



**RESEARCH PAPER**

**The Suppressed Voices in Arundhatiroy's *Listening to Grasshoppers***

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**ABSTRACT**

Listening to Grasshoppers is a collection of 12 essays that presents the flaws of Indian democracy and is used as a tool of suppression by the government and corporate. The violence of dominant classes, Americans, and Hindu Nationalism towards minorities, poor Kashmiri Muslims, Dalits, Palestinians, Armenian, and Maoists is explored in it. This discriminatory attitude results in bouncing back the reactions as responses to events. Furthermore, this research projects the displacement of the suppressed class for the so-called 'progress' and 'development,' and resistance against displacement is handled by armed forces and the law, likewise POTA. The growing corporate suppresses the poor through capitalism and oppression, inciting the suppressed to stand against violence. In consequence, they are tagged as a terrorist. Hegemonic structures are used to tackle the suppression.

**KEYWORDS** Corporate, Displacement, Hegemony, Subalterns, Suppression, Violence

**Introduction**

Suzanna Arundhati Roy is a well-known novelist and political activist who is recognized for her anti-colonial and pro-democratic writings that champion human rights and equality. She has earned a reputation as a fearless and conscientious thinker and writer of contemporary times. Among her notable works are *The God of Small Things* (1997), *Power Politics* (2001), *The Algebra of Infinite Justice* (2002), *War Talk* (2003), *Public Power in the Age of Empire* (2004), *Listening to Grasshoppers* (2009), *Broken Republic: Three Essays* (2011), *Capitalism: A Ghost Story* (2014), *Things that Can and Cannot Be Said*, and *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* (2017), among others. Her efforts to amplify the voices of oppressed individuals across the globe and bring attention to their struggles have earned her several accolades, including the Lennan Cultural Freedom Award in 2002, the Sydney Peace Prize in 2004, and the Sahitya Akademi Award from the Indian Academy of Letters in 2006. Her writings delve into issues related to dominant power structures while also offering potential solutions to real-world problems faced by everyday people.

This research delves into the aspirations of indigenous people who reside in valleys where fear and oppression pervade every aspect of their lives. They are subjected to numerous atrocities such as mass killings, gang rape, missing persons, and forced displacement, particularly in Gujrat, Kashmir, and other areas inhabited by minorities. The dominant class employs a hegemonic approach to assert their power and establish their ideology. By using concepts such as Marx's class theory (1932) and Foucault's power theory, this research uncovers the superstructures of the economy. These theories shed light on how hegemony functions as both an agreement and a form of coercion, urging compliance with the laws and norms of the ruling capitalist class. Furthermore, the study

shows how hegemony is reinforced by hegemonic devices such as dominant ideology, military might, institutional power, and neocolonial strategies. Unfortunately, cultural imposition and other forms of forced domination are used to maintain control over the subjugated population, and words like justice, democracy, equity, and equality are used to propagate hegemonic ideals.

The focus of this paper is on Arundhati Roy's depiction of India in her book, *Listening to Grasshoppers*, which is a compilation of essays written from 2002 to 2008. Through her writing, Roy criticizes the prevalence of neoliberalism, communal nationalism, and dysfunctional democracy in India and challenges the notion of a free India within the corporate marketplace. Instead, she advocates for an India that prioritizes the needs of its ordinary and impoverished citizens. The book's title alludes to the ominous presence of grasshoppers in India, which Roy perceives as a symbol of impending doom. This title was inspired by a lecture she gave in Istanbul, Turkey, on the anniversary of the assassination of Armenian journalist Hrant Dink. Roy's main objective in the book is to shed light on the problematic relationship between everyday people and the workings of the Indian state. Upon a thorough scrutiny of the book, it becomes evident that the depiction of India in Roy's essays is not that of a spiritual, romantic, or timeless civilization as presumed by Sri Aurobindo and Jawaharlal Nehru (1918). Roy does not idealize India's past nor does she exhibit any patriotic sentiment towards it. Instead, she exposes the practical functioning of politics, the judiciary, the press, the capitalist class, and the bureaucracy.

### **Materia and Methods**

This study utilizes Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Foucault's power theory, and Marxist economic theory (1932). The Political Discourse Analysis framework is applied through the lens of these theories. A qualitative approach is adopted to analyze various levels of suppression. The research seeks to examine the intersection of Gramsci's hegemonic analysis, Foucault's power concept, and Arundhati Roy's identification of latent ideology and apartheid tendencies to understand the dynamics of social forces that shape political discourse. The prevailing ideology is the result of a prolonged historical process that leads to a dominant-subordinate relationship, where a particular group or individual is controlled and accepts their subjugation. This all-pervasive power is normalized to the extent that the subordinate groups and rulers seem to reach a consensus. Arundhati Roy challenges this politically conditioned state-controlled ideology. The research study employs theoretical frameworks developed by Gramsci, Karl-Marx (1932), and Foucault, along with textual analysis. The concept of hegemony, introduced by Gramsci, is utilized to examine how the dominant class exploits the rights of others. Gramsci's work expands upon the rigidities of Marxist theory (1932) and infuses it with greater dynamism. He introduces the idea of "consent," which encompasses the beliefs, opinions, and theories that persuade the oppressed class to accept the legitimacy of the powerful ruling class. The second method involves coercion to obtain consent, and various devices are employed to exercise this coercion.

### **Results and Discussion**

#### **Nature of Hegemony and Development of Class Structure**

*Listening to Grasshoppers*, Roy combines 12 fictional and non-fictional works; all were written and published between 2002 and 2009. "Democracy's Failing Light" is the introductory chapter of *Listening to Grasshopper*. Roy criticizes democracy. She says that democracy is failed to provide justice, equity, and equality. In this chapter, Roy criticizes democracy and Hindu nationalism and exposes their violence toward non-Hindus. She

presents an example that more than 2000 Muslims were killed in Gujrat during a non-violent protest in 2002.

In 2008, the Indian state repressed the Kashmiris while they were presenting a protest. She also exposes the government's "development" plan "The battle for land lies at the heart of the "development" debate. Before he became India's finance minister, P. Chidambaram was Enron's lawyer and a member of the board of directors of Vedanta. This multinational mining corporation is currently devastating the Niyamgiri hills in Orissa".

Moreover, she frames the Indian political picture of India and presents its panoramic view, exposing the Indian pseudo-claim of the largest democracy in the world. She says that democracy without justice is just like 'Demon Crazy' (Roy 2011), and this new word was presented in a protest by Kashmiri.

"I worry that I am allowing myself to be railroaded into offering prosaic, factual information when maybe what we need is a feral howl, or the transformative power and real precision of poetry." (Roy A., *Listening to Grasshoppers*, 2011). She concludes the introductory chapter by quoting the Faiz Ahmad Faiz:

If dreams are thwarted, then yearning must take their place

If reunion is impossible, then longing must take its place (Roy 2011)

Arundhari Roy's *Listening to Grasshoppers*, a collection of essays, addresses the life of suppressed people and their voices. The essays uncover the difficulties of normal life and suppression by the rich class to the poor class, the majority to minority, and Hindus to non-Hindus and etc. Her aims are to give a voice to the voiceless and remove the discrimination of the bourgeoisie and proletariat and give them equal rights. Discrimination, suppression, and oppression are destructive to the amicability of humanity and uniformity with respect to all human bodies on the surface. Hegemony and apartheid are not a way to normalize political problems as well as social issues. Suppression cause disturbance in society, and sometimes its result is resistance which may become the cause of massacre and enmity. Basically, suppression and resistance is the war of identity, culture, religion, and economics. In consequence, both classes stand against each other and can perform every action. So-called democracy put the lit match into power keg because the democracy, as well as all the governmental institutions, is controlled by the corporation of India. Both Muslims and Non-Muslims are slaughtering each other and calling attention to their religious difference. This religious hegemony divides the class into structures, dominant and suppressed, political and civil, and these classes are charged by the controlled media. Both are murdered by the same god, whoever he is, but the in this corrupted atmosphere, it is considered that the slaughtering process is a legitimate cycle of responses and government is irresponsible for it (Roy 2011).

In chapter 1, *Democracy Who's She When She's at Home?*, Roy determines the genocide of the Muslims in Gujarat, her home state, in February 2002, and she wrote this essay. The slaughter of Muslims between 800 and 2000 is only justified by claiming that it is a response to Muslim terrorism. Muslim "terrorists" had burned the Sabarmati Express in Godhra, and 58 Hindus died in this fire. She explains that Gujarat is a place where Bhartiya Janta Party (B.J.P.) is in power, and it was the same place where the "petri dish in which Hindu fascism" has long been grown (Roy A., *listening to Grasshoppers*, 2011). The essays also depict that Muslims are tortured in different ways, their businesses are shut down, and they are living under terror. Roy condemned this discrimination

against minorities and worried that it was the beginning of discrimination that would catch fire, and the Indian state would become the Nazi state of Germany. She also predicts that one day Muslims will be ghettoized, and Asian apartheid will appear.

Democracy has been failed to protect the rights, as she says in her essay that while Gujarat was burning, the Indian prime minister was presenting his poems on MTV channel. A report says that hundred thousand cassettes are sold. Modi presents a speech a couple of day later, when he talks about Gujarat his mouth moved and his unreal voice moves through burned, broken and blooded world.

Roy claims that every pogrom in India is directed toward the particular religion, tribes, caste that is responded in the form of massacre. In 1984, the Indra Gandhi's assassination cause the same response and Congress Party presided over massacre of three thousands Sikhs in the street of Delhi, every bit as macabre as the one in Gujarat. At the time, Rajiv Gandhi, never known for an elegant turn of phrase, said, "When a big tree falls, the ground shakes". In 1985 the Congress swept the polls. On a sympathy wave! Eighteen years have gone by. Nobody has been punished." (Roy 2011).

Minorities are blamed for every kind of miss-happening, as at assassination of Mr. Gandhi, thousands of Sikhs massacred but the result is democracy is failed to catch the real troublemakers. Everyone has its own plot to get the consent of the people. They use the democracy for their personal interest; thousands and hundreds of people are displaced and are living in refugee campuses but no one bother for their settlement rather they use them as a tool.

Roy says that fighting does mean to kill and banned the madras but it means to work for betterment of the society, it means to distinguish between right or wrong, it means to observe and watch the governmental institutions, it means to give a forum to voiceless people, its mean to presents the real happening, farmer woes, labour issues, displacement and dispossession resolution, but the government has indulged in business and controlled by the corporations. They have started discriminations and given them the idea of 'weapon of peace, that trapped both countries

Roy criticizes the fascism; fascism is always a slow and steady process that will erode all the instrument of civil freedom and liberties. All instrument of state powers increase day to day injustice. The fight against fascism is only for to win the mind of the people; it does not mean asking for the RSS shakhas and the madrassas that are overtly communal to be banned. Its only mean working for the day when there are voluntarily disclaim as bad ideas. It also means to keep an eagle eye on the institution of public institutions and asking for accountability. The main reason of the fight is to put your ear to the ground and hear the voices, the whispers of the poor and truly the powerless people. its mean to give a forum to the suppressed myriad voices from the resistance movements, the voices that are speaking for the real things, the voices that are silenced

This research shows that suppression is not a way of 'development' and 'progress', democracy means equal chance for every class, but the Indian democracy has been failed because racism, fascism and suppression become there business, their aims are not develop the country but the development of capitalism and corporations.

In second essay, How Deep Shall We Dig? Roy claims that not just Kashmir but whole India is facing mental asylum. Her friend says "Kashmir used to be business,. Now it's a mental asylum." (Roy A., Listening to Grasshoppers, 2011, p. 25). Roy also criticizes the Indian institutionalized rights. They terrorize the Indian local minorities by using the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA), she says the Indian government uses the same

strategy of lies that has been used by the U.S. to disinformation general around the 9/11 to trap the two countries. India is also using POTA for its own locals, poor Dalits, Sikhs and Muslims, in general poor and minorities.

In 2004, she was a member of the people's tribunal on POTA; she heard the harrowing testimonies that had happened in dear democracy of India. She assures that people are forced to drink the urine, stripped, humiliated, burned with cigarette bud, given electric shock, put iron rods on their anuses and kicked to death. The documents of death rate, gang rape and 'disappearances' are going up and up to make your blood cold it's a real image of India but the local media and international media make it legitimate democracy that make it good and it's a virtual image of India. She observes that POTA is used just like a T.V. buttons; institutions can use these buttons to switch off the minorities, the poor, the troublesome, and the unwanted.

She says that whenever you visit the urban area to visit shops, railway stations, hospitals, airports, gymnasiums, and restaurants, T.V. monitors have already told you that election's promises have been fulfilled. But you need to close your ears to the sickening crunch of police man's boots on someone ribs. You have to put your eyes closed or raise them high to the ragged people, the slums, and the squalor on the streets and seek a friendly T.V. that will lead you to a beautiful world. The singing and dancing of Bollywood's world where people are waving the tricolor flag and permanently happy Indians are 'Feeling Good'.

The police starts violence, in Nagarnar, Jharkhand; in Umergaon, Gujrat; in Mehndi Khda, Madhya Pardesh; in Chilika and Rayagara, Orissa; in Muthanga, Karela, against the peaceful demonstration, unarmed people. Police killed people for trespassing on forest land, when they're trying to protect their own forest land from mining operation, dams' construction and steel plants. The suppression does not stop here and goes on and on. Kashipur, Maikanj and Kambudweep also faced the violence. In any response to the police firing, they immediately called militants.

In chapter three, Roy presents the picture of minorities in India and Kashmir, as the title of essay predicts in its true sense, 'And His Life Become Extinct', subtitle; The Very Strange Story of the Attack on Indian Parliament, uncovers media's presentation of minority. In other way we can say that Hindu Nationalism and Indian government plans events such as 'Indian Parliament Attack' to create favorable political environment by suppressing the unvoiced people. This essay aims to present the gaps in investigation, the loopholes and judiciary failures in the aftermath of the parliament attack.

When five armed men with an explosive device drove through the gates of New Delhi's Parliament House and opened fire. The Indian police claimed Pakistan-based terrorist groups, 'Jaish-e-Muhammad' and 'Lashkar-e Taiba' and some individuals are named as being a part of conspiracy, Ghazi Baba, Molana Masood Azhar, Tariq Ahmad, five deceased 'Pakistani terrorist' first two from Jaish, the third Pakistani, five are still unknown and three Kashmiri men; S.A.R. Geelani, Shaukat Hussain Guru, Muhammad Afzal and Shaukat's wife Afsan Guru. Only four Kashmiri were arrested on the basis of suspicious conspiracy. The purpose of this accusation to suppress the Indian Muslims as they accused these persons without any calculation that they have a direct link with this attack, just to suppress their voices, which raised for freedom and against the suppressive policies in Kashmir. The whole story revolves around the accused Muhammad Afzal while other three Kashmiri were released and Afzal sentenced to death. Roy recalls a number of the lies that were spread against S.A.R. Geelani, another of the accused. Although Geelani was acquitted, no media outlets have apologized to him. In this way he has become the great hero of Kashmir and villain of India. The story of Muhammad

Afzal is performed on a national stage like a piece of medieval theater, in open atmosphere of bright day, so called legal and lawful sanction of a 'fair trial', the hollow and meaningless benefits of a 'free' media, and all the pomp and ceremony of so called hollowed democracy (Roy 2011).

In chapter four, "Breaking the News" Roy continues with the story of the December 13 Parliamentary attacks and the false accusations against Mohammed Afzal. As the story was unrevealed yet clearly that created many questions not only about the trial but about what really happened on December 13, 2001. Roy also raised thirteen questions to know the real story of 13 December 2001, the question was unanswered by the judiciary, journalists, and politics and so called democratic government which shows the prejudice of the Indian Nationalism and the interest of the politicians. The false confession is presented on the T.V. channel, with false interpretation. She also writes that the media with the help of the Special Task Force in Kashmir make anyone seemingly confess to anything by harassment and illegal torture. Roy calls for a meaningful inquiry into what happened on December 13, one that is more than a "political witch hunt" and which takes into account the role played by intelligence and security agencies. Davinder Singh said

"I did interrogate and torture him [Afzal] at my camp for several days. And we never recorded his arrest in the books anywhere. His description of torture at my camp is true (Roy 2011).

Roy presents the violence of the police and quotes the words that was the procedure of those days; the police performed every illegal and violent punishment as they gave him electric shocks and poured the petrol in his ass. But they were fail to break him and did not reveal anything in the hardest interrogation of the police. They torture him maximum for Ghazi Baba but did not reveal. The police abused him 'bhonda' and 'chootya'. Davinder was famous for his torture, breaking suspects and interrogation. If anybody came out from his interrogation, nobody can able to reveal him, even touch him for the suspect again and would be considered free from the suspect by the whole department.

Chapter five, Custodial Confession, The Media and The law, is a sequel to the chapter four, the Supreme Court sentenced the Muhammad Afzal, accused number one of the parliament attack which raised a tension in the country. The issue of capital punishment is raised and the media propagated the society will only be satisfied if capital punishment is awarded to the offender. The editor of

NDTV presented the false video of confession in the show, in the start of the show, inset a text that "Afzal ne court men gunah qabool kar liya tha" in English, "Afzal has admitted his guilt in court", and then the T.V. channel did not present the confession's video for fifteen minute and then anchor came and announced "Sansad par hamly ki kahani, Afzal ki zubani" in English, "The story of Parliament attack, in Afzal words" but later on it is informed that the it had been extracted under torture. The person who published the Special Cells story has promoted from print media to electronic media. (Roy 2011).

In this way, Roy exposes the prejudice of Indian Nationalism and biased power structures of the government and predicts the real picture of the so called Indian free media and the Judiciary.

### **So Called 'Progress' and 'Development' suppress Proletariat**

In Chapter 6, "Baby Bush, Go Home," Roy responds to the impending arrival of George W. Bush in Delhi. As the title of the essay shows that many people were not happy with this visit. Bush addressed to a list of caged people and caged animals in Purana Qilla instead of the Red Fort because there was Muslims are in majority. It was too much ironic that they only have a safe place that is Old Fort where there was a zoo also. She mentions that Bush will be taken to place flowers on Gandhi's memorial and that millions of Indians "would prefer that he didn't" but they cannot stop the visit but protest against it. It shows the class structure and the few are implementing the rule over millions by using the tools of democracy. If they stand against the giant structure of democracy, are considered the anti-nationalist and under POTA they are considered as terrorists. It is not in our power to stop Bush's visit. It is in our power to protest it, and we will.

In "Animal Farm II," Roy continues to explore her thoughts on Bush's visit to India. "Animal Farm II" is structured as a play, and was performed at New Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University in 2006. The play is set at the Purana Qila fort. George Bush addresses a group of caged politicians, industrialists and film stars. The fictional George Bush announces that "India's my favorite democracy because Indian government is the finger puppet of the W. Bush. He also claims that Pakistan, Afghanistan and India are harem of Bush, India is his favorite democracy because it follows the Bush. Bush exposes that Pakistan is also a good country because the Musharraf is his vote. These arguments show that people who are following the president of the United States become the favorite and can survive in so-called democracies like Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Bush rejects the Palestine democracy, because it is not ready to become his harem. He says that when Columbus found America instead of India, we killed the Indians which were living in the America; it was a little genocide. Roy presents the American proud as international hegemony and presenting the real picture that if India will not follow the American rule, it would be rejected. American proud is that they, are free, have their own country, have brave citizens, have more advanced weapons than any one can imagine for them (Roy 2011).

Roy also exposes the real picture in this play that what the United States thinks about the culture of India, even they are not accepting the dress of the India Prime Minister, turban style and beard. Bush built supremacy by quoting the Oxford University and promoting violence because the Americans can get benefit by selling the bombs and new cooler weapons. The suicides of poor Indian farmers are more beneficial for the Americans because the fertile lands will be converted into free markets people will buy the American products. The farmers are poor they are not able to buy American products. Bush suggests that the Indian farmer should use Prozac because it will also give benefits to the medicine companies.

Bush hates the poor people because they have no money to buy the American products and they are in large numbers. He wishes that they should disappear from the world. When thousands of farmers commit suicide, it becomes good news for the US president because the self-destructive behavior of the poor is beneficial for the industries. But one most important benefit of the poor is that they can make maidservants on very little wages. America uses weapons and indulges countries in war to get the businesses as Roy depicts it, America has produced some new weapons to test on Iran, and it will be done by the help of India, puppets of America. As people of India are getting suicide due to and hunted in suicide attacks that is illegal. America thinks that if the people will fight for

us and killed in Iraq or Iran, we will compensate it. This shows Americans' international hegemony, war as a business, and Indian government as hollowed democracy.

"And you're committing suicide in droves anyway, which is illegal. Why not get killed legally in Eye-ran or Eye-raq? We could arrange posthumous green cards. We'd have them laminated. But that would be charged to their account. Think about it." (Roy 2011).

In essay, *Scandal in the Palace*, Roy aims to expose the 'rule of law' and 'Contempt of Court' as a tool of suppression and development of corporate bodies. In the Indian democracy people are suffering with biased decision the Supreme Court and oppressed bodies have no right to ask questions about the malpractices of the court. Roy follows the scandal created by the former chief justice of the Indian Supreme Court, Y.K. Sabharwal, who was accused of conflict of interest and corruption. Specifically, Sabharwal presided over a case ordering the sealing of thousands of shops and businesses being conducted in residential areas. Yet, at the same time, the Supreme Court continued to allow businesses in these areas so long as they were carried out in "air-conditioned corporate malls and multiplexes". It was eventually revealed that Sabharwal's sons had partnerships with two mall developers. This shows that the Indian democracy is failed to provide justice to the poor shopkeepers and people are displaced from their homes and "Might is Right" is prevailing in the country and judiciary's corruption and biasness is the prominent problem of the democracy that has been discussed in this chapter, higher Judiciary, particularly the Supreme Court of India does not following the just law but manages our lives. The judgments are based on the matters; great or small, results are announced after knowing what is good or bad for the environment. Whether, the rivers should be linked, dams should be constructed, mountains should be paved, and forest should be felled, what our cities should look like, where cities should be located and who should live there, everything is decided by the judiciary. In the 'World's Largest Democracy' markets have become the premier arbiter of the public policy.

Roy begins the chapter with an overview of how much power the Supreme Court wields in India and how that power has been used to uphold what she calls the "Rule of law". According to Roy, the rule of law is, in fact, unevenly applied both to situations and to people. The "Rule of Law" and "Contempt of Court" are two different tools that has been used only for the suppression when benefits of the corporate become priority court change it according to scenario as the case of former justice is clear example of biasness.

In the previous chapter, Roy claims that we can protest against these malpractices and inequality but we cannot stop it. For presenting the clear picture of the corruption of the justice the journalist was insulted, "Nowhere in the Mid-Day articles has any other judge been so much as mentioned. So the journalists are in the dock for an imagined insult" (128). In this chapter Roy appreciates the journalist, who broke the story in Mid-Day, "The journalists who broke the story in Mid-Day have done an important and courageous thing. Some newspapers acting in solidarity have followed up the story. A number of people have come together and made a public statement further bolstering that support. It's all happening. The lid is off, and about time too" (129). Roy wrote this essay to stand against the injustice, corporate bodies, capitalism and the Indian Nationalism.

In this section, Roy returns to the subject of Hrant Dink, the journalist who was killed for discussing the 1915 Armenian genocide. The title, "Listening to Grasshoppers," comes from the words of an Armenian woman who lived through the genocide and who remembers the grasshoppers that arrived in her town as a bad omen. Speaking to the



audience assembled in Istanbul, Roy calls Hrant's death a "shout that can never be silenced again" (135) and an occurrence that will, in time, only make people more aware. The resistance becomes more organized, they shout more harder, they whisper more seriously, they sing more enthusiastically, they shatter the oppressed silence and join together once again like an trained army 'that was routed and is regroup' (p.134). Roy presents her feeling, when she get knowledge about Harant Dink, she tried to find the reality about 1915, read history, and listened to the testimonies and "Now I have an opinion, an informed opinion about it, but, as I said, that is not what I'm here to inflict on you" (p.135).

In the same essay she highlights that the main purpose behind this suppression and genocide is future planning for the Indian leading industries as in 2004 Ratan Tata and Mukesh Ambani praised Gujarat for being a destination for future capital. She also cites the United States definition of genocide and presents the historic reference of genocide as

It's an old human habit, genocide is. It has played a sterling part in the march of civilization. Among the earliest recorded genocides is thought to be the destruction of Carthage at the end of the Third Punic War in 149 BC. The word itself-genocide-was coined by Raphael Lemkin only in 1943, and adopted by the United Nations in 1948, after the Nazi Holocaust. Article 2 of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines it as: any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intending to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group" (Roy A. , Listening to Grasshoppers, 2011, p. 139)

She also appreciates the definition of Frank Chalk and criticizes the definition of United States because it leaves the persecution of political dissident, 'enemies of the people', real or imagined, and also leaves the history's greatest mass murders. She presents the Frank and Kurtz definition as "is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator" (138). This definition clearly presents the suppression of Kashmir, Palestine and Bosnia.

The Indian Prime Minister declared that Moaist resistance is only threat for internal security for India and he call army against this resistance and the media is eagerly waiting for condemnation.

In "Azadi," Roy focuses on the Kashmir uprising in 2008. She explains that the Indian state has used money, violence, propaganda, torture, and rigged elections to subdue the Kashmiri people. According to Roy, the protests began when the government decided to transfer 100 acres of state-owned forest land to the Amarnath Shrine Board, which manages an annual Hindu pilgrimage to the Himalayas in Kashmir. The transfer

triggered fears that the state was planning to build Israeli-style settlements, and change the demography of the valley (165). She considers that domination is not victory:

Roy describes the protest, detailing the words marchers chanted (“Hum Kya Chahtey? Azadi!” or “We Want Freedom!”) and the rallies held. She describes the signs she saw, including “Democracy without Justice is Demon-crazy” (171), and signs supporting Pakistan, such as “What does Freedom mean? There is no god but Allah” (172). Roy confesses that, as a non-Muslim, the connection between freedom and religion is as strong as the relation between progress and development for India. She says that the crowds of protestors swell and demonstrate the march with slogan, “Kashmir Ki Mandi, Rawalpindi”, and requesting for Kashmir’s Freedom, but the government and hollowed democracy suppresses their voices by violence and silencing their voice by militarized hegemony.

The subtitle for “Nine is Not Eleven” is “(And November Isn’t September).” The chapter focuses on the four-day-long attacks on the city of Mumbai in 2008, which was frequently considered “India’s 9/11” (181). India is not America and Pakistan is not Afghanistan. This essay emphasizes on the context of terrorism as the poor, the rich, the Muslims and the Hindus were died. The terrorists go to the hospitals, railway station and ordinary people places too but the Indian news channels only focuses on the ‘India Shining’, in its political context, it can be observed that institutions are working for corporate. Media propagating the Islamist terrorism, but Islam is religion of peace, and does not justify terrorism, it exist in a political context and if someone refuse to see its context, it is also a crime in itself.

India has shown this way to the terrorist, all these tragedies are responses as hafiz saeed said, “We would like to give India a tit-for-tat response and reciprocate in the same way by killing the Hindus, just like it is killing the Muslims in Kashmir.” (183). Roy criticizes the people who refuse to see terrorism within its historical, geographical and economic context. She writes, “We need context. Always” (185). She presented the picture of Babu Bajrangji of Ahmadabad, India, who claims himself as a true democrat. He said on camera, if I get two days for killing Muslims, will go to Jahapura, and kill all the Muslim, it shows Indian’s prejudice, where more than seven to eight lack Muslims are living, “Let a few more of them die ... At least twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand should die”, I will finish them off.

“We didn't spare a single Muslim shop, we set everything on fire, we set them on fire and killed them ... hacked, burnt, set on fire ... We believe in setting them on fire because these bastards don't want to be cremated, they're afraid of it ... I have just ... one last wish .. Let me be sentenced to death . . . I don't care if I'm hanged ...” (Roy A. , Listening to Grasshoppers, 2011, p. 184)

## Findings

That context includes Partition, which led to the massacre of millions of people and a lasting wound between the two countries. While Pakistan became a “corrupt, violent military state, openly intolerant of other faiths” (186), India set itself up as a supposedly “inclusive, secular democracy” (186). Nonetheless, since 1947, Hindu nationalists have been working to set the country up as a religious state. Almost immediately, the Indian state announced the terrorists responsible, ignoring the “Almost always when these stories unspool they reveal a complicated global network of foot soldiers, trainers, recruiters, middlemen, and undercover intelligence and counterintelligence operatives working not just on both sides of the India Pakistan border, but in several countries simultaneously” (187).

The terrorism is launched for the benefits and it is used as a catalyst to trigger something else that is more dangerous than the terrorism itself. As Roy says the blood of martyrs irrigate terrorism, Hindu terrorists use dead Hindus, Muslim terrorist use dead Muslims, Communist terrorist use dead proletarians for the demonstration, as the proof of victimhood and it is there central project. TV anchored condemned the Mumbai attacks and the terror strikes were magnified a thousand fold for their effectiveness by the broadcasts.

“A single act of terrorism is not in itself meant to achieve military victory; at best it is meant to be a catalyst that triggers. Something else, something much larger than itself, a tectonic shift, a realignment. The act itself is theater, spectacle, and symbolism, and today the stage on which it pirouettes and performs its acts of bestiality is live TV.” (Roy 2011).

### **Conclusion**

In this book, Roy exposes the hardships of minorities under suppression and their struggles for power and equality, this suppressed condition of minorities seeks attention of all humans and civilized societies live in the world to stop the oppression and humiliation by aggressive and expensive nature on the name of so called ‘development’ and progress. It is harmful for the harmony of peace and equality regarding all human bodies in the world. Displacement and suppression are not the suitable way to deal with regional and political crisis. Suppression drives war, destruction, and disharmony. It paves the way for mass killing, brutality and assassination of innocent children, women and old people. It makes the citizens homeless and away from their hometown and birthplaces. It separates the siblings from one another and separates the parents from kids. It disposes the people from their hometown and pushes the families to live in the shelter homes and camps. The religious discrimination and apartheid are not a solution to the issue. It destroys the peace of the society, snatches the bread of the poor, and converts the religious and social events into massacre. The profound analysis of the text has clearly presented the discriminative and prejudiced behavior of Hindus towards the non-Hindus. Especially the Muslims are tagged as terrorists, and they perceived Muslims as aliens and misuse the power of institutions to suppress their ideas. The research examines that *Listening to Grasshopper* is precise representation of suppression; the helpless suppressed classes are facing ache misery, suffering and torture by dint of powerful dominative practices of armed forces, institutions, and hollowed democracy in general. This paper additionally reveals the concealed plans of the sovereigns in this moderate hypothesis of power.

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