rao, A. (2009). *The caste question: Dalits and the politics of modern India*. University of California Press.
- Rege, S. (1998). Dalit women talk differently: A critique of “difference” and towards a Dalit feminist standpoint position. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 33(44), WS39–WS46. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4407323>
- Rege, S. (1998). A Dalit feminist standpoint. *Seminar*, (466), 43–50. <https://www.seminarindia.net>
- Rege, S. (2003). A Dalit feminist standpoint. In A. Rao (Ed.), *Gender and caste* (pp. 90–101). Kali for Women.
- Sen, A. (2024). The other dimensions of dalit oppression: Tracing intersectionality through ants among elephants. *Journal of International Women’s Studies*, 26(1), 2.
- Singh, S. (2014). Representation of Dalit women in Dalit men’s and women’s autobiographies. *The Delhi University Journal of the Humanities & the Social Sciences*, 1, 39–47.
- Srinivas, M. N. (2012). *The remembered village* (2nd ed.). Oxford India Perennials Series. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198077459.001.0001>
- Velmans, M. (2009). *Understanding consciousness*. Routledge.
- Vinai, M. (2013). Diasporic consciousness in the works of Anita Nair. *International Journal of the Frontiers of English Literature and the Patterns of ELT*, 1(1), 56.
-