Paradoxical Connotations of ‘Class’ and ‘Caste’ in Anand’s Untouchable

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ABSTRACT
The study deals with the concept of ‘class’ and ‘caste’ as enunciated in Untouchable (1935), the first literary masterpiece of Mulk Raj Anand (12 December 1905 – 28 September 2004). Taking the sufferings of Bakha, the protagonist of the novel, in its face value, the severity of casteism appears to be more palpable than that associated with any other type of sufferings emerging from any other social system or custom. At times, the application of Marxist concept of class, in one’s attempt to interpret the condition of the untouchables, seems to be quite a misnomer. But, a little reflection over the concepts of ‘caste’ and ‘class’ brings out the homogeneity of the two terms. But, ultimately the writer lands the readers in a nowhere where the readers are free to put forward their own brand of interpretation regarding the exploitation of a marginalized section of the Indian society, the untouchables, who have been surviving the onslaught of caste-system for the last few thousand years. They may live a life-in-death but not have to succumb to the mental and physical exhaustion as experienced by the Marxist proletariat, though to be used in a modified sense, to be applicable in the Indian context, as delineated in Coolie (1936) or Two Leaves and a Bud (1937), written by Anand.

Keywords: denotation, connotation, ideology, binary, caste, class, Marxism, bourgeoisie, proletariat.

Introduction: A writer like Mulk Raj Anand, who was associated with the International Brigade (involved in the Spanish Civil War), the Kisan Sabha, the Progressive Writers’ Association and other socio-political organizations or institutions and with personalities like Mahatma Gandhi, Allen Hunt, a trade unionist and a pamphleteer, Bonamy Dobrée, E. M. Forster etc. can not but be concerned about the social position of the suffering human beings. Again, the writer who lectured on humanism at different Indian universities is naturally expected to be interested in humanistic concerns about people belonging to the lower rungs of the society, suffering from inequalities and inequities of the society. Most of Anand’s novels centre round the class of people who have been pushed to the margin by the inhuman socio-economic structure of the nation. So before entering into any discussion of Anand’s treatment of class, as found in his novels like Untouchable, we need to probe into Anand’s ideology regarding ‘caste’ and ‘class’ which appears to be clearly defined. But in the typical Indian context Anand’s use of the term ‘class’ is intricately bound up with the concept of ‘caste’ which inordinately complicates the situation though at times it also appears that connotatively the two terms basically refer to similar socio-economic issues.

Theoretical Perspectives of ‘Caste’ and ‘Class’: From ideological point of view, it can be said that the two terms—‘class’ and ‘caste’—are interdependent. In fact, the discussion of one cannot be complete without the interpretation of the other. The term ‘class’ may be studied from Marxist point of view. It may also be seen how far Anand accepts or modifies the idea for its application in appreciating the prevailing socio-economic situation in India.

Before venturing into a discussion of ‘class-caste’ dynamics it naturally entails a discussion of ideological paraphernalia, concerning the concepts of ‘class’ and ‘caste’. To Terry Eagleton ideology amounts to "the equivalent in the mental realm of the over-throw of priest and king in the political one" and it "belongs to the modernity—to the brave new epoch of secular, scientific rationality" aiming to liberate men and women from their mystification and irrationalism.”1 So ideology is against political and consequently social status quo. It is revolutionary in nature and inherent in the history of anti-establishment. Now, we are to study if Anand has dealt with that matrix of class-caste with its leaning towards that type of revolutionary zeal in mind which remains rooted inside any type of binary relationship—here binary of class and caste.

Anand’s Ideas about ‘Caste’ and ‘Class’: In this context it is pertinent to point out that Anand’s ideas about class smack of both Marxian concept and typical Indian notions related to caste. And he also considers class both from cultural and socio-economic points of view.

A facial interpretation of Anand’s novels would say that ‘class’ and ‘caste’ connote almost the same meaning and Anand’s literary discourse may appear to denote this primary concern. But it will be relevant here to go at first through the prevalent Marxist concept about class. In Marxism the division of society into classes is determined by position within the process of production. Industrial revolution divided the society into...
into two classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The first owns the means of production and the second, the working class, sells their labour to the former. The interests of these two classes are fundamentally opposite in nature. The profit the bourgeoisie earn is due to the difference between the amount they pay for the labour of workers and the actual value of it. So the profit is not possible without exploitation. This sense of being exploited leads the working class towards feeling the necessity of getting united to form a class consisting of homogeneous individuals. They are spontaneous enough in thinking of themselves as ‘we’, the proletariat and the class owning the means of production as ‘they’, the bourgeoisie. The workers try to form a union but the owners are anxious to crush their efforts. These cross-purposes generate the class struggle between ‘we’ and ‘they’.

But Marxist concept of class struggle has to be applied to the interpretation of Indian literature sometimes with a little modification to make it fit for interpreting the novels like Untouchable. What Karl Marx says about the small holding peasants, can also be applied to the labourers or latrine cleaners like Bakha in Untouchable. The capacity of thinking in term of ‘we’ can be perceived in Untouchable. Only the fundamental disparity between the two classes—privileged and the underprivileged—is too uneven to let the working class even indulge in the slightest efforts of giving vent to their grievances in an organized manner. Day says, "It is possible to give a history of class in terms of exploitation and this is what Marx had in mind when he wrote that ‘the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles’". The same may be said about the working class untouchable latrine cleaners like Bakha in Untouchable.

But so far our discussion about class remains confined purely to economic point of view. Indian socio-economic conditions necessitate a definition of ‘class’ in relation to ‘caste’ which is hierarchical and stationary in nature. Cannadine’s ‘class as hierarchy’ may be taken to be the defining feature of the caste-ridden Indian society, a major theme in such novels as Untouchable and The Road (1961). We have to see whether we can analyze ‘caste’ in terms of ‘class’, that is, in the context of economy. Then, it is to be shown how the social hierarchy of castes is responsible for the economic disparity existing between the caste-Hindus and the so-called untouchables of the society. The situation leads people to think of themselves belonging to certain separate groups bearing a particular social as well as economic identity.

So far as the denotative meaning of the two terms ‘class’ and ‘caste’—are concerned, they refer to two distinct categories based on hierarchies. Karl Marx’s social hierarchy, consisting of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has already been referred to. But ‘caste’ refers to a typical Indian social hierarchy. As far as the caste-ridden Hindu social hierarchy in India is concerned there are four recognized castes or ‘varnas’ in the society. The society is divided according to their professions—(i) Brahmans (priests, teachers and ministers), (ii) Kshatriyas (kings and warriors), (iii) Vaisyas (tradesmen), (iv) Shudras (craftsmen) besides one unrecognized ‘varna’ called Panchamas (menial workers). But in the Indian context ‘caste’ and ‘class’ are interchangeable too. In fact the reality is a universal one. A. S. Hornby in his Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary has defined ‘class’ as ‘system of ranks in society or caste system’. John Garret, while discussing castes in India says, “... the Mahabharata categorically asserts that originally there was no distinction of classes, the existing distribution having arisen out of differences of character and occupation”. But with the passage of time caste began to be decided by one's birth. Naturally people belonging to the first three castes or ‘varnas’ got stationed in socially as well as economically privileged positions due to their inherited advantageous professions. And the people belonging to the fourth caste and the ‘outcaste castes’ constituting the serving class became destined to serve and debase the society without the minimum recognition of the exchange value of their service. The former and the latter may be termed successively as the Indian the bourgeoisie and Indian proletariat in terms of the exploiting and being exploited. So the typical binary of the Marxist interpretation of class is applicable here too. In the process, ‘caste’ and ‘class’ appears to merge, in effect, into one entity.

‘Caste’ and ‘Class’ as in Untouchable: Now let us see how Anand’s Untouchable holds out this homogeneity of ‘class’ and ‘caste’. In his Untouchable Anand wants to show the misery of a class of people belonging to the ‘outcaste castes’, a term advanced by Vincent Smith, the so-called untouchables. Anand’s treatment of caste in Untouchable is unique in the sense that initially he takes up caste indicating its separate entity and is treated from its traditional point of view refraining from alluding to its economic implication. But he does so ultimately to show that the class of the untouchables is decided by their caste as their caste decides their occupation. And, in the process, class and caste merge as well as overlap.

The fact seems axiomatic if we quote from Anand’s Coolie where Mohan points out: ... they [the British] have a caste system more rigid than ours. Any angrezi woman whose husband earns twelve hundred rupees a month will not leave cards at the house of a woman whose husband earns five
Hundred. And the woman whose husband earns five hundred looks down upon the woman whose husband earns three hundred. Here Mohan uses the term 'caste' as a synonym of 'class'. In fact, in Untouchable the main concern of the novelist is to show how the caste factor plays a significant role in deciding one's class factor and both the factors combine together to make one marginalized.

The untouchables in the novel may be said to belong to the proletarian class of Marx in terms of being manual labourers and their suffering from social and economic exploitation. We may refer to The Road, another novel of Anand written in the post-Independent India and dealing with the same socio-economic problem—untouchability. Here, Landlord Thakur Singh and his conglomerate try their utmost to put the chamar, the so-called untouchables, to a social quarantine, on the pretext of their caste or religion. Their purpose is to exploit the services of the untouchables and to get them fixed in their present class. The landlord says:

Ours was a self-sufficient village before the Afsars of the Sarkar began to come interfering here. And these chamar boys worked for us! And now these chamar boys are earning wages and working on the heart of our whole caste brotherhood ...

Here Thakur Singh's primary concern is to stereotype the social hierarchy. To him the significance of the existence of the chamar lies in serving the caste-Hindus and in adding to their wealth. Here, the caste prejudice of the people like the landlord is caused by their intention of the fixation of the class stratification. Thus, caste and class become complementary to each other.

Again, Anand's concept of class is not strictly based on the Marxist criteria that tell of conscious and consistent struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat leading ultimately to the formation of a classless socialist society. Anand's Untouchable deals with the sufferings of a marginalized section of the society who began to be more and more marginalized due to their occupational status. The main concern of the caste-Hindus is to exploit the services of the untouchables. So though 'caste' and 'class' are supposed to be two distinct terms they are interchangeable and tend to merge into one, that is, class. Bakha, the protagonist in Untouchable, belongs to the outcaste caste. He has inherited his caste and his caste has given him the job of sweeping and latrine cleaning, a seemingly abominable job in the eyes of the society. People belonging to Bakha's caste constitute the serving class, the working class, who may be termed as the typical Indian proletariat. So Bakha's class is rooted in his caste.

Bakha cleans public latrines in the town of Bulandshahr. His father Lakha is the Jamadar of all the sweepers in the town and the cantonment, and officially in charge of three rows of public latrines lining the extreme end of the colony by the brook-side. Bakha's brother Rakha helps Bakha in his work. His sister Sohini is also a sweeper. The habitat has been turned to a kind of ghetto. Bakha and his family and the other people living in the colony belong to the outcaste community, a constituent of the typical Indian proletariat. The novel shows the exploitation and marginalization of this community. Bakha's profession is decided by his caste and his profession in turn decides his class. This caste-class dynamics is thus brought to the fore by Anand with a view to bring forth a change in the society.

Bakha sees the society from the point of view of economics. To him "there was no difference ... between the rich and the poor, between the Brahmans and the Bhangis, between the pundit [Kalinath] of the morning, for instance and himself". Here the caste-Hindus have been classified as the rich and the outcastes as the poor and the classification is supposed to be predetermined by their inherited castes. Consequently, their professions are hereditary. For the proper comprehension of the issue of caste discrimination it is pertinent to point out further how a sense of class consciousness grows up in the mind of Bakha with the serial humiliations meted out to him by the caste Hindus throughout the day.

Bakha uses the pronoun 'we' to refer to the people belonging to his caste, the poor class. 'We' refers to the persons like Bakha, Lakha, Rakha, Sohini as well as the other inhabitants of the 'outcaste' colony of Bulandshahr. Bakha accidentally touches the Lalla, a caste-Hindu. Bakha is severely abused and finally slapped by the Lalla. It is after his humiliation at the hands of the Lalla before the relishing eyes of a sadistic crowd that Bakha divides the society into two—(i) 'they', the caste Hindus and (ii) 'we'. He tells his father, "They think we are mere dirt, because we clean their dirt" (89). The relation between the two—'we' and 'they'—becomes a binary one. All these emanate from their related professions. Members belonging to the privileged castes mete out inhuman mental and physical torture to the 'sweeper class' (Cowasjee 44). Members of the latter class are socially ostracized and are compelled to go through a sub-human existence.

In the very beginning of the novel Anand gives us a lurid description of the outcaste colony. Gandhiji's 'cleaners of Hindu society' (Untouchable 165) are compelled to huddle together in the most
unclean or unhygienic space. The condition under which Bakha and his brethren are compelled to live is symbolic of the constrained social space within which they have to operate.

Marx wants to insist that we can only transform the consciousness of the proletariat by transforming material condition which creates it. Here in drawing the physical environment of the outcastes' colony and their profession Anand wants to show the psychological effect of the conditions, under which the persons are compelled to carry on their existence. The colony becomes a site of frustration as well as of anger. This feature can be seen in Bakha. The subsequent incidents in Bakha's life only decimate his mental energy to a point where he can give only fruitless vent to his anger only to succumb ultimately to his humility born out of his castes' age-old obsequiousness.

Bakha commits the crime of touching a caste-Hindu. The incident culminates in a sharp slap on Bakha's face. The slapping does not express the caste-Hindus' genuine concern to protect themselves from the unholy contagion of the untouchables. Actually, the fear of the collapse of the prevailing social hierarchy causes their anger and anxiety. A little old man says, "These swines are going to be uppish!" ...One of his brethren who cleans the lavatory of my house, announced the other day that he wanted ten rupees a month instead of five rupees, and the food that he gets from us daily" (Untouchable 55). So class concern plays the key role in their anxiety to maintain the rigidity of caste. The language used by the caste-Hindus smacks of the typical bourgeoisie concern for the consolidation of the socio-economic division. The little old man in this novel, Ram Nivas in The Road and Lady Todarmal in Coolie speak the same language while giving vent to their grudge against the underprivileged. Ram Nivas says, "They have made a little money, ... Now they are feeling uppish!" (The Road 95). Lady Todarmal says, "They have raised their heads to the sky" (Coolie 81). All of them use a typical bourgeoisie language that expresses distinctly their consciousness of the binary of 'we' and 'they', one of the primary features of Marxian class division.

Subsequent to the little old man another individual from the mob says, "They don't want to work. They laze about. They ought to be wiped off the surface of the earth" (Untouchable 56). Here all the expressions clearly indicate the hidden agenda of the privileged people of stereotyping Bakha's community into a lazy one. And stereotyping is another mechanism for marginalization. All these are also expressive of a threat perception of the former and their "lust for power" (Untouchable 54). The power of the former depends upon the exploitation of the labour of the latter. So the reaction of the caste Hindus also expresses their subconscious anxiety about losing their grip over the 'sweeper class'. The binary of the superior and the inferior classes is to them a traditional one. It is embedded in their psyche.

The exploitation of the untouchables has received public sanction. Apparently 'public' refers to the caste-Hindus. But it may also include the outcastes themselves if we look into the fact that religious concept has been internalized by the community. People of Bakha's castes have started to take the sanction of religion for granted. This is evident from the saying of Lakha, Bakha's father. Lakha says, "We must realize that it is religion which prevents them [caste Hindus] from touching us" (Untouchable 93). But, the artificiality of the binary becomes evident when Pundit Kalinath does not hesitate to sexually molest Bakha's sister Sohini and when she screams out the Pundit shouts wildly, "Polluted, polluted, polluted!" (Untouchable 68) to implicate Sohini with the charges of polluting. Caste ceases to be a polluting agent in such cases and it proves that caste is just an artificial construction. There is no possibility of an upward social movement along the social scale. Stereotyping of the social scale baffles the evolution of the underprivileged as well as the society. This deters them from going through any metamorphosis.

Such a metamorphosis can begin with the generation of a class consciousness among the exploited ones and that in turn can lead to a struggle against the exploiters. Bakha wants to contest the caste division that has decided his class. Chota and Ram Charan sympathise with him and pledge to retaliate upon the pundit. This type of fellow feeling promises the generation of a sense of belonging to a social group and this is the basis of a class consciousness.

But the prospect does not materialize because of the presence of intra-class binaries—degrees of sub-castes among the untouchables Bakha "knew there were degrees of castes among the low-caste, and that he was the lowest" (Untouchable 100). This intersection of caste develops fissures within their class. The absence of this homogeneity, combined with the humbling servitude of thousands of years, lead Bakha to the recognition of his position. Naturally enough "the undertone 'Untouchable, untouchable' was in his heart, the warning shout 'Posh, posh, sweeper coming!' was in his lips" (Untouchable 59). This is a sign of the internalization of the social construction which is a powerful force in turning the underdogs of the society to a helpless lot.

The novel underscores the need to contest the exploitative attitude. But the hopelessness, regarding the ascension of the outcastes in the social scale, is further intensified by their obsequiousness and mentality of maintaining the status quo. Stray incidents of charity by the caste-Hindus individuals and submissive
people like Lakha create stumbling blocks in the way of a change. Experiences as well as religion have taught Lakha to give in to the prevalent system. Members of his caste have been taught to respect the tradition. Having heard that Bakha has been slapped by a caste-Hindu Lakha is not concerned instantly much about Bakha's sufferings. He is anxious to know if Bakha has hit back or abused the person. Lakha says to Bakha, "They are our superiors. One word of theirs is sufficient against all that we might say before the police. They are our masters. We must respect them and do as they tell us. Some of them are kind" (Untouchable 90). As we have seen earlier, the prevalent power structure and social hierarchy have got social and religious sanction. The mention of police also indicates that state agencies are also involved in the perpetuation of the hierarchy to crush any possibility of counter-action. Moreover, the minority of charitable persons like Havildar Charat Singh, unknowingly lets the outcasts find excuse not to go against the convention. Charat Singh gives Bakha a hockey stick. It fulfills a secret and long cherished desire of Bakha. Bakha is grateful to the Havildar. The author says, "He was grateful, grateful, haltingly grateful, falteringly grateful, stumblingly grateful ... " (Untouchable 122). Cowasjee says "Bakha's sense of gratitude for the least kindness shown to him is basically a part of his obsequiousness ... "12 This sense of overriding gratitude together with the hopelessness of getting justice from the hostile state machinery, as hinted by Lakha, pushes the tiger in Bakha into "a cage, securely imprisoned by the conventions his superiors have built to protect themselves against the fury of those whom they exploit".13 Here Anand deftly uses the rhetoric of irony to show that what is apparently appreciable in a society, here petty acts of charity, sometimes stand in the way of the desired evolution of the society itself.

To realise evolution means overcoming the problem of casteism. Traits of objectivity are observable in the suggestions for the possible solutions to the problem. Bakha is shown various ways of solution and he is in a dilemma not knowing which one to accept or which one to reject. The first one is related to the discourse of religion—that of Christianity. Colonel Hutchinson thinks that Christianity has the all-embracing characteristics of wiping out the social stigma of untouchability. But Bakha is rooted in his culture. So the Colonel fails to make Bakha understand about Jesus as well as his mission. The second alternative shown by the Mahatma is of little consequence to Bakha. The Mahatma exhorts the untouchables to improve their own lot by giving up such evil habits as drinking and eating carrion. Bakha fears that the Mahatma is drifting away from the main issue. Moreover, Gandhiji tries to bracket a grave social issue like untouchability with an accepted religious practice like protection of cow. Then he appeals to the crowd to change their heart in favour of the untouchables. The Mahatma can not concentrate on the specific issue of untouchability. So, all these are very confusing and puzzling for Bakha.

The third solution is suggested by the poet Iqbal Nath Sarshar. According to him, flush-system, in which machine will clear the filth without anyone having to handle it, will free the sweepers from the stigma of untouchability. But the rigidty of social hierarchy may not provide him with any socially acceptable alternative profession. So there is a great possibility of Bakha joining the group of countless jobless youth.

So the problem appears to remain the same at the end of the novel. But if we probe deeper into Bakha's psyche, we will find that Bakha's inclination is to the second and the third types of solution—those of change of heart, as proposed by Gandhiji, and the introduction of automatic mechanical system for cleaning the filth of the public latrines. But the irony of the third alternative of solution lies in the fact that the introduction of machine, in its turn, may generate another problem, that of creating an 'underclass' out of the sweepers. India is already reeling under trade depression and economic recession. In Coolie we can see hundreds of coolies occupying the footpaths or lanes or other public vacant places in Bombay. Bakha may have to queue up behind this jobless mass after the introduction of flush-system. It may help Bakha get rid of the stigma of untouchability, but it will not ensure him his economic rehabilitation. Bakha's inherited caste at least helps him sustain his physical existence. But his prospect of transcending his social rank by the introduction of machine does not augur well. The very solution to the problem may thus worsen the plight of the Indian proletariat. So Bakha is on the horns of dilemma.

'Caste' or 'Class'—which to opt for: From this context, another connotation of 'caste' and 'class' emerges—the comparative severity of 'caste' and 'class'. From the then as well as the present context of Indian socio-political situation the severity of untouchability can never be ignored or nothing can stand comparison with it in respect of the kind of stigma it imposes upon the people staying at the lowest rung of the Hindu social hierarchy. In the pre-independence era, before the introduction of the Minute of Thomas Babington Macaulay in 1935, there was no provision for education of the untouchables. "By 1838, when Macaulay sailed back to Britain, his Committee had established forty English-medium schools which were open to all regardless of caste, in itself a revolutionary step in a society where the lower castes had been strictly forbidden to study".14 Still the condition under which these marginalized people had to take education can
be gauged from the biography of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (14 April 1891 – 6 December 1956). In his school, the little Ambedkar had to sit on the verandah of the school. Teacher did not touch his books or exercise books to check his assignments. He could not drink water from the earthen container of the school. The peon used to pour water in his hands if he felt thirsty and in the absence of the peon he had to remain thirsty throughout the day. In the independent India Dalit people still have to suffer humiliation at the hands of the caste Hindus. Dalit people are beaten for skinning even dead cow-carcasses. Dalit officials are asked to sit on separate chairs or drink water from separate glasses, especially meant for them. "Crime rate against Dalits increased by 25% from 2006 to 2016; cases pending investigation up by 99%".15

But still, if we look at the condition of Munoo, a Kshatriya, the second highest stratum in the social hierarchy by birth, at a restaurant in Mumbai, specially meant for the rich, where he is considered to be as untouchable as a leper (Coolie 156) the condition of the untouchable appears to be preferable to those of the typical Marxist proletariats like Munoo, the Indian labour class people who are, as if, set adrift in the wave of struggles for existence and who are always to experience the life-in-death due to the bite of entrenchment that may fall upon their heads at any time. Munoo’s caste can not prevent him from being tormented mentally and physically ultimately leading him to death. On the other hand, Bakha and his brethren have at least the feel of the sense of security regarding their inherited profession of latrine cleaning, though the most ignominious one in the eyes of the society. In this connection Saros Cowasjee says:

The untouchable, though he may be kicked and abused for offending the law of caste, still has his place in society, and he is necessary. But the coolie—though apparently free to move about and choose his own work—is in fact functioning under a system even more rigid. He has nowhere to go; he is often underpaid and overworked, he is cheated by his employers and lives in constant dread of losing his job.16

In fact, the sufferings of the production-oriented proletariats like Munoo in Coolie or Gangu in Anand’s another novel Two Leaves and a Bud (Gangu also a Kshatriya) are more inclusive in nature than those of their social counterparts, the untouchables, in the sense that added to their being considered untouchable they have to suffer other oppressive measures of their employers and also the constant efforts of the moneyed class to hurl them to the lowest dregs of the society.

Conclusion: But, Bakha, because of his limited mobility, due to his caste, has not attained the capacity to think along the ways as held out in the novels like Coolie or Two Leaves and a Bud. At end of Untouchable we find Bakha only in a confused state where solution to his problem appears to be quite elusive in nature. Hence, the matrix of ‘caste’ and ‘class’ ultimately appears to be a very complex issue as portrayed in Untouchable. Though connotatively both refers to the same social issue, at least in the context of exploitation, Anand, as if, gives to the readers a free will to take side with ‘class’ or ‘caste’ or remain neutral and expect the prevalence of an era when people in general may experience the true taste of equality or equity; when untouchables like Bakha or ‘touchables’ [a term coined by Arundhati Roy in her The God of Small Things (1996)] like Munoo both will be considered as human beings of flesh and blood, deserving the sympathy and kindness of all and sundry. Thus, the writer, refraining from imposing his own ideology, if any, upon the readers and keeping the paradox of ‘caste’ and ‘class’ intact has saved the novel from being considered a propaganda and thus ensuring the universality of the narrative to the readers in general, as per their individual comprehension.

References:
10. Anand, Mulk Raj. Untouchable. New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann, 1983. P. 144. (Subsequent quotation will be given only with page number of the same book)
12. Ibid 52.
16. Cowasjee 62