

Tribhuvan University

**Representation of Inequality in Roy's *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*: A Critical
Discourse Analysis**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Department of English
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in English**

By

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Kirtipur, Kathmandu

August 2019

Tribhuvan University
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Letter of Recommendation

Shiv Raj Paudel has completed his thesis entitled “Representation of Inequality in Roy’s *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness: A Critical Discourse Analysis*” under my supervision. He carried out his research from June 2017 to August 2019. I hereby recommend his thesis to be submitted for viva voce.

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Letter of Approval

This Thesis entitled “Representation of Inequality in Roy’s *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness: A Critical Discourse Analysis*” submitted to the Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University, by Shiv Raj Paudel has been approved by the undersigned member of the Research Committee:

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Acknowledgement

Firstly, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my thesis supervisor Mr. Shankar Subedi, Lecturer of Central Department of English, for his continual co-operation, proper suggestion, genuine inspiration, insightful comment and motivation to accomplish this thesis. No expression of thanks can adequately carry out my deep felt appreciation for his cherished advice and splendid guidance during the course of this research work.

I am beholden to the Head of Central Department of English, Prof. Dr. Anirudra Thapa for his encouraging advices. Similarly, I would be delighted to extend my gratefulness to respected Lecturers, Hemlal Pandey, Diwakar Upadhay, Pradip Raj Giri, Badri Prasad Acharya, and other lecturers as they contributed enormously to my understanding of the complex subjects.

I am rejoiced to grab this occasion to record my immense gratitude to my parents, Gopal Prasad Paudel and Indra Devi Paudel for their constant encouragement, grandiose suggestions and profound dedication. I owe them a great deal for what they have done. Meanwhile, my friends Kusum Dura, Megh Raj Gharti Magar, Bivek Adhikari, Rom Nath Nepal, and my life partner Kabita Paudel Regmi deserve a great share of thanks from the depth of my heart for their help.

August 2019

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Abstract

This thesis primarily examines Arundhati Roy's novel The Ministry of Utmost Happiness, with special attention to its various socio-political issues and its direct relation to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA, as it is connected with those issues, this paper brings and applies the concept CDA particularly focusing on assuming and implying, naming and describing, prioritizing and negating as the tools to examine the novel and different aspects of CDA forwarded by two prominent scholars of CDA, Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk who have also shaded primary light on roles of discourse analysts as social agents for the transformation of society. Similarly, to develop the general concept of the novel, this paper initially discusses the nature of the novel briefly and to bring the different socio-political issues from the novel into forefront, it highlights the issues like inequality, power politics, hegemony, ideology, exploitation, domination, discrimination, injustice etc by exploiting the concept of CDA and its different tools in the facing part of the paper. This examination leads to finding the issues mentioned in the novel are unavoidable agenda of CDA and different tools of CDA describe how discourse pattern is changed. In this way, this paper helps the readers in understanding the concept of CDA and its different tools to treat the discourse pattern in the Roy's novel The Ministry of Utmost Happiness.

Keywords: inequality, transgender, hijra, power politics, ideology, dalit, and language

Representation of Inequality in Roy's *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*: A Critical
Discourse Analysis

This present research work on Arundhati Roy's novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* primarily deals with various socio-political issues and its relation with discourse. More specifically, this research aims to critically analyze the discourse in terms of different socio-political issues focusing on inequality in the novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*. For this, firstly it analyzes the text, then Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its relation to the novel later. After using CDA as a tool of examination, this paper thus claims that this novel as a discourse represents the social hierarchy and domination in the partition torn India.

The issues mentioned in the novel are the agenda of CDA. Different socio-political issues of the novel are the key concerns of CDA. The novel is blended with different issues like inequality, power politics, hegemony, ideology, exploitation, domination, discrimination, injustice etc. Thus, I have used CDA along with its different tools including naming and describing, implying and assuming, as the lens/tools to investigate these issues because CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily sheds light on the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.

Similarly, Roy, through this novel has taken the role of a spokesperson to support the oppressed marginalized and the deserted. Her work involves the harsh reality of society. In the novel she does not show any hesitation either to write or speak on any felonious issues. So, as CDA is the voice of muted voice, Roy is also through this novel, is typically giving voice to the voiceless people. Thus, the present

novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* is the expression of her disgust, anger, dissatisfaction and sympathy and these angers and dissatisfactions are the unavoidable parts of CDA as well. Furthermore, CDA has the responsibility not just to react to discriminatory practices of the society but also to be proactive and to take necessary actions to stop such discrimination. So, by using CDA as a tool to examine the novel, I as the researcher expect how CDA encourages resistance to discriminatory practices over the marginalized or unequally treated groups of the story.

Many scholars of literature reviewed this novella from different perspectives. Some reviewers appreciate the novel as identity based work, while others call it as novel that provides place to social political outcasts; some call it as the lamentation of the sufferer of Kashmir conflict, etc. But none of the critics have used their lens to analyze the novella from the perspective of CDA. Thus, I as a researcher here want to fill this gap claiming that the examination of different issues mentioned in the novella and revealing their relation with CDA also becomes mandatory because the novella consists of different sociopolitical issues which have direct access to CDA. To prove it, I want to mention the previously done reviews of different critics as how they have treated the novella and how the issues mentioned in the novella are interconnected with CDA.

Charles L Larson in his review of the book *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* points out that the book deals with the issue of *Hijra* who are considered “special or holy people” in one hand and on the other hand they are treated as the “objects of discrimination” (27). He finds the novel highlighting ambivalent treatment towards transgender in India. Anita Felicelli on her book review for Los Angeles Review of Books states “Identity is at the heart of *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*. Not only India’s identity, or Kashmir’s identity, but also the identities of individual people,

often those considered marginalized” (4). For her, the identity issue as the major concern of Roy in the fiction. Karan Mahajan in his review about the book in New York Times proposes “Set in India in the present decade (with back stories extending into the 1950s), it is a novel about social and political outcasts who come together in response to state-sponsored violence” (1). Mahajan finds the novel bringing back the history of social and outcasts of India. Alex Clark on his book review “*The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* by Arundhati Roy review – a patchwork of narratives” for The Guardian magazine explains “*The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* is a curious beast: baggy, bewilderingly overpopulated with characters, frequently a chronological, written in an often careless and haphazard style and yet capable of breathtakingly composed and powerful interludes” (2). Clark finds the baggy, bewildered, a chronological and over populated in one hand but being all these the novel has not missed to be a breathtaking work with powerful interludes. Tabish Khair his book review on *The Hindu Magazine* states:

What magic reveals, what magic hides” expresses “Not that this is a perfect novel, or that it even deserves all the hyperbolic accolades being showered on it in certain quarters. But it is more experimental a work than Roy’s excellent first novel, *The God of Small Things*, whose radical reputation was far in excess of its structure and style. (2)

For Khair, *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* is not as stylish and properly structured as Roy’s earlier fiction *The God of Small Things*. For him the first work was excellent. He is quite skeptical with his review. Seemita Das in her book review entitled '*The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*' is a melancholic wail out of a war-torn land” for Times of India states “. . .I do know that this book is a lament - lament on the daily struggles for (dignified) survival borne by the scarred populace of war-torn

Kashmir . . .” (1). Das regards the fiction as the lamentation of those sufferers who are directly affected by the Kashmir Conflict.

Although the aforementioned critics provided the variety of lens to see the novel from different angles, I find the issue of inequality in relation to CDA quite interesting and relevant for present research. In this regard, the paper includes the concept of CDA, its importance, main tenets and different aspects of CDA and their relation to the novella. For that, the paper primarily applies the concept of CDA forwarded by two prominent figures of CDA Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk.

To develop general concept of CDA, the paper in this section leads the readers towards discourse and discourse analysis as they are being unavoidable concept of CDA. So, I here discuss discourse first and discourse analysis later.

The word 'discourse' is usually defined as the study of language beyond sentence. Mills in his book *Discourse* says:

A discourse is not a disembodied collection of statements, but grouping of utterances, sentences, or statements which are enacted within a social context, which are determined by that social contextinstitutions and social context therefore play an important role in the development, maintenance and circulation of discourses.(10)

It makes us clear that discourse is the larger units of spoken or written languages such as utterance, sentences, or statements that can be analyzed and interpreted according to different social context. Furthermore, discourse should be grammatically cohesive, unified and contextually meaningful and logical.

Similarly, discourse analysis, on the other hand, studies how sentences are formed or organized into larger units like in conversation, paragraphs and so on. To make it more clear Richards Rodger in his book *Approaches and Methods in*

Language Teaching defines discourse analysis as:

The study of both spoken and written discourse is discourse analysis to refer to the study of spoken discourse and text linguistic to refer to the study of written discourse. Discourse analysis deals with how the choices of articles, pronouns and tenses affect the structure of discourse, the relationship between the utterance in a discourse, the moves made by the speaker to introduce a new topic, change the topic assert a higher role relationships to the other participants and, analysis of spoken discourse is sometimes called conversational analysis. Some linguists use the term text linguistics for the study of written discourse. (84)

Rodger gives concrete definition of discourse analysis. His definition makes us clear that discourse analysis is the study of both spoken and written discourse. Similarly, it also makes us clear that how different grammatical items affect the combination of discourse. This idea is solely connected to the text as well. Uses of different articles, pronouns, etc stated in the novella have great impact on the discourse pattern or structure. As an example, we can examine the title of the novella itself. The use of definite article in the title *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* shows particular world or nation where there is always utmost happiness. So, it shows different grammatical items also affect the discourse pattern and its meaning. But this title itself is an ironical in nature because readers do not find the ministry of utmost happiness in the novel. Thus, Discourse analysis also studies the relationship between language and context in which it is used. It analyzes the meaning and various issues which is commonly found in the discourse. In this sense, discourse analysis offers the insights into the problems and processes of language use.

After the aforementioned discussion on discourse and discourse analysis, this

section of the paper leads the readers towards CDA. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an emerging discipline in various aspects of language related studies in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It primarily studies discourse from politically committed perspectives. It examines how discursive sources like power inequalities, hegemony and domination are maintained and reproduced within specific political, social and historical contents. CDA aims to investigate critically social inequalities as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use. Fairclough's book *Language and Power* is commonly considered to be the landmark publication for the start of CDA; however the work of Thorn Burry, Wodak, Van Dijk etc have also contributed a lot for establishment of CDA as a school of investigation.

After knowing the above provided general concept of CDA, there can still be confusion among readers regarding the differences between Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Thus, to remove this confusion, the paper in this part points out how CDA is different from DA. CDA differs from discourse analysis in the sense that a) it implies adopting a critical perspective, b) CDA researchers study discourse by placing texts in their context, rather than as isolated objects, c) CDA is not just analysis of discourse; it is part of some form of systematic trans disciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process. d) It is not just general commentary on discourse; it includes some form of systematic analysis of texts. e) It is not just descriptive, it is also normative. It addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or easing them.

Researcher here hopes that the above mentioned distinctions between DA and CDA have been somehow fruitful to know the concepts respectively. Now, the paper moves to some basic tenets or principles of CDA assuming as the most important

portion of CDA. For that the researcher brings the reference from FairClough and Wodak. They have summarized the basic principles of CDA as: a) CDA addresses social problem b) Power relations are discursive c) Discourse constitutes society and culture d) Discourse does ideological work e) Discourse is historical f) The link between text and society is mediated g) Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory and h) Discourse is a form of social action. I also claim that, most of the basic principles of CDA mentioned above can be applied in the novella. As the examples, the principle numbered 'a' is concerned with the social problem and so is found in the novella as well. The issues like untouchability, gender discrimination, religious conflict etc are the examples of social problems and these problems are found in the novella as well. Similarly, the principle numbered 'b' is related to power abuse of the novel as utilized by different politicians in the novella. Principle numbered 'd' is associated with the concept of CDA as ideologies are reproduced through language. Thus, these principles of CDA are blended with the novella as well.

Furthermore, to analyze discourse, FairClough developed a model for CDA which constitutes three dimensional boxes. We can analyze this model by relating it to the novella as well. The inner box presents the text, the box in the middle presents the discursive practice and the outer box presents the socio-cultural practice. For FairClough, text focuses on the way the reader reads the content and message. Texts vary in their capacity, i.e. some texts are more opaque than others. To contextualize it we can take Roy's novella *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* as an opaque text. The use of different Hindi, Urdu and Sanskrit words and sentences may create confusion among the readers. Thus, the readers belonging to India and Pakistan may feel somehow simpler and transparent text but to the readers of other countries except India and Pakistan the text can be opaque. Similarly, discursive practice of the middle

box focuses on the way in which the text has been produced, its mode of dissemination and the way it is received, read, interpreted and used by human beings. The novella as the form of text is also perceived and disseminated differently. Despite of various weaknesses, the text of the novella is taken as the voice of marginalized group. Many critics and readers have taken it as the slaps against malpractices of Indian society. Finally, discursive practice focuses on the immediate situation that has given rise to its production and the various socio cultural practices and discursive conditions at both institutional levels that provide wider contextual relevance.

As being this research paper based on CDA, it has to include the aims of CDA as well. In this regard, Tannen et al. in their book *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* have mentioned some aims of CDA and these aims have taken as the overall conception of CDA.

Critical research on discourse needs to satisfy a number of requirements in order to effectively realize its aims: a) it focuses on social problems and political issues rather than on current paradigms and fashions. b) Theoretically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary c) Rather than only describe discourse structures; it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure. d) Generally, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society. (353)

The above mentioned aims of CDA provided by Tannen et al. are no doubt the major concepts of CDA. As they have mentioned CDA has to address and satisfy various requirements to realize the aims of CDA. It has to mention various social and political issues and problems and has to be enacted in the text. Thus, in the novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* also various socio-political issues mentioned and these are

reproduced in the different form of discourse.

Now, the paper leads to develop the concept of CDA defined by FairClough, Van Dijk and many other linguists and applies their concept to the novella. Similarly, this section of the paper of also deals with various tools of CDA to analyze the different mode or pattern of discourse. To FairClough, CDA is defined as a branch of discourse analysis, which is concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language as he wrote:

CDA systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (135)

As he said CDA is concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language, so is found in the novella as well. This novel as a discourse represents the social hierarchy and domination. The novella is also blended with various discriminatory practices. The language used by the different characters and the narrator's explanation of different characters using different form of language can be a mode of discourse. Putting it another way, different mode of discourse and different ways of expression by different characters show how they are discriminated from the mainstream. In the name of power politics, socially elite people have dominated and suppressed different untouchable, indigenous and transgender people

in the novel using different modes of discourse. As a reference from the novella, researcher here analyzes the language and situation of main character Anjum, a transgender character of the novel. She is the most vulnerable and marginalized character of the novel. She is alienated and treated like in inhuman way. She is discriminated and abandoned by both from her own home and from society. To show it, the title of the opening chapter that reads "Where do old birds go to die?" (1) This kind of use of language by Anjum as a form of discourse points the fact that old birds like old Anjum in her life are discarded by the society. Such people are dumped like garbage. Not only that the discourse used by the people around the graveyard ridicule and mock her way of living. Many insult her with cruel marks like, "..... clown without a circus, queen without a palace...." (1). This expression of people can be analyzed using the tools of CDA naming and describing respectively. From the above expression, here, I have used the naming words 'clown' and 'queen' to describe Anjum. These naming words imply that the life of Anjum is like clown without circus. This shows that there is no value of living in this miracle world without having any company. Similarly, another naming word 'queen' is juxtaposed with palace. According to the expression, queen without a place is the situation of living alone in the mob of people. Similarly, I have also brought a reference of how Anjum is dominated in Jantar Mantar. During her visit to Jantar Mantar Mr. Aggarawal has arrogantly asked "Who gave this *Hijra* to sit here?" (119). In this expression the collective noun '*Hijra*' is addressed using the determiner 'this'. As we simply know, the determiner 'this' is generally used to point out thing but in the expression it is used to address a man. Similarly, the term *Hijra* is used as the collective noun to address a particular person. Thus, the above mentioned expressions reveal the transgender people are treated discriminately and this is a kind of inequality as well. Not only that

the above mentioned expressions are also the examples of discourse and it shows how the main character of the novella Anjum is discriminated and abandoned by the society. We find biased attitude of the speakers. Teun A. Van Dijk too describes the biased attitude of the speaker as a result of the choice of address that “A critical approach to such discourse phenomena must be as subtle as the means of dominance it studies. Thus, an 'impolite' form of address (using first name or informal pronouns) may characterize many discourses of many people in many situations” (261).

Thus, as Van Dijk said different impolite forms of address characterize the discourse of many people, the same impolite forms of discourse to address transgender people in the novella has characterized the situation of transgender people like Anjum in the novella. From eyes of CDA tools I have taken the word 'Anjum'. Anjum is the main character of the novel. In Hindi language the word 'Anjum' is the name of star.

Although, the star 'Anjum' is beautiful the transgender person 'Anjum' is not taken as the beautiful name. It is taken as the discriminatory name.

The incident of Gujrat Riot is also associated with CDA where the authoress Roy in the novella as a form of discourse has reflected how transgender character Anjum is unequally treated and victimized in the riot. Roy, in this section does not explain what the reason of outcome of the Gujrat Riot rather she describes what the impact of Gujrat Riot on Anjum (Marginalized transgender character). Anjum is presented as the victim of Gujrat Riot. The impact of Gujrat Riot on Anjum is explained by Roy as:

His inquiries led him to a small refugee camp inside a mosque on the outskirts of Ahmedabad, where he found Anjum in the men's section and brought her back to the Khwabgah. She had had a haircut. What was left of her hair now sat on her head like a helmet with ear muffs? She was dressed like a junior

bureaucrat in a pair of dark brown men's terry cotton trousers and checked, short - sleeved safari shirt. She had lost a good deal of weight. (46)

By using CDA, this section of the fiction explains the condition of Anjum as the matter of power use. CDA sees this incident as domination of people which is resulted from the abuse of power. So, the researcher compares Gujrat riot with abuse of power politics due to which many people are victimized. Reproduction of this event through discourse, Roy has shown dominance and power abuse which have direct connection with CDA. We can relate this concept with Van Dijk's concept of CDA. Dijk says "CDA studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context"(352). Thus, the researcher takes Gujrat riot as the matter of power politics and this riot is occurred in the name of power abuse that has shown dominance and inequality among transgender people. Similarly, Roy in the form of discourse has explained and reflected how transgender people have been victimized in Gujrat riot.

Similarly, Roy in the form of discourse has proved bitter reality of transgendered people. Roy in the novella says, as being a transgender family member, Anjum's mother Janahara Begum does not accept her and finally Anjum leaves home and starts her journey to Khwabgah as a safe place to spend her life. Here, Anjum is only a representative character of transgender community. There are many other Anjums in India who have been paralyzed and treated unequally. Thus, to show catastrophic situation of transgender people in India, the researcher brings the reference of Rajkumar Siwach. Siwach, in his journal Education of "Transgender in India: Status and Challenges" has also asserted some major problems faced by *Hijra* community in India as:

The transgender community faces stigma and discrimination and therefore has

fewer opportunities as compared to others. They are hardly educated as they are nor accepted by the society and therefore do not receive proper schooling....They are forced into sex work which puts them at the highest risk of contracting HIV as they agree to unprotected sexual intercourse because they fear rejection or they want to affirm their gender through sex. (20)

This implies that the transgender group is the most marginalized group in India. They are not given equal opportunity in any sector of Indian society. They are always forced to into sexual intercourse that may result HIV. They are deprived from education as well.

Thus, the above mentioned discriminatory practice over the main character of the novella, Anjum, must have the association with CDA that disseminates knowledge because CDA is an analytical research that primarily studies the way social power use; dominance and inequality are enacted and reproduced in the in the social and political context. To stop this sort of gender biasness, CDA raises its fingers against such unequal treatment and empowers the powerless. To relate this concept of CDA and its role to resolve discriminatory practices, researcher brings the concept of Van Dijk. In the words of Van Dijk,

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power use and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such *dissident research* critical discourse analysts take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately challenge social inequality. This is so why CDA may be characterized as a social movement of politically committed discourse analysts. (466)

This definition of CDA consists of two major parts. The first one supports the notion

of discourse as playing a central role in relation to power and dominance within the social order. The second part highlights the critical aspect, discussed above, on the part of analysts to the point that they are characterized as activists in a social movement. In this sense, CDA has the responsibility not just to discuss discriminatory ideologies but also to be protective and to take necessary action to stop such discrimination. As a result, CDA is expected to encourage resistance to discriminatory ideologies in a quest for social change.

So, in the novel the authoress Roy herself has played as a role of social agent. In other words, author has taken the role of a spoke person to support the oppressed marginalized and the deserted. Thus, she can be taken as a discourse analyst or social agent and has fulfilled her duty as expected by Van Dijk.

Another important aspect of CDA is ideology. Ideologies are often produced through discourse. In other words, discourse does ideological work. Much work in CDA is about the underlying ideologies that play a role in the reproduction of or resistance against dominance or inequality. When critical discourse analysts argue that discourse embodies ideological assumptions, they use the term ideology in a 'critical' sense. FairClough understands ideology to be "significant/construction of reality (the physical world, social relation, social identities) which is built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contributes to the production, reproduction or transformation of relation of domination" (87). This critical conception of ideology links it to be the process of sustaining asymmetrical relation of power and inequalities- that is to the process of maintaining domination. So, ideology for CDA is seen as an important aspect to establishing and maintaining unequal power relation. To link the concept of ideology as provided by FairClough, researcher here relates it to frequently used word *Hijra* or *Kinner* in the novel. The

term *Hijra* or *Kinner*, is discriminately named in India. It is a kind of ideology. It is the mistreated and dominating name to the transgender people. As FairClough has said due to the discursive practices this ideology made them powerless. They are treated as subordinating members of the society. Way of perceiving them is different in the society. To add or provide some more information about *Hijra* or *Kinneras* reference to ideology, Puran Sharada in her journal "Subaltern Identity of Transgender: A Prospective of Indian Society" explains Indian term *Hijra* used for the transgender as "the word 'Hijra' the Indian usage has traditionally been translated into English as 'Eunuchs or hermaphrodite' where the irregularity of the male genitalia is central to the definition"(102). According to Sharada, the term *Hijra* in India a sexist discrimination against the transgender community where irregularity of their genitals is central element. It also makes us clear that ideology is one of the significant aspects of CDA and it shapes and reflects ideology. In this sense, our behavior or activities are directly or indirectly controlled by the discourse we are exposed to. CDA deeply analyses and interprets the texts and discourses that are intertwined with ideology. Similarly, there are many ways of learning ideologies like by reading, listening to other group members and so on. That's why; CDA is responsible for creating dominance and discrimination. It is a kind of lens through which we perceive, realize, interpret and understand the world. Another important thing about CDA and ideology is also that CDA changes the ideology. The word *Hijra* or *Kinner* is frequently used word in the novel. It is a concept or ideology of the Indian people and is addressed to the transgender people in India and this word has created discrimination and domination. By using the lens of CDA tool *Hijra* or *Kinner* come under the assuming. The function of assuming is recognized by the process of presupposition and implicature. Similarly, CDA also helps to uproot this sort of discriminatory ideology

and assumption and helps to bring social change through socio-political public awareness.

CDA cannot remain alone without language. As we simply know, language is one of the important parts of human life. Through language, both verbal and nonverbal, people can interact, communicate and show the existence of each other. However, today the language is no longer only serves as a means to communicate; the language has become the medium for the construction of life. It has also been used to alter, escorting people, and realize the social power. Van Dijk says "For CDA, language is not powerful on its own; it gains power by the use of powerful people"(120). This explains CDA often chooses the perspective of those who suffer, and critically analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means and opportunity to improve conditions.

As a form of language, Roy in the novel has included various Hindi and Urdu poems and words according to the need within her fiction. *Gayatri Mantra* can also be found frequently in the novel. Some Hindi words and sentences like *Kinner* or *Hijra*, *Duniya*, *Dalit* and *Adivasi*, *Bewafa*, *Mohabat*, *Mehfil*, *Haqeeqat* etc. are used in the novel. Similarly, some sentences like *Tu Kinner Kiu yi mandir me aayihoo?* (Why did you come to this temple?) *Main ye duyniya se nafrat hun*, (I hate this world) *Tu mujhse dur mat jao* (Don't go far away me) etc have been used in the novel to relate the context. These utterances used by different characters in the novel depict how the characters are using language as a form of discourse to show their feeling, emotions and attitudes. Language, as one of the unavoidable aspect of CDA, says that language is a social practice through which the world is represented. In the novel also the language used by the different characters has shown their different backgrounds and

situations. Almost every character seems to have some terrible experience of loss—a friend killed in massacre in Gujarat, a father murdered for being an untouchable, an acquaintance beaten to death in the Kashmir resistance, a wife and daughter brutally killed in a crowd shooting. So, that the words or sentences or more specifically languages used by them are different than the language of ordinary men. Sense of loss, hatred, anger, revenge and detestation can easily be found in their language. As CDA is an effective approach for the study of the text, it studies language as a form of social practice and explores the ways how social and political domination are visible in the text. For text analysis, the main assumption of CDA that makes the approach different from that of others is that it translates not only propositional meaning of the text but also its ideological assumptions of the text. By using analytic tools of CDA, it makes visible the way in which the novel and its discourse shape the mind of the readers, for literary texts, by enabling them to comprehend text manipulation and also it helps to know how CDA techniques can help in the formulation of appropriate strategies for reading. Therefore, language is the crux of CDA that shows how it is manifested to reveal the marginalization, domination and penalization of particular group of the society in the form of text or language. Thus, the novel, *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* can be taken as a form of discourse or text. And CDA studies the language and shows the ways how social and political issues in the novel will be revealed.

Similarly, there is close relationship between critical discourse analysis (CDA) and power. Power relation is an important aspect of CDA. Many linguists are also agreed and opine that there is mutual relationship between critical discourse analysis and power. Power is one of the aspects of CDA and tends to analyze the language of those in power, of those who are responsible for the inequalities in done in a society.

Moreover, CDA researchers attempt to know how discourse produces domination, and how power abuse of one group is exercised on others. And how dominated groups may strive to resist such actions. Critical discourse analysis describes the study of the use of language in society in relation to various powers and status exercised by the people in the society. The concept of critical discourse analysis is mainly associated with the idea that language and power are closely intertwined. It is fact that powerful institutions and individuals use language as both a means to construct their power and as a way to maintain it. Therefore, language becomes necessary for the maintenance of power and also helps to establish power and to sustain it. In the words of Van Dijk "CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context"(352). It means CDA as an analytical research focuses on different sort of power abuse, dominance and inequality and these sort discriminatory practices are reproduced by text in the different socio-political context. Crystal also gives some related ideas of regarding critical discourse analysis and its relation to power. In Crystal's words "Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a perspective which studies relationship between discourse events and sociopolitical and cultural factors, especially the way discourse is ideologically influenced by and can itself influence power relations in society"(123).

It means CDA is none other than a perspective which shows the different discourse events and its relation with power in the society. For Holmes, "CDA investigates how language is used to construct and maintain power relationship in the society; the aim is to show up connections between language and power, and between language and ideology (389)" This is to say, CDA, no doubt is closely associated with power by using language and its effects in the society. Henry Tator, (2002) has also talked about

CDA and its relation to power. He says "CDA's main concern is about the power and use of power which is reflected in the text and talk of those who struggle to maintain their authority over others, so it is believed that oppression, inequality and biasness would be left unchallenged if the text is not viewed and analyzed keenly and critically"(27). This definition of CDA also gives clear cut idea about CDA and its concern to power which will be reflected in the text and talk who struggle to maintain their authority over others. He further opines that the issues like oppression, inequality and biasness would be unchallenged if the text is not viewed and analyzed keenly and critically.

After the aforementioned discussion on CDA and its relation to power specifically, and other issues generally, it is clear that power, dominance and inequality are equally interpreted by the help of CDA as these terms are major concern of CDA. CDA is concerned with studying and analyzing written texts and spoken words to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts. It has also been clear that there is reciprocal relationship politics and power. Power is the product of politics and politics is a struggle for power to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice. That's why, they have nail muscles relationship. To establish political power, discourse plays crucial role. This is to say, discourse is an essential tool to establish political power. Similarly, Political discourse can be used for asserting power and knowledge and for resistance and critique. It is a result of politics and it is historically and culturally determined. Politicians are always careful in skillful use of rhetoric by which they aim to persuade their audience. Here, the term rhetoric means the art of using language so as to persuade or influence others. That's

why; rhetoric is unquestionably an important element of politics. The main purpose of politicians is to persuade their audience of the validity of their political claims and the language used by them can be used not only to steer people's thoughts and beliefs but also to control their thoughts and beliefs.

Now, here, in this section, this research paper sees the novella *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* from the eyes of CDA focusing on power abuse as this is concerned with the critical analysis of discourse mentioned in the novel. To do so, the above mentioned discussion on CDA and power, gives lots of information to treat the text as well as how power and politics are interconnected. For that the agendas, power abuse and political issues are brought into consideration through the help of CDA.

The novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* is no doubt intertwined with various political conflicts and riots of different groups. The ultimate aim of such riots and conflicts of the groups is to achieve power and govern over less powerful groups. To make it more clear, various conflicts and riots are mentioned in the novel like, Sikh riots, Kashmir's resistance movement, the Gujarat riot, the Maoist revolution, the oppression over indigenous group, the election of Prime Minister Narendra Modi etc. and these all riots and movements are associated with politics and political power abuse. For the benefit of political leaders they persuade and lure the common people by using different rhetorical techniques. As CDA says power is nothing but use of language by powerful institutions like political parties, organizations and so-called elite people. To show an example of power abuse, researcher, here relates the situation of *Naxal* in the forest where there is state's oppression over indigenous groups. This situation of power abuse is solely associated with CDA. Roy narrates the situation of indigenous groups in *Naxal* as:

In 2008, the situation much worst inside the forest. Operation Green Hunt is

announced by Government. War against people. Thousands of police and paramilitary are in the forest. Killing *Adivasis*, burning villages. No *Adivasi* can stay in her house or their village. They sleep in the forest outside at night because at night police come, hundred, two hundred, sometimes five hundred police. They take everything, burn everything, steal everything. Chickens, goats, money. They want *Adivasi* people to vacate forest so they can make a steel township and mining. (421)

As Roy described the situation of such underprivileged indigenous in a form of discourse are forced to leave their own native land and deprived from their civil rights. This is the inhuman treatment to the indigenous. These indigenous groups never get a chance to develop themselves as a lack of awareness and knowledge; they became the victim of injustice. Roy further says that those indigenous don't chose to do a hunger strike and request the government for their rights. They chose to lift their arms with guns to snatch their privileges as citizens of democratic country like India.

The above mentioned discourse is an example of power abuse. CDA also takes the incident from lens of power abuse. This discourse is the domination of the powerful state over powerless. In our general sense, power abuse means domination of one group over another group. Power, in CDA, is everywhere and no language in use can ever be 'neutral' or 'objective' and no discourse can ever be free of power and the exercise of power. Power is not derived from language, but language can be used to challenge power.

To show the effects of discourse as a form of power, the paper again brings an incident of Saddam Hussain in the novella. Saddam Hussain whose original name is Dayachand, is a young *Dalit* man born in a family of skimmers. The narrator says "He was born into a family of *Chamars*- skimmers- in a village called Badshahpur in the

state of Haryana" (85-6). This means he is presented as the untouchable class person having a family profession of skinning. Hussain's father is falsely accused of killing a cow. The skinners were not killing cows for the skinning rather they used skin of the dead animals. As skinners were victims of class discrimination in the Indian society, his father committed suicide due to the high pressure of Hindu organizations.

Dayachand explains to Anjum about using the name of Saddam Hussain as "I want to be this kind of a bastard. I want to do what I have to do and then, if I have to pay a price, I want to pay it like that"(60). It shows Dayachand wants to take revenge with those Hindu nationalists who pressured his father for suicide. The term "pay a price" refers to the price for making his father suicide. Dayachand is fascinated by the bravery of Saddam Hussain. Thus, he wants to fight to those Hindus activists as Saddam Hussain did.

As taking reference from the above domination over *Dalit*, CDA takes this incident from eyes of power abuse. Father of Dayachand committed suicide due to the high pressure of Hindu organizations. CDA takes Hindu organization as the elite class members of the society and this elite class members or organization have dominated the lower class people. It is no doubt a kind of power abuse. In the name of power many lower class people in society have been victimized from the so-called powerful people or organization. Similarly, the incident also makes clear that CDA provides awareness to raise finger against such malpractices in the society. For that, the researcher takes the character Dayachand. Sense of revenge can be found in the utterance of Dayachand. As he said, he wants to be a 'bastard'; it shows he is against of such malpractice. Thus, CDA also helps to go against such malpractices found in the society as Dayachand in the novella did. It also shows that CDA not only raises the issue of transgender and other politically connected issues but also focuses on

various malpractices of the society. Roy, through her novella has stated many other issues or malpractices which are privileged in the Indian society and those issues have direct attachment with CDA.

Roy has also brought the issue of Kashmir insurgency and this issue is also an unavoidable issue of CDA. Being more specific, political issues mentioned in the novella is interconnected with CDA. Roy in the novella has presented the conversation between Musa, an important militant fighter for Kashmiri *Azadi* (freedom) and Biplab, Deputy Station Head for the Intelligence Bureau to show how India is being self-destructed. Musa boldly asserts "One day Kashmir will make India self-destruct in the same way. You may have blinded of all us, every one of us, with your pellet guns by then. But you will still have eyes to see what you have done to us. You are not destroying us. You are constructing us. It is yourselves that you are destroying"(433-34). This spoken text as a form of discourse shows prophecy of Musa. According to him, his struggle for liberation will never culminate and that if not granted freedom the violence in Kashmir will spread across India and destroy the entire India. From the eyes of CDA we can take above mentioned conversation or spoken discourse as the form of public awareness. As CDA raises different socio-political issues and its possible consequences in the society so is done by the character Musa in the novella especially in possible impact of Kashmiri insurgency in India. As he said Kashmir insurgency will bring self-destruction of India itself in the near future. This is the warning of Musa to the Indian government. As he further says "We were fighting and dying in our thousands for Azadi, and at the same time we were trying to secure cheap loans from the very government we were fighting. We're a valley of idiots and schizophrenics, and we are fighting for the freedom to be idiotic and..... "(359). Through, this discourse Musa has shown his anger against the

government. According to him, the people in Kashmir are still fighting for the freedom and are ready to snatch their freedom from the government. For the maintenance of inequality using different discursive strategies the so-called powerful government has dominated the people in Kashmir. This concept is related to Van Dijk's concept of CDA. As he said, "CDA prefers to focus on the elites and their discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality" (250). So, as CDA prefers to focus on the elites and their discursive techniques and strategies for the maintenance of inequality, the discourse used by Musa above shows how the Kashmiri people are ready to go against such discursive strategies of the government for their Azadi or freedom. Similarly, Roy presents us with different stories and reports regarding the condition of the Kashmiri during the insurgency period. In the chapter "The Tenant" of the fiction Roy brings number of stories of Kashmir like "The Old Man and his Son", "The Perfect Murder", "The Brave Heart" etc in the form of extract from Tilottama's book *The Reader's Digest Book of English Grammar and Comprehension for Very Young Children*. These stories present how the Kashmiri people are suffering in the insurgency. These stories and book as forms of discourse have also relation to CDA. It is because these stories have shown social power abuse, dominance and inequality within a discourse from multiple perspectives. As being the forms of discourse, the stories or book have reflected how people are being controlled under the hegemony of the government and how the political hegemony made Kashmiri people very helpless. The government is taking action like insurgency, curfew etc which the civil society is unable to cope. In the name of insurgency people are being killed and kidnapped, lots of people are being homeless and there always a silent terror flying the sky of Kashmir. Thus, the above dominations and inequalities are the major domains of CDA which are mentioned in the novella in the form of language or

discourse.

After the above mentioned discussion, it is also clear to the readers that the novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* is intertwined with religious belief, gender identity, ethnicity, history, power and politics and so on. The fiction holds the unbearable truth of society such as wretched condition of minorities, humiliated life of transgender, mediocre government, life of naxals, rape, murder, and moreover the story is about the marginalized group of people who are victims of injustice, inequality and prejudice. All these issues are closely associated with CDA. Therefore, critically analyzing the discourse in the novel in terms of these issues including inequality, gender identity, historiography, ethnicity, politics and religion is the thrust of this research work. Since it is the time of growing tension of the status of language in the world, it is relevant to discuss about the CDA. It is largely associated with the power, politics and ideology that exist within society where discourse is produced and understood.

While dealing with analyzing the novella from the CDA's perspective, here may raise some questions in the mind of readers like, no doubt CDA talks about various social political issues but what is the role of critical discourse analyst to resolve such issues from the society? If there is a role of critical discourse analyst then how do they work? Such sort of questions may ring the bell of the mind of the readers. So, regarding the role of critical discourse analysts, they can play as a social agent. CDA analysts are also called CDA practitioners who examine discourse from a socio-political perspective in a critical way. In fact, they are the change agent of society. They can bring social change through socio-political public awareness. They can raise the issues and challenges found in the society. Similarly, they can raise their fingers against the malpractices found in the society such as injustice, inequality, domination,

discrimination, etc. Not only that they can establish proximity and solidarity between the user and researcher making language possible to study broader ranges of issues. They can take oppositional stance with power elites and keep solidarity with those who are oppressed. So, they can play the role of emancipator of social ill-practices and promoter of social actions by ignoring, mitigating, excluding or denying such inequalities prevalent in the society and promoting and motivating public eyes towards social issues through open discourse.

Finally, researcher finds the fiction as the best novel to talk about various socio-political issues and its relation to CDA. The fiction provides proper position to the marginalized and unequally treated people. At this situation, CDA can be a voice for the marginalized and paralyzed people. Similarly, role of CDA analyst is crucial to address the issues and bring social transformation. So, to study how several forms of inequality are expressed, enacted, legitimated and reproduced in discourse CDA is taken as a tool to examine the text. Furthermore, the novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* is not only one novel to show the various socio-political issues, there are also many texts and novels that talk about these issues. Just researcher has taken this novel as an example to show the various forms of inequalities and other issues and its relation to CDA. Thus, researcher, here, believes that it is justice to analyze the texts using CDA as a tool to examine the text.

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