

---

**Voices from the Margins: Vulnerability and Precarity in the Testimonies of Omprakash Valmiki's *Joothan* and Bama's *Karukku***

---

**Mohd. Adeel Alam<sup>1</sup>**

Research Scholar , Department of English ,Aligarh Muslim University,Aligarh

**Dr. Shagufta Anjum<sup>2</sup>**

Assistant Professor, Department of English , Aligarh Muslim University,Aligarh

---

**Article Received:** 14/06/2025**Article Accepted:** 16/07/2025**Published Online:** 16/07/2025**DOI:**10.47311/IJOES.2025.18.07.372

---

**Abstract**

This paper undertakes Omprakash Valmiki's *Joothan* and Bama's *Karukku* for a comparative analysis. Through the lens of Subaltern Theory, vulnerability and precarity are foregrounded that shape the Dalit subjectivity in post-colonial India. The texts emerge as counter narratives for caste system by expressing their lived experiences of exclusion, marginalisation and the struggle for dignity. The present study shows how the voices of the Dalit Community is silenced, employing the subaltern theory of Gayatri Spivak and Ranajit Guha. The brutal North Indian caste system is shown in *Joothan* while *Karukku* explores the life of a Tamil Nadu Dalit Christian woman. Both autobiographical works portray deep emotional and social scars, illustrating the pervasive impact of caste on education, religion and employment. Facing vulnerability, the narrators live within a state of constant precarity, wherein the act of writing emerges as a potent form of resistance against imposed silence. These writings turn out to be political works that compel readers to acknowledge the entrenched reality of caste-based oppression. By engaging with the discourse of the silenced and excluded voices the paper argues that these autobiographies breakdown the boundaries little more than simply being their personal stories. They subvert the traditional notions of identity, power and cast, offering a powerful voice to the marginalized.

**Keywords:** vulnerability, precarity, subaltern, resistance, identity.**Introduction**

One of the most pervasive oppressive regimes in India is caste-based discrimination, which routinely marginalises Dalit groups. For millions of people, the social isolation and untouchability practices are still in place today rather than being a thing of the past. Dalit voices can now effectively challenge prevailing narratives and regain agency through

literature, particularly autobiographical writings. In a society that frequently denies Dalits the ability to recount their own experiences, Omprakash Valmiki's *Joothan* and Bama's *Karukku* are two of the most famous Dalit autobiographies. They both represent fearless acts of self-assertion and resistance. According to Ghan Shyam Shah, "Dalit includes those termed in administrative parlance as Scheduled Castes, Schedule Tribes and Other Backward classes" (Shah, 8)

This paper explores the ideas of precarity and vulnerability in *Joothan* and *Karukku* through the lens of subaltern theory. The study puts Dalit subjectivity in a context that takes into account the silencing of subaltern voices and the radical potential of testimonial literature. It is based on the seminal works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Ranajit Guha. These literary works show how Dalit people have suffered, fought through, and stood up to institutional oppression. They provide a strong answer to Spivak's famous question, "Can the subaltern speak?" (1988).

These works do not show precarity and vulnerability as notions; they represent them as actual. In *Joothan*, Valmiki, who came from the Chuhra caste in North India, writes on how he was humiliated and pushed to the edges of society, including being denied access to basic decency and education. *Karukku* also talks about the problems that Bama, a Dalit Christian woman in Tamil Nadu, has to deal with. It shows how caste and religion work together to dominate and exclude people. These texts represent the unstable behaviour that is marked by institutional brutality, instability, and lack of chances.

The study puts *Karukku* and *Joothan* in the framework of Subaltern Studies to show that they are more than just personal memoirs; they are the acts of defiance that go against dominant power systems. These books not only talk with the real-life effects of being vulnerable because of caste, but they also stress the political significance of autobiographical writing in getting back power and agency. The testimonial power of these works makes readers reflect about how common caste-based violence is and how it affects social justice, identity, and power.

### **Theoretical Framework: Subaltern Theory, Vulnerability and Precarity**

The Subaltern Studies Group started Subaltern Theory in the early 1980s as a bold method to move the focus away from elitist and colonial histories by giving more attention to the voices and activities of people who have been marginalised in South Asian contexts. Ranajit Guha, one of the movement's most important leaders, declared that "subaltern" means individuals whose voices are not heard in the main story of power and whose history is not written about (Guha, 1982). Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is a well-known postcolonial theorist who has asked if the subaltern may "speak" inside dominant discursive frameworks. In her seminal work *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1988), Spivak notes that even when the subaltern is allowed to speak, their words are often changed or mediated by common

---

ideological frameworks. Spivak's insights can help us to understand how prejudice based on caste, silences Dalit voices and makes their experiences seem less authentic. According to Limbale, "Dalit literature is not ahistorical. The historicity of Dalit experience is conveyed through its strategy of liberating certain figures of history and myth from the demonizing prison hold of upper caste literature and using them to connect the present with the past" (Limbale, 13)

Dalits are an example of a subaltern class in India because they are not part of the Hindu caste system and are systematically denied access to education, religious authority, and political participation. Dalit literature helps fight against this exclusion by becoming a form of knowledge that challenges dominant norms instead of functioning merely as a personal story. *Joothan* and *Karukku* are the examples of counter-narratives, which want to be heard rather than effaced. These books allow the reader to connect directly with the thoughts and feelings of Dalit people without being influenced by higher caste viewpoints. Arjun Dangle, a Dalit writer does not consider Dalit as caste but rather 'a realization' which "is related to the experiences, joys, sorrows and struggles of those in the lowest stratum of society" (Dangle, 264).

The analysis engages with Judith Butler's ideas about vulnerability and precarity through the lens of Subaltern Theory. In her book *Precarious Life and Frames of War* (the 2009), Butler makes a distinction between precarity and vulnerability. Precarity is an unfair circumstance caused by social and political processes, while vulnerability is a universal human condition. Butler says that precarity is a socially created state that comes from power relations that set apart lives that are seen as grievable and those that are not. The upper caste has made Dalit lives intolerable for a long time. They live in tyranny and hardship while being left out of public discourse. Both *Joothan* and *Karukku* show this precarization because the main characters are always afraid of being left out of society, being sick, and having their financial situation change without warning.

Combining Subaltern Theory with the themes of vulnerability and precarity provides the readers a good way to analyse the Dalit autobiographies. It helps to comprehend how caste-based structural systems create certain situations of pain and keep people who experience them down. Reader can also better appreciate what is at stake in Dalit resistance with these ideas. Valmiki and Bama take back space in a public conversation that has historically ignored or belittled it by presenting their own tales. Writing is a way to show that you are human and to fight against the systems that see Dalit lives as unimportant or disposable. So, this paper regards *Joothan* and *Karukku* as subaltern texts that do more than just document suffering; they also theorise it through lived experience. From their point of view, vulnerability is a state of political possibility instead of passivity, and precarity is a state to be addressed and refused instead of fate.

**Textual Analysis of Omprakash Valmiki's *Joothan***

*Joothan: A Dalit's Life* (2003) by Omprakash Valmiki is an important book in Dalit literature. It tells the story of a Dalit man growing up in North India after independence. It is an autobiographical story that extends beyond just one person's memories to show the collective Dalit consciousness, which is marked by humiliation, endurance and social exclusion. Valmiki uses his own life experiences to build a powerful counter-narrative that shows how cruel the caste system is and how the political, religious, educational and family institutions that support caste-based oppression are to blame. The text turns out to be a site for subaltern memory, assertion, and resistance. According to Valmiki, "Dalit consciousness does not make an account of or give a report on the anguish, misery, pain and exploitation of Dalits, or draw a tear-streaked and sensitive portrait of Dalit agony; rather it is that which is absent from "original" consciousness, the simple and straightforward perspective that breaks the spell of the shadow of the cultural, historical and social roles for Dalits, that is Dalit Consciousness, "Dalit" means deprived of human rights, those who have been denied them on a social level. Their consciousness is Dalit consciousness" (Valmiki, 2001, p.29).

*Joothan* strongly urges to break down the social and cultural rule and bring about a social change so that the 'voiceless' can also become 'voiced'. 'The word Joothan' refers to food that is left on a plate after eating and should be put away. The title of the novel, *Joothan* has not been changed in the English version because Valmiki believes it accurately portrays the pain, suffering, and anguish of the whole Chuhra community, who lived on the edges. In his autobiography, Valmiki relives the embarrassing experience of how he collected, preserved, and ate *Joothan*. He remembers scraping the *joothan* off the leaf plates after the wedding guests had eaten in the village and then storing that *joothan*, mostly the *puris*, for the hard days of the rainy season. It hurts his heart like a thorn. He feels bad and asks, "What sort of life was that?" After working hard day and night, the price of our sweat was just *joothan*" (Valmiki, 2003, p.10). The word 'Joothan' has historical meanings. Dr. Ambedkar told Dalits not to accept any *joothan*, even though people from higher castes thought they were being rude. This is shown through a powerful way in the text when Valmiki's mother empties the basketful of *joothan* in front of Sukhdev Singh Tyagi, an upper-caste man, after he turned her down. Omprakash Valmiki says, "that night, the mother Goddess Durga entered my mother's eyes. It was the first time I saw my mother get so angry. She emptied the basket right there" (Valmiki, 11).

In *Joothan*, the school in which Omprakash Valmiki studies is an important locale where precarity and fragility are quite evident. Valmiki's narrative begins with stark depictions of his childhood where he faced caste humiliation and deprivation. He writes, "The anguish of my community, the anguish of my own life, would lie coiled within me like a snake" (Valmiki, 13). His very identity is shaped by a system that is regulated by touch, access, food,

and

labor. He describes being forced to mop the school grounds, sit apart from other kids, and endure verbal and physical abuse from the teachers. He writes, “The headmaster called me a Chuhra in front of the whole class. He would make me sweep the entire school yard every day” (Valmiki, 15). Such kind of behaviour serves as an example of how the educational system, which is supposed to promote social mobility, serves to strengthen discrimination based on caste systems. Dalit education is conditioned by psychological violence that delegitimises their presence in settings intended for empowerment, in addition to material poverty.

It is a harsh criticism of Hindi writing that paints a romanticised picture of life in the village. Valmiki compares the beautiful scenery to the harsh reality of village life, where people from the Chuhra community lived outside the village and had to do menial jobs for free, like cleaning out the stinky straw beds in the cattle sheds of higher caste villagers and getting rid of dead animals. They were also denied basic rights like clean water and the chance to get education. Valmiki remembers very well how he was taken against his will to plant cane in Fauza Singh’s fields the day before his maths exam. To get his rage out, Valmiki says, “My mind was set aflame by his swearing. A fire had engulfed my innards that day. The memories of these cronies of the Tyagi continue to smoulder deep inside me, emitting red-hot heat” (Valmiki, 57). After reading about how upper-caste Hindi writers have written about Dalits, Valmiki is of the view, that literature can only imagine hell. For the Chuhra community, the rainy season was a living hell. The terrible suffering of the village life has not been touched upon by the Epic poets of Hindi. Valmiki speaks out against the tradition of the low-caste bride and groom going door-to-door to show respect for the upper caste people. He is strongly against it, saying, “The bridegroom goes from door to door at his own wedding. It is awful. The bridegrooms from higher castes don’t have to do that” (Valmiki 32). He awakens the consciousness of his people and reveals that “It is caste pride that is behind this centuries old custom. The deep chasm that divides the society is made even deeper by this custom. It is a conspiracy to trap us in the whirlpool of inferiority” (Valmiki, 33).

Valmiki’s experiences in the ordinance factory and public life further illustrate how precarity affects Dalit identity. Even after receiving formal education and getting a government job, he continues to face institutional discrimination, social exclusion and casteist taunts. He experiences ontological as well as economic precarity; he is continuously made to feel as though he is an outsider in upper-caste society. His caste background serves as a disciplinary instrument, controlling his social and professional contacts and creating a persistent sense of uneasiness.

Crucially, *Joothan* is not a story about helpless suffering it is a document of selfdetermination and resistance as well. The subaltern condition is challenged by Valmiki’s reading of Dalit literature, his activism, and his choice to tell his life narrative. By claiming his freedom to

recount and theorise his oppression, he subverts Spivak's idea of subaltern speechlessness through his story. By revealing the ideological frameworks that portray Dalit lives as silent and undeserving of historical significance, his writing itself takes on the role of an agent. The literary form, that is, autobiography is important in this case. In contrast to fictional depictions that run the risk of dehumanising or beautifying suffering, *Joothan* maintains that real experience must be genuine and urgent. The reader is forced to face the everyday realities of caste system as it rejects abstraction. The political power of these texts stems from the fact that these works are testimonials rather than just a story. It necessitates a reexamination of social norms that condone caste-based violence and challenges the reader to engage ethically with the author's world.

Furthermore, Valmiki makes use of language in a remarkable way. Hindi is the most common language in North India, he writes in an honest, straightforward and unapologetic tone. The sensibilities of the upper-caste reader are not catered to or accommodated. He criticises the system instead, using the same rhetoric used by the oppressor. In a sense, this language tactic is representative of subaltern assertion—turning the master's tools against the master.

In conclusion, *Joothan* shows how Dalit vulnerability is systematically manufactured rather than it is innate or natural. It is the outcome of intentional social systems meant to make Dalit lives expendable. In this sense, precarity describes Dalits' ongoing state of insecurity and instability, which extends beyond their material well-being to include their social and psychological well-being. Intimate, urgent, and defiant, Valmiki's autobiography paints a picture of what it is like to live in such a setting and demonstrates how resistance is still possible through remembering, storytelling and speaking back.

#### **Textual Analysis of Bama's *Karukku***

Often acclaimed as the first autobiography written by a Tamil Dalit woman, Bama's *Karukku* (2000) is a groundbreaking work that chronicles the actual experiences of Dalit oppression in Tamil Nadu. Although Bama's identity is influenced by gender, the novel highlights caste as the main source of structural violence effectively. Bama reveals the ways that caste-based precarity is perpetuated in religious, educational and socioeconomic organisations by an honest description of her life as a Dalit Christian. *Karukku* is a political autobiography that serves as an affirmation of subaltern voice, agency and resistance much like Valmiki's *Joothan*.

The sharpness of Dalit suffering is also poetically conveyed by the word "Karukku", which alludes to the serrated edges of palm leaves used in Christian liturgy. Moments of betrayal, disappointment and outrage are prevalent throughout Bama's story, especially with regard to religious organisations that purport to provide salvation but instead uphold caste systems. Bama gives voice to a Tamil Dalit Christian woman grappling with a similar casteist order. She remembers witnessing a fellow Dalit man carrying food with a leaf held by a string, to

avoid polluting the upper-caste recipient.(Bama,15) In *Karukku*, the Catholic Church is another location where caste is enforced rather than being a haven. Bama describes how Dalits were excluded from positions of ecclesiastical authority and given separate sitting arrangements during mass. Thus, the confluence of caste and religion creates a special kind of precarity in which even places of worship participate in the social devaluation of Dalit life. Bama's school experiences are strikingly similar to Valmiki's. Bama foregrounds education as a site of both aspiration and humiliation. Despite being one of the brightest in her class, she was constantly reminded of her caste identity, stating, "All the teachers had their favorites... and I knew they would never choose someone like me" (Bama, 22). She details the ongoing humiliation and treatment of Dalit students as innately inferior. Teachers frequently viewed them as burdens rather than students, assuming they were incapable of learning. She says "We were not allowed to mix with the Naidu children. They would never touch us... We were always made to feel that we were low" (Bama, 14). This treatment exposes how educational establishments function as caste-control technology even if they are supposed to be enlightening. Dalits' precarity is exacerbated by systemic neglect, social exclusion and emotional abuse that accompany their access to education.

*Karukku* critically examines the false promise of integration that came with Christian conversion. Bama's autobiography shows that conversion did not result in social equality, despite the fact that Christianity in Tamil Nadu has historically drawn Dalits because it rejects Hindu casteism. Rather, caste continued to be a guiding concept in the Christian society. Dalits continued to be at the bottom of the hierarchy, where they were subjected to the same humiliations and exclusions from which they had fled. This continued exclusion in spite of religious conversion emphasises how caste is a social construct that is enforced and controlled by others rather than a belief system that can be abandoned.

What makes *Karukku* different is that Bama uses her native Tamil and writes in a way that sounds like speech. The way she tells stories goes against what is usually done in literature. Her writing is informal, broken up, and sometimes aggressive, which shows the breaks and gaps in Dalit life. The language itself is resistant because it keeps the dialects and idioms of Dalit communities that are sometimes lost in mainstream Tamil literature. This gives Bama back control over language and makes sure that the subaltern speaks in their own language and on their own terms.

*Karukku* shows how hard it is to be a Dalit in a complicated way. It has to do with more than just money; it has to do with life and death. Bama's choice to leave the convent and her eventual disillusionment with the Church show a larger desire for actual freedom. She will no longer support groups that promote caste rules. This act of freeing oneself, even if it hurts, is a powerful message of freedom and respect. Her leaving institutional religion marks a

shift from being weak to being strong, from being a recipient of charity to becoming a fighter. *Karukku*, like *Joothan*, lacks a tidy redemption storyline. It is a literary piece replete with unresolved tensions, anger, and fragmentation. Nonetheless, the potency of this subaltern narrative lies in its refusal to whitewash suffering. Bama's narrative centres on the concepts of naming, confronting, and accommodating new modes of existence, rather than merely enduring caste. Her biography evolves into a political assertion advocating for Dalits' right to self-determination, critiquing the structures that unjustly marginalise them, and expressing optimism for a future transcending caste.

*Karukku* shows that vulnerability is something that everyone has in common and can be used as a basis for mass resistance when it is made political, not a sign of weakness. People do not accept precarity; they reject it. The story moves towards cultural restoration, community, and harmony. Bama's voice, which is not unique, is like the voices of many Dalits in Tamil Nadu and other places who are still fighting against caste discrimination.

#### **Comparative Discussion: Convergences and Divergences**

Both Bama's *Karukku* and Omprakash Valmiki's *Joothan* are very important works in Dalit literature. *Karukku* was written in Tamil Nadu and *Joothan* was written in North India, yet both works are united by their vivid portrayals of how caste makes life unstable and fragile. They are political interventions that change the way Dalit life is seen and understood in India through the caste discussion and memoirs. Even though they both focus on lived experience and the voices of the subaltern, which makes them complementary works, they are plainly different from each other because of where they are set, their social structure, and their theological setting. Baburao Bagul, a prominent Dalit writer opines, "Hindu writers find it difficult to cope with the Ambedkarite hero who is a rebel with a scientific and rationalist attitude. On the other hand, heroes like Karna and Eklavya are consistent with the cultural and mythical value structure they have internalised" (Omvedt, 96).

The way the two stories show how vulnerable Dalits are every day is a big part of what makes them comparable. Both stories indicate that school is a hard place that gives people freedom but also usually makes them feel bad about themselves. Valmiki and Bama say that schools are places that reinforce caste by forcing Dalit pupils to sit apart, clean up after themselves, deal with teachers, and deal with bullying from their classmates. These events show a systematic logic of exclusion that reinforces a sense of inferiority and helps make Dalit suffering seem normal. So, these works illustrate that vulnerability is a result of how institutions are set up, not just something that happens by chance.

*Joothan* and *Karukku* also draw attention on how caste renders Dalit identity essentially insecure. Valmiki still suffers social marginalisation and casteist taunting in *Joothan* even after he graduated from college and started a government job. Bama finds in *Karukku* that her Christian conversion does not shield her from caste-based discrimination; rather, the

Church becomes another venue where Dalits are excluded. In neither case is social mobility the same as social acceptability. This emphasises a fundamental aspect of Dalit precarity: ontological insecurity—being constantly reminded of one's 'place' all the time, regardless of one's achievements—rather than only material conditions.

Another thing we all agree on is the idea of writing as a kind of resistance. Both authors use autobiographical style to stress voice and agency, not to make people feel sorry for them. By getting rid of the sanitised stories of caste-blind nationalism and religious tranquilly, they show how deeply divided Indian society is. Valmiki and Bama turn their vulnerability into a kind of political consciousness by telling their life tales without hiding anything or making excuses. The texts encourage the reader to not only see the wrongs that are portrayed, but also to act in a moral way with them.

Still, there are major differences in how each book explains where oppression comes from and how it works. Valmiki's *Joothan* is strongly rooted in the Hindu caste system of North India, which upholds the ideas of what is clean and what is dirty. His life has been affected by rigid varna classifications and centuries-old occupational segregation. He often shows harsh physical actions like scavenging, cleaning, beatings and spitting. He fights against a system that is rooted in religion and society and is supported by Brahmanical conservatism. *Karukku*, on the other hand, works between Christians welcoming everyone and excluding people based on their caste. Caste differences still remain in Bama's community, even though many of the people have become Christians. The tyranny is structural and symbolic, often taking the form of church hierarchies, seating arrangements and not letting people have spiritual freedom. So, Bama criticises both the Church for not living up to its claims of universal friendship and the Hindus for their caste system. Her story shows that caste is not based on religion, and it opens up the talk about it beyond Hinduism.

These works also have very different tones and ways of putting things together. *Joothan* is more straight and chronological, following Valmiki's growth from a child to an adult and from being left out to being partially included. Its tone is calm and even stoic because it wants to show rather than make up a story. *Karukku's* way of telling stories, on the other hand, is cyclical and fragmentary, with breaks, reflections, and feelings. Bama has a style that is honest, direct, and sometimes poetic. Her writing has a conversational tone and involves both readers and the people she writes for and from. This structural difference comes from the different literary styles that each author draws from and the different readers that each author wants to reach.

### **Conclusion**

*Karukku* by Bama and *Joothan* by Omprakash Valmiki are both powerful literary representations of the real-life struggles of Dalit people in postcolonial India. The autobiographical form of both books expose the deeply engrained caste institutions that

shape, restrict and regulate Dalit life. The similarities between these narratives are that they both explore precarity and vulnerability as structural circumstances that are imposed by the caste system, rather than as transient affective experiences. These forms of social suffering are not extraneous; rather, they are indispensable to the operation of caste as a system of social control and administration. According to subaltern theory, Valmiki and Bama's testimony, not only speaks but also demands to be heard, thereby challenging Spivak's query, "Can the subaltern speak?" The writing of both the writers becomes a form of reclamation. They assume responsibility for their life narrative, which has been suppressed, misrepresented, or obliterated by the prevailing castes for centuries. In doing so, they expose the systems that generate Dalit vulnerability which encompasses the silent violence of exclusion in businesses, temples and classrooms, as well as the brutality of manual scavenging.

However, *Joothan* and *Karukku* not only document tyranny but also establish a politics of resistance. Writing is a revolutionary deed in both scenarios. It transforms personal suffering into a public memory. In addition to criticising caste hegemony, it asserts cultural identity, pride and dignity. Both narratives present a Dalit-centered epistemology that challenges the prevailing discourses of caste denial, religious harmony, and Indian nationalism as counter-histories.

By looking at these two works side by side, one can see how caste systems change depending on where they are, what religion they follow, and how they are set up. The basic experience of being a Dalit is the same, even though their region, language, and religion may be different. Valmiki and Bama both show how caste affects everyday life, whether it's through the rigorous Brahmanism of North India or the caste-infused Christianity of Tamil Nadu. But they also show how the Dalit subject can stand up for their rights, speak out, and rethink their future even while these structures are in place. Thus, *Joothan* and *Karukku* are more than just stories of survival; they are assertions of the agency. Both these scholarly texts are not only important contributions to Indian literary and socio-political discourse, but also very significant political documents that show the fights of Dalits against systems of caste, silence, and exclusion. They are the memorable and powerful texts because they are the human stories, which represent the real life and express pain, strength, and determination from the edges.

#### **Works cited:**

Bama. (2000). *Karukku* (L. Lakshmi Holmström, Trans.). Macmillan India. (Original work published 1992)

Butler, J. (2009). *Frames of war: When is life grievable?* Verso.

- 
- Guha, R. (Ed.). (1982). *Subaltern studies I: Writings on South Asian history and society*. Oxford University Press.
- Guru, G. (2009). *Humiliation: Claims and context*. Oxford University Press.
- Omvedt, Gail. (2006). *Dalit visions*. Orient Blackswan Ltd. New Delhi
- Pandian, M. S. S. (2007). *Brahmin and non-Brahmin: Genealogies of the Tamil political present*. Permanent Black.
- Punalekar, S.P. (2001) *Dalit Literature and Dalit Identity*, In “Dalit identity and politics” Shah G., Sage Publication.
- Sharankumar, L. (2004). *Towards an Aesthetic of Dalit Literature: History, Controversies and Consideration* (A. Mukherjee, Trans.). Orient Longman.
- Sharatchandra, Muktibodh (1994) : *What is Dalit Literature?* In “Poisoned Bread” A. Dangle, Orient Longman.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271–313). University of Illinois Press.
- Teltumbde, A. (2010). *The persistence of caste: The Khairlanji murders and India’s hidden apartheid*. Navayana.
- Valmiki, O. (2003). *Joothan: A Dalit’s life* (A. Prabha Mukherjee, Trans.). Columbia University Press. (Original work published 1997)
- Valmiki, O. (2001). *Dalit Sahitya ka Saundaryashastra*. Radhakrishnan, New Delhi.
- Zelliot, E. (2005). *From untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar movement*. Manohar Publishers.