

## Dalits and the Caste Struggle for Water

Tamanna Priya

Senior Research Fellow, Department of English, Banaras Hindu University,  
Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh

---

### Abstract

---

The environmental struggle of the Dalits in India has a rich historical significance that has often been disregarded in the annals of environmental history. The Mahad Satyagraha led by Dr BR Ambedkar in 1927 was the biggest movement for environmental justice — where the Dalits were demanding a right to drink water from the Mahad Chowdar tank. But our mainstream environmentalists do not mention it. The narrative of Veer Meghmaya, an early Dalit activist in Gujarat, serves as a poignant example of the overlooked contributions and sacrifices made by Dalits in the fight for their community's rights over water resources. In order to analyse the ecological vulnerability of Dalits, this paper attempts to read water as an important manifestation of Dalit identity and experience. Through the analyses of Challapalli Swaroopa Rani's *Water* (2003) and Gautam Vegda's *Hydrophobia* (2023) alongside real-life incidents, the study sheds light on the systemic mechanisms of 'structural violence', 'ecoprecarity' and 'wrong kind of strength' that influence the relationship between Dalit identity and ecology. Within the tapestry of Hindu beliefs and practices, there emerges a spatial delineation of purity and pollution, etched into the collective consciousness of India by the upper castes, perpetuating inequality and reinforcing cultural bias against Dalits. The paper concludes by addressing the need to develop an awareness of caste and Dalit consciousness within the context of ecology to conceptualise waterscapes as liberated and egalitarian spaces and hence shift the approach of ecology from the 'I-them' to the 'I-we'.

**Keywords:** Dalit, water, ecology, ecoprecarity

### Introduction

“Climate change is a global phenomenon, which is discussed scientifically. We talk about the greenhouse effect, global warming etc. But the communities, which were jeopardized by it, are often ignored” (qtd. in Singh).

Mainstream academia and environmental discussions seldom link nature and caste together. This is because nature is typically viewed as a fundamental, universal, and inherent phenomenon, whereas caste is perceived as a socially constructed and

unique historical entity, specific to India, that entails a system of stratification and division of Hindu society. However, the Hindu belief system underscores the intertwining of caste and nature. How? Hierarchical social structures—and similarly nature—are often believed by many caste Hindus to be organic, intrinsic, and natural, originating together with and at the same moment of the creation of the universe by and out of a sacrifice of the body of Purusha, the ‘Cosmic Man’ (Sharma 3).

### **Methodology**

The surge in caste consciousness since the 1990s has compelled social scientists to expand their focus beyond traditional social identities such as class, gender, religion, and race, incorporating caste into their theoretical frameworks. However, amidst this shift, the intricate influence of the caste system on access to nature, environmental knowledge, and activism has been largely overlooked in ecological research within India. In the contemporary march of modernity, new avatars of caste have emerged, intertwining with the fabric of societal and environmental dynamics in India. Coined by T.M. Yesudasan, a prominent Dalit author and editor from Kerala, the term new-casteism encapsulates the evolving manifestations of caste within the context of modernity (Sharma 19). Similarly, eco-casteism, a concept introduced by Mukul Sharma, denotes the adaptation of age-old upper-caste Brahmanical influence to the realm of nature and environment (Sharma 9). These new avatars of caste operate through the selective sanitization, erasure, or alteration of memories, serving to perpetuate a homogenous and dominant politics of exclusion.

The underlying representation of nature and environment within the framework of caste has been a subject of scrutiny and critique by influential figures such as Dalit thinker Chandra Bhan Prasad. Prasad has shed light on the limitations of prominent environmental movements, exemplified by his criticism of the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA), wherein he labels it as the Patidar’s Land Bachao Andolan (PLBA). This criticism reveals a significant concern: that environmental activism can inadvertently reinforce existing power structures by favouring those who already possess land and resources. While the movement positions itself as a defender of the environment, it simultaneously glorifies a past that, for many, was marked by oppression and suffering (Anand). For Dalits, the historical context is not one of nostalgia, but rather a reminder of systemic injustices and exploitation. By prioritizing the experiences of landowners and a selective historical narrative, the NBA risks alienating those whose struggles are intricately tied to both social justice and environmental issues. The work of Alf Gunvald Nilsen, a postdoctoral fellow at the Department of Sociology, University of Bergen, Norway, in his book *Dispossession and Resistance in India: The River and the Rage* (2013) provides additional insights into the intersection of caste, environmental movements, and social struggle. Nilsen highlights the manner in which the Narmada Bachao Andolan has obscured, altered, and erased the traumatic memories and issues related to Dalits and caste domination within the

anti-dam struggle (Nilsen 160). This critical perspective unveils the complexities and power dynamics embedded within environmental movements, shedding light on the need for a more inclusive and holistic approach that acknowledges the intersectionality of caste, environment, and social justice. This paper aims to underscore the systemic mechanisms of structural violence, ecoprecarity, and wrong kind of strength that shape the relationship between Dalit identity and ecology, while drawing parallels between literary portrayals and real-life situations. By embracing this interdisciplinary and inclusive approach, this paper attempts to uncover the nuanced relationship between caste and environment, offering a more comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted dimensions of social and environmental justice. This evolving discourse not only enriches ecological research but also holds the potential to inform transformative interventions that address the intersecting challenges of caste-based disparities.

### **History**

The historical significance of the environmental struggle of Dalits in India has been consistently overlooked within the context of environmental history. The Mahad Satyagraha, orchestrated by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in 1927, stands as a monumental movement for environmental justice, as it revolved around the Dalits' demand for the right to access water from the Mahad Chowdar tank. The upper castes initiated a civil case against Ambedkar, although it was ultimately dismissed. They contended that the reservoir constituted private property and subsequently needed a ritual to purify the body of water. This purification ceremony entailed drawing water from the Chowdar tank in 108 earthen pots, blending it with cow milk, curds, dung, and urine, before ceremoniously declaring the reservoir water pure and suitable for use by caste Hindus (Samel 725). The narrative of Veer Meghmaya, an early Dalit activist in Gujarat, serves as a poignant example of the overlooked contributions and sacrifices made by Dalits in the fight for their community's rights over water resources (The Mooknayak). Despite its magnitude, this environmental activism often remains unacknowledged by mainstream environmentalists.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Water governance in India is primarily delineated as a state subject under the Indian Constitution, with Article 15 (2) (b) providing constitutional guarantees for unrestricted access to wells, tanks, and bathing ghats. However, the right to water assumes heightened significance for Dalits, reinforced by specialised legislation such as the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 (PCR Act) and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 (PoA Act) (Adagale 2). These legal provisions underscore the historical magnitude of violence experienced by Dalits in relation to water, to such an extent that legislative measures were necessitated to address and rectify these systemic injustices. Here, violence as a term is applied as a form of structural violence as described by Johan Galtung (1969), a Norwegian sociologist. Structural Violence refers to form of violence in which some social institutions may harm people by preventing them

from meeting their basic needs because “When structure is threatened, those who benefit from the structural violence, above all those who are at the top, will try to preserve the status quo to protect their interests” (Galtung 168–179).

In light of this foundational context, several thought-provoking inquiries come to the forefront. Does such a right to water manifest in the modern era? Does this right inadvertently impact Dalits? When the core of one's ecological experience revolves around notions of purity and pollution rather than the natural utilisation of water, what implications does this hold? Is the use of violence against Dalits in the quest for water justifiable? In an effort to address these inquiries, this paper delves into an analysis of two poetic works, *Water* (2006) by Challapalli Swaroopa Rani and *Hydrophobia* (2023) by Gautam Vegda.

Alicia Cole, a prominent contemporary poet, delves into thought-provoking themes in her poem *Corrupt the World With Drum* (2019). In this work, she poses an introspective question, asking, “Where will we go when we don't conceive ourselves properly?/ Where will we go when everything is overrun with the wrong kind of strength?” (Cole, lines 32-35). This “wrong kind of strength” (lines 34-35) intricately intertwines with the discourse of ecocasteism, shedding light on the adverse effects of the upper castes’ insatiable desires for increasing prosperity, comfort, and their relentless pursuit of power and caste hierarchy. This unbridled pursuit signifies an act of “the great derangement” (Ghosh) to maintain their status quo of the casteist social structure. *Corrupt the World With Drum* (2019) resonates with the wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi, who famously stated, “The Earth has enough for everyone's needs but not for some people's greed” (Dube). Cole's poignant exploration underscores the detrimental impact of unchecked avarice on Dalits’ access to water in today’s India, echoing the urgent need for a paradigm shift in ecological perspectives, societal values and priorities.

Dalits are systematically likened to non-humans by the state, positioning them as uncivilized and unproductive, thereby subjecting them to exploitation (Ray and Sengupta 99). Such dehumanization relegates them to the status of “natural” life (Ray and Sengupta 100), perpetuating their precarity. P.K. Nayar's concept of ecoprecarity encapsulates the intricate interplay of fragility, vulnerability, power dynamics across species, and the looming threat of extinction (Nayar 6). This theory illuminates how the empowerment of certain humans exacerbates the precariousness of the others (Nayar 6). Furthermore, the notion of biopower blurs the lines of speciesism, simultaneously emphasizing and obscuring the boundaries between human and non-human entities (Ray and Sengupta 100). This complex web of relations underscores the pervasive impact of human dominance on ecological and social systems, shedding light on the urgent need for inclusive and equitable frameworks to address the multifaceted challenges faced by marginalized communities.

### **Water by Challapalli Swaroopa Rani**

Challapalli Swaroopa Rani, a Telugu Dalit feminist writer, belongs to the Mala Caste. Malas are scheduled castes of Andhra Pradesh. She was born in 1968 in Pyaparru Village of Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh. She is one of the most widely published and translated Dalit women writers in Telugu (Rani 261). She is noted for providing a significant poetic voice that expands the scope of both Dalit and feminist literature. She is a poet, story writer, activist, columnist, and freelance journalist. She started writing poetry during her college days, initially focusing on general subjects and then shifted to write on political issues concerning Dalits, Adivasis and Women (Rani 261).

Challapalli Swaroopa Rani is one of the founders of the Manalo Manam, Telugu women writers' association as well as the Democratic Women Writers' Forum (Rani 261). Her impact on the Dalit feminist dialogue has reshaped the narrative, offering a counter-discourse to the mainstream feminist movement in Telugu. Her article on Dalit Women's Writing in Telugu, published in the *Economic and Political Weekly* (EPW) in 1998, was probably one of the very first writings that discussed Telugu Dalit women's writing in English (Rani 261). By harnessing her experiential reality, she transforms personal narrative into a powerful ideological force in *Water* (2013), highlighting the systemic injustices faced by marginalized communities, particularly Dalits. This approach extends beyond the traditional confines of art for art's sake; instead, it serves as a vehicle for exposing the pervasive evils entrenched in societal structures—evils that have persisted throughout history and continue to exist as she writes. The poem addresses the stark reality that, historically and contemporaneously, the provision of basic necessities—like water—is often mired in violence and discrimination, particularly against Dalits. The poet articulates this struggle underscoring an upper caste ideology that dehumanizes Dalits. This ideology not only perpetuates social hierarchies but also rationalizes the violence inflicted upon those deemed less than by the dominant caste narratives.

Through her recollection, she constructs a visceral narrative, interweaving her personal memories with the collective consciousness of her entire community. For Dalits, water remains laden with conflicting symbolism, embodying thirst, longing, and the ceaseless struggle to procure even a solitary glass. In Challapalli's poignant words, "When I see water/ I remember/ How my wada which would thirst all day/ For a glass of water" (Rani, lines 27-30). It also signifies the burden of impurity, as depicted in her verse, "When I see water,/ I remember/ How we welcomed our weekly bath/ As if it was a wondrous festival!" (lines 31-34). Except them, the entire village take bath luxuriously, that too, twice a day (lines 35-36). And then the oppressors very conveniently brand the Dalits as impure. However, the truth, as revealed by Challapalli, unveils a grim reality where the Dalits are denied the freedom to cleanse themselves, as their access to water is subject to the capricious whims and fancies of the upper castes who have "the wrong kind of strength" (Cole). Water, for Dalits also signifies discrimination, humiliation,

massacre-rape, displacement (lines 21-24) as Swaroopa also reminds us of the Karamchedu massacre (1985) of Andhra Pradesh in which six Madigas (Dalits from southern India) were killed, at least three Dalit women were raped and hundreds of them in the village were displaced after their houses were burnt and looted by Kamma, the upper castes only because a Madiga objected to a Kamma for soiling the water tank where Dalits drew their drinking water).

The poem adeptly intertwines the palpable experiences of dispossession among outcaste groups with the normalized feeling of un-belonging perpetuated by the dominant landowning Savarnas or privileged castes. This evocative linkage highlights the profound impact of exclusion and marginalization within the societal framework, prompting a critical examination of the entrenched power dynamics and social inequities that underpin these pervasive phenomena. Challapalli Swaroopa Rani's extensive academic training as a historian, coupled with her ideological stance as a Dalit feminist, and her resolute dedication to championing the cause of the oppressed, are all intricately interwoven within her works (Rani 262). Her poems aim to do three things: reshape elitist theories effectively, dismantle the Brahminical and patriarchal hegemonic structure and unravel how caste based discrimination is an existential reality of modern India.

Recent studies have shown the link between water and violence against Dalits. Paranjape, Adagale, and Pomane (2008) have looked into water conflicts between the Dalits and savarnas in the Konkan region. They found that Dalits were humiliated in various ways: by contaminating the source of water by putting human excreta into it, through torture, verbal and physical abuse and by making threats because higher caste Hindus believed that Dalits' 'assertion' over water deserved retribution (Paranjape et al. 110-114). The same case happened last year in Pudukottai, Tamil Nadu, the home of the Periyar movement where a huge amount of faeces so much so the water had turned yellow, being found in a 10,000-litre water tank which was being used by the Dalit community of around a 100 people. One of the victims added that they got this water connection in 2017 after several years of struggle and now this has happened because the upper caste does not like us getting a regular water supply ("Faeces"). By the end of 2016, another incident happened at Mekkalur (another village in Tamilnadu). As reported by *The Indian Express*, following the funeral procession of Chinnammal, a 75-year-old woman belonging to the caste Hindu community, a hearse was callously discarded into a well. This well served as a vital source of drinking water for the Dalit settlement in the area (Anbuselvan). *Untouchability, Homicide and Water Access* (2015) delves into the correlation between homicide rates and public access to water, particularly among individuals belonging to the 'lower' caste and Dalit communities at the district level in India (Bros and Couttenier 540-558). The research reveals a significant correlation between homicide rates and water access for these marginalized groups, highlighting the structural violence, eco-casteism and eco-precarity. Interestingly, the study also highlights the absence of a similar correlation between water access and homicide rates among higher caste

individuals, shedding light on the perpetuation of untouchability practices in modern-day India.

Alankar (2013) scrutinized the intricate influence of caste on water accessibility in urban settings, with a specific focus on Delhi and its neighboring city, Ghaziabad. The study revealed that the government prioritizes catering to the water requirements of "better-off" (non-Dalit) migrants and residents in newly developed areas, often at the expense of those residing in economically disadvantaged "poor" localities, predominantly comprising Dalits and Muslim minorities (Alankar 46-54).

Indulata Prasad's (2021) comprehensive study utilized ethnographic and social mapping methodologies to investigate the nuanced shifts in the spatial dynamics of untouchability, particularly concerning the Bhuiyan Dalits' access to water in a rural village in Bihar. The Bhuiyan caste is specific to this region and has historically been denied access to the village well for centuries. While the local government attempted to alleviate the control exerted by non-Dalits over the only potable water source by installing hand pumps in other parts of the village, those near Dalit residences often run dry during the hot season, and their water is frequently contaminated during the monsoon due to their shallower depth compared to the well primarily used by non-Dalits (Prasad 135). This finding not only revealed the continued covert practice of untouchability through water infrastructure but also highlighted the heightened vulnerability of Dalit communities to diseases, natural disasters, and other hazards compared to non-Dalits within the same environmental context (Prasad 149-152).

Thus, discrimination related to water is very much an existential reality for Dalits. For them, water is not a source of delight but rather a cultural imposition linked to notions of purity, untouchability, and pollution. These beliefs heavily influence the societal systems, institutions, cultures, and practices related to water, effectively reinforcing, legitimizing, and sanctifying the social order of water as said by Gopal Guru,

A social discourse of water is revealed where dual experiences of cultural conceptualization and societal exploitation pin down the lower castes and Dalits because Social ecology makes dirt and filth an existential companion of Dalits who are at the receiving end of condescending descriptions of the former across time and space.... In the social construction of ecology Dalits become dirt and dirt is them (Guru 41).

### ***Hydrophobia* by Gautam Vegda**

Gautam Vegda's poem *Hydrophobia* (2023) serves as a poignant exploration of the historical and ongoing struggle of the Dalit community with regard to access to water. Through a skillful use of metaphor and imagery, the poet draws parallels between the oppressive caste system and rabies (Vegda, line 1), positioning Dr Ambedkar's teachings as the only antidote to caste affliction (line 23). The

comparison of the caste system to rabies is particularly striking, as it conveys the pervasive and destructive nature of caste system, akin to a virulent disease that spreads unchecked. Just as rabies starts in the legs and spreads throughout the body, the caste system insidiously targeted the minds of the Dalits over centuries, ingraining the perception of pollution and impurity into their very being (lines 2-4). This pervasive casteist influence subsequently left an indelible mark on the entire community, shaping their identity and experiences, much like a relentless illness affecting the entire body.

The lasting effect of this naturalization was the internalization of their imposed identity, leading to desensitization to the discrimination they faced. However, hydrophobia terrified them the most, highlighting the discourses of precarity and eco-casteism. The poem vividly captures the profound impact of this denial, as water not only becomes a physical deprivation but also transforms into a potent symbol of fear (Vegda, line 11) due to the structural violence (Galtung 170-172) experienced by the Dalits in seeking access to it. This is exemplified in the lines, “The terror of not being able to drink water/ From the wells, stepwells, and ponds I dug” (Vegda, lines 11-12), which encapsulate the profound anguish and struggle inherent in the Dalit experience. The comfort of certain humans (the upper castes) exacerbated the ‘precariousness’ of others (the Dalits). Despite enduring “the biggest pain” (line 9), they felt incapacitated to resist, their sense of agency stifled by the internalized and naturalized nature of their caste identity dictate by the “wrong kind of strength” (Cole).

This poignant portrayal of subjugation is encapsulated in the harrowing imagery of being “bound to drink excessive/ Saliva dripping incessantly due to rabies” (lines 13-14). This visceral portrayal of the Dalit experience serves to confront the reader with the stark realities of eco-casteism, highlighting the interconnectedness of environmental precarity and systemic discrimination.

*Hydrophobia* also delves into the pervasive lack of educational opportunities and knowledge that has been internalized within the Dalit community, symbolized by the poet's evocative description of “The dazzling light of knowledge used to panic me” (Vegda, line 5). This lack of access to education further perpetuated the imbalance of power, with the upper castes imposing the Dalit community with a “wrong kind of strength” (Cole). In contrast, Dr. Ambedkar's teachings emerge as the sole antidote to counteract the venomous effects of the caste system, offering a beacon of hope and resistance against the prevailing oppression. The Mahad Satyagraha, a monumental movement for environmental justice, sought to end the inhumane treatment of Dalits, providing them with access to a fundamental human necessity—water—and elevating their status to a humane level (lines 15-21). Ambedkar's enduring philosophy and emphasis on education continue to serve as a timeless remedy for socio-political and environmental justice, relevant even to contemporary India akin to an antidote that retains its potency through the ages (line 22). His works and teachings are fundamental to anti-caste scholarship and are crucial in shaping the understanding



of Dalit ecological experiences. His contributions serve as a cornerstone for theorizing the intersection of caste and ecology, providing invaluable insights into the unique environmental challenges faced by Dalit communities.

### **Conclusion**

Water's pivotal role in delineating purity and pollution within the human body offers a lens through which to examine the complex interplay of religious, societal, and environmental dimensions in Hinduism. While Hindu sacred texts emphasize water's sacredness and its association with divine deities, nurturing, and motherhood, this reverence coexists with a deep-seated aversion towards pollution and those deemed responsible for it. The resultant stigmatization of impurities, often linked to caste-based identities, perpetuates a hierarchy that marginalizes certain communities (Sharma). This dichotomy underscores the intricate web of cultural, religious, and social dynamics influencing perceptions and interactions within Hindu society. The symbolic significance of water becomes entwined with the perpetuation of caste-based pollution, shedding light on the systemic discrimination and societal ills that manifest through this lens. This critical examination of water's role as a vehicle for reinforcing casteist identity prompts a deeper exploration of the nexus between religious beliefs, environmental concerns, and the perpetuation of social hierarchies within Hinduism. By acknowledging the problem and spreading awareness about the agony, struggles as well as victories, we lay the groundwork for meaningful change and inspire unified action to address the deep-rooted inequities. This acknowledgement is the cornerstone for fostering a more equitable and inclusive society, driving efforts to dismantle the barriers that sustain cycles of marginalization.

Historically, works such as Dalit songs, poems, autobiographies, short stories, and novels were predominantly interpreted as forms of protest literature, symbolizing Dalit empowerment and defiance against oppression. However, contemporary scholars have embarked on a re-evaluation of these traditions, seeking to conceptualize Dalit interactions with their surroundings, acknowledge their pivotal role in environmental discussions, and confront the environmental vulnerabilities they face. This re-examination not only aims to rectify the historical oversight of Dalit knowledge but also endeavours to enrich ecological discourse by incorporating diverse perspectives and experiences, thereby fostering a more inclusive and holistic understanding of environmental issues within the context of Dalit communities. The academic field of Dalit ecologies encompasses a comprehensive theory that delves into the marginalized and stigmatized existence rooted in the ancient Hindu ideology of purity and pollution. This conceptual framework scrutinizes the ways in which environment, places, and people are either validated or invalidated as social hierarchies are perpetuated and redefined. It seeks to reimagine the historically marginalized spaces occupied by Dalits in India as not only productive but also as pivotal sites for contemplating environmental relations and shifting the approach of ecology from the 'I-them' to the 'I-we'.

### Works Cited

- Adagale, Raju. "Water and Violence Against Dalits in Maharashtra: Multi- Case Study Approach." *Social Change*, 2020, pp. 2–3, doi:10.1177/0049085720923876.
- Alankar. "Socio-spatial Situatedness and Access to Water." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 48, no. 41, 2013, pp. 46–54.
- Anand, Siriyavan. "An Interview with Chandra Bhan Prasad." *Ambedkar.Org*, 6 Mar. 2001, Accessed 20 June 2024.
- Anbuselvan, B. "Dalits Protest Dumping of Hearse in Well." *newindianexpress.com*, The New Indian Express, 31 Dec. 2016, [www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2016/Dec/31/dalits-protest-dumping-of-hearse-in-well-1554660.html](http://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2016/Dec/31/dalits-protest-dumping-of-hearse-in-well-1554660.html). Accessed 26 July 2024.
- Bros, Catherine, and Mathieu Couttenier. "Untouchability, Homicides and Water Access." *Journal of Comparative Economics*, vol. 43, no. 3, Aug. 2015, pp. 549–558, doi: 10.1016/j.jce.2014.12.001.
- Cole, Alicia. "Corrupt the World With Drum." *Reckoning*, 2019, <https://reckoning.press/corrupt-the-world-with-drum/>. Accessed 20 July 2024.
- Dube, Lokesh Chandra. "MAN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT "The Earth Has Enough for Everyone's Need but Not for Everyone's Greed" -Mahatma Gandhi." *ResearchGate*, May 2020, [www.researchgate.net/publication/341525444\\_MAN\\_AND\\_HIS\\_ENVIRONMENT\\_The\\_Earth\\_has\\_enough\\_for\\_everyone's\\_need\\_but\\_not\\_for\\_everyone's\\_greed\\_-Mahatma\\_Gandhi](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/341525444_MAN_AND_HIS_ENVIRONMENT_The_Earth_has_enough_for_everyone's_need_but_not_for_everyone's_greed_-Mahatma_Gandhi). Accessed 20 July 2024.
- "Faeces found floating in Adi Dravidar village tank in Pudukottai, 'wanton act', says police." *thehindu.com*, The Hindu, 6 Dec. 2022, [www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/faeces-found-floating-in-adi-dravidar-village-tank-in-pudukottai/article66307637.ece](http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/tamil-nadu/faeces-found-floating-in-adi-dravidar-village-tank-in-pudukottai/article66307637.ece). Accessed 26 July 2024.
- Galtung, Johan. "Violence, peace, and peace research." *Journal of Peace Research*, 1969, pp. 167–191.
- Gopal Guru, "Freedom of Expression and the Life of the Dalit Mind." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 48, no. 10, 9 March 2003, pp. 41.
- Paranjape, S., et al. "Mahad to Mangaon: Eighty Years of Caste Discrimination: What Caste Is Water?." *Water Conflicts in India: A Million Revolts in the Making*, edited by K. J. Joy et al., Routledge, 2008, pp. 110–114.

- Prasad, Indulata. "Caste-ing Space: Mapping the Dynamics of Untouchability in Rural Bihar, India." *CASTE/A Global Journal on Social Exclusion*, 2021, pp. 132–152, doi: 10.26812/caste.v2i1.232.
- Nayar, Pramod K. *Ecoprecarity: Vulnerable Lives in Literature and Culture*. Routledge, 2019.
- Nilsen, Alf Gunvald. *Dispossession and Resistance in India: The River and the Rage*. Aakar Books, 2013.
- Rani, Challaplli Swaroopa. "The Story of Yellamma—the Philosophical Perspective." *Critical Discourse in Telugu*, edited by K. Suneetha Rani, Routledge, 2022, pp. 261–262.
- . "Water." Translated by Uma Bhrugubanda. *Steel Nibs Are Sprouting: New Dalit Writings from South India*, edited by K. Satanrayana and Susie Tharu, HarperCollins, 2013.
- Ray, Ranit, and Samrat Sengupta. "Understanding the Disaster Unconscious: The Marichjhapi Massacre Depicting Precarious Lives and Vulnerable Ecologies in Amitav Ghosh's *The Hungry Tide*." *Metacritic Journal for Comparative Studies and Theory*, Dec. 2023, pp. 99–100, doi: 10.24193/mjst.2023.16.07.
- Samel, Swapna H. "Mahad Chawadar Tank Satyagraha of 1927: Beginning of Dalit Liberation under B.R. Ambedkar." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 60, 1999, pp. 722-728.
- Sharma, Mukul. *Caste and Nature: Dalits and Indian Environmental Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Singh, Pratikshit. "World Poetry Day: Dalit Poet Challenges Caste Hierarchies Through English Verses." *en.themooknayak.com*, The Mooknayak English - Voice Of The Voiceless, 20 Mar. 2024, [www.en.themooknayak.com/dalit-news/dalit-poet-challenges-caste-hierarchies-through-english-poetry](http://www.en.themooknayak.com/dalit-news/dalit-poet-challenges-caste-hierarchies-through-english-poetry). Accessed 20 May 2024.
- Vegda, Gautam. "Hydrophobia." *AnaPana Sangha*, 2023, <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100092233380334&mibextid=ZbWKwL>. Accessed 18 July 2024.