

MARGINALIZATION STRATEGIES IN ARUNDHATI ROY'S *THE MINISTRY OF UTMOST HAPPINESS*Fayaz Khan¹, Dr. Abdul Hamid², Dr. Ghani Rahman³, Shahida Khaliq⁴

Original Article

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Abstract

The present study investigates marginalization strategies in The Ministry of Utmost Happiness (2017) by Arundhati Roy. The selected text was analyzed in light of the postcolonial theory, foregrounding a background of the colonized state of the subaltern class in India. The subaltern studies historiography identifies the ruling elites of India as bearers of the legacy of British colonizers. Like the colonizers, these elites have ruined the lives of the subaltern class and as a result the subaltern groups have no access to power and their voices have never been heard in the political and social arenas. Roy presents the case of the most marginalized people of India i.e. minorities, Dalits, transgenders and those who live in the slums. Indian politicians, local elites and patriarchs have been marginalizing them through various strategies. Their lands are confiscated and no alternative measures are taken for the displaced and dispossessed people. They try to record their protests but their voices are silenced through military, police and militant organizations. Similarly, bloodbath in Kashmir has engulfed its people in a war-torn colony. They are still living in a colonial era because Indian military and militant organizations are using in-depth strategies to suppress their voices. State is deliberately pushing them towards insurgency and then through counter-insurgency they are killed, their women are raped and their youngsters are declared as militants. The Indian politicians back up militant groups and take political precedence through violence and anarchy. They deliberately declare India as a security state for the benefits of the few for which the subaltern class is always presented as a threat to the state. The protagonist of the novel is a hermaphrodite, who is also marginalized by society through patriarchal values and political injustices but her generosity and compassion towards marginalized people is a slap on the faces of Indian authorities. Roy's advocacy of the subaltern class has unveiled the abominable faces of Indian politicians. She has keenly observed different incidents in the recent history of India.

Keywords: Marginalization strategies, Postcolonial theory, Subaltern class, minorities, Dalits, transgenders' voice

Introduction

The present study deals with Roy's *The Ministry of Utmost happiness* (2017) in the backdrop of postcolonial theory. It attempts to find out the issues of the subaltern class in Indian society. There are various factors behind the marginalization of the Subaltern class. This study is using postcolonial theoretical framework to dig out those factors. Roy's novel is a multi-dimensional depiction of Indian society of both the dominant and subjugated classes. The dominant classes have been shown to marginalize the oppressed classes through various strategies. The present study is highlighting those strategies adopted by the elite class. Postcolonial theory delineates the circumstances of formerly colonized people, who were controlled by the inhabitants of another part of the world. Its impact on the colonized subjects is gainful because it decentralizes the western colonial power, its values and culture. Thus, postcolonial theory has provided consciousness to the formerly colonized societies in determining their goals for overcoming the obstacles. Postcolonial theory as a theoretical framework criticizes the social, political, psychological and cultural operations of colonialist and anti-colonialist philosophies (Tyson, 2006, pp. 418). A good deal of English literature is still addressing the issues of the colonial subjects and its ideologies under the vast spectrum of the postcolonial theory. Indian society is still facing the issues, imposed by colonial regime. Therefore, Indian literary arenas are addressing these issues through literary texts.

In 1982, a group of Indian scholars under the guidance of Guha (1999) emerged to reclaim the voices of the subaltern being the most marginalized section of society. Spivak (1988) was also a prominent figure among the subaltern studies group. They claimed that recording history was Euro-centered. After the British colonial period was over, the record keeping of history came into the hands of the ruling elites and it became elite-centered. Thus, the figure of the subaltern was vanished in the historiography of India and their uprising and insurgency was deliberately being neglected throughout history. They tried to regain the voices of the subaltern class in the historiography of India. British colonizers transferred power to the ruling elites of India. Consequently, the voices of the

subalterns were never heard throughout history. Thus, the marginalization of the subaltern class is the catenation of the colonial ideology that was imposed by the British colonizers.

'Marginalization' is a separation or segregation process of economically, politically, religiously and socio-culturally deprived group or class. It is also an unjust approach to minorities, inferior and weaker part of society by the stronger part or the majorities. Tribal people, Dalits, transgender, Muslims and females are in general considered as marginal, inferior or peripheral. Thus, they are assailable to exploitation. The novel is a complete characterization of violence on Muslims by the chauvinistic Hindus of the right wing that was implicitly backed by the political power (Mandal, 2018). The concept of being a marginal is the result of different dominant discourses like imperialism, patriarchy and ethno-criticism that involve certain experiences in a geographical boundary. The marginal position is determined with its restrictions to access power. Marginality for its noun attributes is associated with the verb 'to marginalize', which exposes the power being the operant of centrality and supply a trap for those who are the part of a resistance. It signifies that resistance like this can turn into replacing the Centre instead of deconstructing the binary framework of margin and Centre that is the elementary component of postcolonial discourse (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007, pp. 121).

'Postcolonial' is a term used to cover the cultures impacted through the colonial regime from the day colonization embarked on to the contemporary age. This is the persistence of aggression for power by European white settlers who started preoccupations in different parts of the world. It is also proposed being a term on criticism regarding modern cross-culture which comes out in late years as well as the discourse by which it is comprised. This term has also shown the European hegemony on the contemporary fields of literature (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffins, 1989). Ray and Radhakrishnan (2019) argue that Subaltern let a formulation of different manners of power like colonial, class based, religious and the exponent of marginal people. Even as the Subaltern theorists attested some forms of supremacy and they also documented some classes of resistance. In examining grain riot, the uprising

of peasant class results the conflicts in society. Thus, the powerful force of colonialism and the interactive impression of pre-colonial and the Subaltern awareness were the core concern of the scholars be spoken in Subaltern studies (Ray & Radhakrishnan, 2019).

India being a developing nation had been remained under the influence of British Raj, thus living for a long time under the Colonial power has still a negative impact not only on the common masses of this region but also on the authorities of the nation. They are still living with a colonial mentality. The same narrative has been brought forward by Helen Tiffin in '*Post-colonial Literatures and Counter-discourse*'. The grip of British Colonialism and Imperialism had been conformed to three quarters of the world. Therefore, it is not easy to get rid of its after-effects. During colonial rule the lives of the colonized people were impacted by the European discourses. As a result, the contemporary literature, philosophy and art are the sequel of the same European models. This is why the pre-colonial cultural immaculateness can never be completely recouped (Tiffin, 1987).

Literature Review

Arundhati Roy, in both her novels portrayed the subaltern characters. This shows her concerns about the subaltern subject matter. She seems to change the trend of using the subaltern for gaining power. The real essence of her works shows that she wants to give voice to the dispossessed class. She has depicted the victims of society in her novel *The God of Small Things* (1997). Women, children and Dalits are shown as the victims of the cultural, economic and socio-political system. This is why, they are considered as 'small things'. Therefore, she has advocated the case of the voiceless people who cannot raise the voice of their own against the corrupt socio-cultural system (Jadhav, 2017). The same narrative of advocating the Subaltern class in society has also been depicted in her second novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* (2017). It is the embodiment of the subaltern subjectivities which shows the bitter truths of society, like the miserable lives of Dalits, embarrassing lives of transgender, murder, rape and corrupt government. Moreover, the groups of people who are marginalized through the hands of the authorities have also been represented. They didn't get justice and equality;

their day to day lives go on, in casualties, deaths and sufferings (Mali, 2019). Being an advocate of the subaltern, she has criticized on the policies of the corrupt politicians in the same novel.

The scope of the postcolonial theory has been widened by not only restricted to the foreign intrusions but wherever poor or marginalized groups are overwhelmed by a hegemonic power, this theory has literally exposed such powers. These marginalized groups are facing too many challenges in South Asian societies and their Subalternity has become a challenge in the postcolonial world. Many writers have presented the case of the Subaltern subjects in their works. But Arundhati Roy has given a permanent space in her works for enabling the subalterns, to speak for themselves and be heard. Arundhati Roy was asked about the fiction by Decca Aitkenhead; a journalist in the Guardian, she said in my opinion fiction is of higher degree among the arts. I like to tell stories and this story-telling in my opinion can make a good perception of the universe, with having dances and cheerfulness in it. She also said that voices of the people have been intentionally silenced while there are no voiceless people but they are deliberately unheard (Aitkenhead, 2017). Arundhati Roy doesn't believe in two genders but she considers it a spectrum. Since, third gender is also there in society, facing dispossession, oppression and double marginalization through the hand of society. People don't consider them as humans while they are the living human beings of the universe. Therefore, they live on by dancing in the marriages of the people. Her novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* also portrays a world, where people suffer at the hands of the authority. This is the burning issue of Kashmir insurgency; where violence and ferocity has become day to day problem (Kashyap, 2019). Roy has articulated Jannat guest house where, there are no hierarchal groups but everyone is welcomed. In this guest house, there are no categories like the society have; of religion, of caste, of color, of gender etcetera and where people live among the dead. Every character has its own story. Anjum, Saddam Hussain, Tilo and some other characters like Azad Bhartiya, Gul Kak and Nimo Gurakhpuri have also been shown with having their own problems. Thus, she has shown the issues of different groups in

society through these characters. As Roy has already said that she is a story-teller, thus her own position is being an upper-caste intellectual, who tells the stories of the marginalized people (Kashyap, 2019). Different groups of marginalized people are shown in *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* but the suffering of a transgender is one of the focuses in the novel. Due to categorization and classification in society, they live in seclusion because society is not accepting them as a common human being. Both men and women consider them as 'others' and they have no space in the cultural bond of this patriarchal society. Similarly, the dominant and ruling forces have also restricted them to certain limitations. They are marginalized because of their gender as well as their way of speaking. They are neither male nor female. Therefore, society doesn't allow them in public spheres. Roy has tried in her novel to relocate their identity and to present their case of subalternity. Their suppression could not be covered in this spectrum because their sufferings and lost identity have a long history since the time immemorial. Similarly, they are also marginalized by the dominant classes in society because they have not given the right to speak for their due rights (Raina, 2017).

The Ministry of Utmost Happiness suggests an opposing and digressive poetics through which fictional and non-fictional components exist together. Roy's critical position on realism includes both her inquisitive approach of literature's quality to do equity to suffering and her pledge to draw in with contemporary history. Appropriately, this second novel of Roy reframes realism in terms of literary concepts as an aesthetic of the melancholy, planning to cover what is remnant from non-fictional records of political issues and history (Menozzi, 2018). The way she has intertwined different sort of issues concerned with different classes and degrees of subaltern people with the same pattern as different genre and stylistic features of literature are intertwined. She has adopted a unique style in presenting the issues of the subaltern people. This is a kind of poetic-prose because it delivers her message with melancholic, poetic and aesthetic emotions. It could be seen in the novel that Kashmiri Muslims and other minorities in India are still colonized within a country once colonized by the British imperialism. Thus, they are dually colonized.

The political conflicts in India have been depicted in the novel like Kashmir issue, Maoist insurgency, Gujarat riots 2002 and Manipur Movement. Indian politicians have been comically represented in the novel which shows that Roy blames them for the political disorder in Indian history. Roy has attributed the political set up of India with a comical circus for which she has used different nick names like Poet prime minister for Prime Minister Vajpayee, trapped rabbit for Manmohan Singh, Ghandian for Anna Hazare, Mr. Aggerval for Arvind Kejriwal and Gujarat ka Lalla for Narendra Modi. She doesn't want to disgrace or make fun of Indian politicians but she wants to expose the hidden reality wrapped in extremism, chauvinism, so called nationalism, Hindutva and insurgency (Mustafa and Chaudhry, 2019).

Mimicry, hybridity and the attribute of in-betweenness are the constituents of postcolonialism and its effect on the minds cannot be easily unlearned. Living of Anjum in the graveyard amidst her forefathers, who were once the colonized subjects are now living among the wrecks of their culture, a culture no longer pure but blended with western culture. The real conflict is to decide whether to accept the present culture with its hybridity or to recover the lost culture of the ancestors. The identity quest has always been the core concern in the postcolonial circle which seems perpetual. In such time of conflict and uncertainty one must stick to his/her culture and never let it be submerged. Similarly, Tilo says that she is disturbed with a flow of certain thoughts. She wanted to forget certain things; such things that she knowingly wanted not to know. Narrator of the novel comments that these things reminded of the harsh treatments of the past. Similarly, the postcolonial theory also portrays the harsh memories of colonialism. These harsh treatments were practiced on the colonized people by the colonizers to maintain their hegemony. However, the query that pertains is to whether it is possible to forget these harsh memories of the past or not (Assumi, 2018).

The sympathetic narration of human massacre is clarified by Roy in her novel with presenting detailed information of different events in the recent history. She also demystifies the barbarous violation of humanistic dignity and respect through the hands of the military and the worm-like treatment of marginalized groups of

society have also been shown in the novel. Roy also told a lot as it is told in a documentary instead of fiction (Sajeev, 2019). The 'Una Lynching Case' has also been mentioned in the novel because in India the untouchable Hindu castes are assaulted by the Upper caste Hindus. They beat and kill the Dalit people for pretending to be the cow protectors. A low casting family whose conventional duty was skinning the carcass of those animals which are dead, they were attacked by the upper caste Hindu mob after spreading the news of cow slaughtering. This news got great coverage through the country. Roy has mentioned this incident in her novel through the character of Saddam Hussain (Dayachand) who saw his own father being killed by the Hindu mobs while he was present among the mob and watched his father dying (Maurya and Kumar, 2019).

The incident of Godhra leaves a backlash for Anjum, in the repercussion of the violence where she was almost killed by the Hindu nationalist mob; she was traumatized to the degree that she left the Khwabgah and started residing in a graveyard near the public hospital and the mortuary. This new residence was called the Jannat guest house where she was living among the dead. This was not an awkward and outlandish move for Anjum because in a country where subaltern subjects are considered as others, then it is a familiar step. It also literalizes the deathly communal momentum in the mindset of Hindu nationalists and its reaction to the roars of the Hindu extremists at Godhra, that there is no place for others and the only place for the Muslims of India is the graveyard or Pakistan. It makes sense that cemetery known as Jannat guest house is a place for those who are literally and figuratively excluded; a place where people who are rejected by the outside world, are welcomed and they can find peace here. It is a sort of sanctuary for them (Tickell, 2018).

Roy's novel articulates Indian society with a critical demonstration on its religious, social, political, racial, geographical and gender related marginalities which witnesses on the disintegration of India. She has presented these marginalities from the perspective of 'Duniya against Jannat, regard versus disregard, revolution versus evolution and so on.' The monstrous picture of Indian society towards its people has been shown by different critics in their works. Similarly, Ganguly has artistically

exposed the bond between the state's representatives and the corporates which suppresses the voices of the common masses against each resistance and exploits the marginalities. Roy acknowledges the left-wing political ideologies instead of right-wing conservative philosophy. This novel explores different dimensions of Indian society with the binary opposition of 'others' and 'self', state and its subjects (Ganguly, 2017). Roy has portrayed different characters in the novel. Anjum is marginalized because of her third gender attributes which articulate the general treatment of society towards the third gender people. Her being living in the graveyard depicts the dispossession of society towards the 'otherized' people because the common constitutes of society differs her attributes. A Hindu character Dayachand denounces his religion and tries to seek refuge in Islam from her Dalit origin. He knows that Islam strictly discourages classicism and caste system but the current situation of Muslims being the minority in India doesn't save him from marginalization. The concept of 'self and other' illustrate the social and caste difference in Indian society like Brahmin and untouchable, Hermaphrodite and male, Hindu and Muslim and even the geographical distinction like tribal and non-tribal, rural and urban, Plain and valley (Mustafa and Chaudhry, 2019).

The trauma of marginalization and dispossession of the weaker subjects is shown by Roy through the interrelationship of the characters. Anjum is a third gender character but because of trauma, she steps out of the Khwabgah towards the graveyard to reside in. Anjum and Zakir Mian are entangled in Gujarat riots of 2002 after returning from a shrine and they tell the story to the people as the mobs were infuriated by the Hindu nationalists' leaders against Muslim. The main actor behind boosting the angry mob was the chief minister of Gujarat, because of his violent infiltration in the mobs' minds, the violence went on for three days and more than 2000 people were killed. The effects of the incident were so fearsome that Anjum didn't want to remind it and she changed her hijra get off for some days. Roy gives precedence to the issue of minorities through choosing a hijra, a Dalit, a Kashmiri man and a Malayali Christian woman as her main characters and focus point. She thinks the issue

of being a minority in India is far more complex than partition narrative of the past. This novel also focuses on realizing gender, caste, sexuality and religion as perplexing conventional narratives of Muslim/Hindu, traitor/loyal, jihadi/patriot which diffuse political discussions in Public circles (Kashyap, 2019).

Research Methodology

The present research is qualitative in nature which foregrounds postcolonial theoretical framework for analyzing the text. Descriptive approach has been used towards the qualitative content analysis. Interpretative and close reading techniques have been used to highlight the issues of the subaltern groups living in Indian society. The close reading of the text identified the most marginalized characters and groups, facing ill-treatment of society. Various strategies have been highlighted in the text, through which they were marginalized. State used to marginalize the subaltern class through military, police and militant organizations. Similarly, strong cult of patriarchy and societal norms have been shown to push the subaltern class towards further marginalization which is the core concern of this study. The specified text also delineates the social background of different classes in Indian society. Research articles regarding some incidents in the recent history of India have been examined because *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* has shown the glimpses of those incidents. Therefore, the secondary data provided ample support towards the topic.

Data Analysis

The Ministry of Utmost Happiness is the case study of the marginalized class, among which Kashmiri Muslims are on the top of the list. Perhaps this is an articulation of Roy's own love for India and Delhi, from which she cannot restrain herself with knowing all these perfidies and corruption of the hegemonic groups and authorities of the country but doesn't lose hope (Lau & Mendes, 2019). Being a social activist Roy has foregrounded the issues of the trans-people in her novel, especially the striking problem that they endure by the society due to their body. At this stage the human body turns into an entity of the society. In society the human body is controlled and determined in the interests of the public. Therefore, societies have their particular characteristics for the acceptance

of the human bodies. Human body is something very personal that has now become an entity for the social construct. The same is the case with Aftab, who later on turns into Anjum, is alienated through this social construct because the society where he lives, norms are decided by the society even for one's body (Varghese & Pius, 2019). The deepest sympathy of Roy for the subaltern class compelled her to articulate the general treatment of society towards the subaltern. The protagonist of the novel is a hermaphrodite character, Anjum. "She lived in the graveyard like a tree (Roy, 2017, pp. 3)." Living an abandoned life in the graveyard seems an abstract phenomenon for the world of the living but Roy has tried to show the dead end of the postcolonial societies through graveyard.

The character of Musa Yeswi is the victim of the brutalities of Indian military. He represents all those, who are fighting for the freedom cause but their struggles take the lives of their loveable ones and they are declared as insurgents. Tilotama marries Musa after his wife Arifa and daughter Miss Jebeen the first are killed in violence. She is humiliated by Indian army and she is mentally tormented by going through the physical strain through the hands of Indian army. The political hindrance in Kashmir has disturbed the peace and harmony of the overall nation and took many lives of the innocent people. Kashmir issue will become a tool of self-destruction for India (Raj, 2018). Finally, they are buried with their cause. When war is broken in "Kashmir, graveyard became as common as the multi-storey parking lots" (Roy, 2017, pp. 319). Guha (1999) argues that colonialism could keep on as an association of power in Indian subcontinent in terms of colonizing the bourgeoisie that "should fail to live up to its own universalizing project" (Chakrabarty 2000, pp. 476). Hence, Kashmir is the colony of the still-colonized people where the colonial authority is maintaining their hegemony. Military operations have ruined the lives of its common citizens. Torturing innocent people in the name of militancy and giving terrible penalties in suspicion has become a daily routine in Kashmir. This facet of oppressions has also been depicted by Roy in the novel. The mournful and pathetic stories of the mothers of the missing persons in Kashmir were not getting any attention of the authorities of the state. The janissaries of Gujarat ka Lalla (Modi) were humiliating these people in the name of

nationalism. Such glimpses have been shown in the novel, like humiliating the protestors at Jantar Mantar, where “young men spat at the photographs of the dead and missing Kashmiri men” (Roy, 2017, pp. 115).

According to Spivak, a group of people that has been deprived of all kinds of social mobility and removed from place and space for not gaining further prominence are ‘old subaltern’ (Jong & Mascot, 2016). The miserable condition of the poor marginalized people, who live in the slums, is no concern for the government because they are old subaltern. Roy’s pen has also been raised for the victims of the incident in Union Carbide gas company, Bhopal. Her grip of the pen seems hard and her tone bitter while documenting the case of the victims in *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* because nobody cares about this greater loss of human lives and organs. Those who survived, will “have to manage with their same old organs” (Roy, 2017, pp. 130) that are poisoned years ago but who will buy new organs for them. The victims of the incident are also a marginalized class and the culprits behind their marginalization are the administration of the company and the political hegemony, but desperately the victims are still living with their damaged organs and the culprits have managed to escape. The tribal communities in the forests of Bastar have also attracted the attention of Roy to give an account of their sufferings in *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*. Their lands have been snatched at gun point and they have forcefully been expelled of their houses for industrial purposes. In 2008, this situation was deteriorated and the Adivasi communities were crumbled by the state (Mali, 2019). The operation Green Hunt was carried out by the police. They burnt down their houses, killed innocent people; even their money, goats and chickens were stolen. The government wanted the Adivasi community “to vacate forest so they can make a steel township and mining” (Roy, 2017, pp. 421). Since, Adivasi community in India is a marginalized class and the state apparatus for their marginalization is police and other security forces.

Roy has exposed the cunning and abominable faces of Indian politicians for bereaving Kashmiris from their basic right of independence. State is using different strategies and tools for suppressing their voices. Starting from the case of missing persons in Kashmir,

Roy articulates their pathetic lives while protesting in Jantar Mantar. Mothers, Sisters, wives and children of the disappeared persons had placards in Jantar Mantar, “each of them carried a picture of their missing son, brother or husband” (Roy, 2017, pp. 115). State’s machinery like army, police and military organizations have been given clean chit to use whatever strategy that serves the best in suppressing their voices. United Nations and other human right organizations need to address this issue on humanitarian basis because the subaltern voices are never heard in the political domain of India. Spivak declines the concept that subaltern can only talk about the oppressed. She wishes the Western scholars to talk about the subaltern, she agrees with Pocock in admitting that an effective strategy must be used by the west to analyze and consider the other. However, the radical analyzers should have some noncompliant stance but it is not a good strategy to talk about the subaltern (Maggio, 2007, pp. 432). If the western scholars address this issue seriously, then the United Nations will also take some bold steps, because the barrier of the language will be diminished. Spivak notion is true even in the case of Kashmir freedom struggle because most of the victims in Jantar Mantar were publicly weeping and telling grievous stories to each other but “nothing had come of it” (Roy, 2017, pp. 115). Even, media persons were not paying any attention to them. Thus, Roy has criticized media for its dubious role, especially in the case of Kashmir, it is only promoting state’s narrative and keeping its viewers busy in broadcasting, what benefits the capitalist corporations.

The nexus between the political leaders and army officers is intentionally declaring India a security state. They are using various strategies to prolong instability in Kashmir because peace favors the oppressed class while instability in Kashmir favors the few. They are cutting down their forests and loading convoys with walnut woods, which beautify their bungalows with refurbished furniture. “Kashmiri artisans are press-ganged into service” (Roy, 2017, pp. 170). Roy legitimizes the protest of Kashmiris against the state because they are the victims of the nexus between the security forces and military organizations. The narrator of the horrible stories of the war-torn Kashmir in second part of the novel is Biplab Dasgupta,

who was deputy station head in Kashmir and working for the intelligence bureau. He acknowledges that a military organization called Ikhwan-ul-Muslimoon was working as our counter-insurgency force, which were rearmed and reorganized by us for fight because they were fighting for their own profit. "The fact is that they were funded by the Indian intelligence agency" (Roy, 2017, pp. 173). Roy questions the authority that if this is the strategy of Indian security forces in Kashmir then who is accountable for the lives of the innocent people in Kashmir. The Ikhwanis smoothen the ground to the security forces and then security forces marginalize the poor Kashmiris through fake operations. Once the Ikhwanis threw a grenade into the crowd and the police were threatened, not to take the report. Then, they sized the funeral of a young boy, who was killed in the blast, these calamities provoked the people. Thus, the security forces intervened and started firing the protest, in which fourteen more people were killed and curfew was declared in the whole region. Roy condemns these operations in *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* because these strategies are used to suppress the voices of innocent Kashmiris.

The colonial mentality of peasant insurgency was also affected with identity issue by those, who were superior. They are the reason of their awareness for economic, cultural and status-oriented differences in society. Their identity was quantified to the sum of their subalternity. Thus, they recognized themselves not through the properties of their own social being but by a diminution (Guha, 1999). The colonial mentality in India still exists in the modern form of different insurgencies and counter-insurgencies in different states. The issue of Kashmir is its living example, where the practice of colonization is still on, but the strategy has been changed by the state according to their cultural, social, economic and religious orientation. Religion has been used as a tool against Kashmiris to challenge each other and spread a chaos among the valley. Religious identity has become a construct of discrimination. The people of Kashmir are demanding freedom, for which they have raised their slogans but it has become a habit. They come out to the streets and go back to their houses without any hope. For suppressing their voices, an active role has been played by the state in choosing its agents within

the valley. For example, they have recruited Muslim police officers from Kashmir that is a sign of an undertaking, to pledge whatever the state demands or accomplishing a secret agenda. Consequently, an issue of religious identity has taken place in Kashmir, through which they are easily misguided and brainwashed. Such practices in the valley of Kashmir have been highlighted by Roy through the characters of Ashfaq Mir and Aijaz. Mir was a police officer and deputy commander of Sheraz cinema JIC (Joint Interrogation Centre) while Aijaz was a freedom fighter and a young member of Lashkar-e-Taiba. Mir was thinking that achieving the goal of freedom for Kashmiris is impossible, so he joined the police but his performance seemed to be carefully scripted (Roy, 2017). He was quite expert in creating the chaos among Muslim sects like Sunnis, Shias, Bareilvis, Salafis and Deobandis while this seed of self-doubt had been carefully sown by the administration to control Muslims. He had captured Aijaz in an operation against the Mujahideen. Aijaz had been tortured, given electric shocks and ordered to sign a blank sheet (Roy, 2017). He said that Lashkar had taken one year in removing all their doubts about my recruitment. Naga-a fearless journalist in India asked Aijaz, have you been trained in Pakistan? He said, no. I was trained in Kashmir. We buy arms from the Indian army because they do not want to end the militancy. They are making money on the bodies of Kashmiris. Therefore, all these bomb blasts and carnage are carried out by them (Roy, 2017, pp. 228). Roy has exposed a strategy of spreading religious idiocy among the people of Kashmir. She criticizes the police and security forces for not showing the true picture of Kashmir to the world. When Roy comes to the end point of Naga's meeting with Aijaz, she clarifies the situation with the intrusion of Ashfaq Mir, who intimidates Naga for publishing Aijaz's story.

The political instability in India has made the situation worse for the weaker subjects of society. The peasant class people are used as a weapon by their leaders and politicians to fulfil their political agenda. As a result, Muslims are specifically targeted in the ongoing political atmosphere of India. David Hardiman has thoroughly examined the case study of political atmosphere in India. His work *The Indian 'Faction': A political Theory Examined* (1982)

has provided the understanding of the faction system in Indian politics. He has presented the case studies of different writers in his book. Mukherjee said that cosmopolitan faction bosses mobilize the support of their state's clients, who being the part of the local elites and leaders in their own peripheries further mobilize their clients, mostly peasants. It gives an explanation of how the elites rally the peasants. Brass and Carstairs are at the same page regarding the faction system in India. They argued that Indian society has been haunted by the cancer of factionalism that has irresistibly been spread in its political structure. Thus, Indian state is damned by the reality that its politicians are controlled by the power that is beyond their control (Hardiman, 1982). The modern phenomenon for the political faction system in India exists in the shape of collaboration between the political leaders and the military organizations. Like BJP party is governed under the RSS policies. The leaders of these organizations are mostly elites while the mobs are peasant class people, who fulfill their political agenda through different strategies.

Conclusion

It is concluded at the end of this study that all those who belong to the lowest social class and caste are marginalized in Indian society. The elites and authoritative people are the state actors, who left no stone unturned to marginalize all the weaker subjects of society. Dalits, minorities, transgenders and poor people are still colonized in India. They are not getting their due rights in this country. Political leaders are supporting the dominant people because they are aware of the outcome of offending the hegemonic groups. The political leaders and the elites are on the same page in marginalizing the oppressed class. They are using military, police and militant groups as state's machinery for marginalizing the subaltern class. They use in-depth strategies against these poor and helpless people. Militant organizations are used against these marginalized people, they provoke them for insurgency and then through counter-insurgency they are captured and killed. Their houses are burnt and their lands are snatched. Similarly, in some parts of India, the peasant class people are evicted in the names of different projects but no alternative measures are taken for their reinstatement.

It is obvious to say that ruling class of India are the remnants of the British colonizers and fulfilling their incomplete mission. Indian politicians are deliberately declaring India a security state, for which militarization in Kashmir is used as an agenda to prolong the war, because peace prospers mostly middle and lower-middle class while it draws a red line to the indigenous dominant groups and politicians, who are backed up by the global corporates and hosts of the arm industries. Military leadership is also on the same page with the political leaders of India and using in depth strategies to prolong the war. Similarly, Maoist insurgency in India was also the reaction of the nexus between Indian political leaders and global corporate industry. They were rapped, killed, their houses were burnt and their lands were snatched to establish an iron mining factory. Thus, all these evidences have been thoroughly examined and presented in this research to expose the abominable faces of India political leaders.

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