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Role of Organic Intellectual with Reference to Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things* and *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*

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Letter of Approval

This thesis entitled “Role of Organic Intellectual with Reference to Arundhati Roy’s *The God of Small Things* and *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*” submitted to the Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University, by Ms. Usha Ghimire, has been approved by the undersigned members of the Research Committee.

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Abstract

*Arundhati Roy often takes risk to bring the voiceless at the center of academics and mainstream in South Asian context. Rather than giving benefits to elite, centers of power she sacrifices her comfort zone to give justice to the voiceless groups of people. This research paper is a critical discussion of Roy's *The God of Small Things and The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* in order to prove her as an Organic Intellectual. Her works show her disgust, dissatisfaction, anger, sympathy against injustice and inequality. Roy is a self-produced person, originally belongs from the powerless group of people and dares to question the authority of power politics on the basis of universal principal. Being a genuine, rebellious and reformative personality, she breaks status-quo time and again. She chooses to write the ugly reality of the society, issues related to history, culture and politics. As a daring personality, she actively participates in many social activities and revolutions. Her willingness to be a part of voiceless justifies her as an Organic Intellectual. In contemporary context, there is the dire need of people-friendly intellectual like Roy to deconstruct the layers of hegemony.*

Key words: Hegemony, Organic Intellectual, Voiceless

This research paper aims to justify Arundhati Roy as an Organic Intellectual. Her bildungsroman shows that she never hesitates to take any sort of risk for the sake of voiceless people. She goes beyond the selfish nature of individual. She dissociates herself from personal benefits, family benefits and abandons herself from pleasure and comfort in order to uplift the voiceless people. She even sacrifices her property which she earns and dares to take the risk of being stigmatized, punished, tortured,

imprisoned, fined, criticized and terrorized. Though, all her texts related to fiction, non-fiction and her journal articles directly or indirectly advocate the voiceless at the center and try to give them justice. But these two fictions reflect her role of Organic Intellectual prominently because through these fictions she raises very eminent political, social and cultural issues in a reformatory way. Further, to support the statement I have chosen her another book the conversations with Arundhati Roy *The Shape of the Beast* as a supportive reference to depict her real personality as well as her thought. After reading Roy's fiction and non-fictions (mentioned and non-mentioned) I found Roy as the spokesperson of the powerless people (Muslim, Indigenous, Transgender, Female, Lower caste and Lower class).

In order to clarify my claim I have chosen Antonio Gramsci's notion of Hegemony and role of Organic Intellectual. After reading her texts, I came to realize that Gramsci's notion of hegemony is very relevant in the southern Asian context. While talking about Roy, his theoretical concept of Organic Intellectual is very much applicable. Roy is one of the renowned writers of India. She lives for other's interest and has courage to protest against injustice and inequality for the sake of powerless people. This helps her to be a people-friendly advocate as well as keeps her far from profit oriented mentality. Having a genuine, rebellious and reformatory thinking she breaks status-quo time and again, she follows all the underline features of the formation of Organic Intellectual as defined by Antonio Gramsci. According to him, Organic Intellectual is an “. . . organizer of the ‘confidence’” (5), Roy's active participation on revolution, writing fictions and non-fictions, delivering speeches both in national and international level depicts her concern upon mankind. By doing so she tries her best to make people aware about their surroundings and their fundamental rights. Her struggles are for freedom, justice, cultural diversity, religious intolerance,

non-violence revolution and encourage a level of confidence among the mass. It helps empower them to raise their voice for their fundamental rights.

From the very beginning of her writing career to *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*, she often motivates herself with in her own self. The suffering of down-trodden people leads her to go anywhere to give voice to their rights and liberty. She academically, institutionally, legally fights for the sake of voiceless against injustice. For instance, she raises the voice against the Narmada dam project because the dam will replace half millions of people. She denoted her booker prize money from her debut novel *The God of Small Things* for this project. Likewise, she speaks to support for the independence of Kashmir from India. To be an Organic Intellectual seems to be a very tough job, only very few people dare to go and stand in such position because it is very risky space to stand, speak and exist. By taking all sorts of risk Roy stands from the side of voiceless and offers them a space to speak and fight against injustice.

Roy through her writing exposes injustice prevalent in the society and nation which is one of the ways to gain justice. In her *The God of Small Things* and *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* she chooses subaltern issues in her writing. She provides revolutionary features to the characters and shows their pitiful experiences and lifelong sufferings. For instance, Ammu and Anjum highlight she issues of gender discrimination, Velutha and Saddam represents the caste discrimination prevalent in the society. Likewise, Tillotama and Musa depict the Kashmir insurgencies whereas Estha and Rahel portraits molestation and abandonment. By representing these protagonists, Roy depicts the suppression of hegemony over the marginalized people. Being an honest writer she searches the truth to make people aware about the reality so that they can be aware about the domination of socio-cultural and political

hegemony over them by their own self. For instance, by criticizing the Prime Minister Narendra Modi in *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* she believes that his nomination as Prime Minister is very tragic for the nation, by criticizing American President George W. Bush in her *An Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire*, she calls him a 'war criminal', "baby killer, water poisoned . . . long distance bombers" (61). Many times she satirizes the mechanism of power politics fearlessly in order to maintain justice.

In *The God of Small Things* Roy brings the issue of subaltern groups of people. The main character Ammu and Velutha are the protagonist characters, marginalized by social hegemony. After completing school education when Ammu tries to further her education, her father discourages her "A college education was an unnecessary expense for a girl" (38). It depicts the condition of female in a society where Roy was brought up. Similarly, her husband is uneducated and alcoholic. One day his boss Mr. Hollick tells him "'I am afraid I have no option,' he said, 'but to ask for your resignation'" (41) and her husband gets afraid "begin to shake. To weep" (41). Then his boss says that he has "An extremely attractive wife . . ." (42), starts to plot a dirty game and tries to take advantage of his situation and tells him, "Baba go away for a while" (42). Ammu is forced to have adulterous relationship with his boss in order to save his job "he lunged at her, grabbed her hair, punched her" (42). She refuses their proposal "Ammu took down the heaviest book . . . hit him with it as hard as she could" (42) and runs away from there. But, when her husband's "bouts of violence began to include the children, and the war of India and Pakistan began" then she gets divorce with him.

Ammu returns in her maternal house at Aymenem with her two children, "they provide the care (food, clothes, fees), but withdrew the concern" (15). Chacko her own brother once says to her that she and her two children are "millstone around his

neck” (85). The reason behind it is she marry with a man whom her parent’s do not like and on the other hand she is a divorced daughter living in maternal house because of this reason her Syrian Christian parents also never accepts her fully. According to Baby Kochamma “a married daughter had no position in her parents’ home . . . As for the divorced daughter she has no position anywhere” (45). It shows how the power construction of the social hegemony subordinate female’s life.

Velutha, a lower caste man, works in Mammachi’s house as a carpenter. He is like a father for the twins Estha and Rahel and a soulmate for Ammu “led her to love by night the man her children loved by day” (44). Velutha the untouchable and Ammu the higher caste Syrian Christian become each other’s solace. But in fear of being a lower caste Vallya Paapen, father of Velutha meets Mammachi, who calls him as “Drunken dog! Drunken lair” (256). Still he is too loyal towards her than his own blood. He narrates the relationship between his son and Ammu to Mammachi, mother of Ammu “he asked God’s forgiveness for having spawned a monster” (78). By showing deeply rooted hegemonic consciousness, Roy tries to show that how the social discourse (hegemony) affects the life of marginalized people. The practice of caste system violates the universal law but instead of deconstructing such values people close their eyes and glorify such system. Even the powerless person like Vallya Paapen “offering to kill his son” (256) and stands from the side of so called elite who thinks them invaluable.

As soon as their love affair revealed Velutha is falsely charged for killing Sophie Mol and raping Ammu. The police man tortured him “They woke Velutha with their boots...boot on bone. On teeth . . . stomach is kicked . . .” (308), “his skull was fractured in three places” (310). When Ammu tries to prove Velutha as innocent “There had been a terrible mistake and that she wanted to make a statement” (7), the

police Inspector Thomas Mathew stared Ammu's breast and says, "the police knew all they needed and that the Kottayama police didn't take statements from *veshya*" (8). Velutha is a member of communist party beaten to death. Even his party leader supports the elite groups to prove him perpetrator of the crime "didn't have the patronage or the protection of the communist party" (263). This shows the tyranny of the state and the politics of opportunism. Ammu died at the age of thirty-one and do not get proper burial "The church refused to bury Ammu" (163). Roy gives clear representation of all the attributes of social reality; untouchability, gender discrimination, social hegemony, problems and clashes of the cultures, corrupt administrations and she tries to depict the harsh social reality, pride and death within one family (mainly in the southern Indian state of Kerala).

Similarly, Pappachi "always been a jealous man" (47) When Mammachi's teacher said to him that "his wife was exceptionally talented" (48) to play violin, he loses his temper and "broke the bow of Mammachi's violin and threw into the river" (48). When he knows some visitors are coming in his house he "sew buttons that weren't missing onto his shirts, to create the impression that Mammachi neglected him" (48). He always beats his wife without having a reason "the beatings were not new. What was new was only the frequency" (47). But she never stops to take care of her husband. She has her own created business. But she is under the hawk shadow of social hegemony. This reflects the hegemony of patriarchy in female's life.

The God of Small Things is a great work of social depiction molestation, emotional insecurity, false pride and respectability. Estha and Rahel are two innocent victim of social hegemony. They "had no surname" (37) because Ammu does not accepts the surname of either her father or her husband. Baby Kochamma dislike the children "considered them doomed, fatherless waifs" (45). The rigid view of society

hurt the innocent heart of the twins. Orangedrink Lemondrink Man forces “handling Estha his penis” Estha “held it” (103). “Estha’s hand was wet and hot and sticky. It had egg white on it . . . The Lemondrink was cold and sweet” (104). Estha, an innocent child lives in fear that if he will be molested again. It makes him sick and silent. Similarly, Rahel as girl has no future because she is nothing for the society. Even a good boy does not hold her hand “without an obligatory husband looming on her horizon” (17). The twins came across a sense of domestic violence and molestation which disrupted their innocence in every step. They are emotionally insecure every time. After twenty-three years when the separated twins re-unite and have incest relation, “His fingers follow the shape of it. The touch of teeth. His hand is held and kissed (327). They both are the innocent sufferers from the historical action of their parent and the so called society’s dead convention “only that there were tears . . . Only that what they shared that night was not happiness but hideous grief. Only that once again they broke the Love Laws” (328).

In *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*, the first half of the book deals with the life of transgender character, Anjum and remaining explains the life of S.T. Tillotama relating to the Kashmir conflict. The plotline of the novel develops in the old Delhi where the baby Aftab is born with both the male and female genitalia. At first his mother feels “her heart constrict and her bones turn to ash” (7-8). Secondly, she takes another observation of his body to make sure if she is wrong. Her third reaction is she is afraid that what person she has created. Her fourth reaction is “to contemplate killing herself and her child” (8). Her fifth reaction is to hold her baby and hide him from the world. Her sixth reaction is “to clean herself up and resolve to tell nobody . . . Not even her husband” (8). Her seventh reaction is “to lie down next to Aftab and rest . . . what she created had scrambled her sense of the world” (8). She even does not

expose the truth of her baby to his father. With fear and confused mind she goes at the Dargha of Hazrat Sarmad Shaheed and begs strength to accept and love the newly born baby who is neither male and nor female “she whispered to Hazrat Sarmad. I’ve brought him here to you. Look after him. And teach me how to love him” (11). By taking the pitiful condition of transgender child’s birth Roy tries to show the terrible condition of transgender in the society. She tries to mirror the structural pattern of hegemony in the life of marginalized. Even a mother is afraid to accept her own baby. Because of such condition Roy throughout the novel questions “Is it possible for a mother to be terrified of her own baby?” (7).

Further, Roy in the novel describes how a transgender child faces the stigma of discrimination and abandonment from their own family and society “While his sister and brother went to school Aftab spent hours on the tiny balcony of his home” (17). Due to the unacceptance of society and family they are restricted from the chance of getting proper education. “He’s a She. He’s not a He or a She. He’s a He and a She. She-He, He-She Hee! Hee! Hee!” (12), when teasing becomes unbearable he stops to go to music class. By reflecting their trauma of abandonment, she tries to portray social percept. After Aftab leaves his house and starts to stay in Khwabgah, he finds “It was the only place in the world where he felt the air made way for him” he feels his “school friend making room for him on a classroom bench” (19). When he is with his parents, they try their best to hide his identity from the world due to the fear of social hegemony. But Khwagah is the place where he finds people similar to him and there his identity gets changed as Anjum. She feels she is living in the “paradise” (20). But when she and her father “pass each other on the street and would exchange glances, but never greetings. Never” (25). This depicts even a father feels his transgender child as the matter of shame.

Anjum adopts the girl as her daughter and provides her a motherly love and protection. When Anjum is long lost and found in a refugee camp in a very miserable condition during the time of Gujarat Riot, her world is changed for her “. . . Anjum in a man’s section . . . she had had a haircut . . . dressed like a junior bureaucrat . . . She had lost good deal of her wait” (23). Her identity is snatched because of Gujarat Riot on the other hand, when she return back to Khwabgah her adopted child refuses to be close with her “mummy’s never happy” (57). She feels emotionally and existentially bankrupted. She leaves Khwabgah “without saying where she was going “. . . nobody take her seriously” (57) because there is no one who cares and worries about the transgender. She moves to graveyard where all her family members were buried and starts to live her remaining life. She builds a house despite of the municipal authority’s objection. She answers them by saying that “she was not living in the graveyard, she was dying in it” (68) and for this she does not need any permission from anywhere. She calls her guest house as “Jannat” (68). Later it becomes the hub of transgender and the marginalized people who do not really exist in so called civilized society.

Likewise, Saddam Hussain (Dayachand) tries to take revenge with his father’s killer “I had one ambition- I wanted to kill that bastard Sehrawat” (89). His father is accused of slaughtering a cow, just because he belongs to lower caste. “everybody watched. Nobody stopped them” (89). Saddam starts to live in Anjum’s guest house. “I don’t care what you are . . . Muslim, Hindu, man woman, this caste that caste” (85). Anjum has very clear concept of humanity she never sees the problem in caste, race, gender, religion. “Saddam and she could almost hear eachother’s heart” (89). They both are ignored by the society where one wants to kill and the other wants to die. One day she says to Saddam that “your father should have proper funeral” (412). By

providing the bold personality and kind heart to the protagonist character like Anjum, Roy tries to voice the minority.

Proportionately, S. Tillotama shows the condition of Kashmir and the struggle of the people who lives there in realistic way. “Only dead are free” (326). Tilo depicts the news reports and experiences, troubles, suffering and struggles of those people, who faces insurgences in Kashmir, “people were all inside their houses. Doors were locked. Lights were off . . . he had dragged about thirty meters to knock on the door of a house. But out of fear nobody had opened the door, he had bleed to death” (273). With the image of terrible experiences and struggles of Kashmir, Roy shows how Kashmiri people are fighting against the law of the Kashmir resistance. They are highly victimized by Kashmir insurgency but never stop their revolution for free Kashmir. By doing so marginal people of Kashmir are creating space for themselves where they are turning their pain and suffering into their strength.

Roy also picks the issue of Adivasi. The government gives the permission of “killing adivasis, burning villages” (421). No Adivasi can stay in their house or village. They sleep in the forest at night and hundreds of police come to their village they take everything, burn everything and steal everything. One of the comrades Revathy from People Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) movement is captured by the police when she visits for outside work of the party at first they molest her “ ‘one man forced to open my mouth and one man put his penis in my mouth” and then “. . . all raped me many times . . . I was bleeding everywhere”. When she tries to ran away then they follow at first then one said “. . . leave it, let her go. This is the experience of so many women in the forest. . .” (423).

Roy in *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* satirizes the Indian politics “bloody birth of three new countries” (13). She criticizes Prime Minister Narendra Modhi

“some people believed he ought to be held responsible for mass murder, but his voters called him Gujarat ka Lalla” (63). She blames him as a person who just does everything for his political upliftment rather than public shake. He speaks about Muslim and tries to prove them as terrorist “we have seen your genocide. We have seen your ethnic cleansing” (145). Similarly Roy also challenges the mainstream official history by bringing the marginalized peoples life as a subject matter. She presents the political situation as well as political parties and leader of the then period. In emergency period “Civil rights had been suspended, new paper were censored” (34) and how marginalized people faces the troubles from the decision by the political leaders. All her logics and issues related to *The God of Small Things* and *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* are more or less related to presenting herself as Organic Intellectual.

Roy throughout her writings show what it means to be a writer in twenty first century. Her way of fearlessly reflecting the ugly reality of society; suffering of mankind, gender performativity, state-policy, and power politics is clear voiced. Her own capacity and willingness to contribute the society breaks all the barrier and limitation which is prevailed in the society from long period. She is one of the feminist icon who rejects all the stereotypical representation of caste system, gender discrimination, cultural division and religious partition. She is “one of the most confident and original thinkers of our time” (cover page *The Shape of The Beast*). With such feature one can claim Roy as an Organic Intellectual.

Organic Intellectual is a term adopted by Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist, activist, journalist and brilliant political philosopher. In his *Prison Notebooks* he talks about ‘The Formation of Intellectual’ in which he elaborates what it means to be an Organic Intellectual in comparison with Traditional Intellectual and other form

of intellectual. His opinions are more refined, strong and applicable in this research paper. And Edward Said's concept of intellectual is similarly but little bit differently similar with Gramsci because of this, I have chosen his concept of intellectual to strengthen the theoretical insight of Gramsci. Similarly, Gramsci's concept of Hegemony is also discussed in this research paper in order to justify the role of an Organic Intellectual.

Gramsci introduced the term Organic Intellectual in social theory, using it to denote the people who help to uplift the margin at the center. Those intellectual aims to provide a systematic discussion of oppressed groups of people, observe history, society, politics from the below. Unlike the traditional intellectuals such as 'teachers, priests and administrators', who continue to do the same thing from generation to generation, they often supports status-quo and helps feudal to carry their power, Organic Intellectuals are actively participate in social affair and they constantly struggle to change the mindset of people and expand the horizon of peoples traditional thoughts in a reformative way. They are always on the 'move' on the 'make'. Gramsci believes that "Organic intellectuals are actively involved in society that is they constantly struggle to change minds. . .organic intellectuals are always on the move"

(6). Organic Intellectual tries to gain and win people's opinion whose propose is to build not just a social movement but an entire cultural formation associated with the movement in a democratic society. Those intellectual has to defend against the layers of hegemony prevalent in the society. Gramsci remarks when he talks about hegemony "all men are really equal and hence equally rational and moral" (263). Here, 'all men' means all those hegemonic people of the society, who are suppressed under the layers and layers of hegemony from eternity.

By the same token, in Roy's earlier life, she left Kerala at the age of eighteen,

studied architect in Delhi but she did not develop her career in that field. She wrote scripts and screen plays for the TV serials. She was awarded by various television series for being a good actor but she left it too. Her collaboration with Pradip Krishan (film director) culminated in their marriage. Being a radical woman, she also did not have a successful marriage life like her mother. In conversation with David Barsamian, November 2002 she told “I have spent the first half of my life battling traditions, Indian traditions, they wanted me to be a particular kind of Indian woman, which I have refused to be” (94). Society expects women as the care taker of her family. It regards them more for their delicacy and beauty rather than their intelligence which she rejects to be. Her bold personality encourages the powerless mass rather than patriarchal discourses. She contributes her royalties from her books to various revolutions: she gives her booker prize money from her renowned book *The God of Small Things* for ‘Narmada Bachoo Andolan’. A like she donates money to NGOs and INGOs which work from the behalf of voiceless minorities. Roy has strong will power to move forward and her choice of being a part of ‘other’ reflects her unique personality. Edward Said in his *Representation of Intellectuals* says:

Intellectual is an individual endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well as for a public . . . represent all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug . . . does on the basis of universal principle. (11)

For Said, intellectuals are the self-produced person having capacity to challenge the unethical discourses about humanity and have ability to maintain alertness regarding injustice. Intellectuals have the role to reform the society from their view points. Here, Said postulates his argument from academic perspective.

Roy depicts the dark corner of the society where powerless people suffer. In *The God of Small Things* the major character Ammu and Velutha protest against dominations and ask for their rights to set up their agency in the society. Ammu is one of the representative female character, tries to break the hierarchy and patriarchal concept of the society. When her father, Pappachi discourages female empowerment, once he says “A college education was an unnecessary expense for a girl” (38). She runs away from her house in search of her carrier. She gets marriage by her own choice but her marriage is unsuccessful. She gets divorce and takes responsibility of her two children. She also challenges the androcentric notion of society. She avoids surname after divorce because she feels that choosing between her father’s name and her husband’s name does not “give a woman much of a choice” (37). Because the law does not give a woman any claim to their freedom and will.

Ammu and Velutha quarrel with their own fate by entering the forbidden territory of Love Laws. Traditionally there was the concept; a woman who has had sex with a man from the lower caste would be expelled from her caste. But Ammu, commits ultimate transgression by loving the lower-caste Velutha and challenges the social hierarchy. Because of this, Baby Kochamma makes false charge against innocent Velutha of kidnapping and murdering a child and raping Ammu. She emotionally blackmails children to make a false statement “‘So now you will have to go to jail’, Baby Kochamma said kindly. ‘And your mother will go to jail because of you. Would you like that?’” (317). Likewise, the state police administration, mainly representing and emphasizing higher caste of Kerala tortured him to death, “The untouchable is killed by the “touchable boots” of the state police” (161). By showing the subaltern suffering, Roy wants to show that they are conscious not only of their own sexuality but of their emotional needs and capable of acting on this basis. But the

power structures of the society always dominates the voiceless and never accept them as a complete form of human being.

Likewise, many critics have inspected *The God of Small Things* and *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* from different perspective. Some critics call it as a fiction that provides a place to social-political outcasts. Roy has very powerfully presented the miseries, discrimination, hurdles in the name of caste, gender, culture and social code of conduct. Both of the novel focuses on the marginalized issue and broadcast the social realism. Shakti Batra views *The God of Small Things* is representation of evil practice of the society especially for the powerless people who were humiliated at the hands of so called code of conduct. In his *The God of Small Things* “A Critical Study” remarks:

The God of Small Things depicts the plight of men and women marginalized by society . . . They are hemmed in all around by oppressive and regressive institutions or beliefs and assumptions. The characters are mercilessly victimized by man and man-made system, powerless to prevent their own downfall. (82)

Further, Mammachi is a successful entrepreneur who starts a pickle factory, but is constantly hindered by the male figure in her life by her husband and son. Pappachi beats her every evening for no appropriate reason. “Every night he beat her with a brass flower vase. The beatings were not new” (47). He disallows her playing violin even though she has exemplary skill of playing it. In spite of all that she is a conformist in her views of class and gender relations, never questioning the condition and taboos of her life and of those around her. She wants to make her daughter similar to her.

In conversation with David Barsamian, November, 2002 Roy states “Indian

society is still deeply disrespectful of women. The daily violence, injustice and indignity heaped on women is hard to believe sometime” (135). Roy describes in *The God of Small Things* how women suffer mentally, physically and sexually. It is ironical that the so called Love Laws are not equal for all classes and gender. For instance, Chacko; a representative of the dominant mainstream culture, enjoys his sexual relation with factory women workers. But nobody bothers him because he is a part of power. Mammachi is fully aware of her divorced son’s illicit relation with women but she remains tight-lipped. On the contrary, she helps him to provide him a back door to fulfill his needs. The narrator says, “Mammachi had a separate entrance built for Chacko’s room, which was at the eastern end of the house, so that the objects of his ‘needs’ wouldn’t have to go trespassing through the house” (169). She deliberately encourages her son’s illicit relations by paying women worker who satisfies him. But when it comes to Ammu, her own blood but not a son but a daughter, she applies different set of rules. Ammu and Chacko both have inter-community marriage and both are divorced. But Chacko returns to his family with pride and he is whole heartedly welcome by his parents on the other hand Ammu eternally pays heavy price whereas Chacko enjoys a lot of privileges since he is a man. “Though Ammu did as much work in the factory as Chacko, . . . he always referred to it as *my* Factory, *my* pineapples, *my* pickles. Legally this was the case because Ammu, as a daughter had no claim to the property” (57). Their own family and their values always stand with the double stand morality. It depicts how females are victimized by their so called norms and assumption in their life. It reflects the mood of the patriarchal society (hegemony) where women are extremely suppressed.

By the same token, Suzanna Arundhati Roy was born in 1960 to a Syrian Christian mother and a Bengali father. But the marriage of her parents failed and they

divorce. Mary Roy (Arundhati Roy's mother) takes all the responsibility of her two children. She took her two children in her maternal house in Kerala. Living in the society which is totally misguided by the patriarchal thought was not a easy task. She and her mother struggle more to exist. Dodiya and Chakravartya puts "The Critical Studies of Arundhati Roy's" *The God of Small Things*, her mother remarks about Roy's realization of her suffering: "There was much trauma for me . . . not accept me as I was a women separated from my husband . . . It is only when I read her book that I realized that even at five she was conscious that we were unwelcome in the native home . . . I expected her to be able to stand on her feet, so that she would be never be in such a weak position as I was (6). Roy's early life seems quite hard and similar to the story of Ammu, Rahel and Estha.

Though, Roy shows females and lower caste characters are victimized by the dead convention of the society, but she portrays women as smart, capable of social change. Ammu is one of the bold character who has the different view regarding the world than her mother, when her father beats her mother and her mother bears every tortured then she tells to her children that "human beings were creatures of habits" (50). They never grew fully strong to be an agent of social change because of rigid social structure and norms of the society. Ammu used to say about her brother Chacko that "Going to Oxford didn't necessarily make a person clever" (56). Throughout the novel Roy tries to say that if females are fully appreciate from the society then they are fully capable of playing prominent political, social and economic roles in their community that benefits all the members of the society. In addition, the constitution outlaw caste system from both India and Nepal but the caste principle still regulates the society. However, the system of untouchable is sin and it's the greatest obstacle of the development. There is not any verdict evidences about caste and gender

discrimination but the man-made theory never allows basic human rights to them. In the contemporary context of Nepal, intercommunity marriage still regarded as sin. Therefore, so many criminal activities are happening. By showing female and lower caste, Roy tries to articulate the message that people are still fully deprived of realizing their capabilities. By doing so, Roy tries to empower them and her voice for the powerless proves her as an Organic Intellectual.

Roy's choice of leaving comfort zone and spending a great deal of her life for the rights of nomadic tribes and de-notified communities along with Dalits, transgender and other marginalized groups from where she organically belongs show her ethical concern for the humanity. Throughout her writing Roy focuses the issues of identity of an individual who are marginalized. She deliberately speaks in favor of powerless and tries to make them aware of their surroundings and their rights. As Gramsci remarks, "The intellectuals are the dominant groups "deputies" exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government" (12). Organic Intellectuals are those people who would evaluate the situations and develop their own way of responding without worrying about others point of view. They constantly struggle on the behalf of the powerless group either from the social, cultural, historical or political function like Roy.

In *The Ministry of Utmost happiness* Roy tries to depict the life of transgender and lower caste people in the society. She provides her insights on transgender people's relation and experiences with the world. Her sense and sensibility regarding their pain is outstanding:

She lived in the graveyard like a tree. She didn't turn to see which small boy had thrown a stone at her, didn't crane her neck to read the insults scratched into her bark. When people call her names-clown without a circus, queen

without a palace. She let the hurt blow through her branches like a breeze and used the music of her rustling leaves as balm to ease the pain. (1)

Anjum, the protagonist character struggles throughout her life. She is stigmatized as a transgender. Everything seems normal in her life but nothing is normal. But Roy attributes the power to the marginalized character and projects them as a revolutionary and resistive about their fundamental rights. Anjum who is totally ignored by the society is very radical and daring character. She leaves the so called civilized society and starts to live in graveyard for the self-discovery. She is able to ignore dark concept and assumption of the society and maintain the secular humanistic concept regarding humanity. She is a bold character and never follows the caste and gender practice of the society (social hegemony). She is one of the skillful characters as well as a protector of other marginalized character too.

Furthermore, Saddam Hussain (Dayachand) is presented as the victim of caste based discrimination. He is shown as the revengeful attitude towards Hindu-nationalist who used to dominate him as a skinner and responsible for his father's death. He narrates his pain to Ammu:

“. . . and brought my father and his three friends out. They began to beat them, at first just with their fists and with shoes . . . I heard the cries . . . everybody watched, nobody stopped them . . . I was part of the mob that killed my father . . . I had only one ambition-I wanted to kill that bastard.” (88-89)

Dayachand, untouchable deliberately tortured by the caste practice. He is one of the innocent victims of caste system. His father dies in front of him by Hindu nationalist mob but he remains silent. Nobody count their freedom. They struggle to exist but the hierarchical system of caste forces them to be a revolutionary “‘I want to be this kind of bastard,’ Saddam said. “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” (91). Roy by showing such concept of the marginalized group tries to indicate that how the hegemony of the society itself is responsible to create terrorist like Saddam Hussain for the society and nation. The ideology of caste system uses to exploit lower caste laborers and such circumstances originates the revolutionary figure like Dayachand.

Javeed Ahmad Raina, in his research paper writes how the experience of being transgender problematizes the issue of identity. In his book review “A Chronical of Death and Resurrection”:

The author always analyze same major transgender, third gender (hijra’s) characteristics in the novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* and try to locate their alienation within gender specific literary discourse. As we read the novel, we find that their characteristics are mostly torn between two worlds male and female, love-hate, life-death and so on. (1)

Roy through her fiction tries to show that, the women, transgender, lower caste revolt in different ways. Anjum faces lots of stigma of discrimination by being transgender “we do not really exist” (84). Being transgender and male or female is not one’s choice but still transgender people struggle hard to exist due to unacceptance from the society. Likewise, A person who is not considered human has no fear, no fear of society and no fear of death and this can have a terrible outcome for instance, Dayachand renames his name as Saddam Hussain, a terrorist “I want to be this kind of bastard” (91). Roy with her writing tries to show the terrible consequences to the family and society, if injustice prevails without being addressed. Once violence begin that has no end because of this the intellectuals like Roy tries to break and reduces the level of inhumanity by raising her voice for injustice and inequality.

Roy’s works are dedication to all those who have worked on the path of

injustice and striving to create space where powerless people silenced voice can be heard. She tries to hold those who stood in darkness and make them move towards the light with the help of her writing, she “dissects contemporary Indian reality with intelligence and compassion” (blurb: *Listening People to Grasshoppers*). She addresses the life and issues of powerless common people of India in two different register; one is of literature and the other is of her activism. By picking the issue of transgender and lower caste she tries to make aware that marginalized peoples are also a part of a society and they can be a part of greater social change.

In Arundhati Roy’s writing she discusses various issues which were unheard from long decades she writes and speaks about the war in Kashmir, the Gujarat Pogrom, the Maoist Rebellion and the massive displacement of hundreds of thousands of people by the so called development project, she “questions about the miscarriage of justice” (blurb: *The Hanging of Afzal Guru*). Her works recite her anger, disgust dissatisfaction and sympathy to the sufferers, where as her advocacy and activism highlights her struggle for freedom and justice from the behalf of the powerless people. She is “the individual at the heart of crowd” (blurb: *The Shape of the Beast*), based on her work, it can be analyzed that she has been performing her intellectual role practically without having any personal interest. Her pure concern for the betterment of powerless, dominated, suppressed and helpless people shows her daring personality which proves her as a person from the side of powerless mass. Her writing and voice is the weapon to fight against injustice. With these traits and skills one can claim her as an organic intellectual.

Moreover, Gramsci thinks Organic Intellectual is “someone who in a democratic society tries to gain the consent of potential customers, win approval, marshal consumer or voter opinion” (6). Organic intellectuals are those who are

performing a mediating function in the struggle of class forces. They are the one who works amongst the other and wanted to change many things from outside the circle of experience. However that spokesperson must be highly conscious of whom they are speaking for, why they are speaking for and what will be its consequences.

Consistently, he adds 'organic intellectual' are those who always "in active participation in practical life as constructor, organizer, "permanent persuader"" (10).

Further, he remarks about hegemony "the political order is deontological and critical science it studies the various institutions not as they are but as they ought to be" (259).

In *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*, Roy criticizes the Indian Prime-Minister Narendra Modi by saying his nomination as prime minister is a tragedy. And she thinks it is the suicidal process for the multi-cultural sub-continent like India. Roy further writes:

The poet prime-Minister of the country and several of his senior ministers were members of old organizations that believed India was essentially a Hindu nation, that just a Pakistan has declared itself an Islamic Republic, now India should declared itself a Hindu one. Some of its supporters and ideologies openly admired Hitler and compared the Muslims of India to the Jews of Germany . . . He was an old man but he had young man's way of tossing his head when he spoke, like the Bombay film stars of the 1960s. "The Musalman, he doesn't like the other", he said politically in Hindi. (41-42)

By showing the Prime Minister's way of speech, Roy tries to depict that the government is always in a concern of upcoming reaction rather than effective work and the contribution for the nation "Muslim Terrorists do not deserve Human Rights! Shouted Gujarat ka Lalla" (115). Through such line Roy tries to say that the Prime

Minister is warning that what happened to America could easily happen in India so it was the time for government to pass a new anti- terrorism law as safety precaution. Therefore, Roy throughout the novel tries to reflect the nationalist parties are hegemonies the Kashmiri conflict without acknowledging its impact on native people “Million people died of hatred” (15). Without having any hesitation and fear Roy writes about Prime Minister and other bureaucrats of the state. In order to, make people aware about a manner and behavior of political leaders and power holders, Roy time and again dares to write them fearlessly. Her main target is to make people aware about their fundamental rights and freedom as a citizen of a nation. This is one of the important features of organic intellectual.

Similarly in *The Ministry of Utmost of Happiness* Sushree Smita Raj views that Roy’s writing concentrated on the issue of social justice. In her review “A Study on Arundhati Roy’s” *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* states:

Arundhati Roy emerged as an extraordinary writer of this present era possessing genuine, rebellious, reformative voice. Her works involves the harsh reality of society. She never shows any hesitation either to write or speak on any felonious issue . . .she questioned the taboos, patriarch way of life, the authority of political power over people . . . her works are the expression of her disgust, anger, dissatisfaction and sympathy. (1)

Roy’s writing suggests chilling social satire on the mechanism of Indian politics and social taboos. She also wants to show how the politics effects the life of powerless mass. She made a radical use of irony. She addresses important issues such as exclusion on the basis of gender, religion and caste. her concern towards downtrodden people is seen from different function of performativity. In *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* the protagonist character Anjum is affected by the Gujarat Riot, “But for

us the price-rise and school-admissions and beating-husbands and cheating-wives are all inside us. The riot is inside us. The war is inside us Indo-Pak is inside us” (23). By depicting the life of transgender in the context of Gujarat Riot Roy shows the life of powerless people from the society. Who has been deprived from basic fundamental rights? Transgender characters are totally mistreated by the society. They are not able to get proper education, respected position in their life. They are named as Chakka, Hijra, and Kinnear and make transgender humiliated. In conversation with David Barsamian, May 2003 Roy states:

About 2000 Muslims were killed. One hundred and fifty thousand were driven from their homes. Women were publicly gang-raped. Parents were bludgeoned to death in front of their children. The leaders of mob had computer-generated list marking out Muslim owned shops, homes and businesses, which were burned to the ground. Muslim places of worship where desecrated . . . the police did not merely protect the mob, but provided covering fire. Within months, Gujarat’s chief minister, Narendra Modi, announced proudly that he wanted to have early elections. He believed that the pogrom would win him Hindu heart. (142)

In this statement, Roy wants to depict the careless nature of politics. They are just worried about their political career rather than the national responsibility. They never care about the peoples suffering they are obeying the concept of ‘divide and rule’ which is one of the shameful concept. Thus due to their irresponsible concept and behavior most of the people in the name of culture, caste, religion became each other’s enemies. In her thinking innocent peoples are murdered in the name of politics there is no political flags to hide their sin. Roy tries to expose the real face of the political leaders who are supposed to be the Proctor of the nationality. In *The Ministry*

of *Utmost Happiness* she asks question with the power politics: “Is this democracy or Demon Crazy?” (145). The general population does not know what is happening and what is the consequence of such action and incident was. However, Roy evaluates the situation and then develops her own way of responding to it, without letting her response getting affected by how others react to the situation. She emphasizes the controversial issues of the society and raises her voice from the behalf of marginalized.

Additionally, Roy includes Muthanga incident of 2003 in *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* which is a social movement for Adivasi land rights to Kerala. In that incident she visits to the leaders of that movement into the jail and writes an open letter to the then chief minister of Kerala, A.K. Antony saying that ‘you have blood in your hands’. In the novel she raises the issue of Adivasi people to whom the state power block has exploited and tries to corner them. They are dissociated from their rights of their place. Roy by picking such issue tries to show that how coercive force of hegemony is used to suppress the marginalized people in the following lines:

Killing adivasis, burning villages. No adivasi can stay in their house or their village. They sleep in the forest at night because at night police come, hundred, two-hundered, sometime five hundred police. They take everything, burn everything, steal everything . . . They want Adivasi to vacate forest so they can make a stell township and mining. Thousands are in jail. (421)

But when PLGA revolt against government policy the police capture school “All school inside the forest are police camp” (422). When they arrest comrade Revathy, at first they molest and rape her violently:

‘we want to give a gift for your party’. ‘They are smoking and putting their cigrate on me . . . we will give you some. . . marriage experience . . . This is the

experience of so many women in the forest . . . had only sari, no blouse, no petticoat . . . All the cigarette burns were bubbles, on my face, breast, nipples, stomach.’ (422-423)

Roy throughout the novel shows how government is spreading terrorism with the help of military force on voiceless and use to suppress the power of ordinary people. Roy attempts to give recognition and voiced to the marginalized people. Who have been deprived of fundamental rights and lacks proper space in our socio-political scenario, Roy attempts to draw attention of the authorities concerned towards the miserable and pathetic condition of the powerless people who were discarded by their rights. In order to create a logical balance in the society she tries to emancipate them in socio-cultural-political context. Roy continuously struggles to change the mind-set of the people. She reflects the real face of those political leaders of the nation, who is supposed to be the guardian of society as well as nation and becomes the perpetrator of the crime.

By raising the voice in the context of political activity Roy proves that she cannot remain unseen the injustice and inequality. She also points how the words as well as activity of the political leader affect the life of powerless. In the context of Nepal also such types of problem are occurring. Politics became the business for many political leaders and the fundamental rights of people become their plaything. Therefore, in the present scenario there is the huge need of Organic Intellectual like Roy who can fearlessly challenge the power politics which is moving towards wrong direction.

Constantly, Roy presents different stories and reports regarding the condition of Kashmir people during the insurgency period. In her fiction *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*, the chapter like “The Tenaunt” of fiction Roy brings numbers of stories like

“The Old Man and his Son”, “The Perfect Murder” which presents how Kashmiri people are suffering in the insurgency. By depicting the harsh reality of Kashmir she tries to show the reality that how the government itself is responsible to make people suffer in the name of Curfew and insurgency. By doing so people are being killed, kidnapped, being homeless. This shows how the government is spreading a silent terror in the air of Kashmir.

Tilo, a protagonist character describes the difficult situation of Kashmir during insurgency period. In order to prove it, she presents data, news reports and factual evidences. These things make her work trustworthy and credible. By depicting Kashmiri conflict she shows that the people of Kashmir are treated as objects of discrimination. “I saw a dead body in sackbag floating in the river, one leg and one arm was visible from outside. On account of fear I did not report this to anybody” (292). It shows the fear and terror to speak about the truth during insurgency “. . . a dead body which was tucked into a sack bag . . . both eyes were missing. His forehead was bloodstained. Body was shrunk and decomposed” (290). Roy by her writing criticizes the Indian Politics. Her speech delivered at 2010 on Kashmir Aajadi was regarded as the anti-Indian speech. According to her both of the nation India and Pakistan never want to make Kashmir free because in the name of Kashmir they can play the dirty game of politics. In *The Minister of Utmost Happiness* she portrays the reality of the warrior “They are mostly poor, low caste boys by Pakistan to bleed India” (224). Even the warriors are not aware about the purpose of their fighting, it forecasts the cruelty of political decisions by the cruel leaders. Therefore, Roy through her writing and speeches tries to urge for free Kashmir and no more violence.

Seemita Das in her book review title *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* is “a Melancholic Wail out of War Torn Land” for Times of India states, “I do know that

this book is a lament, lament on the daily struggles (dignified) survival borne by the scarred pulace of war- torn Kashmir” (2). Das regards the novel as the lamentation of those sufferers who are directly affected by the Kashmir conflict. Roy time and again raises her voice against the injustice and became the subject of controversy. When she speaks about 2001 Indian Parliament attack and Mumbai attack viewing these issues of national concern should not dealt in isolation rather it must be understood in the wider perspective comprising regions, history, poverty level, participation of India ongoing Kashmir conflict. She also warns the consequences of war in Pakistan which was deeply criticized by critics like Salman Rushdie. In conversation with P.G Rasool, March 2006, Roy states:

Where there is such massive army presence I do not understand how anybody any agency can say that there are free and fair elections in Kashmir, regardless of how many people turn out to vote. Because when you have a permanent army presence you do not need to send people on the end of a bayonet to voting booths. (238)

Roy thinks as a writer Kashmir is a place which gives an understanding of powerful and powerless, bravery and brutality, hardship and dilemmas of mankind. Therefore being a writer she cannot stop herself to write about the Kashmir. Although, she was criticized by the Indian National Congress and Bharitya Janata Party for her speech at 2010 convention on Kashmir, “Azadi: The Only Way” and ask her withdraw her remarks saying that it is contrary to the historical fact. But in conversation with David Barsamian, on February 2001, Roy remarks, “Kashmir is the rabbit that the governments of both India and Pakistan pull out of their hats whenever they’re in trouble. They don’t want to resolve the conflict. For them, Kashmir is not a problem: it’s a solution” (104). She depicts the dirty game of politics because of which innocent

powerless mass are suffering. People's echo of suffering are always ignored by both of the nation. So, they make Kashmir, a weapon to use according to their benefits.

Arundhati Roy is a world acclaimed authoresses and successful social activist. She does not believe in artificial addition and manmade history. Though she does not belong to any political parties and business but still she frequently puts herself in danger. She used to challenge or dig out the mainstream history and politics and tries to bring marginalized peoples life as a subject matter throughout her writing. She is one of the deep ethical humanistic concerned intellectual. Her inner soul motivates and inspires her to take action against injustice in the form of speech, writing, participating on revolution and national and international debate and conferences. Her struggle for the oppressed people proves her as people friendly advocate or activist who lives her life for the shake of humanity that is also one of the fundamental features of organic intellectual. Further, Said remarks about the intellectual:

someone whose whole being is staked on a critical sense, a sense of being unwilling to accept easy formulas or readymade clichés or smooth, ever –so–accommodating confirmations of what the powerful or conventional have to say and what they do. Not just passively, unwillingly but actively willing to say so in public. (23)

According to Said intellectual should be daring and should have enough capacity to challenge rigid 'readymade' formula of society. They must have alternative sense of reformation as well as development of mankind.

As the novelist reflects the woeful childhood of Rahel and Estha with these words "While other children at their age learned other things, Estha and Rahel learned how history negotiates its terms and collects its dues from those who break its laws" (55). Roy picturizes her concern to the children who are innocent and suffered by the

dead convention of tradition and history. They are tortured from family members, adult's, school admiration. As novelist states, "Baby Kochamma disliked the twins for she considered them doomed, fatherless, waifs worse still they were half-Hindu hybrids whom no self-respecting Syrian Christian would even marry" (45). The history of their mother affects the livelihood of children which shows the glimps of social realism. This indicates the insensitivity and indifference behavior of adults towards the children psychology. By showing the incestuous relation between Estha and Rahel, Roy carries a message to the orthodox that if you penalize people for marrying beyond caste, religion and ethnic group then your activities may lead to the breaking of the great taboos like incest. So, the small things sometime have a great significance.

Similarly, R.S. Sharma and Shashibala Talwar find the novel symbolic. In Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*, "Critique and commentary", they remark "The God of Small Things stands for the life of the weak and the helpless. It represents all those people who are victimized by the forces of history, dead convention, the tyranny of the state and politics of opportunism and andro-centric order" (43). Roy raises her strong protests against large long agonies and suffering of powerless people that depicts the deeply rooted domestic and socio-political and cultural violence. Similarly, they also add "But if small things go, will large thing be close behind?"(42). In *The God of Small Things* Roy stresses the concept that the great and small things are interconnected, and that historical events are seemingly unrelated details have far-reaching consequences throughout the community and the country. Even though the small things are considered less valuable they have a significant role in our life.

In 1957, under E.M.S Namboodripad, Kerala became the first Indian state to

elect a communist government. But the communist party's success is not fruitful to the powerless people. They never question the traditional values and never challenges the caste-ridden extremely rigid traditional society. This double standard is emphasized in the novel *The God of Small Things* when comrade Pillai is shown to be much more concerned with his own personal benefits and ambition rather than public welfare. He is busy to sowing the seeds of discrimination and social violence. Once he tells to Chacko "That Paravan is going to cause trouble for you'. . . send him off . . . He is invaluable'" (278). Much time he tries to fire the Dalits from Chacko's factory. Where Chacko appears as armchair of communist with no real understanding of politics and humanity. Though comrade Pillai includes Dalits in his party for demonstration but in reality he is a leader in the name of protector divide people and tries to rule over them. For instance, he includes Velutha in his party and but afterwards he helps the police raising the issue of caste to make innocent Velutha victim. But when Velutha is died he claims that the management had implicated the paravan in a false police case because he was an active member of communist party. The narrator says that "It was not entirely his fault that he lived in a society where a man's death could be more profitable than his life had ever been" (281).

Roy criticizes the brutal and barbaric police administration which forcefully victimize the powerless people like Ammu and Velutha and serves them a tragic death. The love between Ammu and Velutha become the "The God of Loss" (265). Ammu is blamed as prostitute. The police inspector Thomas Mathew denies taking Ammu's statement and calls her as 'veshya' because she dares to love beyond the rules of love laws. He says "The police knew all they need to know and that the Kottayam police didn't take statement from 'veshya' or their illegitimate children" (8). This statement depicts the condition of justice from the state to the powerless

people. He stared her breast while talking and “tapped her breast with his batton” (8). His behavior was insulting the meaning of POLICE which means, politeness, obedience, loyalty, intelligence, courtesy and efficiency. This reflects how the excessive domination of social prejudice in the name of caste and gender affects the life of the powerless people narrator says, “Machine guns in their minds. Responsibility for the Touchable Future on their thin but able shoulders” (307). Finally all the repulsive social forces come together and punish the rebels who dare to challenge the mainstream historical manmade laws and tries to cultivate their sub-culture. It proves that different forms of hegemony is everywhere in the society.

Roy’s criticism regarding communist and state get much criticized. The late E.M.S Namboodiripad criticized *The God of Small Things* for promoting sexual anarchy and bourgeois values. But Roy stands on what she writes without any guilt. This focuses how the so called protectors or guardians of the society became the perpetrator of the crime. Roy throughout the novel criticizes the Keralian communist and police administration because just to remain in power they join their necks with the local elites who forces them to maintain the status-quo rather than to raise the impartial voices regarding the real social issue. Such a daring personality proves her as an Organic Intellectual. In conversation with David Barsamian, February, 2001

The god of small things is a book which connects the very smallest things to the very biggest . . . how history and politics intrude into your life, your house, your bedroom, into the most intimate relationship between people parents and children siblings and so on. (44)

Throughout the novel, Roy skillfully fulfills both the duties of writer and the social activist by narrating the story of an Indian family and politics. She emphasizes various inequalities and suffering of Indian people. However, man-made law is always

incomplete in front of the universal laws. She skillfully presents the inseparable role of sex in human life. In front of universal law of human biology no any man-made law works. Nevertheless, if human wants to challenge and violet the universal law then tragic sub-culture produces.

In Nepalese context too, Roy's views are very much appropriate. In the name of politics and political agenda many political leader tries to fulfill their own dreams rather than giving much attention to their public issues. Corruption, rape cases, and gender caste discrimination, issue of national territory are ignored by the government. When there is the time of making a bold decision for the betterment of the nation and its people the political leaders who are supposed to be a guardian of the nation are depending on other nation's point of view is itself ironic. It depicts their incapability of handling the nation.

In the same way, Said remarks that intellectual are those people who have certain capacity of evaluating things from the perspective of 'universal principle'. In which they must be aware about ethics and humanity and maintain justice and equality for all mankind. According to him intellectual:

Represent all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug. The intellectual does so on the basis of universal principles, that all human beings are entitled to expect decent standards of behavior concerning freedom and justice from worldly powers or nations and that deliberate or inadvertent violations of these standards need to be testified and fought against courageously. (11-12)

Roy is an individual with a specific public concern, is against unsentimental values and assumption and always ready to challenge dead convention and readymade clichés. Roy exposes injustice which is one of the ways for her to achieving a justice

for the powerless. Many times, Roy becomes the target by political parties for speaking against the Indian government for instance, in Kashmiri issue she says a Muslim-majority area occupied by the Indian military and police. Her standpoint on what she says and does alert the state. She is the one who is able to speak the truth to power fearlessly without calculating her interest, enjoyment and her welfare. Her dedication to the service of other makes her different from ordinary intellectual. She focuses on marginalized issues and historiography through her writing. In her fiction *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*, she writes:

At the height of the emergency declared by Indira Gandhi that lasted for 21 months, her spoiled younger son, Sanjay Gandhi was the head of youth Congress (the youth wing of the ruling party) and was more or less running the country, treating it as though it was his personal plaything. Civil rights had been suspended newspaper were censored . . . The new law- the maintenance of internal security Act- allowed the government to arrest anybody on a whim.

(34)

For Roy, a government that silence the people's thought, jail people who ask for justice whereas mass murders, rapist, communal killers, looters are roaming around freely without having a sense of guilt. All these types of state policy make her feel absolutely annoyed by such type of state policy "in the name of population control, thousands of men (mostly Muslim) were herded into camps and forcibly sterilized" (34). The glorious history of India is of the powerholders where ruler adopts the voice of power, saying one thing and meaning another Gramsci in his *Prison Notebooks* remarks, hegemony is produced and reproduced by the dominant class through institution that forms superstructure, "historical act: hegemony and dictatorship are indistinguishable" (271). The unbreakable circle of power will roam around them.

And Roy tries to provide a scenario and impact of political power in the life of marginalized from the alternative perspective than the official recorded history. By rewriting such hidden part of history from the marginalized side proves her as an Organic Intellectual who has the concern for the down-trodden and has extraordinary critical sense.

Roy tries to dig out the mainstream history and depicts the echo of powerless peoples suffering. She places herself in the picture when she writes about marginalized issue. She creates the link and joins the dots of injustice of history and politics and make aware people about their role and situation. Roy is a representative figure of the society who represents her standpoint in order to articulate people's representation without worrying about any restriction and barriers. Javeed Ahmad Raina in his review, "A Chronicle of Death and Resurrection" states:

The Ministry of Utmost Happiness is everything that Roy's first fiction *The God of Small Things* (1997) is not. The book actually begins from its very cover page with the picture of marble grave and the setting. The book's dedication- "to, the unconsolated", sets its subject matter to sooth those whose narratives have only been 'buried under years of silence' and ignored by the 'pages of the hegemony's history; a history entrusted upon the marginal. To re-write this history through the voices of victims, she has proved herself to be an extraordinary historiographer and an intelligent story teller. (45)

The elite always write the history from their own perspective where they only maintain their high position, status and hierarchy between the lower class and them. But on the contrary, Roy encourages the marginalized to know about the reality of their history as well as state mechanism which always size their fundamental rights of life liberty and pursuit of happiness for them from a long decade. Roy gets famous by

her social activity as well as her participation in many revolutions in order to bring change in the society. She does not believe in artificial tradition and man-made history. Because of this, she takes those issues of the society which has been neglected from the hegemony of history.

In conversation with N. Ram, January 2001 Roy said “I am screaming from the bloody rooftops . . . I wanted wake the neighbors that’s my whole point. I want everybody to open their eyes” (16). Roy by her writing upsets the cruel regime of Indian society either in the field of history, culture, social code of conduct or political activity (hegemony). She shows her active participation in voiceless people’s struggle in which many died but they are never historicized in the history rather they are still voiceless. By writing about the powerless mass and their contribution in the society in the contemporary time and in historical time she tries her best to justify their contribution which is one of the fundamental features of an Organic Intellectual.

Roy raises her voice against the social taboos, patriarch way of life, the authority of political power over the powerless people which can be traced in her works. Her work recites her anger, disgust and in which she clarify her intellectual role. Roy speaks of the vital issues that have shaped India in this last decade. Roy cannot create a distance from the suffering of the mankind. She picks religious stereotypical concept in her writing and presents her secular vision. Gramsci explain in his concept of hegemony how a superstition leads the religion “instead of religion, superstition” (228). In the name of religion people become blind and attempts crime and violence. Similarly he adds “when a church has become an integral part of the state, of political society monopolized by a specific privileged group, which absorbs the church in order the better to preserve its monopoly with the support of that zone of ‘civil society’ which the church represents” (245).

In the novel *The God of Small Things*, Roy depicts that how a history of one's life affects other after their death. When Ammu dies "The Church refused to bury Ammu on several counts. So Chacko hired a van to transport the body to the electric crematorium. He had wrapped in a dirty bed sheet and laid out on a stretcher, Receipt No. Q498673" (163). Ammu has to die alone in a cheap hotel at the age of thirty-one. Chacko has cremated her because the Syrian Christian Church will not bury her because on the one hand she gets inter-community love marriage and divorce and on the other hand she has a physical relation with untouchable Velutha. Though Christianity does not observe the caste system, however Ammu's Syrian Christian parents paid their attention to it to a great extent. Which is the sharp irony directed towards the hypocritical society of Kerala. Even in the law and Christianity there is no trend of caste system but the so called elites are deeply rooted in the rigid view of traditional dominating concept. ". . . they were denied government benefits created for untouchables because officially, on paper, they were Christians and therefore casteless" (72). But the irony is that the lower caste who are converted as Christian, makes separated school as well as church and other member who supposed to be higher caste of the society emphasize the hierarchy.

Roy raises question with regard to the caste, class, gender discrimination in the keralian society. She protests against the socio-political domination and violence against women and untouchables. In this regard, Amar Nath Prasad brings his comment in "Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*: A Critical Appraisal" "*The God Of Small Things* peeps into the life of karalite society and their rights and custom, tradition and patriarchal domination; the child psychology; the naked exposure of the malpractices of Marxism and police administration; the prosecution of the untouchable without any rhyme and reasons" (135). *The God of Small Things*

focuses on the aspect of social realism such as clashes on socio-cultural aspect, emotional insecurity, Social exclusion, gender issue and so called pride and prestige with in one family from Southern Asia.

Roy depicts how an ideology of the dominant group of the society affects the life of weak and voiceless innocent people. However, traditional intellectuals they are the followers of the social discourse and ideology. They assimilate with the dominant group of the society but Organic Intellectuals like Roy, are the silent observer and the louder thinker of the society. They never worries about others point of view and they are eager to forecast the dead convention prevalent in the society and tries to reform the society.

Roy's consciousness and ability to follow her inner voice rather than having a set of restrictive rules makes her extra-ordinary. As Gramsci argues Organic Intellectual ". . . must be an organizer of masses of man" (5). Her idea of justice and her ability to be an individual at the "heart of crowd" (blurb: *The Shape of the Beast*) proves her as an 'organizer of the mass' Roy's action shows that she is always ready to face any kind of criticism and punishment for the betterment of powerless people from the society. She is never interested on her praise as well as criticism. Her wide mentality and bold personality makes her different from other writers and intellectuals. Although, she has a commanding ability but she never want any typical power to perform her intellectual role. She organizes the mass from the society who is under the hawk shadow of the false convention, pride and social discourses and tries her best to deconstruct such stereotypical conceptualization and does her best to empower voiceless people.

In this research paper, the researcher finds that the notion of hegemony is very dangerous and a sort of its effect that people cannot see and realize is very powerful.

The layers of hegemony are very pervasive and active everywhere including family, culture, society and nation. In order to deconstruct the hegemonic structure which is articulating, producing domination, subordination over voiceless the role of Organic Intellectual like Arundhati Roy is very essential. Her activity and activism can really bring hope to the hopeless mass of subaltern group.

In the context of Nepal, layers of hegemony are prevailing everywhere and in every-step of human life from eternity. It makes powerless people suffer for instance, still female, transgender, lower caste, downtrodden people are being tortured, stigmatized and the situation of power-politics is so corrupt and uncertain. So, the researcher feels the need of a new form of intellectual like Roy, who can entice the voice of voiceless people. Roy's life brings hope among those people who are living in a miserable condition. Her boldness originates question that Can a women be bold, capable and daring like her? Her activism, philosophy of life brings energy, hope and enthusiasm to looser and helpless people. Thus, during the research study, researcher finds that there is the terrible need of an Organic Intellectual like Roy in the context of every nation.

After all, the development of Arundhati Roy as a writer and activist proves that she is a new form of Organic Intellectual, who is always dedicated to transform the hegemonic structure of the society and brings hope to the powerless mass of people. Roy, during her life never remains in a limited sphere by doing the same thing rather she leaves her individual career. Her earlier life shows that she was a successful actor, script writer and a good engineer. But, she uses her ability to organize the masses of men and develop a level of confident among the powerless people without having any personal benefit and fame. These features and characteristics prove Roy as an Organic Intellectual.

Roy, throughout her writing expresses trouble, empathy of voiceless and tries to voiced them. Likewise, she also shows the turmoil and turbulence of the mechanism of power-politics and brings all those collective issues at the center of academics. To go beyond from the already created safe zone of an individual and challenge the hegemony is very risky work. Despite the fact that she is an Indian woman belonging to the Hindu society where the fundamentalists are very dominant and powerful. The role of patriarchy is very strong and the religious fundamentalists are very dominant. The overall consciousness of people is very low and large group of people are voiceless. In such context, to exist in a space of new form of Organic Intellectual is very daring task. However, Roy tries to play a role of Organic Intellectual from the very beginning of her writing carrier to the present.

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