Forum for Linguistic Studies 2025, 7(2)

ISSN:2705-0610 E-ISSN:2705-0602

The Bottom-Up View of a Nation- State: The Case of Arundhati Roy's The Ministry of Utmost Happiness

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Abstract:This paper is an attempt to examine the problematic of representing a postcolonial Indian nation in dangerous transition, as presented in Arundhati Roy's second novel, The Ministry of Utmost Happiness. The novel is read as a compelling narrative of a specific historical moment, when the democratic nation- state is rapidly replicating the political mechanisms of colonial authoritarianism, unabatedly crushing the lives and aspirations of the marginal sections of society. The novel, on the one hand captures the mood of intellectual apprehension felt by the liberal minded populace of the nation, at having to witness the transition of representative democracy into a totalitarian order, and on the other exhibits the extremely challenging task of representing the interconnected nature of various marginal identities in contemporary India, by combining politics, history, poetry and myth. The distinguishing point of view of "bare lives" and the daunting task of expressing private experiences that are deeply embedded in public catastrophe, is examined in this paper. It also attempts to locate some of the topical debates of nationalism in relation to democracy and the aspirations of those whose voices fail to get documented on the national registers or the map of India. The aesthetic manoeuvrings of the text against the globalised notions of Indian English Writing and modern Anglophone fiction will also be examined here.
Key words- postcolonial nation, colonial authoritarianism, marginal identities, "bare lives", representative democracy, nationalism, sovereignty, aesthetic manoeuvrings.

Arundhati Roy's much acclaimed second novel The Ministry of Utmost Happiness (2018) was published after a long gap in her fictional career, and consequently expresses the literary aftermath of her noted and intense strife against national and political concerns that systematically ignore and consciously suppress the aspirations of a range of marginalised groups of the nation, and thereby aspires to offer a mode of resistance through literary construction. The text reflects the presentist culmination of a literary trajectory of postcolonial literature, that has often constructed the confluence of text and history, questions of multiplicity and identity, divergent paths of reading the past in relation to the present , deconstruction of the colonial-imperialist agendas and introspection of the contemporary nation-state. The text attempts a solemn extrapolation of the new national rhetoric of India through its deviant depictions and language, there by seeking a space of literary activism. This paper not only explores the scope of this space, but also looks at the reception of the novel in the context of neo liberal agendas and global capitalism. It stands as a scathing example of the literary

enterprise of looking at the nation through the eyes of the marginalised and desperately oppressed classes of the nation. The text gestures towards several social and political events of the recent past, without delving deep into the histories of any specific event or place and thereby evokes the graphic oppression of contemporary times, characterised by deep schisms, political chaos, and religious, class and caste persecutions.

Roy's novel incorporates multiple strands of history, culture and political movements as they permeate the lives of powerless people. In this enterprise, the reader encounters questions that are directed against the state and its machinations, while also imbibing a sharp sense of geographical features that comprise the idea and history of contemporary India perceived as a Nation- State. The novel embarks on this journey by locating the storyline between two major characters that represent entirely different classes and regions, but experience a similar subjectivity in terms of their alienation from mainstream society. The first is Anjum, a transgender who narrates a number of stories and sub-stories around a set of other characters who occupy the centre and margins of the text depending on varying occasions. The second is the high-born and rebellious Tilottama, whose life is woven around three relationships that serve to throw a steady focus the crisis of Kashmir and the bottom-up view of fundamentalism and terrorism. A wide and intricate canvas such as this, opens up many challenges for the readers. The disparate and scattered narrative strands are however held together by one central question that surfaces throughout the narrative(s), namely, what is seen and felt when the Indian Nation-State is articulated from the point of view of victimhood and testimonies. These stories go against reader expectations by defying the simplicity of the personal narrative, by incorporating the life experiences of other characters around each story and its context. What stands out is the ethical primacy attributed to these characters, which remains consistent throughout the novel. Their choices are related to survival in the backdrop of a divisive national politics in India where issues are created against a number of social and religious minorities and targeted violence mobilised against them. The historical associations of the many characters of the novel, in a constant state of flight and fugitivity constitute the critical lens of the narrative.This lens provides the reader pathways to interpolate the national and textual politics embedded in its narrative.

The story of Anjum is woven around a set of other stories that turn out to be both political and historical. This story is in turn replete with other commentaries that seem to thwart the main textual storyline through the narratives of social drop-outs such as Zakir Mian, the Urdu poets and singers, Zainab and Saida along with the omniscient accounts of police interventions and the harrowing day to day life in the cemetery, " the Jannat House". "The Jannat House" is an establishment set up by Anjum which later turns into a funeral house. This depiction of life in and around a cemetery in Old Delhi is a major metaphor of the societal margins of India, where the ageing, the tortured and homeless are allowed entry at different points of time. The account of Anjum's viewing of the poet Prime Minister's oration reflects the desperate awareness of a desperate objectification of the common public. To quote from the novel,

He spoke like a marionette. Only his lower jaw moved. Nothing else did. His bushy white eyebrows looked as though they were attached to his spectacles and not his face. His expression never changed. At the end of his speech he raised his hand in a limp salute and signed off with a high, reedy Jai Hind (Victory to India!) A soldier, who was almost seven feet tall and had a bristling moustache as broad as the wingspan of a baby albatross, unsheathed his sword from

the scabbard and shouted a salute at the little Prime Minister, who walked away, only his legs moved, nothing else did"(82).

The authorial observation serves to reveal the dichotomy between the personal and the political. Portrayed as Anjum's feelings, and hence the alienated awareness of the dispossessed, this sarcastic observation highlights the common oppression of having to watch the Republic-Day parades and other ostentatious shows even as the viewers live in homeless clusters.

Roy's further enquiry of the collusion of the political with history is executed in setting up Kashmir as the space of debate in situating Indian nationalism. The story of Tilottama, woven around Naga and Musa presents the confluence of extremes, in terms of the geographical and cultural backgrounds that the characters are rooted in. They represent Kerala, New Delhi, Kashmir, Islam , Hinduism and Christianity among a host of other influences only to be brought together by their iconoclastic impulses in a college for Architecture. Their interactions reveal disturbing issues of the state such as surreptitious police atrocities, the iron clasp upon activism by the military and paramilitary operations, scandals connected to the secret organisations and rebel groups, human relationships under strain against the overwhelming political instability of the country, and above all, the constant failure of the media to bring undistorted news to the public. The characters go through harrowing experiences but their stories fall short of sentimentality or emotional involvement. Their experiences rather aim at a panoramic presentation of current national politics. The disparate threads of Tilo's narratives move from Kashmir and Chattisgarh, where the Indian Army has a centrist control over insurgents from time to time, to states such as Kerala and Andhra Pradesh, where such militant activities are less visible, but could potentially be. The novel emphasises the plight of the Indian Muslim as minority and Anjum, the transgender as doubly marginalised. It reflects the witch hunt of minorities in the new Nation -State, as in the Godhra riots of 2002, the problem of Manipur with the AFPSA which was executed in 1981 and continues to be extended from time to time, regulations such as POTA, and a judiciary that allows state sponsored acts of terrorism to go unpunished. The text lays bare the state's agenda to eliminate the "unwanted" of the republic, which consists of the Muslims, the other dispossessed minorities, people without class identities and sexually deviant groups. Such characters abound in the narrative, providing a variety of sites of their resistance, rendering the text an archive of multiple testimonies.

The transition of a representative democracy into repressive order seems the primary narrative concern of The Ministry, and thus it lays out a palate of allegorical characters that capture the course and ethos of a specific historical moment in India, coinciding with the post Indira Gandhi era and moving on to the machinations of the BJP in power. Its political primacy is pointed out by Tabish Khair in his review of the novel thus, "Unlike Roy's first novel, this is structurally and stylistically a political novel per se: the characters in this novel are secondary to its political purposes, as is its narrative style." (The Hindu) As a result, the novel echoes many of Roy's publicly declared advocacies, as part of its narrative, an example being her support of Kashmiri separatism. The narrative is constantly hinged on the co-ordinates of displacement, distances and dispossession within the nation. Partha Chatterjee, in his celebrated text The Nation and its Fragments, speaks of the distancing and displacement of the masses from the ideas of the nation that collude with the formation of the nation-state in post-independent times. In Chatterjee's words that critique the instrument of civil society in the nation-state,

The mechanism of the civil society, working through contract and market, hence defining a domain for the play of the particular and the accidental were already known to be imperfect instruments for expressing the general. The one consciousness, both general and rational, could not simply assume to exist as an abstract and formless force, working implicitly and invisibly through the particular interests of the civil society. (204)

In The Ministry, the particular and the apparently "accidental", are presented in the form of uneven testimonials of recognition, even as it seeks to capture the chaotic political climate of the postcolonial nation in a largely realistic genre. The discursive structures that underlie this narrative augment its political thrust, perhaps even at the expense of its aesthetic appeal. An examination of the narrative paradigm which rests on a few basic structures that characterise modern democracies in transition, points to the underpinnings of Georgio Agamben's theoretical formulations of the "homo sacer", the individual whose human rights the state and the hegemonic powers ban, in order to read it as an allegory of the "bare life" such people lead and the novel's achievement in articulating their realities.

To examine the basic structures that comprise the major discourses of oppression and authoritarianism in the current Indian democracy, one must look at the interconnectedness of the many human situations presented in the narrative. It is centred around four segments of society, which intersect at the point of exclusion from hegemonic social and political systems of governance. In other words, the characters that populate the novel belong to one of these segments of society and are interrelated by virtue of their status of being unwelcome to the agencies of hegemony. The narrative thus propels on the organic rapport and solidarity attained by the banished. The four social segments are the transgenders, the Muslims, the Kashmiri insurgents and the civil society. They are represented at a basic level by three characters namely, Anjum, a transwoman who is also a Muslim, Azad Bhartiya a civil rights activist and Tilo, a rebellious woman, partly estranged from her family, who is connected to Kashmir insurgency. These characters function as nodal points for other characters either opposed to, or belonging to their respective categories, to be woven into the narrative. Thus, Anjum the transwoman, who was originally Aftab, serves the narrative function of introducing a string of characters belonging to the transgender community, as well as that of the socially marginalised Muslims. The list includes Ustad Khulsoom Bi, the head of the transgenders' home "Khwabgah", Zainab a girl child Anjum adopts, Nimmo Gorakhpuri, Saeeda, Zakir Mian, a flower vendor who is killed in the Gujarat pogrom of 2002 and Saddam Hussein, a youth orphaned by lynching carried out by extremists of Hindutva among others. Azad Bhartiya clips together the many people and situations that signify the vibrant civil rights movement in India. He is an erudite one-man-army fighting against injustices that are both national and international. To quote his words from the novel,

I am against the Capitalist Empire, plus against US Capitalism, Indian and American state terrorism/ All kinds of Nuclear Weapons and Crime, plus against the Bad Education System/ Corruption/Violence/Environmental Degradation and all other evils. Also I am against Unemployment. I am also fasting for the complete obliteration of the entire Bourgeois class. Each day I remember the poor of the world, Workers/ Peasants/Tribals/Dalits/Abandoned Ladies and Gents/Including children and handicapped people. (126)

Azad Bhartiya maintains his address as "Jantar Mantar", the location of the historical astronomical observatories in New Delhi, better recalled as a hub of protests and agitations. He

is on a perpetual hunger strike and serves as quintessential reminder of the several historical civil rights movements in Delhi involving the likes of Anna Hazare, Arvind Kejriwal and Medha Patkar. In the third pivotal character of Tilo, we find the intersection of events and characters of the Kashmir conflict. There are three men around the intellectual character of Tilo, namely, Musa, a Kashmiri insurgent, Naga, a successful journalist and Biplab Dasgupta an introspective bureaucrat. It is through these four characters and their connections that other minor characters such as Amrik Singh the army officer and the young follower of Musa, Gulrez are introduced. The situations, characters and the events in the novel are further founded on two broad structures, namely, the alienation and oppression of the minorities and the state repression of socio-political dissent. The former expresses itself in mob violence and social ostracization and the latter in political and military action. The narrative elements are deftly founded on many of the recognizable dominant hegemonic discourses in contemporary India that include gender normativity, Hindutva fascism, authoritarianism, and nationalism.

Gender normativity refers to society's way of regarding certain orientations of the gender as normal. This is biologically determined at birth, and the male or female anatomy of the infant goes on to determine his/her role in life. There are only two sexes recognised in the scheme of gender normativity, the male and the female, and their respective masculine and feminine gender. Roy presents the character Anjum (born Aftab) making a case of the intersex, defined by the ISNA as a person born with a combination of typical sexual anatomies. There is also the more prevalent case of the transgender in whose instance the gender assigned at the time of birth in terms of sexual anatomy does not match with the gender preference of the individual in the process of growing up. The shock of the character Jahanara Begum, Anjum's mother in the novel experiences at discovering that her child is born intersex, is a powerful discourse of the totalising influence of gender normative prescriptions upon the average psyche in a traditional Muslim family. Roy writes of this trauma:

…everything she had been sure of until then, every single thing, from the smallest to the biggest, ceased to make sense to her. In Urdu, the only language she knew, all things, not just living things but all things- carpets, clothes, books, pens, musical instruments- had a gender. Everything was either masculine or feminine, man or woman. Everything except her baby. (8)

The mother's disorientation in surmising the sexual deviation of her child from the heteronormative viewpoint is so overwhelming that she contemplates killing herself and the child. Even language has a way of othering such "abnormal" categories, by assigning them a common noun that fixes them in the semantic field of the neuter or the queer. In Urdu it is "Hijra" or "Kinnar". Thus, in the novel, Anjum and all the transgenders inhabiting the "Khwabgah" are social outcasts by virtue of their culturally assigned nomenclature, "Hijra". Anjum's character thus presents the first instance of the marginalisation of minorities in the novel.

The second instance of oppressed minority is the community of Muslims, represented mainly by Zakir Mian and Saddam Hussein. Muslims have been the most targeted victims of the political ideology of Hindutva and its fascist expressions. Roy presents glimpses of the lives of the Muslim community in the discourse of Hindutva fascism and its historical role in the othering of Muslims in India. The critique of Hindutva's fascist ideology pervades the entire novel and reveals itself to be a form of national consciousness edified upon hatred of Muslims. This ideology has grown steadily since the demolition of the Babri Masjid and the subsequent

rise of the BJP as a ruling party at the centre and many states of India. At the receiving end of such hyper-nationalist ideology are the Dalits too. The Brahminical orientation of the Sangh Parivar governed BJP spurns the Dalits for their constitutionally granted reservation in jobs and educational institutions. The agenda that covers such parallel persecution of the Muslims and Dalits includes quasi-religious gestures such as cow protection and vigilantism, sanctioned by the sanctity attributed to cows in the Hindu belief. Instances of murder, beating and public humiliation of Muslims and Dalits for eating or selling or storing of beef, have been on the rise. Two instances in the novel draw directly from historical incidents- Zakir Mian's killing in the Gujarat riots of 2002, and the burning of Saddam Hussein's (A Dalit who has adopted this name) father, upon false charges of cow slaughter. The daily lives of these characters serve to highlight the Muslim's fear of capture and death during phases of communal conflict and their survival strategies like shaving beard or adopting Hindu names to disguise themselves. The discursive matrix in which the lives of Muslim characters are set in the narrative serves to sharply critique the brand of nationalism that excludes them as anti-national.

The legitimising of military repression and violence via the discourse of national integrity is an issue that Roy has been protesting against in her non-fictional writing and public life. She has invited the ire of Hindutva nationalists as well as other right-wing dispensations for her support of Kashmiri separatism. The movement has come under attack from almost all political parties since the 2001 attack on the Indian parliament and the 2008 Mumbai attacks. The Kashmiri struggle for independence thus figures prominently in the novel. Though Kashmir has been a point of dispute between the neighbouring countries of India and Pakistan, it is a point noteworthy that Kashmiri insurgency starts only from 1988 with the advent of Islamic terrorism aided by Pakistan. Roy's point pf departure in depicting ordinary lives of Kashmiris is in highlighting the impact of government impositions upon them. The governments of India over the years have not been sparing in their use of military forces in repressing Kashmiri insurgency. With the introduction of AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) in 1990, the army has been conferred the power to kill without warrant. Cases of army atrocities, missing persons and encounter deaths have been mounting, with a heavy toll on both sides, the army as well as the insurgents. The heightened rhetoric of national integrity under the reign of BJP at the centre endorses a silent approval of much of the army's illegal violence. It is the contexts of such atrocities that Roy attempts to fictionalise and explore in the love affair between Tilo and Musa, drawing in Naga the journalist and Biplab the civil servant as commentators drawn into the action of the storyline from time to time. Vivid portrayals of army atrocities, killings, intimidations, tortures, interrogations under stress of real or suspected militants, framing of false charges, rape and arbitrary detentions are brought to the fore through the engagements and journeys of Tilo and Musa. The story is reported from the perspective of the affected Kashmiri Muslims and thus becomes the underside view of Kashmiri insurgency in India. The authenticity of these episodes seems to be the outcome of Roy's own research, observations and findings. The anti-establishment stance adopted by the novel regarding a nationally controversial subject makes this novel the first of its kind in the realm of Anglophone fiction.

Much criticism has been levelled in the public domain about the chaotic nature of the novel's plot and the stress of configurations of space and time in what spirals out to be an epic narrative. However, it is the politicality of this novel that holds focus and further, the chaotically plotted text is held together by the unifying principle of mapping banished lives. The entire novel plays

out as an allegory of the "bare life" and its perpetual struggle for survival against the machinations of sovereign power, such as that of the state. The narrative unifies private stories into interconnected histories, scaffolded by recognisable historical events and personalities of varying stature. The Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben propounds the concept of bare life in his book Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life (1995). In his words, sovereign power is that which

…establishes itself through the production of a political order based on the exclusion of bare, human life. This it achieves through the enactment of the exception in which the law is suspended, withdrawn from the human being who is stripped of legal status and transformed in relation to sovereign power. Into a bare life without rights. Bare life, encompassed in the exception, inhabits the threshold of the juridico-political community. (O'Donoghue)

What makes the sovereign power unique is its ability to assert itself by excepting itself from the rule of law as and when it wishes to. Sovereign power is inside law in the framework of democracy and at the same time outside law with reference to its own power. This, according to Agamben is the paradox of sovereignty. He elucidates the paradox in his book:

The specification that the sovereign is "at the same time outside and inside the juridical order"…is not insignificant: the sovereign, having the legal power to suspend the validity of law, legally places himself outside that law. This means that the paradox can be formulated this way: "the law is outside itself," or: "I the sovereign, who am outside the law, declare that there is nothing outside the law…" (Agamben 15)

The sovereign power exerts itself most effectively on its unwelcome subjects by banishing them into lives without rights, which Agamben calls "bare lives". It places the banished subject outside the rights and protection granted by the rule of law, yet keeping it within the bounds of virtue of its power to punish it. It reduces the banished into a state of bare life, life reduced to a state of mere biological existence, instead of political existence with the rights granted by rule of law. Agamben points out that the Greeks had two words for "life", namely "zoe" and "bios". Zoe meant sheer biological state of being, a life characterized by the "simple facts of living common to all living beings". Bios on the other hand, meant "the form of living proper to an individual or a group." When Aristotle said that man is a political animal, he meant that man distinguished himself among living beings as that which lives a "bios politicos" or political life (Agamben 1). The act of banning by the sovereign throws a subject from "bios" to "zoe", a state of political non-existence, which is a bare life . Agamben finds the "homo sacer" a figure in the ancient Roman law, the metaphor of bare life. The "homo sacer" is a person who cannot be sacrificed in religious rituals because he is banned, yet can be killed by the public without being convicted of homicide. The "homo sacer"'s "entire existence is reduced to a bare life stripped of every right by virtue of the fact that anyone can kill him without committing homicide; he can save himself only in perpetual flight or in a foreign land" (Agamben 183). Agamben views modern democracies in the light of sovereign exception and the bare life upon which its political order is founded. Democracies prioritize the provision of basic species needs of the people as their primary imperative. In it the "zoe" or biological existence is the primary factor in the mechanics of political governance. Strikingly parallel to such biological existence is Foucault's notion of "bio-politics" as stated in his History of Sexuality. He views modern man as an animal whose politics calls his existence as a living being into question. This implies that in modern democracies the individual's politics which comprises his ideology and choice

of government among other choices, becomes a decisive factor in his biological existence of "zoe". Thus , animal living and right/ conscious living, "zoe" and "bios", "enter into a zone of irreducible distinction" (Agamben 9). Modern democracies then, harbour bare lives that are shorn of political rights, in the republic or the political order, in a state of excluded inclusion. Agamben harnesses this theorisation to comprehend and demonstrate how modern democracies often function like totalitarian states. He considers this an aporia, an irresolvable inner contradiction of democracies, that they confine the freedom and happiness of people in the very place- "bare life"- that marked their subjection. Agamben further observes that the "homo sacer"'s bare life cannot be sacrificed, but can be killed with impunity in the modern context, even as the democratic process of the recognition of rights and liberties seem extant. Anjum, Tilo, Musa, Saddam Hussein and comrade Lakshmi, navigate various levels of rights and liberties of contemporary, democratic India, but remain outside it by being confined to a species status, under constant threat of extinction and being able to save themselves only "by perpetual flight or in a foreign land."

Agamben's configuration of the aporia of democracy is useful in reading the The Ministry as "bare life" in perpetual struggle. Its major characters are all signifiers reflecting the "homo sacer" in varying degrees. Their contexts and situations are such that these characters along with their liaisons, are poised in precarious states of life that are in a state if banishment. The ban imposed by hegemonic power structures, in the specific context of contemporary India, pillared on the discourses of gender normativity, Hindutva, political authoritarianism and majoritarian nationalism reduces them to a bare life in which political human rights stand suspended. These hegemonic structures are the state's proxy apparatus, especially in a government led by Hindutva votaries. A look at the pivotal characters of the novel illustrates this further. Anjum and the transgender community live bare lives because the gender normative society banishes them from acceptance into the mainstream society. They are vulnerable to attacks, and are looked upon as aliens by the society around them. They are unwanted, yet cannot be eliminated by law. However, they are constantly under the threat of illegal annihilation. Anjum's mother's first impulse is to kill the child. It seems to her the natural option because a child with ambiguous sex is virtually non-existent in the community. The infant experiences banishment at the very moment of its birth and the continuation of this process is exhibited at various stages of life thereafter. The transgender community, thus exists in a state of perpetual struggle. They have to wall out the hostile world and enter ghettos like the "Khwabgah", foregoing their basic human rights such as education and employment, and waging a perpetual struggle of survival against social handicaps.

The Jannat Guest House located in the grave yard is the irreducible metaphor of the subversive space of bare life in perpetual struggle. In this space, the "zoe" merges with the "bios", the natural and political life outside the realm of the unreachable democracy of the state. The "homo sacers" of modern democracy carve a space where there is a rightful living against bare, biological survival. The Jannat Guest House is Roy's ironic literary vision of a paradise in a state of innocence, outside the oppressions of civilisation. The metaphor and its aesthetic deflection allow stories to co-exist and intersect, as they are narrated, rendering them self-generative, speaking not only out of the specific conditions of their existence but resonating with historical underpinnings. Roy presents the land of the dead and buried, as a sub-terranean recess, created by the subjects excluded from power asserting their rightful political existence.

Jannat Guest house is a powerful spatial metaphor that contrasts with and resists the teeming spaces navigated earlier by the characters, namely, cramped alleyways, corrugated roofs, damp press enclave, bustling smalltown, all of which evoke an instinctive verisimilitude. The view enabled by this stark and contrasting metaphor of the paradisical guest house built upon a graveyard, hence becomes the piercing exploration of a political climate of extreme polarisation.

The authorial observation in the novel serves to provide such major and minor metaphors that connect seemingly disparate stories, seeking their powerful validation and ratifying their critical value. Stories of dispossession are foregrounded against a vicious political context where most stories of the marginalised, the subjugated bare lives, are unreported and rapidly forgotten even when reported on the sidelines of the mainstream media. The authorial voice throws light over and across the prism of conflict that portrays dispossessed lives, their existence reduced to a mere struggle for staying alive. The superimposition of Tilo's character, with its urban- educated deviation, from the more marginalised characters denied their political agency at birth, stretches the range and possibilities of such characters by fusing fundamental human qualities of love, longing, and hope, denied to the other "bare" actors of the narrative. The omniscient view attempts a recuperation of fragmented memories that are embedded in the individual and collective psyches of multiple marginalities represented in the novel. The writer attempts to go through a simulative and cathartic process that helps readers build and check their own memories in light of their own experiences in the present, polarised socio-political context in India. Salman Rushdie refers to this act of reconstruction of fragmented memories in his essay and book, Imaginary Homelands in these words, "Memory…selects, eliminates, alters, exaggerates, minimises, glorifies, usually coherent version of events; and no same human being ever trusts someone else's version more than his own"(17). The skilful act of working a range of emotions thus, substantiates Roy's aesthetic manoeuvring and helps relating to characters that are deprived of power to act against forces that are much larger than themselves and continue to demonise them.

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