

Creator:

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Cartographies of Courage: Fictional Threads, Real Lives



01

Introduction

- Locate Dalits in India and maps Dalit Resistance and Discourses within: 1. Dalit Activism, 2. Literature, and 3. Theory in the wake of Dalit Massacres.
- Introduction to Dalit Atrocities and Massacres.
- Locate the women of Dalit massacres/Dalit Women Where are they?

Dalits

- **Dalit**", used for all genders, is derived from the Sanskrit root 'dal-', meaning "broken, ground-down, downtrodden, or oppressed" (Haseena 2015).
- Colonial India Act Of 1935 or the Government of India Act (Article 341) as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs).
- "The term Dalit [today] is an act of rebellion used by the former untouchables to acquire a **new identity**, which stands for pride and self-respect" (Kumar 2019).
- "Dalits have been victimised through the structural hierarchy of caste that perpetuates the ethos of inequality and maintains the segregation of power" (Patil, 2013).
- Social, cultural and political context that led to Dalit atrocities and massacres-



Dalit Acivism

Socio-political movements aimed at opposing caste discrimination and social injustice.

Non-brahmin movement - Phule, Periyar. Sri Narayana Guru and Ambedkar.

CPIM - class struggles.

Women - Pawar and Moon (1989) women's participation in the Ambedkarite movement against untouchability.

Savitribai Phule to Kandasamy.

Dalit Literature

Challenge the mainstream savarna representations of caste by asserting the Dalit experiences and identity.

Poetry, Dalit autobiographies - Bagul, Limbale, Kamble, Namdeo Dhasal, and Bama.

Now, fiction and plays - lack of massacre narratives like Teltumbde's (2010) *The Peristence of Caste.*

Dalit feminist literature - response to misrepresentation of caste and gender intersections in mainstream narratives.

Bama's Karukku, . . . Fiction by Kandasamy.

Dalit Theory

Literary and socio-political framework

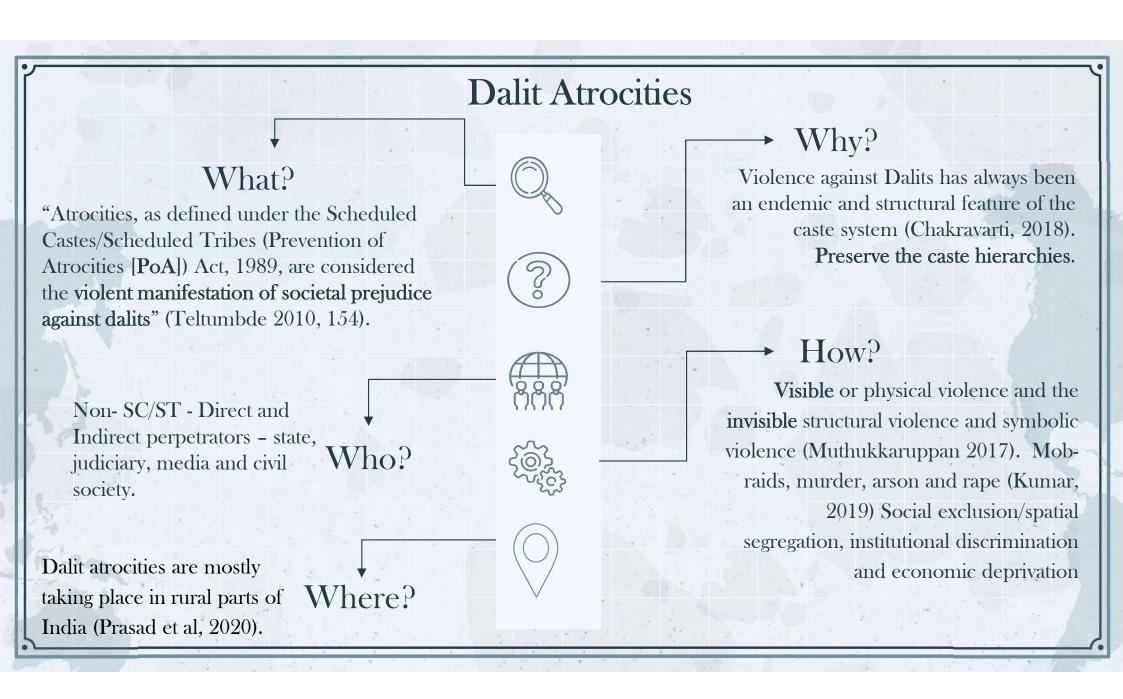
- combat the historical and cultural caste-based discrimination.

Dalit identity/ Dalitness – discrimination, struggle, and resilience (Chauhan 2023) – Dalit experience – Curu (1995) –

Dalit experience – Guru (1995) -Dalit aesthetics – equality, liberty, justice and fraternity for the most depressed class in society (Kumari 2021)

Dalit feminist theory – against 'homogenization' (Mohanty 2003) and for 'intersectionality' (Crenshaw 1989) – Guru (1995) vs Rege (1998)

Activism, Literature and Theory led to an increase in Dalit atrocities and massacres . . .





Reasons

- Caste-based atrocities mainly occur "when the Dalit attempts to trespass the rigid caste spaces" (Vandana 2021), that is, while "oppression can be said to be endemic to caste, a caste crime is invariably the result of its victims' defiance" (Teltumbde 2010, 42).
- Assertion, Land disputes, relative weakness.



Justice and Prevention

- Venkatesan S. emphasizes the need to focus on social reform including land reforms to provide an enabling environment of social justice and caste conflict free India which will in turn lead to economic reform and Dalit development (1).
- The PoA Act implementation is still negligible (Jaoul 2008).
- Teltumbde (2018) critiques the PoA Act.

Massacres

- Neglected overshadowed by genocide studies/holocaust lack of legal definition 'mass crime' by Semelin (2003)
- killing of even one individual could account to massacre (Corbin, 1992) or a minimum of three deaths should occur to consider an event as a massacre (Guatemala Human Rights Commission 1989).
- Massacre studies in the West Corbin 1992; Semelin (2003); Dwyer and Lyndall (2012).
- Number of deaths involved in violence, time, and geographical location of the massacre (Holmes and Holmes, 1998).
- Indian massacres reveal a gap in caste and gender-based analysis the Kilvenmani massacre (1968) in Tamil Nadu, Belchi massacre (1977) in Bihar and Karamchedu massacre (1985) in Andhra Pradesh (Satyanarayana 2014).
- Nature and context of massacres in postcolonial South Asian countries regional frameworks in India:- caste.
- Atrocities (passive noun) vs Massacre (active verb) + legality [The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989].
- Violently removed from their geographical location through caste-based massacres executed by the upper caste often with the state averting its gaze intentionally.

Dalit Massacres are,

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an organized process of caste-based destruction that leads to the intentional killing of one or more Dalit(s) by one or more people (or the state), the latter especially upper caste, which adversely impact both the lives and properties of Dalits".



-Before

2

Cultural, political and/or economical events before the massacre

—During

Pertaining to the questions of how, who, where, and the role of the state machinery

-After

Causalities, trauma, rehabilitation, survivor responses, revenge, legal proceedings, newspaper reporting, research and other studies

Dalit Massacres - Space, Caste, and Gender

- Lack of a comprehensive study or a single document that systematically lists and analyzes these massacres in India over time.
- Spatial location of Dalits and the frequency of the massacres? Southern States.
- Hypothesis connection between caste and spatial location plays a crucial role in Dalit massacres: the caste identity of Dalits determines where they live, which makes them more visible and vulnerable to large-scale violence and massacres.

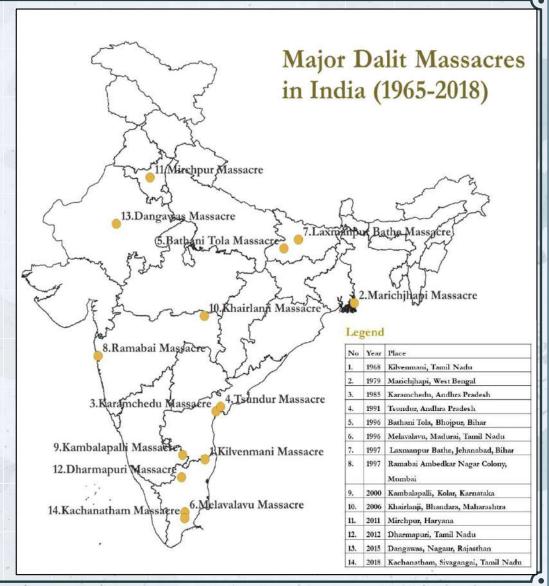


Fig. 1

Developing and Applying a Mixed Methodology - A Literature Review Feminist Geocriticism & Digital Cartography Feminist Geocriticism Digital Cartography **Feminism** Geocriticism Feminist GIS Feminist Geography

Geocriticism

- Geocritical approaches Bertrand Westphal (2007) and Robert Tally (2008).
- Westphal (2007) **geo-centered** rather than an ego-centered approach that is multifocal, polysensorial and spatiotemporal.
- Spatiotemporality, transgressivity and referentiality.
- Nascent stage "may be used to ask new questions, to read differently . . . to make sense of our own spaces, of our own mappings" (Tally, 2011).

Feminist GIS

- Tool to subvert the existing patriarchal theories and methodologies.
- Kwan (2002a and 2002b) mixed methodologies.
- Visualise, document and analyse the gendered experiences - micro and macro.
- Pavlovskaya (2009) class and gendered experience of Moscow households - qualitative interviewing with GIS.
- McLafferty (2002) use of GIS in gendered community issues feminization of GIS.

Feminist Geography

- "A geography which explicitly takes into account the socially created gender structure of society" Hanson (1984).
- Lise Nelson, Joni Seager, Jo Foord, and Nicky Gregson.
- Intersections of race, class, ability, and sexuality into the study of geography.
- New and emerging multidisciplinary field of spatio-temporal (geographical) analysis.
- Gender roles, power structures and knowledge production (Crampton, 2007).

Feminist Geocriticism

- Amy D. Wells (2014) Geocriticism and Gender (feminist) studies pluralistic character.
- Amy D. Wells (2017) "geo-parler femme".
- Theda Wrede (2015) "difference".
- Feminist geocriticism in the context of this study.
- Place should become a new critical intersectional category.
- Research gap in geocritical 'gender studies' or feminist geography-based research in India (Raju and Lahiri-Dutt 2012).

Digital Cartography

- Digital Cartography google maps to GIS (QGIS/ArcGIS).
- Visualise the locations and movements of characters (real and fictional) in narratives.
- Apply and visualise the geocritical approach.
- Literary texts, images, sounds, films, media reports.
- Gaps in spatial representations.
- Compare and contrast.
- Metadata.
- Multimodal and interdisciplinary spatial research.

The two intersects...

- Feminist geographies Caste geographical location of Dalit women.
- Evolving, pluralistic frameworks fill the gaps and enrich the insights of the other
- Maps are seldom used need for the proposal of 'feminist geocriticism' using digital cartographic invisible Dalit women and their narratives visible offers counternarrative to dominant spatial representations
- Representation of space or a particular place based on gender.
- Feminist and casteist spaces in India.
- Multimodal, polysensorial approach towards identifying the female experience.
- Narrative voice to the "other" in their sites of action "differences" and similarities in their experiences.

Methodology - Feminist Geocriticism and Digital Cartography Feminist Geocritical GIS or Feminist Geocriticism and Digital Cartography in the context of this study integrates feminist geocritical techniques with GIS based digital cartographical method to understand the relation between gender and space especially from a caste-perspective. 2. Feminist Geocriticism 1. Collecting Data and Digital Cartography Online Court Orders, Research **English Literary Texts** Petitions etc Newspapers **Articles** Space **Fictional** Creation, Visualisation

Non-

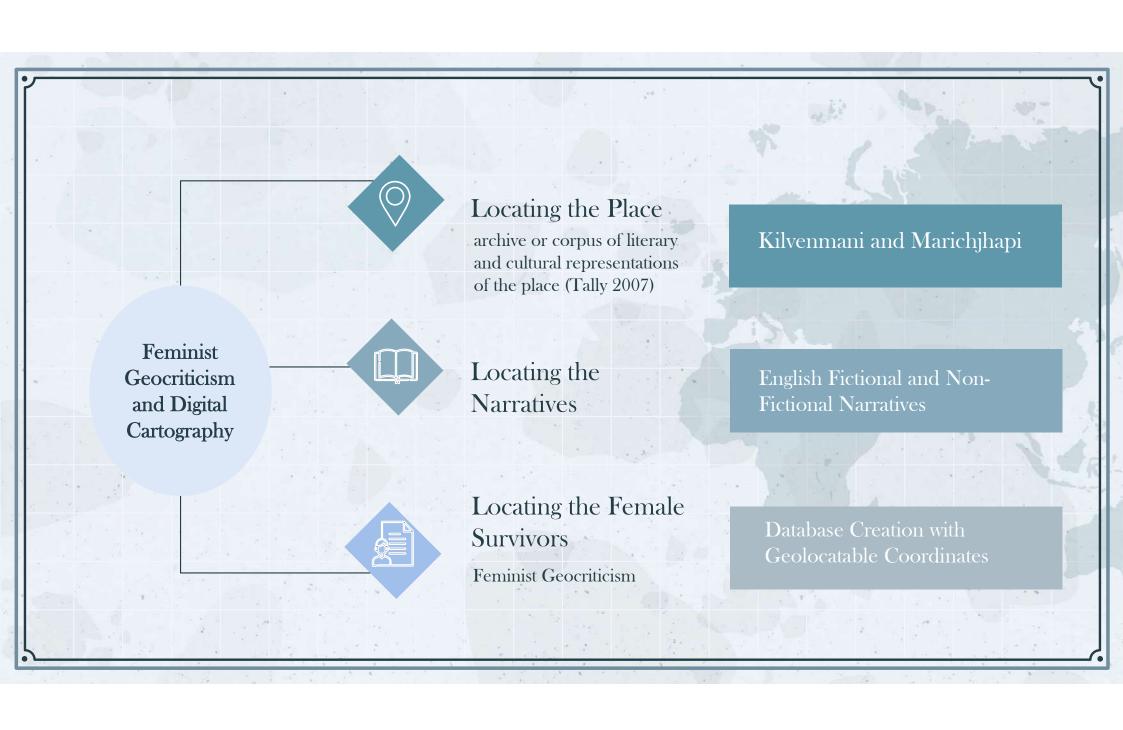
Fictional

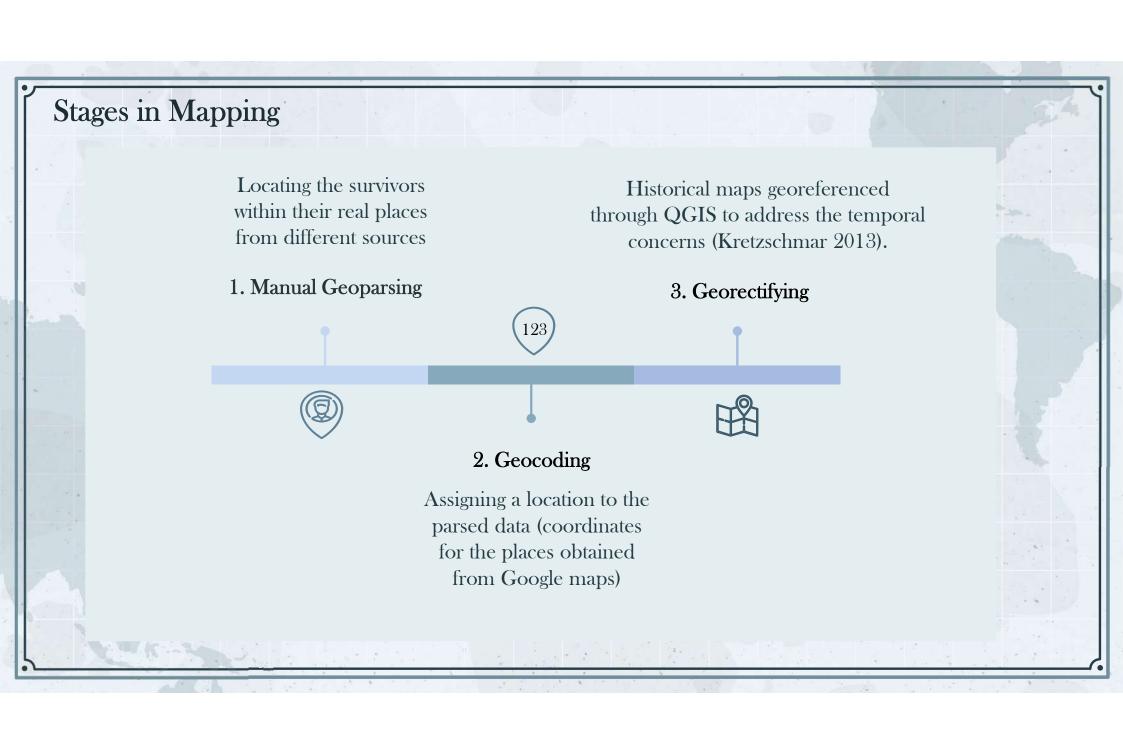
Gender

Caste!

and Analysis of Database

of the Female Survivors







Gendered Spaces of Caste: Case Study I – the Kilvenmani Massacre (1968)

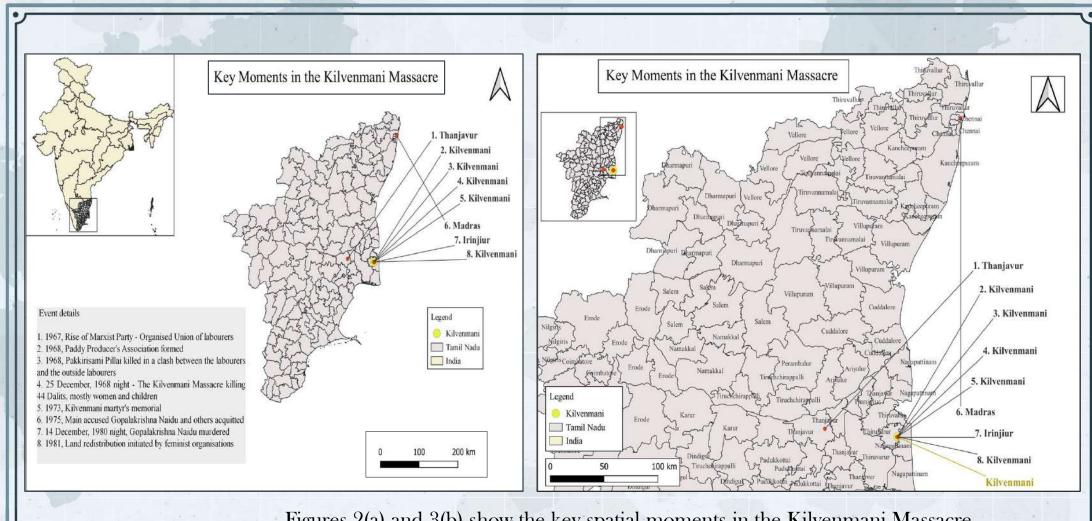
- Introduction to the Massacre
- Background and Significance of the Study
- Materials: From Texts to Data
- Results and Discussions
- Conclusions

Introduction to the Massacre

- Burning the hut of Ramayya (Kanagasabai 2014; Menon 2017).
- Labourers sought refuge in a 8 ft x 9 ft hut (Krishnakumar, 2005 cited in Kanagasabai, 2014)), belonging to the only Dalit landowner Ramayyan.
- The henchmen, however, locked the hut from outside and set fire to it, with 44 Dalits, consisting largely of women and children, trapped inside.
- "In fact, it was not just that the children were locked up in a hut and burnt to death, but there is one episode which anybody in Keezhvenmani will tell you again and again how one of the mothers of a child in a desperate attempt to save the child threw the child outside, hoping that somebody will save the baby, somebody in the mob would have the humanity to save this child. But they basically chopped the baby into pieces and threw the baby back into the hut and set it on fire" (Pawar 2018).



Image Soure: The Wire



Figures 2(a) and 3(b) show the key spatial moments in the Kilvenmani Massacre

Events that led to the massacre, not just a class fight. . .

1. Economic Reasons

- Demand for rise in wage.
- Prevented harvest.
- Green revolution (Omvedt 1986).
- Fall in produce (Kanagasabai 2014) (Sivaraman 1973).

2. Cultural Reasons

- Caste and landownership patterns in Thanjavur (Sivaraman 1973).
- Upper caste landowners.
- Lower caste labourers.
- Pannai Adimais or 'farm servant' (Menon 2017) questioned and demanded their rights, infuriated the landlords ("Death of a Mirasdar" 1980).

3. Political Events

- Rise of Marxist party, CPI(M)
 unionisation of labourers
 during 1960s ("Death of a
 Mirasdar" 1980; Menon
 2017).
- Paddy Producer's Association (PPA) in 1968 (Kanagasabai 2014; Sivaraman 1973).
- Naidu, outside labour Pakkirisamy's death leading to massacre (Kanagasabai 2014; Sivaraman 1973).

The Kilvenmani massacre is an example of Dalit's assertion of fundamental rights and subversion of caste hierarchies leading to massacre.

- Apathy of the police force (Kanagasabai 2014; Sivaraman 1973; Manikandan 2017).
- The state C.N. Annadurai, the first Dravidian Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, stating: "People should forget this as they forget a feverish nightmare or a flash of lightning" (Pawar 2018).
- The caste-identity of the victims of the massacre was overlooked until recently.
- Dismissed as a class conflict between the landlords and the labourers.
- Labourers were all Dalits exploited them under the 'Pannaiyal system' Labourer and Dalit identities.
- "A pannaiyal (attached labourer) pledged the services of himself, his wife and their children to be born to the landlord until the loan, usually taken for marriage, of about Rs 50 was fully recovered". (Sivaraman 1973).
- The caste determined the location of the Dalits in Tamil Nadu, as they were often relegated to the outskirts of the village, referred to as *Cheri* (Gorringe, 2016).
- Kilvenmani is one such "Harijan cheri" ("Death of a Mirasdar" 1980). This caste-based spatial segregation of the Dalits further rendered them more vulnerable to caste-based atrocities and violence.

Background

• Growing interest on the caste and class angle of the massacre but the research on the gender and spatial factors are yet to be explored.

Mythily Sivaraman (1973)

Verdicts.

"Agrarian trouble" to a caste and class conflict.

Short References to the Massacre

Gail Omvedt (1981)
Jean-Luc Racine and Josiane
Racine (1998)
Hugo Gorringe (2006)
Navneet Sharma and Pradeep
Nair (2015).

Kathleen Gough (1974)

Cultural and political reasons behind peasant uprisings
Land ownership.

Nithila Kanagasabai (2014)

Most extensive and indepth analysis
Underscores the possibilities in archiving the historiography of the women of the massacre.

"Death of a Mirasdar" (1980)

Murder of Naidu caste motives political affiliations -Congress vs CPIM.

Parvathi Menon (2017)

"Agrarian slavery", the rise of the Marxist party, the green revolution, and agrarian struggles.

Oral histories in archiving the memories.

Taking a cue from the works of Menon (2017) and Kanagasabai (2014), in this study we are attempting to fill the gap on the female narratives of the massacre. We are using a hybrid methodology that is a combination of digital cartography and feminist geocriticism. "The passage of time, lack of proper documentation and multiplicity of narratives have buried the incident in mystery and uncertainty" (Kanagasabai 2014), which highlights the importance of voicing the unheard narratives of the female survivors.

Materials - From Texts to Data

Fictional Texts

Novels

- 1. Kuruthipunal/The River of Blood/Chorapuzha (1978) by Indira Parthasarathy (fictional)
- 2. *The Gypsy Goddess* (2014) by Meena Kandasamy (semi-fictional) and
- 3. Heat (2019) by Poomani (fictional)

Visual Narratives

- 1. Kann Sivanthal Mann Sivakum (1983) directed by Sreedhar Rajan
- 2. Aravindhan (1997) written and directed by T. Nagarajan
- 3. Virumandi (2004), written and directed by Kamal Haasan
- 4. Asuran (2019) written and directed by Vetrimaaran

Non-Fictional Texts

Essay

1. Haunted by Fire: Essays on Caste, Class, Exploitation and Emancipation (2016) by Mythily Sivaraman

Documentary

1. *Ramayyahvin Kudisai* (2005) by Bharathi Krishnakumar

Database

- Real, mythical and fictional survivors
- Authors
- Feminist Activists
- Newspapers
- Casteist locations

Limitations of data: works written in **English** due to language constraints.

No. Character Name	Location (massacre related)	Latitude	Longitude	Туре	Source
l Janaki	Natchiarkoil	10.92445047	79.43627633	Fictional Character	Pg 23-24 - Chorapuzha
2Pappathi	Thiruvarur	10.76651402	79.63469346	Fictional Character	Pg 31,73,83 - Chorapuzha
3 Kattayan's wife	Thiruvarur	10.76651402	79.63469346	Fictional Character	Pg 31 - Chorapuzha
4 Pankajam	Thiruvarur	10.76651402	79.63469346	Fictional Character	Pg 78 - Chorapuzha
5Kalavathi	Nagapattinam	10.78530753	79.83304007	Fictional Character	Pg 122 - Chorapuzha
6Maayi (Old Woman)	Kilvenmani (Nagapattinam)	10.71121322	79.73353379	Fictional Character	Pg 13-14, 197 - The Gypsy Godess
Nagapattinam as an 7 old woman	Nagapattinam	10.78530753	79.83304007	Fictional Character	Pg 16 - The Gypsy Godess
8 Gypsy Woman	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Fictional Character	Pg 27 - The Gypsy Godess
9Karuppayi	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Fictional Character	Pg 33 - The Gypsy Godess
10 Chinnamma	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Fictional Character	Pg 34 - The Gypsy Godess
11 Sundaram	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Fictional Character	Pg 116 - The Gypsy Godess

No.	Character Name	Location (massacre related)	Latitude	Longitude	Туре
1	Krishnammal Jagannathan	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Historical Represe
2	Paappa (Ramayya's Wife)	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Historical Represe
3	Female Survivor 1	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Historical Represe
4	Old Woman	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Historical Represe
5	Young Harijan Woman	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Historical Represe
6	Selvi	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Historical Represe
7	Vasugi	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Historical Represe
8	Rani	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Historical Represe
9	Vasugi	Kilvenmani	10.71121322	79.73353379	Historical Represe

Results and Discussions: Feminist Geocritical and Digital Cartographic Reading

Close reading

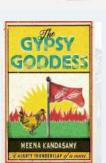
- Space, place, and geography in the narrative.
- Influence of caste, considering both their physical and metaphorical dimensions.
- Feminist geocritical reading of the narratives looks at the gender relations from a spatial context.
- The analysis
 - 1) understanding the role of **place** in shaping the female narratives,
 - 2) looking at **space** as a multiple, shifting facet that is characterized by **feminist** 'difference' (Wrede 2015) and
 - 3) utilizing geography as a code to create a female literary language (Wells 2017).
- Digital cartography.
- Portrayal of gender identities and power dynamics as well as the use of space, place and geography in relation to caste in the selected narratives.

Fictional Female Survivors:

- Scattered in real and fictional spaces Gendered experience of spaces evident.
- Caste hierarchy visible UC men, LC men, UC women and LC women: Pappathi, Pankajam.
- Mythical characters Centry Goddess, Neelayadakshi purity (Jodhka 2023).
- No prominent female characters except in *The Gypsy Goddess*.
- Rape and sexual violence.
- Gendered spatial metaphors Land and female body commodification (Sabharwal 2015) feminist geocritical sites bearing trauma
- Maayi and Angela Kaathamuthu introduces the massacre to the narratives.
- Anonymity Female psyche and lived experiences yet to be explored.
- Less UC characters.







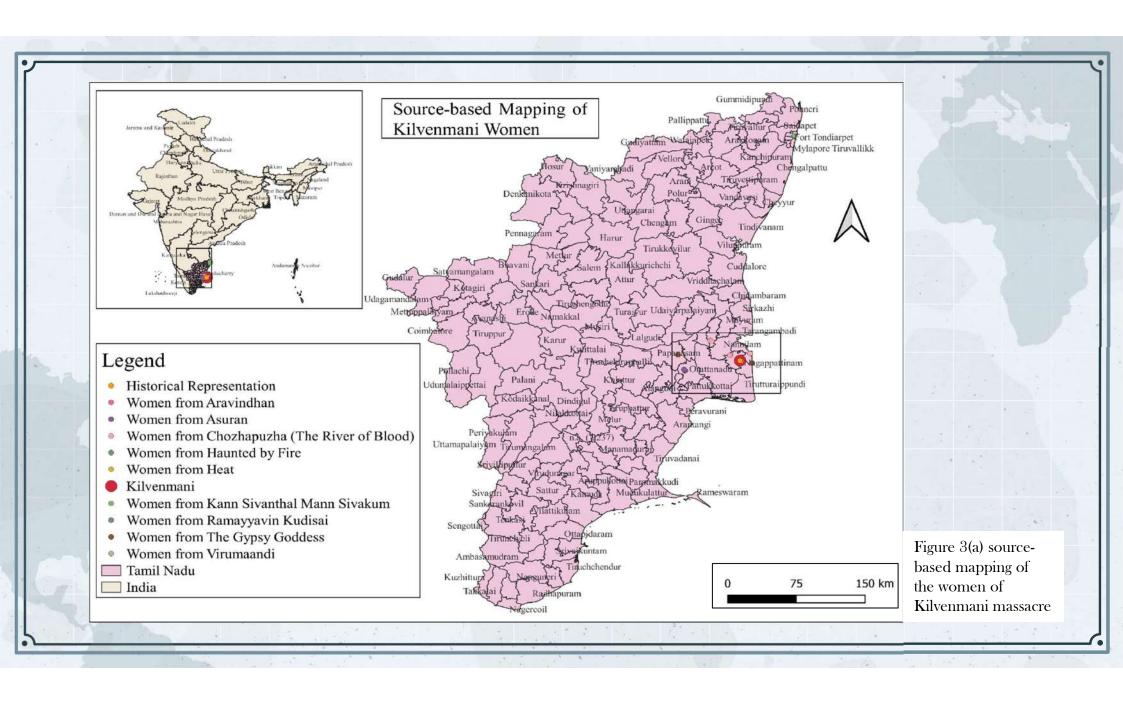


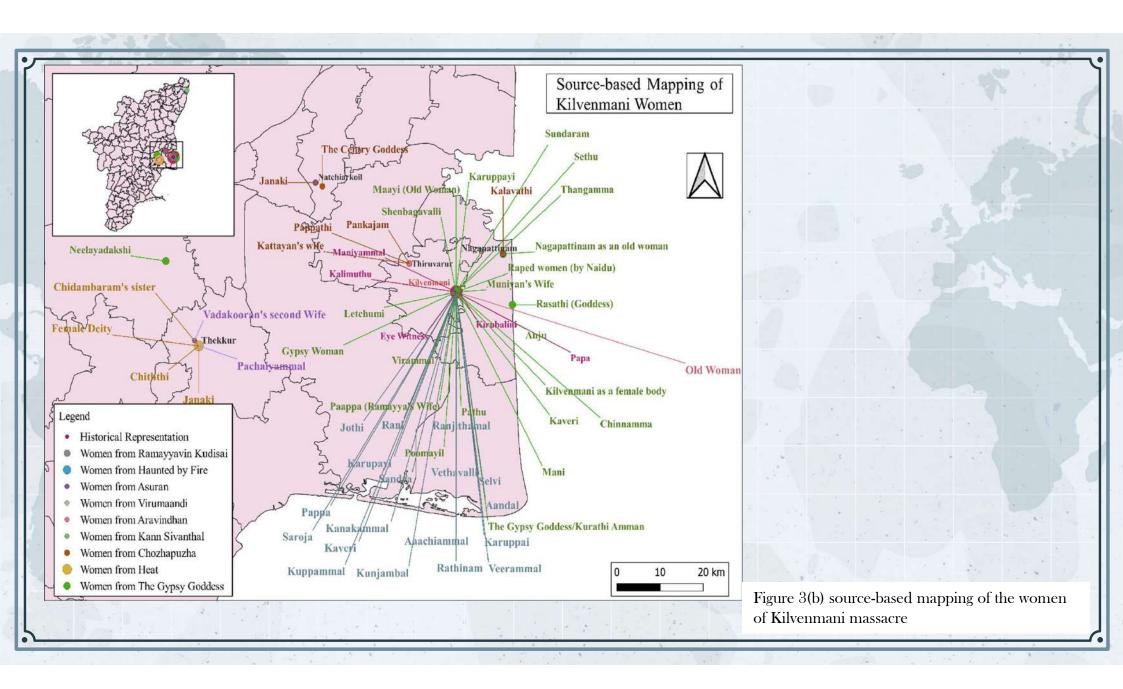












Non-Fictional Female Survivors:

- Anonymity homogenizes.
- Under represented.
- Rape and sexual assault.

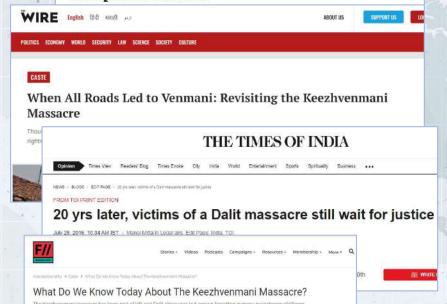
Online Newspaper Articles:

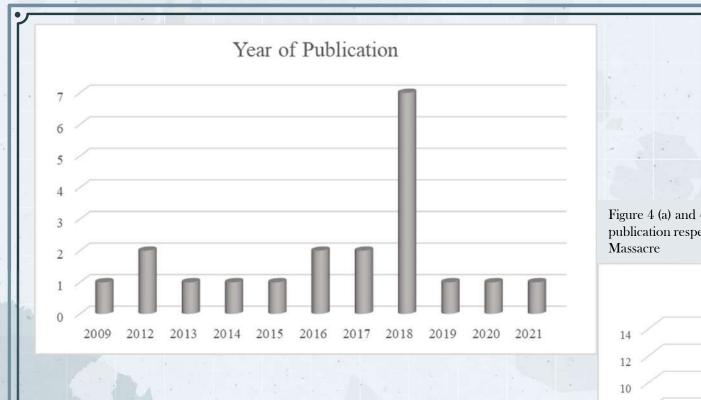
- Coverage of the massacre includes publications from both mainstream media outlets and independent organizations.
- There is a recurring pattern in how the massacre is reported across these articles.
- Female survivor narratives are either minimal or non-existent.
- By focusing on class, the caste dimension tends to be neglected.

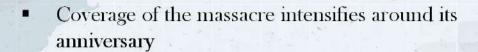




The Hindu Explains | Keezhvenmani: The first chronicle of violence against Dalits in independent India

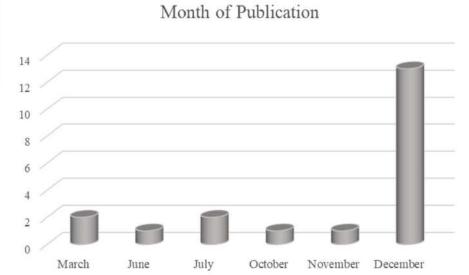






Post-Massacre scenario

Figure 4 (a) and 4(b) show the graphs on the year and month of publication respectively, of the newspaper articles on Kilvenmani Massacre



Convergence and Divergence: Comparison of Survivors and Spaces

Real and Fictional Survivors

Intersectionality

Fictional characters more in number (47) as compared to the data available on the historical representations (36 of 44)

Repetition of Names

Lived experiences of women - upper caste female spaces and Dalit female spaces

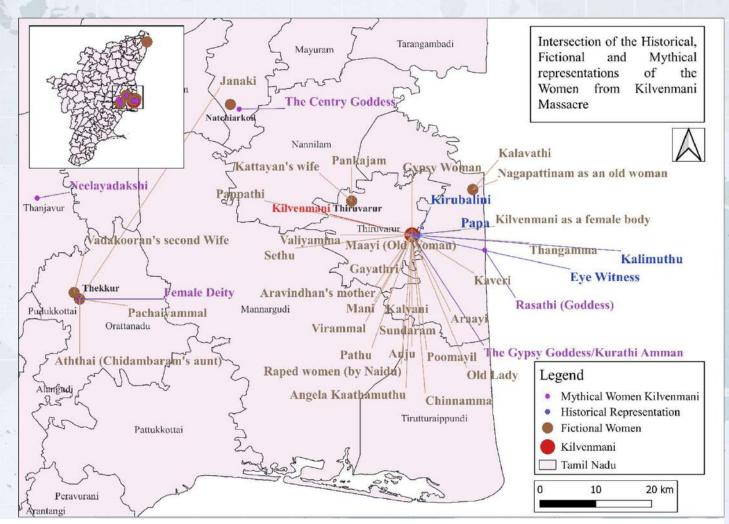


Figure 5: Intersection of the historical, fictional and mythical representations of the women of the massacre

Protagonists - male and female

The distortion of women's heroic actions and redefining it as masculine actions is a result of 'gendered heroism' (Fried 1997) that refuses to acknowledge the leadership qualities of women. Patriarchal system with its traditional gender roles (of masculinity and femininity) expects only men and not women, to display valour and perform heroic deeds – as saviours or protectors of the marginalised. A re-gendering of the heroification discourse (Danilova 2020) is required in the context of the Kilvenmani narratives as seen in Kandasamy's work.

Real and Mythical

Myths in India, have a built-in caste system (Kashyap, 2023 194) and have been traditionally used by the upper caste to propagate caste hierarchies. The narratives studied here, subverts this practice by using mythical characters to question the notions of spatial hierarchy and 'purity-pollution' concepts of the caste system. Kandasamy is known for offering "counter narratives of power and also to empower the female collective" by questioning the inherent caste and gender bias of myths (Kashyap, 2023 197).

Gender based violence

Rape is often used as a political weapon (Chakravarthi 2018) to silence the individual and the community. Dalit female body "is often used as a means for the upper castes to assert their dominant position over the lowest castes in the [caste] hierarchy" (Sabharwal, 2015) which leads to an increase in gender-based violence during massacres.

Space

Real and Fictional Settings

Real spaces that are geolocatable (using location coordinates) or fictional spaces both of which are closer to Kilvenmani, Nagapattinam, and/or Thanjavur - Satyapuri

Of the seven fictional texts considered for the study, three of the texts use fictional spaces (Kann Sivanthal Mann Sivakum, Aravindhan, Asuran), two use real places close to Kilvenmani (Chorapuzha, Heat) and two make use of Kilvenmani as the site of the massacre (The Gypsy Goddess, Virumaandi).

Freely Express.

Gendered Spaces of Caste

Feminine nature - Kilvenmani and Nagapattinam are portrayed as females in *The Gypsy Goddess*.

Kilvenmani is a Dalit feminine space - Caste-based location of the survivors reveal the spatial segregation as the upper caste women are located either in Meletheru, Irinjiur or Vadakkur

Lower caste women were located in Kilvenmani or Thekkur, which in turn made the latter more vulnerable to caste-based violence

Clustering of survivors in specific places.

The minimum value 2 and the maximum value is 33.

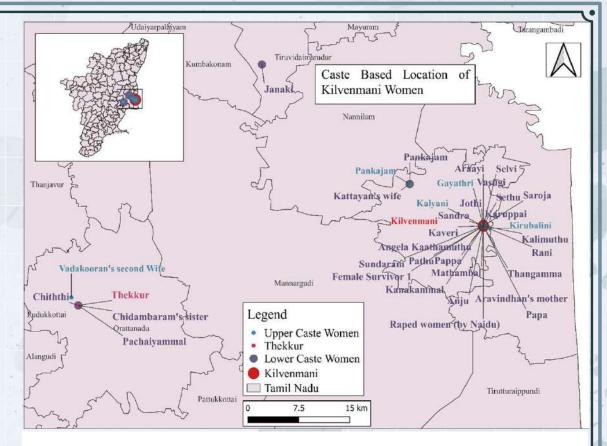


Figure 5: shows the caste-based mapping of the women of Kilvenmani massacre

Clustering of the survivors occur in five main geolocatable spaces - Kilvenmani (33 fictional and 5 historical representations), Nagapattinam (2 fictional representations), Thiruvarur (3 fictional representations), Natchiarkoil (1 fictional and 1 mythical representation), Thekkur (7 fictional representations), along with the fictional space of Satyapuri (which for the purpose of mapping is taken as Kilvenmani).

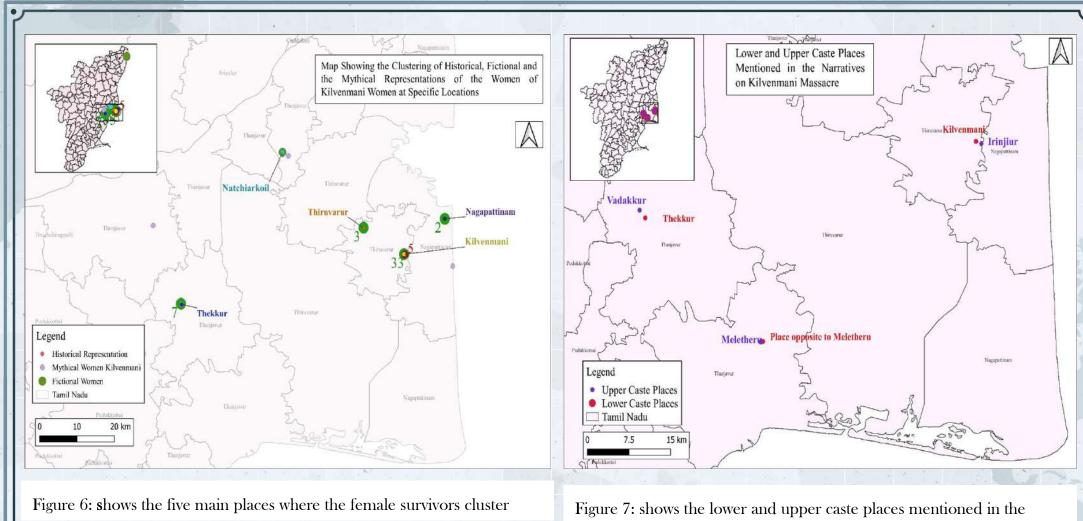


Figure 7: shows the lower and upper caste places mentioned in the narratives on the Kilvenmani massacre

Authors

- Majority of the authors are **males** as, of the 19, 7 were women
- Female authors (Kandasamy, Kanagasabai) nuances of the Dalit female experiences - male authors were focused on heroic male protagonists, saviour
- Female authors were able to utilise geography (both real and fictional) as a code to create female literary narratives in accordance with the geo-parler femme principle of feminist geocriticism
- Female authors are also a **mix** of upper (Mythily Sivaraman) and lower caste (Kandasamy) affected the intensity of their narratives as the latter had first-hand lived experience as a Dalit women
- Location of the authors those located near the site of the massacre or within Tamil Nadu (Chennai) allowed them to collect and incorporate more factual incidents in their narratives

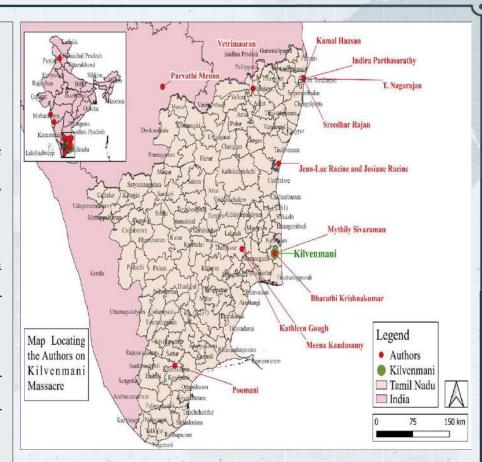


Figure 8: shows the locations of the prominent authors of the Kilvenmani massacre

Additional Literature

Land Laws

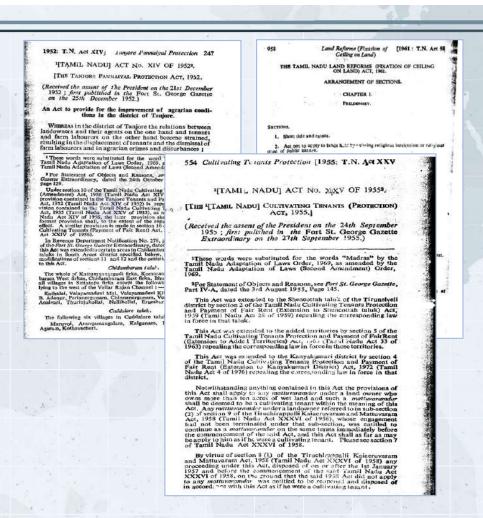
- Casteist land ownership pattern challenged by the land laws that are aimed at redistributing the land to the labourers
- Existing laws **only allowed the upper caste landlords** to own large acres of land thereby leaving most of the Dalit labourers landless
- The Tanjore Pannaiyal Protection Act, 1952 (Kanagasabai, 2014), the Tanil Nadu Cultivating Tenants Protection Act, 1955 (Kanagasabai, 2014) and the Land Ceiling Act, 1961 (Govardan, 2017)

Court Orders, Letters, Petitions

• Court Orders - caste bias

• Fictionalised form of the court orders and letters from people associated with the massacre are presented in *The Gypsy Goddess*

• Did not refer to any rape or other sexual/physical atrocities that were committed against the Dalit women



Feminist Activists and Organisations

- Major share of the land redistribution to the Dalit labourers post the massacre, occurred as a result of the constant efforts of the feminist activists and organisations – policy making. (G., Ambica 2019; Pawar 2018).
- Activists belonged to **different caste** as Krishnammal, Maniyammal and Sivaraman are upper-caste women **Rege's** argument to include Dalit feminist allies in the fight against gender and caste.
- Meena Kandasamy, the writer-activist, belongs to the lower caste.
- Efforts of the activists are visible in the words of a **survivor**, "it is only due to the continuous efforts of Krishnammal Jagannathan and her organisation called Land for Tillers' Freedom (LAFTI) that more families are now owning land,' said U Selvaraj, a resident of the village and one of the eye-witnesses of the incident" (Gunjan 2018).
- Sivaraman was also part of the All India Democratic Women's Association—the women's wing of the CPI (M) (Thangavelu 2016).

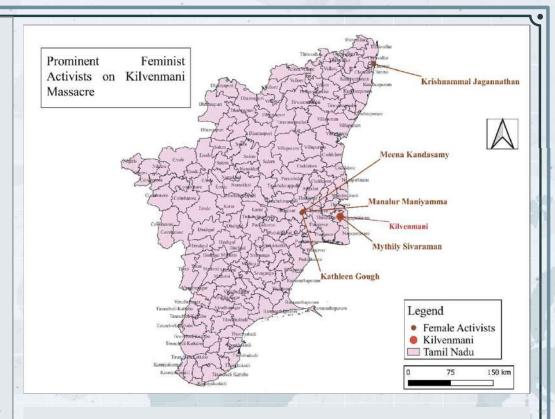
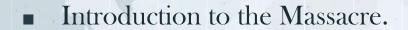


Figure 9: shows the locations of the prominent feminist activists of the Kilvenmani massacre

Conclusions

- Space, caste and gender in Dalit massacre using the case study of the Kilvenmani massacre.
- Multifocal feminist geo-centered exploration of differences in experiences of caste-based female geographies of the massacre.
- Female survivors and to acknowledge the efforts of the women politicians, writers and activists Rege, Vandana and Paik (2017b)
- Politics of Difference and triple burden lesser UC women
- Intersection of spatial experiences especially in terms of gender-based violence
- Space the creation of implied geography gendered spaces of caste as a result of the spatial segregation in Tamil Nadu Dalit feminine spaces makes women vulnerable
- Caste based spatial segregation spatial hierarchy (Ambedkar 1935) and geographical differentiation apartheid in south Indian villages are denoted here (Spate 1952).
- Space, caste, and gender of authors Dalit feminitude (Punia 2023)
- **Hypothesis** proved The caste identity (of being a Dalit) determines the spatial location of the female survivors which in turn render them more susceptible to gender and caste-based violence during the massacres.

- Awaiting justice.
- Elimination of the caste-based spatial segregation in Indian villages, Ambedkar had suggested that the Dalits and the marginalised communities should move to "cities and urban centres for livelihood as well as anonymity" (Patel, 2022). Mixing the population Dalits and non-Dalits.
- "The process of democratization requires alterations to social and well as political spaces and institutions" (Gorringe 2016) the state enforce strict laws that facilitate homeownership in prominent so-called upper caste areas by lower caste (Vakulabharanam and Motiram 2023).
- Creation of caste free public spaces can also help with the elimination of case based spatial segregation.
- With respect to gender, women and their purity or honour preserved through endogamous marriages are seen as the vehicles of caste system (gendering caste) exogamous marriages.
- Lack of proper documentation of the massacre "multiplicity of narratives" (Kanagasabai, 2014 lack a gendered perspective showing a pressing necessity to undertake the research on the role of space, gender, and caste in the massacre.

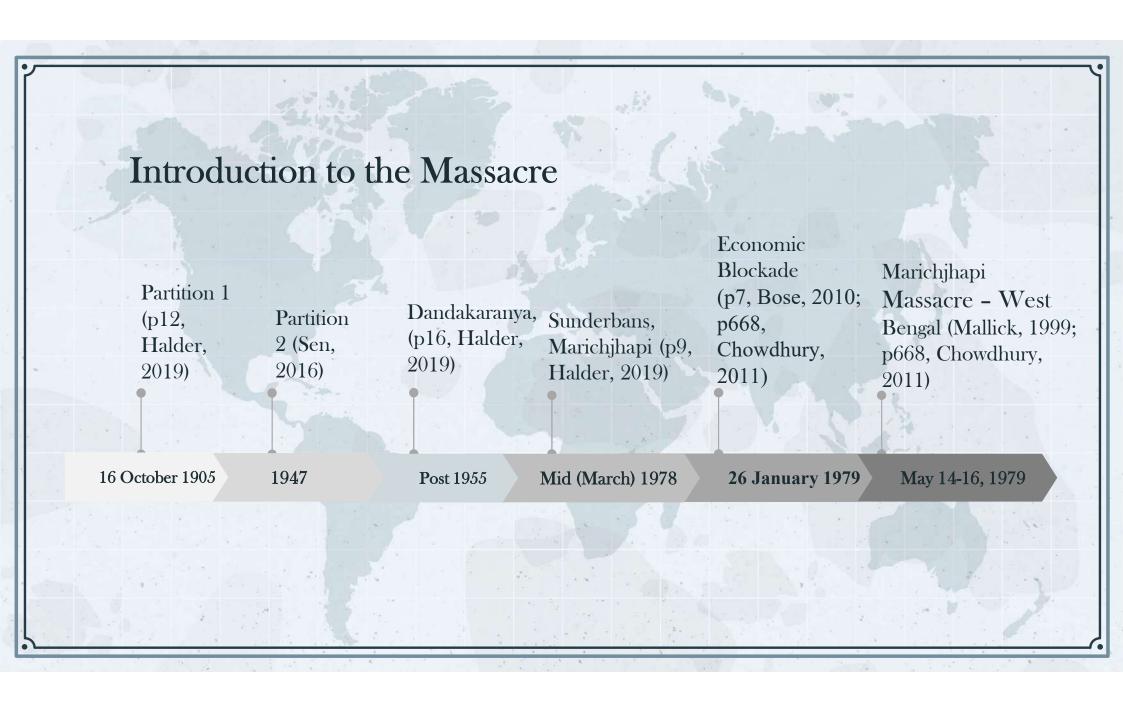


- Background and Significance of the Study.
- Materials: From Texts to Data
- Results and Discussions
- Conclusions

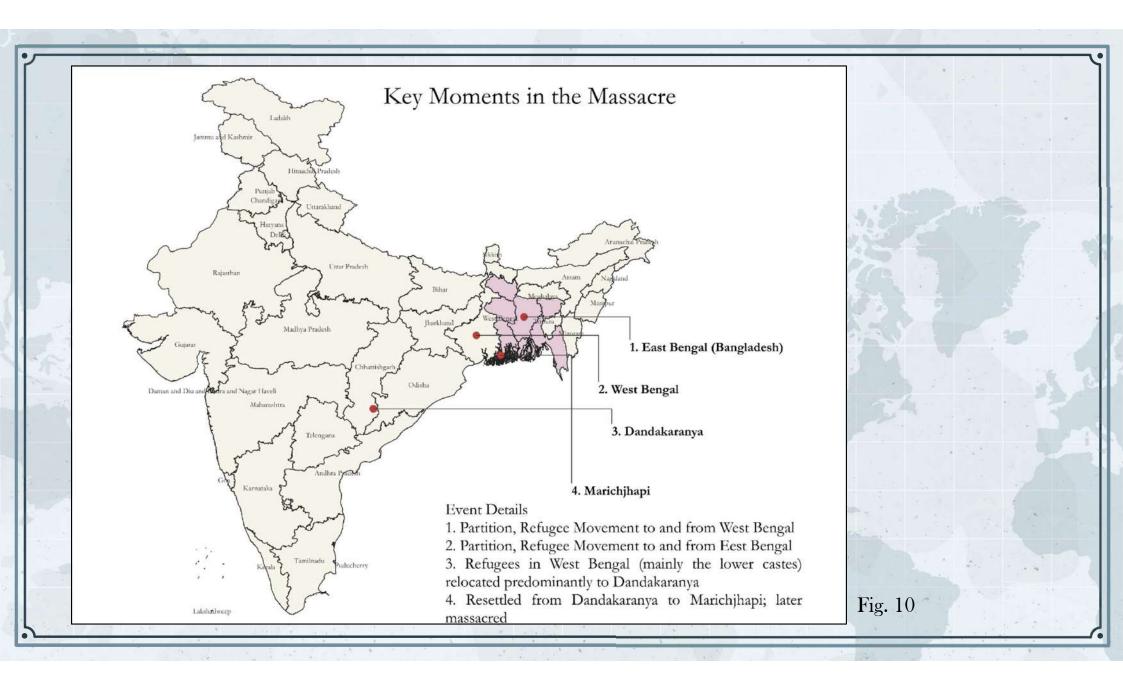
03

Fictional and Factual
Echoes of Space, Caste
and Gender: Case Study II

- the Marichjhapi
Massacre (1979)



- **Rehabilitation** of refugees in Dandakaranya by the government of India failed (Elahi, 1981).
- The left-dominated opposition took up the case of the refugees" (Mallick, 1999) later "liability" (p667, Chowdhury, 2011).
- Caste to ecological conservation, as the reasons for their eviction (117, Mallick, 1999; p668, Chowdhury, 2011).
- Compared to Jallianwallabagh (Mallick, 1999; Chowdhury, 2011; Byapari 2018).
- Women refugees raped, tortured, and killed (8, Mallick, 1999; 2636 Jalais, 2005).
- Fatality of the event 10-10,000 (Mallick, 1999) as at least "4000 families were massacred in their fight against the state." (668, Chowdhury, 2011).
- Ambiguity in death count ban on media coverage of the massacre (Jalais, 2005) and the reluctance of the state to accept that the massacre had happened.
- Central government's Scheduled Castes and Tribes Commission, denied the massacre (Mallick, 1999).
- This study **excludes** research on the partition of Bengal.



Reasons...

Political

Left-dominated opposition

(Mallick 1999) later

"liability" (Chowdhury

2011)

Economic

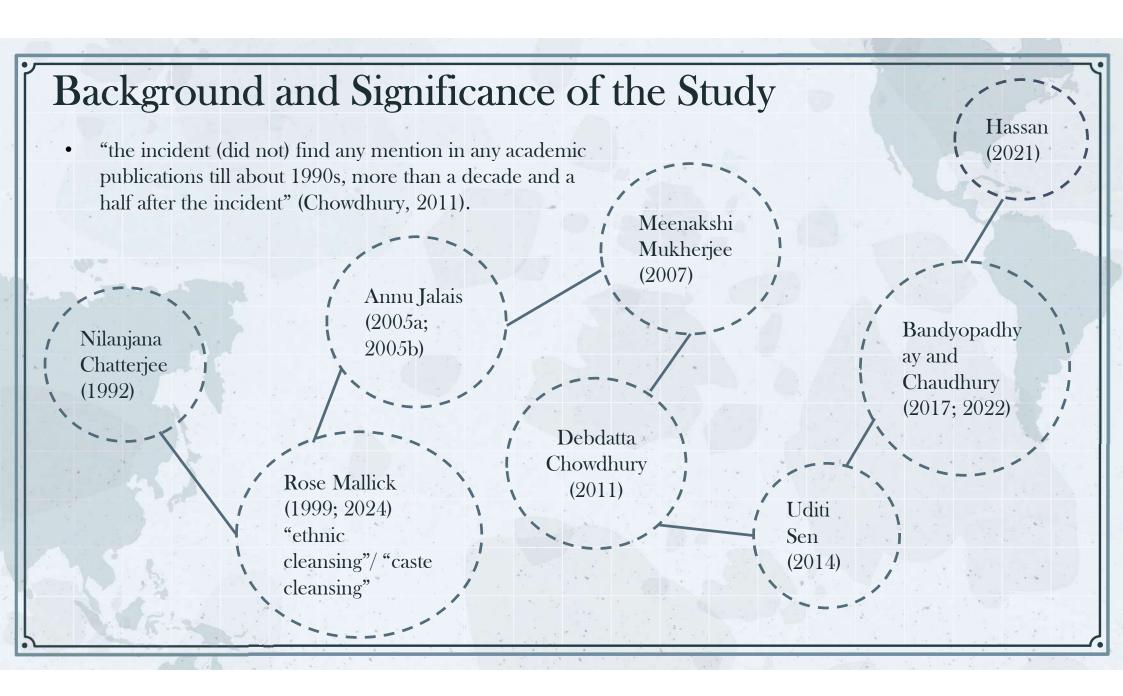
- More refugee influx to the state (Bandyopadhyay and Chaudhury, 2022).
 - Ecological conservation (Chowdhury 2011)

"Their argument is that while they [the left] speak these things, most of the leaders of the political left are upper caste and they get to fixate about lower caste Hindus who defy them and get settled in an island" (Mallick, 2024).

Cultural

- Caste Identity Calcutta vs
 Marichjhapi
 (Bandyopadhyay and
 Chaudhury, 2022; Anowar,
 2021)
- Refugee Identity Refugee criminal trespass vs squatter movement of the savarna a noble dissent (Bandyopadhyay and Chaudhury 2022, 245,).

- Caste identity of the refugees in Marichjhapi Chowdhury (2011) Namasudras' Bandyopadhyay and Chaudhury (2022).
- The first two waves of refugees from East Pakistan Prafulla K., 1990 cited in Chowdhury, 2011; Sen, 2015.
- Namsudras lacking "family and caste connections", they had to "solely depend on the government for their survival" (667, Chowdhury, 2011).
- Caste-identity denied them access to prominent areas of West Bengal like Calcutta, re-locate to Dandakaranya Marichjhapi.
- Halder (2019) says, "Marichjhapi could have been a shining example of the entrepreneurial spirit of a band of Bengali Dalits" (p11). This "self-rehabilitation" (p232) without any help from the government could have also caused their eventual massacre in 1979 as "[h]ere they could use their skills as pioneer cultivators and so did not need any financial help from the state" (p242 Bandyopadhyay and Chaudhury, 2022).
- Silence of press, academicians and intellectuals (Bandyopadhyay and Chaudhury, 2022).
- The Marichjhapi massacre is an example of Dalit claim for land ownership and subversion of caste hierarchies which eventually led to a massacre.



Materials: From Text to Data

Fictional Texts

- 1. The Hungry Tide by Amitav Ghosh
- 2. Documentary Photography Where the Birds Never Sing by Soumya Sankar Bose.

Non-Fictional texts

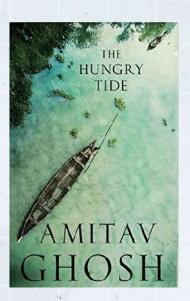
- 1. Oral History *Blood Island* by Deep Halder
- 2. Interrogating my Chandal Life-An Autobiography of a Dalit by Manoranjan Byapari
- 3. Chap 6: Reconstructing Marichjhapi by Jhuma Sen (from Partition: The Long Shadow edited by Urvashi Butalia)

Results and Discussions

- Use of real and fictional settings.
- Similarities between real and fictional female characters and settings.
- Lusibari as a safe space for the UC Marichjhapi geographical code that evokes the female experiences of the massacre FG.



- Female experiences of **Kusum and Nilima** Wrede's (2015) feminist geocritical notion of space.
- Mythical female character Bon Bibi Arabian purity.
- The female body and land are both depicted as the feminist geocritical carriers of traumatic memories, history, and culture Kusum.
- Semi-fictional recreation "new modes of remembering a historically suppressed traumatic event after a caesura of time" (Mallik, 2022)





Lusibari is a complex fictional setting:

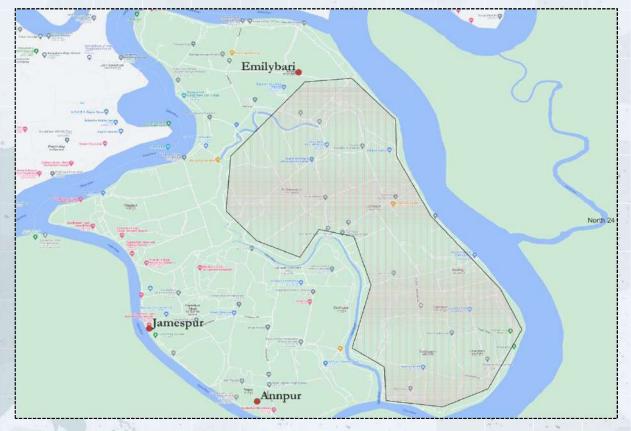
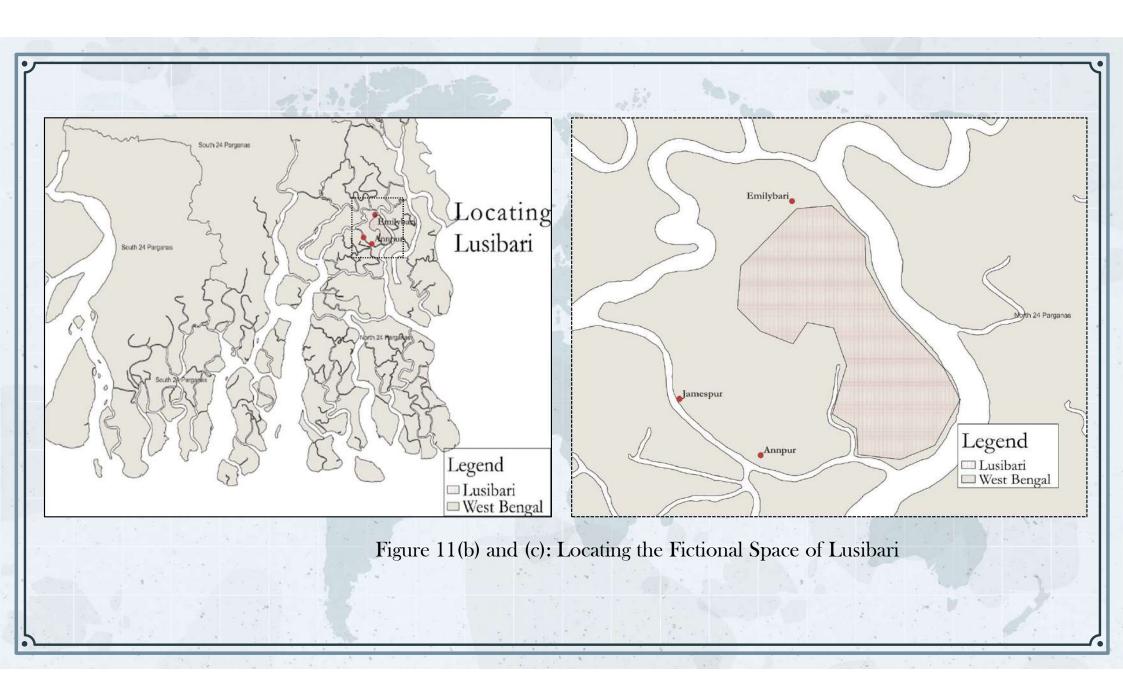


Figure 11(a) shows Lusibari in OSM

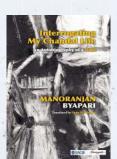
- 1. Close proximity with the site of the massacre
- 2. Occupied by diverse groups of people especially women who are lower caste refugees, native lower caste women who were widowed at a young age (p79, Ghosh, 2011) as well as the upper caste
- 3. The space also has colonial origins attached to it.



Real Survivors:

- Female experiences are less represented, rape.
- Anonymity and cultural identitites.
- Mana Goldar of Mana Camp.
- Care-giver role "A mother, driven insane by her son's constant crying for food, threw him away into a well. The well was dry and the child survived" (Byapari, 2018).
- Sen (2015) presence of 250 female police officers in the island during the massacre.







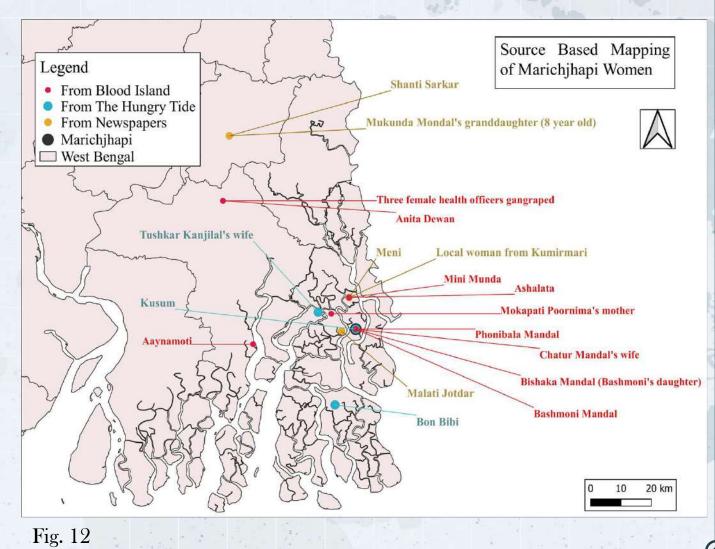
Online Newspapers:

- Reluctance by the 'mainstream' newspapers.
- Increases around anniversary.
- Rarely identify any names of survivors let alone the names of female survivors.
- Bias evident propaganda against the left.
- Real survivors **still live** in and around Marichjhapi.
- Living and the dead women of Marichjhapi.

Convergence and Divergence: Comparison of Survivors and Spaces

Real and Fictional Survivors

- Contrasting Identities of Female Survivors multiple identities as a refugee, a Dalit and a woman primary care givers of the family as both victims and perpetrators
- Intersectionality Caste and Gender - Calcutta vs Marichjhapi.
- Gender-based violence police force - rape and other sexual violence.
- Female Survivors Anonymity and Fictional Location homogenization.



- Ghosh's Kusum and Mana Goldar.
- The intersection between the real and the fictional survivors occurs mainly in the space of Sundarbans, specifically near Marichjhapi, Satjelia, Gosaba, Kumirmari and Hamilton islands.
- Fictional lesser.
- UC women lesser.
- LC women spatially vulnerable.

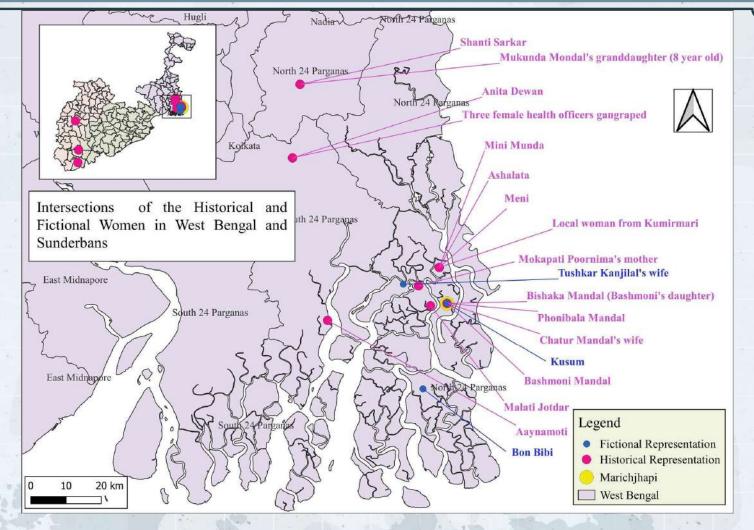


Figure 13: Map Shows Intersections of Real Women and their Fictional Representations in West Bengal and Sunderbans

- Real survivors were scattered in the states of West Bengal, Orissa and Chattisgarh.
- Fictional women were mostly confined to the Sundarbans especially Lusibari and Marichjhapi.
- Narrowing the narrative of fictional representation of Dalit female experiences to one space alone.

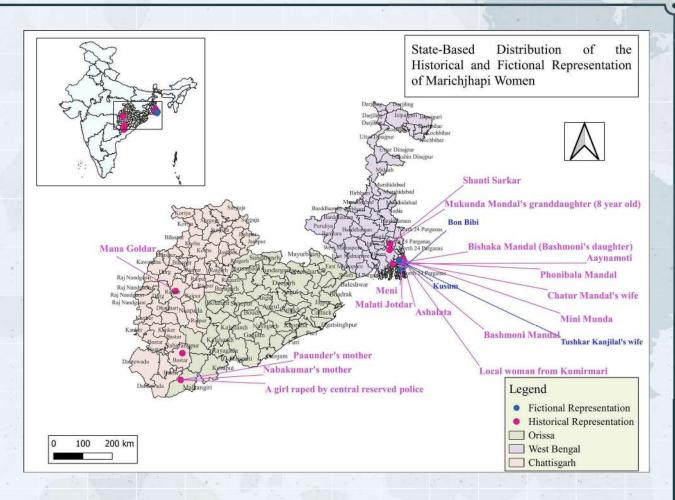
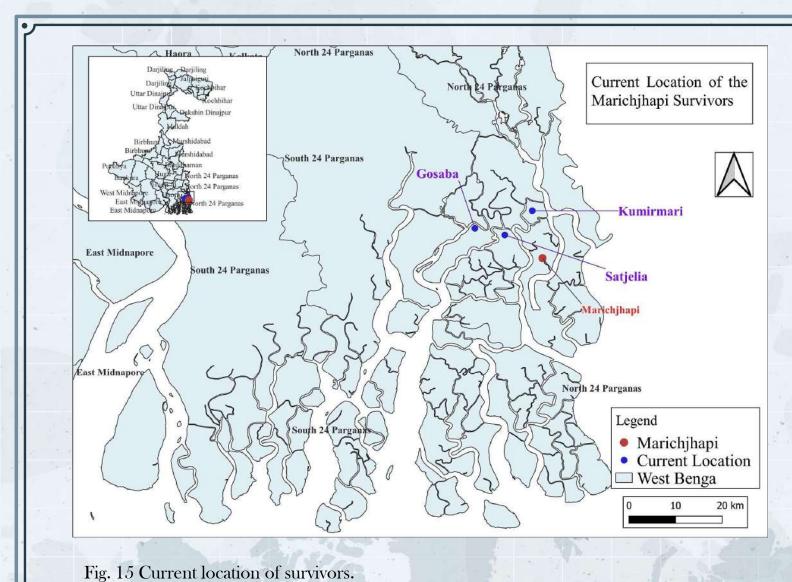
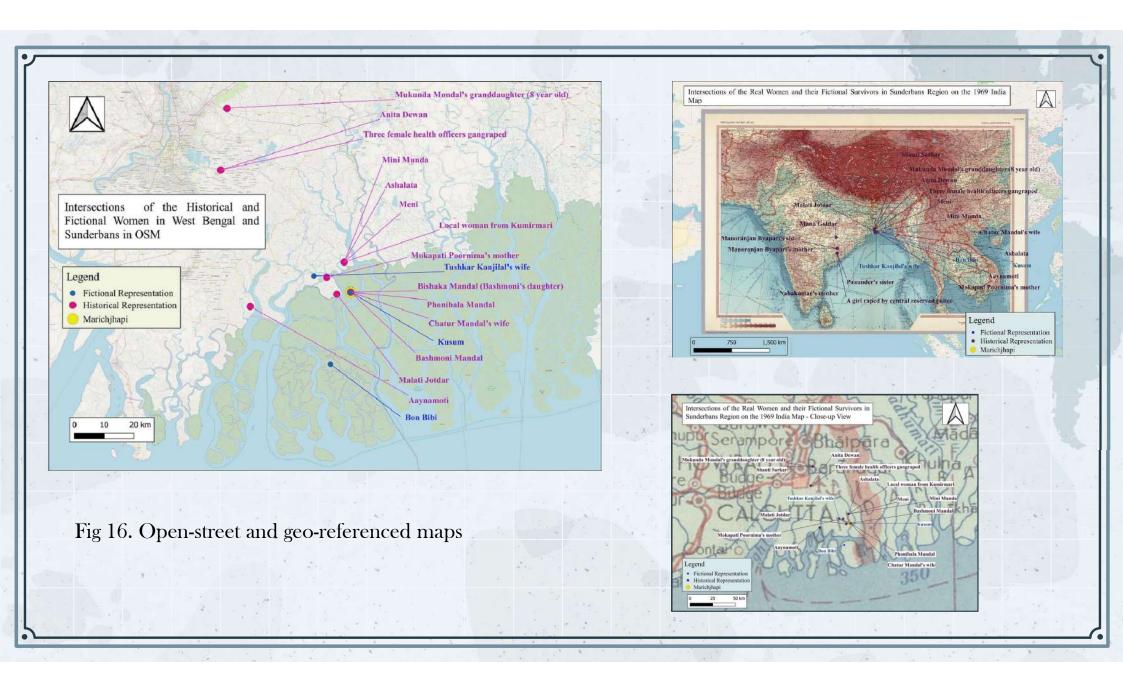


Figure 14: Location of the real female survivors of Marichjhapi and their fictional representation in the states of West Bengal, Orissa and Chattisgarh



- Latest location of many of the survivors are unknown.
- Kumirmari, Satjelia and Gosaba,(2458, Jalais, 2005), three islands that are close to Marichjhapi as seen in figure 4.
- Post massacre still located close.
- Identifying the fictional survivors - relatively easier but locating them in real places was difficult



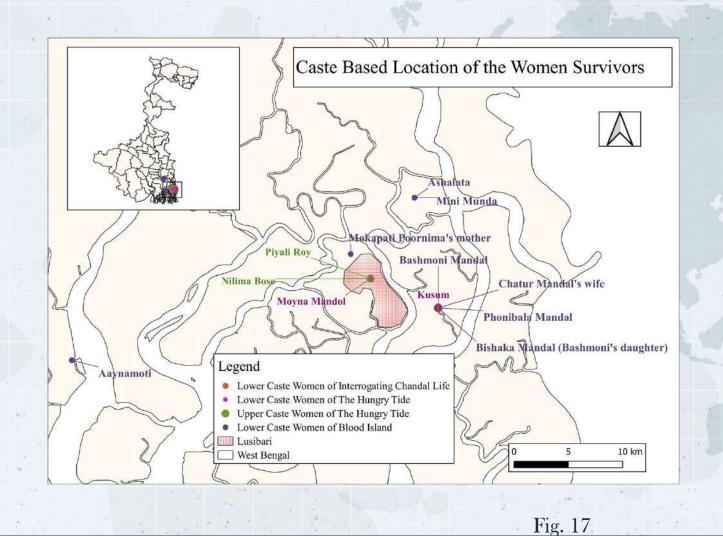
Space

Gendered Spaces of Caste

Lusibari vs Marichjhapi.

Kumirmari, Kadambagachhi, Bantala are the other clusters of intersection.

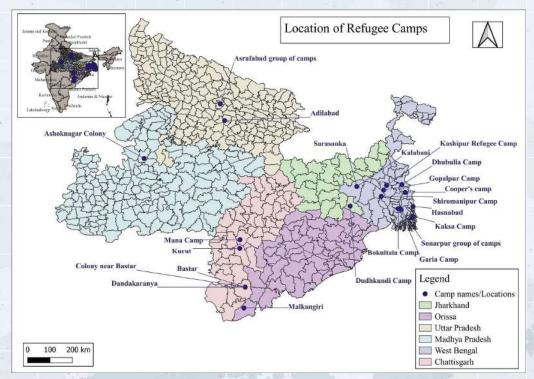
Space should be considered as a category in the intersectional identity of the Dalit women.



Binary Spaces

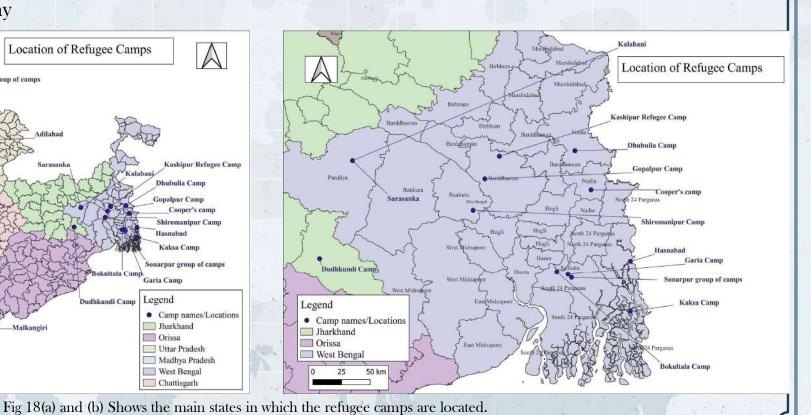
Kolkata (or Calcutta) and Marichjhapi (Chowdhury, 2011)

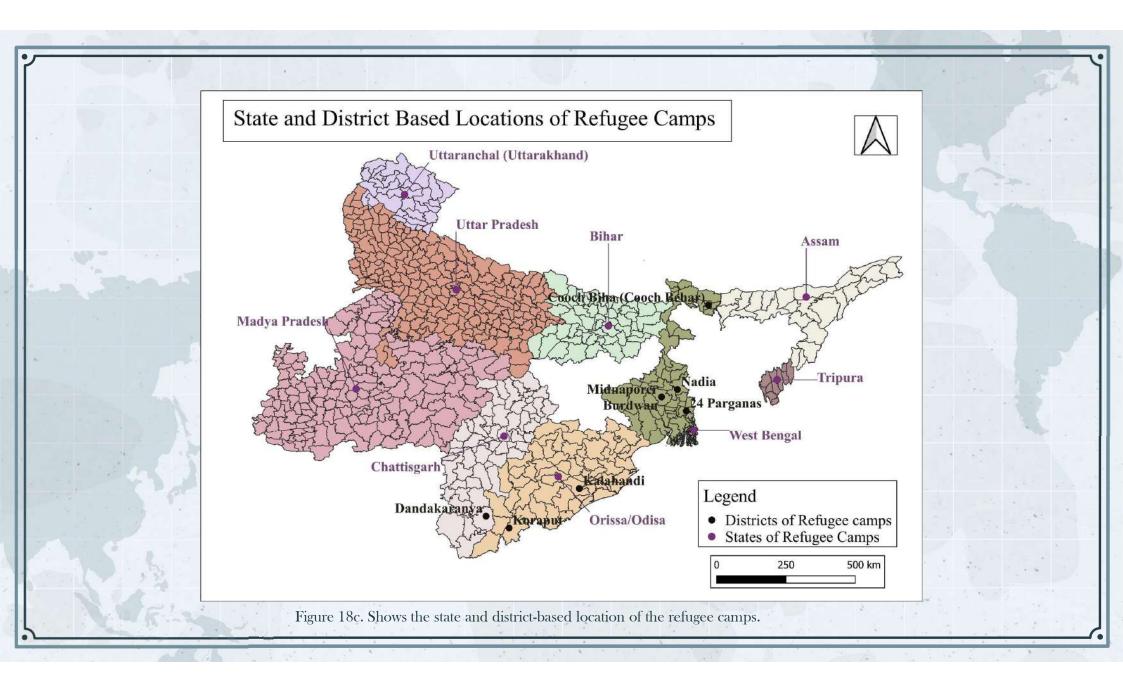
Ambedkar's spatial hierarchy



Refugee Camps as Dalit Spaces

Chattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Uttaranchal, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Orissa and Jharkhand





Origin states of the Namasudra caste - Bihar and Bangladesh - proximity of their original land to Marichjhapi and the Sundarbans

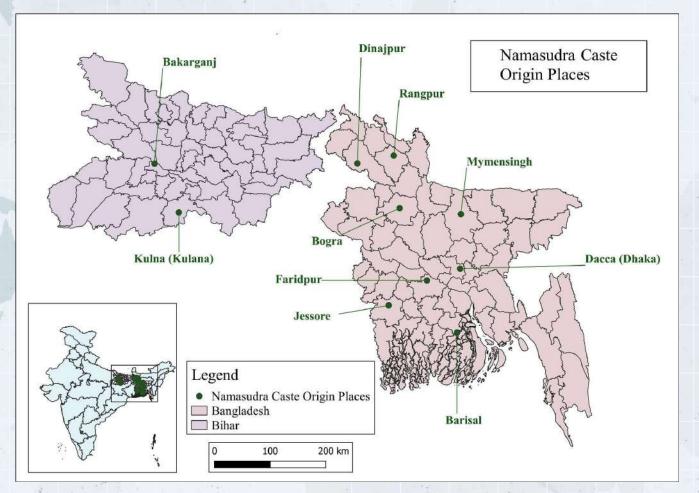


Fig 19. Large concentration in the spaces (hotspots) thereby demanding more security from further caste-based violence.

• The flow map of the refugee movement - Hasnabad, Marichjhapi and Dandakaranya (based on the frequency of the places mentioned in the sources considered for this study).

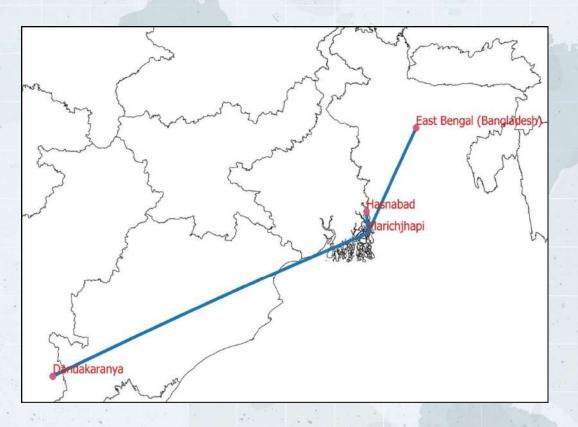


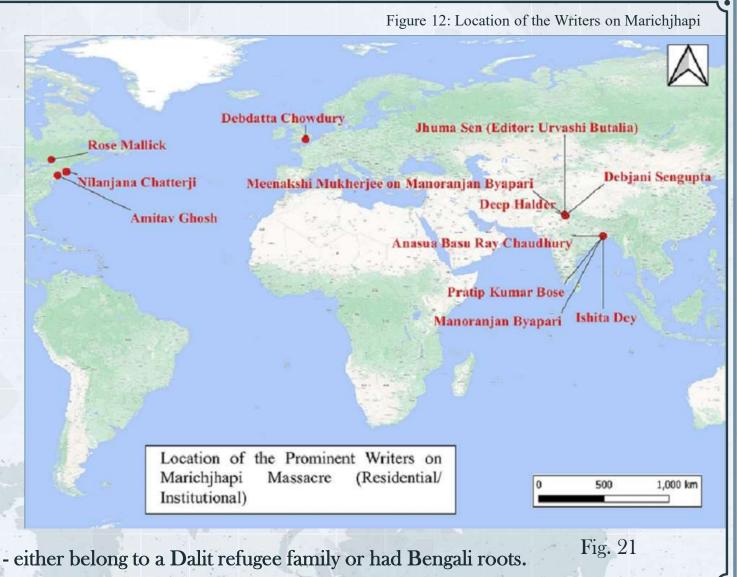
Figure 20. Map on the movement of the refugees to prominent refugee camps

Additional Literature:

Authors

- Authors predominantly males.
- Fourteen authors of which six are women.
- Gender of the writers and their spatial location.
- Lack of female writers.
- Mostly upper caste dire need for more Dalit female writers.
- Located across the world though the majority are located in India, especially in Bengal and Soumya

Sankar Bose - Lived experiences - either belong to a Dalit refugee family or had Bengali roots.



Court Orders, Letters, Petitions

- Unavailable in the public domain Assessing the impact of the verdicts on the women of the massacre becomes even more difficult.
- No verdict or court case on rape and physical assault.
- Incomplete investigation and court proceedings.
- Bose (2020) image of a letter from a rape survivor of the massacre in his photobook.

Those policemen dragged me forcefully to their launch. As my mother tried to stop them, they kicked her and threw her in water. When they finally brought me to their launch – they took me to Bagna Police camp. . . They assaulted me in every possible way. They tore apart my clothes and exploited my womanhood. The policemen inhumanly tortured me and raped me for the 6 days. The pain became too excruciating. I finally escaped their grip when I got a chance, I came back to Marichjhapi on 3/2/1979 to my family. This harrowing situation has not only affected me but also my family in all possible ways. The physical pain and bruises that have covered me will fade away with time but the fact is it is more than that. I've been scarred not only socially but emotionally.

This experience will haunt me forever. What those policemen did to me has left me anguished and devastated for the rest of my life. I request you, as a victim of the vicious act, to bring justice for the pain by punishing the accused.

Conclusions

- Space, caste and gender in Dalit massacre using the case study of the Marichjhapi massacre.
- Multifocal feminist geo-centered exploration Anonymity.

"We don't need to violate someone's privacy to tell their story, do we?' he asks. 'Why would I want the victim to be victimized all over again?' So, rather than putting the face of the actual subject in his work, he often gets others to enact a certain scenario. . . 'It may have been staged but does that diminish the relevance of its message?' he asks" (Ghosal, 2020). - Leads to homogenization of experiences.

- Politics of Difference and triple burden but intersection of spatial experiences especially in terms of gender-based violence.
- Space the creation of implied geography gendered spaces of caste as a result of the spatial segregation in partitioned West Bengal Dalit feminine spaces makes women vulnerable.
- Caste based spatial segregation spatial hierarchy (Ambedkar 1935) and geographical differentiation apartheid (Spate 1952).
- Space, caste, and gender of authors Dalit feminitude (Punia 2023) need for Dalit female narratives fictional.
- **Hypothesis** proved The caste identity (of being a Dalit) determines the spatial location of the female survivors which in turn render them more susceptible to gender and caste-based violence during the massacres.

- Conditions same awaiting justice Mallick (1999) suggests, "[o]ne small step in [the] process [of getting justice for the victims] might include investigating the Marichjhapi massacre and sending those responsible for trial to the Supreme Court or International Criminal Court" (p123).
- The importance of fictional narratives is highlighted by the popularity gained by Ghosh's work. Sengupta (2016) notes, "[t]he largest number of academic articles are literary criticisms stemming from Amitav Ghosh's novel, which as a work of fiction doesn't add to the historical record, though providing more publicity than all the other academic works on the massacre. It provided credibility that Untouchables could never have obtained on their own".
- Elimination of the caste-based spatial segregation in Indian villages Mixing the population alterations to social and well as political spaces and institutions (Gorringe 2016) exogamous marriages.

04

Space, Gender, and Caste: A Comparative Approach to the Kilvenmani and Marichjhapi Massacres

- Comparative Analysis of Dalit Massacres: Literary,
 Historical and Cultural Perspectives
- Comparing Sequential Events
- Comparing Narratives
- 1. Thematic Comparisons
- 2. Comparisons Using Literary Theories and Techniques
- Conclusions

Comparative Analysis of Dalit Massacres: Literary, Historical and Cultural Perspectives

- "The fact and its comparative study are inseparable" as it facilitates a deeper understanding of the order of the historical events (Griffiths 2017).
- Literature, history, and cultural studies the causes and consequences of historical events.

"The comparative method, which analyses two or more systems of relation for common patterns and distinctions (usually identifying these patterns as products of either a shared genealogy or shared responses to specific historical conditions), emerged in the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century as the preeminent method for finding commonalities across an extraordinary range of aesthetic, social, and scientific fields of research, from philology to anatomy, from geology to sociology (Griffiths 2017).

- Dalit massacres patterns and distinctions or similarities and differences.
- The massacres selected are incidents that can happen anywhere in India due to the all-pervasive nature of caste in the country initiate discussions on the other lesser-known massacres and to understand the spatial vulnerabilities of the Dalits in the country.

- Empirical validation of theoretical concepts in Dalit massacre studies like the space-caste-gender relations, using case studies and in-depth analysis.
- Theoretical or methodological framework 'How can two Dalit massacres be compared to understand space-caste-gender relations?'.

Literary Comparisons

Texts and Narrative Techniques Thematic

Feminist Geocriticism and Digital Cartography

Cross-fictionality (Hatavara 2017) Intertextuality (Kristeva 1966)



Historical Comparisons

Sequence of Events - Comparative
Historical Analysis (CHA) - case studies
- causal analysis - contextualized
comparisons - Mahoney (2003)



Cultural Comparisons

Comparative cultural studies Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek (1999) – merges comparative literature and cultural studies - caste

Major Concepts

Cross Fictionality

"A narrative where the frame of reference is non-fictional [Dalit massacres in this case], but the narrative modes include those that are conventionally regarded as fictional" (Hatavara 2017).

Intertextuality

The inter-connectedness of the texts (Kristeva 1966).

CHA

"Defined by a concern with causal analysis, an emphasis on processes over time, and the use of systematic and contextualized comparisons" (Mahoney 2003) using in-depth case studies (Neuman and Robson).

Causal Factors.

Comparative Cultural Studies

"The merger of aspects of comparative literature and cultural studies" (Steven Tötösy de Zepetnek 1999).

Comparative analysis of historical events that took place within a country to understand how cultural identities like caste can shape the gendered experiences of Dalit massacres and its representations in literature.

- The literary approaches the fictional and non-fictional narratives.
- Historical methods sequence of events before, during, and after the massacre.
- Comparative cultural approach the role of cultural institutions and practices like caste discrimination and sociospatial stratification in Dalit massacres.

From Beginning to End: Comparing the Sequential Events of the Two Massacres Using Comparative Historical and Cultural Analysis

Before (trigger events)

—Locations: Coastal areas.

Dalits located in coastal areas are more prone to violence (Dag-Erik Berg 2020).

Economic, political and cultural events

Caste, class, identity – labourers/refugee – Historical contextualised reading of the massacres - Dalit exclusion and unequal caste-based distribution of resources and opportunities results in caste-class relationship.

Role of CPI(M)

During (tactics and targets)

-Killing of Women and Children.

Destroy the targeted communities physically or by disrupting its social and biological reproduction by eliminating surviving populations (Hartley, 2007).

- —Arson, rape, and murder.
- —Dalit women physical/sexual, mental.
- —Institutional and state inaction.

After (law, justice, and rehabilitation)

- The public inaction, judicialbias, state inaction, institutional caste bias and academic disinterest - caste identity.
- Rehabilitation: Dalit feminist activists.
- Denial of legal justice and social justice.
- —Politics of remembrances.

Memorials

Kilvenmani more popular.

Marichjhapi more researched.

- Paraiyas and Namasudras.
- CHA and CCA causal factors caste practices in India which relegates the Dalits to lower class without access to basic rights and resources.
- The cumulative effects of casteist discrimination over time results in Dalit assertion of rights (wages in Kilvenmani) and space (in Marichjhapi) leading to UC and state massacres.
- The "contextualised comparisons" (Locke and Thelen 1995 cited in Mahoney 2003) of Dalit massacres, caste-class relationships and the Dalit struggle for space, especially land and identity.
- The results of the comparative analysis of the two case studies can be extrapolated to the other
 Dalit massacres in the country because of the widespread influence of caste in India.

Dalit massacres are historical events that "are **not static occurrences** taking place at a single, fixed point; rather, they are processes that unfold over time and in time" (Pierson cited in Mahoney 2003).

Uncovering Literary Thematic Divergence and Convergence: Comparing the Fictional and Non-Fictional Narratives on Kilvenmani massacre and the Marichjhapi massacre

Thematic Comparison

- Fictional Women
- 1. less UC women rape and assault on both UC and LC comparison to land and trauma -resemblances to real characters anonymization
- 2. Kilvenmani more in number anonymization Angela Kaathamuthu of Virumandi indirect reference might go unnoticed.
- 3. Ghosh and Kandasamy psyche.
- 4. Marichjhapi need for more female fictional.

Fictional representation of real-life women are effective as "literary texts are indeed appropriate tools for the purpose of emancipation of women" (Muffuh 2002) .

Absence of detailed exploration of the Dalit female experiences of the massacres - physical and mental trauma. The intersectional identity of Dalit women which situates them in specific locations - Writers should explore the opportunity to feature female protagonists and provide a detailed portrayal of their socio-cultural experiences before, during, and after the massacre.

Historical Representations

- 1. Less and Anonymisation denial of identity of the survivors also leads to a homogenisation of their experiences as seen in the newspaper articles and Sivaraman's essays.
- 2. Focus on **Activists** of Kilvenmani than survivors.
- 3. Overlooking the denial of legal justice.
- 4. Identity as a Dalit laborer versus Dalit refugee women.

Difficult to collect data on the real female survivors of both the massacres.

Unnamed and homogenised as victims in the newspaper reports and other non-fictional narratives.

Attempts to locate the survivors as part of field work also turned out to be futile as it was difficult to physically locate the survivors or obtain translators or insiders from the villages for conducting the study.

Real and Fictional Settings

To show spatial segregation in India.

Thiruvarur - Kuruthipunal

Kilvenmani and Nagapattinam - The Gypsy Goddess

Vadakkur and Thekkur - Heat

Satyapuri - Kann Sivanthal Mann Sivakum - consists of

both uc and lc women

No setting - Aravindhan

Thekkur and Vadakkur - Asuran

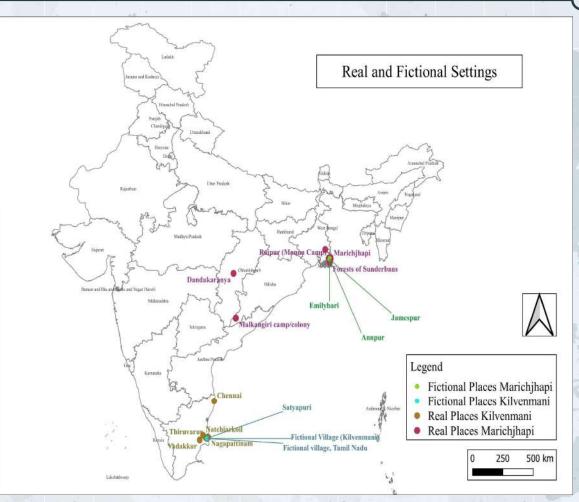
Lusibari and Morichjhapi of the Sunderbans - The Hungry

Tide

Non fictional sources - Nagapattinam, Kilvenmani, Irinjiur

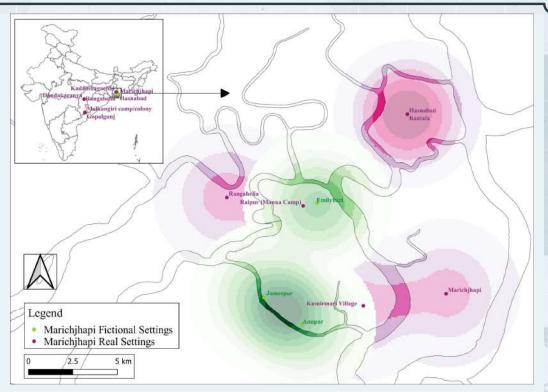
Kumirmari - Where the Birds Never Sings?

Fictional spaces and characters enabled the authors to talk about "the unspeakable and give voice to the unheard and unseen realities" (Eliastam 2018) of the massacre".



Comparison of the Real and Fictional Settings of the Kilvenmani and Marichjhapi Massacres

- The third space or intersectional spaces are also referred to as "spaces of transgression—areas where different spaces dissolve, amalgamate, cover one another, or move over/through another" (Juvan 2004, p. 87).
- Locating the existence of such spaces of transgression, third space or an intermediary space in the case of Dalit massacres using geocriticism and GIS will not only result in an increased public attention to these places but also shed light on the historical and imagined realities of the places in terms of their space, caste and gender relations (figure 29).
- Though the potential of such spaces is yet to be explored in Dalit literature, third space references are indirectly stated by Ghosh (2005) and Mallick (2024) in their works. They suggest that Marichjhapi, as an intermediary space would have become a 'safe haven' for the Dalits symbolising Dalit liberation through socio-economic independence.



Heat Map Developed Using Kernel Density Estimation to Visualise the Intersections of Real and Fictional Spaces of the Marichjhapi Massacre

Gendered Spaces of Caste

Space-caste-gender - Women's experiences of the same place vary significantly based on their intersectional identity of gender and caste - gendered spaces of caste hierarchies (extending on Ambedkar's notion of spatial hierarchy of caste).

Binary spaces - Meletheru and the unnamed lower caste area in Kuruthipunal - Heat Thekkur and Vadakkur | Kolkata and Lusibari with Marichihapi, refugee camps as Dalit spaces.

Casteist spaces - Pallaththeru and Paraththeru (*The Gypsy Goddess*).

Kilvenmani, Nagapattinam, Marichjhapi as Dalit female spaces with clustering.

Kilvenmani and Marichjhapi becomes feminist geographical codes that evokes the female experiences of the massacre.

Space, caste and gender relations are evident in both the massacres that are considered for this study. Space should be considered as an intersectional category while analysing the Dalit female experiences of massacre.

Gender Based Violence

Rape is mentioned only in *The Gypsy Goddess* and *Ramayyahvin Kudisai* of Kilvenmani whereas *The Hungry Tide*, *Where the Birds Never Sings*, *Blood Island*, *Interrogating My Chandal Life* and *Reconstructing Marichjhapi* mentions the rape that occurred during the Marichjhapi massacre.

Police brutality in one (names of the perpetrators are not available) and UC violence in the other.

Raped and then killed.

No legal cases on rape and sexual violence.

Gender-based violence in the form of physical and sexual assault is present in both the massacres. The Dalit female body is exploited by the upper castes as a tool to reinforce their dominant position within the caste hierarchy (Sabharwal, 2015).

In spite of this rape and other gender-based violence are **underrepresented** in the fictional and non-fictional narratives of both the massacres.

Fictional and Non-Fictional Narratives

Kilvenmani - popular culture, including literature and films, whereas the Marichjhapi massacre remains largely unexplored. Marichjhapi - well researched.

The films on Kilvenmani massacre like Asuran, Kann Sivanthal Mann Sivakum, were able to initiate more discussions about the massacre as evident in the newspaper articles on the films and the massacre. These visual narratives also have more impact as they directly show the massacre and the torching of the huts.

Semi-fiction in both - *The Gypsy Goddess* and *Where the Birds Never Sings*. Scope for a semi-fictional novel on massacres like Kandasamy's work.

Literature has the potential to bring the memories of massacre to the public especially that of the female survivors – need for more.

Additional Literature

Activists and organisations in case of Kilvenmani - need to integrate women into policy making processes.

Laws - caste and gender bias in laws and legal system -Marichihapi did not have court-proceedings as it was denied.

Literary Comparison

- Feminist Geocriticism
- 1. Dalit Feminism Dalit feminist differences in lived experiences.
- 2. Intersectionality Dalit female Identity.
- 3. Protagonists contrast to reality of the Kilvenmani massacre narrative techniques for popular acceptance 'gendered heroism' (Fried 1997) Angela Kaathamuthu, Maayi, Kusum used to introduce the massacre and these women become allegorical to the massacre.
- 4. Using fem geo language use as a code/ geo-parler femme female geographies uc lc representations Kandasamy makes use of Kilvenmani as a geographical code to create a female literary language of the massacre. Similarly, Ghosh's Lusibari and Marichipapi.
- 5. Land and female body as the feminist geocritical carriers of traumatic memories, history, and culture in the fictional narratives of both the massacres.
- 6. Authors space, caste and gender majority males and UC women allyship is important
 Dalit female authors, leveraging their own lived experiences, were particularly adept at illustrating the intersection of gender and caste atrocities suffered by lower-caste women.

Lack of Dalit female writers on both the massacres. Is this the reason for underrepresentation of Dalit female experiences?

Myths

Use of female mythical characters.

Myths in India, have a built-in caste system (Kashyap 2023) - propagate caste hierarchies.

Subverts this practice by using mythical characters to question the notions of spatial hierarchy and 'purity-pollution' concepts of the caste system.

The Centry Goddess of Kuruthipunal transcending caste and occupies a casteless space - marks the boundary

Neelayadakshi - The Gypsy Goddess - purity

Bon Bibi, "the goddess of the forest" (Ghosh, 2011) - The history of the space, 'the tide country', is transmitted from one generation to the other via oral history i.e., through rhythmic songs about Bon Bibi which is by-hearted by the kids of the place. Arabian descent (Ghosh, 2011), Ghosh, like Kandasamy makes use of a mythical character of mixed inheritance to challenge the notion of 'purity' of caste.

Cross-fictionality

"The frame and the reference of the narrative are nonfictional, but the narrative modes used include those that are fictional—resulting in a **cross-fictional representation**, fictional discursive modes in narrative realms outside of fiction" (Hatavara 2017, 404).

Kandasamy (semi-fictional) and Ghosh – while the primary event is historical/non-fictional, the narrative techniques used is fictional – the massacre reference often gets **overlooked** in Ghosh's work.

Cross-fictional reference to the burning of huts in Kilvenmani massacre.

Counter-factual historical fiction (Kakimova 2024) – employed in the visual narratives on the Kilvenmani massacre for greater reader acceptance – affects public perceptions of the massacres

"The widespread habit of limiting the scope of a research project to a **single author** often leads to a confined understanding of the author and his/her texts, which, in turn offers marginal results" (Nemesio 1999 2) - hence the need to explore the same narrative through different authors and their works.

- Intertextuality Narratives of the massacre are cross-referenced and derive meanings from other texts *The Gypsy Goddess, Blood Island, Untouchable Massacre* Increases visibility and serve as textual archives.
- The literary maps thus created around the massacres themselves give rise to a "processual intertextuality" (Cooper and Priestnall 2011) among the narratives of the massacres. "Literary maps are textual systems of signification and association which are always practised within a spatial context" (Cooper and Priestnall 2011, p. 19) and helps in locating the "[e]motions [that] are tied to places through experience and memories, as well as perception and images" (Caquard and Taylor 2009).

Juvan (2004) - intertextuality of space. Both intertextual and intratextual evocations that "deterritorialize the point of view" (92) of the massacres are found among the narratives that are investigated in this study.

Conclusions

- Literary, historical and cultural analysis validates the hypothesis of space-caste-gender relations.
- 1. Gender and Caste 2. Space and Caste and 3. Space-Caste-Gender relations are repeated in narratives of both the massacres.
- Results and analysis Similar space-caste-gender relations in Dalit massacres can be extrapolated to other Dalit massacres that have not garnered the academic, judicial and public attention received by the case studies discussed here as caste and its practices are all pervasive in the country. One is in South India and the other in North India coastal areas.
- Need for more Dalit feminist narratives fictional and non-fictional that make use of allyship, feminist geographies, and literary techniques.