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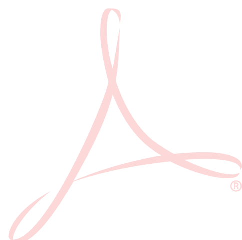
PROGRAMA DE SIMULTANEIDADE: GRAO EN INGLÉS: ESTUDOS LINGÜÍSTICOS E LITERARIOS E GRAO EN ESPAÑOL: ESTUDOS LINGÜÍSTICOS E LITERARIOS

"Eat—or Get Eaten Up":

A Study of Power in George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger*



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Abstract

The core objective of this essay is the application of Louis Althusser's theory of the state structures or apparatus to the case studies of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger*. I start from the premise that applying these critical tools allows me to explore power and its expression in the shape of state structures in these two literary works. In turn, this will also lead to determine the applicability and limitations of this thesis with respect to *Animal Farm* and *The White Tiger*.

To achieve that purpose, an eclectic approach that can be defined as "text-leading Marxism," whose similarity in many aspects with cultural materialism will also be elucidated, is employed here. Since power relations within each novel will be studied in combination with non-literary realities, an approach which joins them seems appropriate. However post-structuralist this textual centrality is, the importance of contexts in relation to my interpretation of *Animal Farm* and *The White Tiger* enables me to regard this essay as Marxist-oriented too.

As far as conclusions are concerned, I argue that my main findings boil down to the crisscross inversion of elements resulting of chiasmus-like transformations. These reveal, in the first place, the unfixed limits and the continuous spectral nature of apparatus rather than the purely structuralist view of such categories as separated, well-defined points. Secondly, I argue that these inverted relationships may resonate with cross-like metamorphoses existent in the real world. Finally, I offer the reading of *Animal Farm* and *The White Tiger* as precautionary novels. This interpretation is fundamentally originated by the satirical nature of the two narratives and by the aforementioned presence of such chiasmic reversals which seem to echo those from extra-literary reality.

With regard to the structure, the project is organised into four significant parts: in the introduction, I will state the aims, the methodology employed and the suitability of the chosen corpus. This initial section will be followed by the first chapter, which will examine the theoretical premises and the background required to tackle the case studies effectively. This chapter deals with the key theoretical concepts and provides information relative to the actual context of creation of both works—the first examples of crisscross transformations appearing here. The empirical study of state structures proper will be developed in the third part: first concerning Orwell's *Animal Farm*, then Adiga's *The White Tiger*. In this chapter, I will comment upon more evidence of chiasmic inversions. The fourth and final division of the project corresponds to the conclusions drawn from the earlier analysis, namely the precautionary reading of the literary pieces as well as the significance attributed to the chiasmic alterations.

Key words: George Orwell, *Animal Farm*, Aravind Adiga, *The White Tiger*, chiasmic inversion, precautionary novels, Louis Althusser, state structures.

Introduction

The Seventh Animalist Commandment from *Animal Farm* (hereafter *AF*), written by George Orwell in 1945 eventually runs as follows: "All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others" (90). In a similar vein, in Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* (*WT*, from now on), notwithstanding its different formal expression, Balram Halwai, the narrator and protagonist of that story says that "[t]hese days, there are just two castes . . . [a]nd only two destinies: eat—or get eaten up" (54). These two affirmations condense the idea of dialectic power relations present in both novels. Because of the magnitude of the question of power, I have chosen to narrow down the objective of this essay by exploring just certain materialisations of power, in particular state structures or apparatus.[1] The sociological theory of state structures was first formulated by the French scholar Louis Althusser and, traditional though his position may seem, I have found it very appropriate, not only regarding the social configuration that each book renders, but also due to its potentiality for ulterior explorations on these works.

As a consequence of the focus on the operation of power through state apparatus as reflected in *AF* and *WT*, this project revolves around the textual element, but there are ties that bind the exploration and interpretation of each novel to the extra-literary reality as well. In particular, I will postulate that the fluctuant historical circumstances surrounding the creation, publication and reception of both novels have had an echo in the inversion of terms that *AF* and *WT* present. Such an inversion will be epitomised and explained by the chiasmic[2]

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[1] Please note that the word *apparatus* is used both in the singular and the plural form throughout the project ("Apparatus").
[2] Also known as *antimetabole* (Miller and Mermall 1128), the chiasmus is a figure of speech defined as "a rhetorical criss-crossing in which the syntax or sense of the first of two parallel phrases is reversed in the second" and whose name comes from "the Greek letter *chi* (x)" ("Chiasmus"). The movement that chiasmus carries is characterised by the researcher Nicoletta Isar and, as will be discovered progressively, it is very

transformations of certain elements. As a result, the question of methodology can be problematic: whereas my approach may be understood as mostly post-structuralist due to its textual centrality, several Marxist notions are deployed within the text—beginning with the Althusserian theory of power structures. This fact, in addition to the significance of real-world facts in the periphery of the analysis, may provide the Marxist perspective to the project as well. As far as I know, this text-focused Marxist approach shares much with new historicism and cultural materialism. Nonetheless, it is arguably closer to the latter because of the optimism intimated in the conclusions.

Up to now, I have tackled the aims and the methodology of the present study, but not the reasons for choosing the corpus of analysis: *AF* and *WT*. In addition to the fact that Orwell and Adiga were both born in India, the first real argument is that both works share a satirical style. Dieter Declercq defines satire as a genre characterised simply by the intentional and concurrent duality of criticism and entertainment (319), a very popular genre that has turned into one of the most influential means to criticise power because, together with the artistic and rhetorical force it carries, it may contribute to raise the awareness of issues previously concealed. Declercq conceives satire's critique as "a committed moral opposition against a target" considered socially wrong, but that "is not necessarily morally right" (322). In the case of our novels, I would argue that *AF* condemns the abuse of (authoritarian) power and the decay of ideals, while *WT* denounces the nature and vices of a completely corrupted society. Respecting entertainment as "aesthetic experience," Declercq insists on the pleasurable and emotionally moving genius of satirical works, achieved by artistic skill through language and wit (323-4). In this respect, on the one hand, *AF* is enjoyable thanks to the accomplishment of

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appropriate for supporting the standpoint of this project. She argues that "chiasmus [is] not a stable structure, but a dynamic pattern; chiasmus has always translated its motion over the text it structured, or the space it generated."

the animal allegory and its straightforward writing. On the other, *WT*'s effectivity relies on the narrator's mode of playing with his own life narrative, the expectations created from the outset and a similar use of animal symbolism in key scenes in the novel. The satirical nature of these works leads me to read them as precautionary novels, as I will explain later.[3]

The second reason to link *AF* and *WT* is that I have found no comparative analysis of *AF* and *WT* in the bibliographic research prior to starting work on this essay. The results of my search of secondary sources on Orwell's novel show that they have focused on the author's purpose(s) (Kirschner), on equality (Dwan), or on the influence of Tolstoy's *A Confession* over *AF* (Pearce). As regards Adiga's *WT*, some issues explored in critical approaches to the novel are subalternity, human rights and development (Khor); neoliberalism (Adkins, Alonso); individualism (Waller) and Indianness (Ashcroft; Mendes; Waller). Lastly, there have been comparative studies on violence and sympathetic identification in Orwell's *AF* and Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* (Schiff); crime in *WT* and Wright's *Native Son* (Schotland); poverty studies in *WT* and Swarup's *Q&A* (Korte); Dark India in *WT* and Malkani's *Londonstani* (Goh); ambivalence of identity in *WT* and Dickens' *Great Expectations* (Kaya); aporetic Australia in *WT*, Le's *The Boat* and Kretser's *The Hamilton Case* (Jose), and so on. In conclusion, as *AF* and *WT* have not been paired yet, a comparison of these two satires is desirable inasmuch as it can open new paths for reflection.

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[3] By the by, the influence of satire is not recent at all as some examples denote: from ancient notorious works as the Classical Roman *The Golden Ass*, by Apuleius, to literature in English such as the late-medieval Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, or the eighteenth-century novels *Gulliver's Travels*, by Jonathan Swift, and Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. Nevertheless, satirical fiction has not only been deployed by traditional literary format: other media such as cinema (e.g. Charles Chaplin's *The Great Dictator*), comic (for instance, Hergé's *The Adventures of Tintin*) or television (*The Simpsons*, by Matt Groening, among others) have produced it as well. It is to this fruitful tradition that *AF* and *WT* belong.

1. Theory and Background: Behind the Analysis of *Animal Farm* and *The White Tiger*

1.1. On the Contexts of *Animal Farm* and *The White Tiger*: First Traces of Chiasmic Inversions

With regard to the specific moment of production of the pair of narratives referred to, it is necessary to bear in mind how distant they are in terms of time and space. *AF*, despite being written circa 1943-1944 and, after several rejections by publishing houses (Firchow 100), was first published in England in 1945, during the end of World War II (Davison v). This novel focuses on how the animals of an English farm rebel against his human owner claiming a more egalitarian organisation. After their success, a group of pigs eventually led by Napoleon take control over the rest of the animals and establish the kind of tyranny from which the community has been initially fleeing. *AF* is the result of Orwell's desire to expose "the Soviet myth in a story that could be easily understood by almost anyone and which could be easily translated into other languages" after his experience in the Spanish Civil War, as he himself declares (qtd. in Willison 93).

The seed of Orwell's rejection of totalitarian Stalinism during the Spanish war was planted when he and the pro-Spanish-Republic Trotskyist party for which he fought—the POUM—were attacked by the equally pro-republican Stalinist Communist Party, as if they were enemies (Firchow 98). Peter Firchow even elaborates on this argument by adding that Orwell himself wrote a preface for an Ukrainian translation of *AF* in which he points at the Stalinist Soviet Union as "the corruption of the original idea of Socialism" (101). There are critics who delve deeper into that "Soviet myth" by reaffirming Orwell's intention to bring to light the drama under Stalin's dictatorship (Nikolayenko 307) and, in fact, some even find a real-world counterpart for each character in *AF* (Firchow).

The greatest objections to *AF*'s publication were that, at the end of World War II, anti-Stalin works could affect the diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, as well as their counterrevolutionary consideration from the eye of the public (Firchow 100-101). These could be some of the explanations for the use of Orwell's production as anti-Soviet propaganda during the Cold War (Newsinger, *Life* 890). However socialist Orwell's ideology may be,[4] the reception of his work, as Ian Williams notes (79-80), seems to have been embraced from the beginning by readers and critics from all sides of the political spectrum. The author is still interesting nowadays due to his "remarkable ability to write in [*sic*] language that still resonates about a wide range of issues that are still relevant" (Newsinger, *Hope* 160). To me, as will be argued throughout this essay, one of those issues is precisely that innovative relativism concerning Althusser's apparatus.

I turn now to the circumstances surrounding the publication of Adiga's *WT*, a much more recent literary piece than Orwell's, yet as eager as *AF* to dispute the absoluteness of structures. First, one must bear in mind that *WT* appeared in 2008. The global outbreak of the Great Financial Crisis, took place that year. In addition, at that moment India had been improving its diplomatic relations with China, as both the Indian Embassy in Beijing ("Political Relations") and the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs recognised ("Premier Wen Jiabao"). I will try to show that these events possibly explain certain aspects found in *WT*, particularly its relativism.

The novel, set in India, was qualified as "a first-person Bildungsroman" that describes "the ascent of its protagonist [Balram Halwai] from servant to 'self-taught entrepreneur' ([Adiga] 6)"; as expected of a Bildungsroman, the narrative revolves around "Balram's

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[4] Newsinger (*Hope* 159) comments upon Orwell's "support for and involvement in workers' revolution, by his taking up arms against fascism and by his opposition to Stalinism," as well as his explicit asseveration that "[c]apitalism manifestly has no future." Firchow (101) also recognises Orwell's self-consideration as socialist.

character formation, or rather on his long and arduous fight for survival in a way which attests to 'the Indian talent for non-stop self-regeneration'" (Mendes 278). As is deduced, an individual change is the protagonist of the story, but at the same time it is related to India's deep social transformations—and their subsequent relativism of realities—ulterior to the 1950s. These recent changes "have overturned the traditional hierarchies, and the old securities of life [in India]," observed Adiga himself (Afterword 286).

To be clearer, *WT* depicts India's transition from mid-twentieth-century nationalist socialism to the global neoliberalism prevalent in the 1990s (Joseph 82), an economic system that continues to be the norm. Such a motion shows a certain flux of elements. After a series of drastic neoliberal reforms were introduced in 1991, India saw unprecedented technological development, but also a worrying increase in social inequality (Al-Dagamseh 2-3). Adiga's *WT*, despite its fictionality, points at such a non-static Indian scenario through the continuous references to those extra-literary realities that frame the action.[5] These indications can persuade one to expect that *WT's* India shares some features with extra-textual, "real" India, even if this reality is sieved by the eye of the narrator of the story, Balram Halwai, but there are others even more significant to connect text and context.

I am referring to the time in which Balram tells his story and to whom he does so: he writes when the supposedly addressee of his relation, Wen Jiabao, is Premier of China is to visit India (Adiga, *WT*). I insist that, if these mentions are considered facts in regard to the non-literary or historical reality—a position I will embrace to develop my analysis—, then Balram's diegetic present time should take place within the range of 2004—the time when the real Wen Jiabao is appointed as China's Prime Minister ("Wen Jiabao")—and 2008—date of

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[5] For example, there are abundant allusions both to social inequity and to technology, but I will only be able to dwell on the former in this project.

publication of *WT*. Curiously enough, along with that neoliberal transformation of India cited before goes the Sino-Indian relations' shift: from problematic during almost three decades for border conflicts to increasingly friendly owing to economic reasons since the beginning of the 1990s ("Political Relations"). In my opinion, as happened with *AF*, contexts reveal the mutable period in which *WT* was written and published, so I feel it necessary to connect these external inversions to those existing in the fictional world of the novel.

This contextual fluctuation in which *WT* was born affected its reception as well. Firstly, from Abdullah Al-Dagamseh's point of view, *WT* aims to criticise and "expose the ideological contradictions between the utopian promises of neoliberalism promoted by international financial institutions and the material inequities it produces" (2). Similarly, according to Betty Joseph, Adiga's story intends to satirise the destiny of the current bourgeoisie (87) in India and to show the hypocrisy "of contemporary political and economic agendas" constructed and marketed as inexorable, "universal choices for everyone seeking to move ahead" within the new neoliberal global context (91-92). The cannibalistic consumerism of such a society and its "mechanisms that create . . . despair" are incarnated by the "monstrous gangster-like Balram" (87).

In contrast to this opinion, scholars such as Ashcroft or Mendes focus on the question of Indianness. Ashcroft argues that *WT* presents the sort of scepticism about Indian nationalism which globally acclaimed South Asian literature in English seems to share since the 1980s (5). Mendes, for his part, discusses how *WT* intends to make Indianness understandable—in particular, the "dark" side of the country—to a contemporary Western audience through an arguably faithful representation of a modernised Indian nation (289). For this last critic, the favourable outcome of those "Dark India" fictions is a continuation of previous—equally successful—literary discourses which struggled against the representation of India "as exotic other" (289). It seems to me, in conclusion, that all these reasons

concerning Orwell's and Adiga's work and contexts confirm the chiasmic reversal that each fiction develops.

1.2. The Critical Framework

As has been mentioned, the methodology followed in my analysis is Marxist- and text-based. Marxist criticism has been characterised as materialistic and deterministic (Bertens 69, 70) since, according to this trend of literary criticism, it is the economic base—"the material means of production, distribution, and exchange" (Barry 160)—that conditions the cultural superstructure—human thought and human perception of reality: the "world of ideas, art, religion, law and so on" (160; Bertens 69). Following this strictly traditional Marxist framework, literature is determined entirely by its economic context. Nonetheless, I favour a different neo-Marxist outlook, highly indebted to the French theorist Louis Althusser, whose viewpoint will thus be adopted in this analysis.

For Althusser, art, and therefore literature, is not completely dependent on economic forces, as any set of circumstances is originated by a set of reasons, not by a sole one[6] (Althusser, "Contradiction"). The British cultural materialist Raymond Williams points out that this degree of (in)dependence of literature is proved by one fact in capitalist societies: human productions such as art and literature are transformed by the capitalist base into objects or mechanisms of power for constituting identities (Bertens 71, 156). As Althusser points out in his essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,"[7] this metamorphosis is said to be a

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[6] This is called "overdetermination" (Althusser, "Contradiction").
[7] In the following paragraph(s), all references concerning Althusser—except when indicated—are taken from this online source, which does not have page numbers. In cases such as this one, I will not include in-text citation of page numbers because of the impossibility of referencing page. Additionally, as previously explained, I will employ the term "apparatus" both for the singular and the plural forms of the noun.

result of ideology, a series of representations of imaginary “world outlooks” that individuals have in relation to “their real conditions of existence.”

Althusser then affirms that these ideas are materialised in the different state apparatus and their practices, whose aim is conserving and seizing state power, this latter concept defined as “the objective of the political class struggle.” He distinguishes between repressive and ideological structures or apparatus. Althusser characterises as repressive apparatus those institutions which intervene by external force to keep the power of the state—e.g. prisons, courts, the police, the army, the administration and the government. In contrast to these, the materialisation of ideology through which a state is internally controlled is known as ideological apparatus, a set of structures that will play a core role in *AF* and *WT*. These comprise a series of institutions characterised by promoting ideas which support the state or that intervene in the socialisation of a community: education, religion, family and political parties, for instance.

In addition, the French sociologist states that ideological apparatus are needed for “interpellation,” i.e. to unnoticeably force individuals think that they are not manipulated by the system when they indeed are. Althusser’s affirmation that ideology is not perceptible is refused by Antonio Gramsci, who offers his concept of hegemony instead. From Gramsci’s perspective, hegemony can be identified and partially resisted, although its weight will be always present (Gramsci). I will adhere to this Gramscian notion because I consider that literature, as Macherey says, reveals the vulnerability of ideology (Bertens 78). As has been said, those state structures are the cornerstone of this essay ; nevertheless, before engaging in that analysis, I still have to delve deeper into the methodological skeleton.

As time passes, different branches have blossomed out from the Marxist “trunk” described up to now, among them new historicism and cultural materialism. To begin with,

these two schools focus on the text, but recognising that texts are parts of a whole made up of economic, socio-political and cultural aspects (Bertens 155). In fact, these critical schools argue that texts are sieved by three filters: firstly, by the ideology at the time the text is produced; secondly, by the ideology at the time it is received; and, thirdly, by language (Barry 178). This assertion proves their belief in the referential nature of literature, that literature, to echo Murfin and Ray's words, "both refers to, and is referred by, things outside itself" (336). Those *things* are culture, which Williams defines as constructed ways of life or "ideas of the nature of social relationship" that, from his point of view, can be consequently challenged and potentially altered (Bertens 152-153). Hence, for my analysis of *AF* and *WT,* in conjunction with Gramsci's stance on hegemony, I will try to adopt Williams' cultural-materialistic optimistic attitude.

Even though this last aspect from new historicism will be rejected in this project, others will be embraced, such as its view of literature as a space of perception of power relations (Bertens 157). New historicism has also been influenced by Michel Foucault and his ideas of surveillance, panopticism and discourse (Barry 178-179; Bertens 124-127) in relation to state power, whose suitability to study *AF* and *WT* encourages me to adopt them here. For his theory of panopticism, Foucault found inspiration in Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*, a prison under permanent surveillance by wardens who captives cannot see (Bentham 1-4). The sense of uncertainty, of never knowing whether one is being observed or not is the key that power subtly employs to restrict the liberty of the individuals as they potentially limit themselves.[8]

When Foucault extrapolates the "panopticon" from an architectural ruse to a general social dimension, he comes up with the notion of panoptic states. These states are aware that

[8] Prisoners "become the 'bearers' of [their] own . . . imprisonment" (Bertens 125-126).

the constant expression of repressive structures to execute power externally is in fact unnecessary because their surveillance is carried out internally by discourse (Barry 179). This last concept is essentially equivalent to Althusser's ideology-interpellation and Gramsci's hegemony (Barry 179; Bertens 131), and I argue that the three of them are linked to *AF* and *WT* through servitude: Prakash Chandra Patel defines servitude as an "inferiority complex" caused by socioeconomic differences and their "consequential oppression" (242). Textual evidence from each novel will prove that servitude and its implications are fundamental to understanding hegemony.

Finally, as Johannes Bertens notes, the way power is able to eliminate, belittle or push aside discourses different from its own discursive practices is one of the key interests of new historicism (158). According to Foucault, language is an instrument to manifest discourse and social surveillance, therefore becoming fundamental to executing and controlling power (Bertens 146, 126). With the purpose of uncovering these processes and discourses, it seems interesting to focus on the socially disempowered margins[9] in *AF* and *WT*, for the central characters in both novels are marginalised—initially, at least. Schools such as new historicism and cultural materialism share this concern with the marginalised (Bertens 178), and thus adopting this standpoint is partially inspired by them.

[9] In this sense, the idea of difference and social margins could be connected to Spivak's concept of *subalternity*, a post-colonial category which refers to the "lowest and least powerful" social class(es) (Bertens 186). The main setback of a category based on social class is the risk of overgeneralisation and unrecognition of possible divergences such as individualism (186).

2. Uncovering Power in *Animal Farm* and *The White Tiger*: State Structures and Chiasmi

2.1. The Farm Microcosm in Orwell's novel

I will begin with the analysis of *AF*'s base, which is initially capitalist. It is embodied by the English farmer Mr. Jones, owner of Manor Farm, and his practices: he exploits the (nonhuman) animals within his farm since he "consumes without producing" (Orwell 4). These animals rebel against their drunken master and expel him from the farm (12), which they later re-baptise as Animal Farm. The insurrection has been inspired by the theories by a late pig called Old Major. His[10] doctrines deal with animal egalitarianism—"no [nonhuman] animal must ever tyrannise over his own kind . . . [and no] animal must ever kill any other animal. All animals are equal" (6)—, as well as the benefits of animal independence from human beings so as to abolish forever "the root cause of [nonhuman animal] hunger and overwork" (4). Once this said, the analogy between fictional animalism and real-world Marxism is quite evident, as I see it.

Interestingly, Major is not only explicit with regard to state power, but also to state apparatus. His command that, "in fighting against Man, [nonhuman animals] must not come to resemble him. Even when [nonhuman animals] have conquered him, do not adopt his vices" (6), seems to me a warning on the necessity of building different state structures. In fact, using classic Marxist lexicon, Althusser expresses this same process such that state power may be effectively destroyed:

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[10] Linguistically speaking, my intention is addressing the nonhuman animals as humans (e.g. the use of pronouns of human antecedent with those animals) because of their anthropomorphic nature in *AF*.

> [T]he proletariat must seize state power in order to destroy the existing bourgeois state apparatus and, in a first phase, replace it with a quite different, proletarian, state apparatus, then in later phases set in motion a radical process, that of the destruction of the state (the end of state power, the end of every state apparatus). (Althusser, "Ideology")

The triumph of the animal revolution, founded on the dichotomy 'nonhuman animal vs. human,' brings them joy because the food is "produced by themselves and for themselves, not doled out to them by a grudging master" (Orwell 18). Summing up, Old Major's initiative implies, from my point of view, a change of economic base in which equality suppresses hierarchies and thus state power: if every nonhuman animal is equal, individual leadership means the breaking of unity. Therefore, as power requires leadership, then power does not belong to this theoretical outlook. Likewise, a future transformation of given structures into new and autonomous ones will be required to obtain the effective fulfilment of the animal enterprise.

However happy and harmonious the project Animal Farm seemed to be at first, inequality and hierarchy among the animals soon appear, bringing about the creation of a new dichotomy, but this time in the bosom of the nonhuman animals: 'pig vs. nonpig.' Every single animal works "according to his capacity" but the supervising porkers, who start to control the place with the help of the dogs (17-18). Following the narrative voice, their "leadership" is "natural" in accordance to their "superior knowledge" (17). Additionally, within the pig side of the dichotomy emerges even another one, this clearly linked to power: 'Snowball vs. Napoleon' (20). Their fight for leadership eventually ends when Napoleon imposes his tyranny upon the farm by using the external intervention of the dogs: he forces Snowball to run for his life and renders the other animals subservient and submissive.

"Loyalty and obedience" become important tenets in the farm after Napoleon's victory (37), a state again led by one figure. The most useful repressive structures Napoleon employs for controlling power are the following: the intended "iron discipline" (37) exercised by an intimidating "paw patrol," and, secondly, the management of nourishment. The first institution represents a kind of police corrupted by power and whose use of external force does not respond to the quest of social justice, but to their master's individual interest—a fusion of political power and the police—also present in *WT*, as will be discussed later—that exposes the blurred limits of such categories. By the time Napoleon *coup d'état* has succeeded, the aggressiveness and violence in the looks and behaviour of the patrol in the service of the dictator provokes both Snowball's escape and the repression of the freedom of speech of a small group of disapproving pigs (35-37).

Under Napoleon's dictatorship, nonhuman animals other than pigs experience food shortages in the farm: from milk (16) to barley (76), among others. Such was their deficit that, during a meeting with Napoleon, Mr. Pilkington, the human owner of a neighbouring estate, claims that "the lower animals on Animal Farm did more work and received less food than any animals in the county" (92). In contrast to these "lower" animals, pigs become progressively richer and more invested in capitalism, trading with human beings—for example, the timber's sale to Frederick (67). They añsp appear to be more anthropomorphised[11] than ever, a transformation conspicuously seen in the adoption of human habits such as walking on two legs (89).

At the end of the work, during the reunion with the neighbouring farmer mentioned a few lines above, Napoleon and the pigs complete their progressive anthropomorphisation and

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[11] *To anthropomorphise* means 'to attribute human form or personality to things not human' ("Anthropomorphize").

thereupon finalise altogether the novel's most noteworthy chiasmi. The first is the blurring of the limits of the dichotomy 'nonhuman animal vs. human': "they [are] all alike . . . from pig to man . . . it [is] impossible to say which [is] which" (94). The second is the return to the pre-revolutionary stage of the farm by literally coming back to the "correct and original name" of Manor Farm (94) controlled by a single figure, as Napoleon himself recognises (93). Structurally speaking, everything persists, but the bounds prove to be dynamic by allowing individual changes of position: that of Napoleon and the pigs who move from servanthood and nonanthropomorphism to masterhood and anthropomorphism.

Despite the physical reduction of food and the fact that they laboured "like slaves" (40), the working animals from *AF* are "happy in their work" (40), for they have another kind of nourishment for their souls, their faith in Old Major and the animalist dream: "[T]he animals never gave up hope . . . The Republic of the Animals which Major had foretold, when the green fields of England should be untrodden by human feet, was still believed in. Some day [*sic*] it was coming" (88). Because faith has just been mentioned, I will contrast the two religious-like beliefs that appear in the farm, what will enable me to build a bridge to the shore of superstructure and ideological apparatus proper. My other focuses will be the political pig party propaganda and its manipulation of information as well as the influence of education over society.

On the one hand, the earliest form of religion expressed in *AF* is, in a way, Old Major's doctrine of animalism (3-8), whose imagery is broadly condensed in the last quotation cited, from page 88. On the other, there is the belief in the Sugarcandy Mountain that the raven Moses spreads. The followers of this creed believe in the existence of such a place in the sky with plenty of sweet food, clover and rest (10-11, 78). With the animal victory after the Rebellion, Sugarcandy Mountain seems to be forgotten until one of the last

sections of the work, in which the animals are suffering the hard conditions of building the windmill (78).

In such circumstances, this belief really comforts and convinces them: “Many of the animals [believe Moses]. Their lives now, they [reason], [are] hungry and laborious; [is] it not right and just that a better world [shall] exist somewhere else?” (78). This sort of thinking does not annoy the pigs, who, nonetheless, declare it a lie, since Moses is not expelled from the farm and is even rewarded with beer despite not working at all (78-79). What the narrative voice tries to suggest with his/her suspicion is that Moses and the pigs have a deal because of a common interest: the pigs want that those animals unhappy with Napoleon’s management could find their happiness believing in the promise of a better place, but keeping everything exactly the same, working as they have been doing. From Moses’ point of view, the deal is also satisfactory, because he secures a place to eat and sleep.

This episode may be considered an example of the next ideological structure—the political party—, but also of interpellation: society is being guided by the system in power without their conscious knowledge, paraphrasing Althusser. Traces of the political party have also been discussed in relation to the repressive structure of the police, but now I will focus on the ways in which Napoleon’s totalitarian government manipulates information, chiefly as a source of interpellation. In particular, I will connect the evolution of the misinformation plan concerning Snowball with that of the timber case, another chiasmus-like transformation.

After the animals from Animal Farm find a precious woodpile, it is put on sale and the two neighbour farmers, Frederick—from Pinchfield estate—and Pilkington—from Foxwood estate—, want to acquire it. As Napoleon does not know to whom to sell the goods, the public propaganda is continually modified, depending on the moment of negotiation: when Napoleon seems “on the point of coming to an agreement with Frederick, Snowball [is] declared to be

hiding in Foxwood [Pilkington's farm], while when he incline[s] towards Pilkington, Snowball [is] said to be at Pinchfield [Frederick's farm]" (52). In this way, two overriding objectives are fulfilled: firstly, the identification of both human beings as possible receivers increases the price of the product because they have to compete against each other. Secondly, Snowball's supposed closeness gives Napoleon the opportunity to start a surveillance campaign over the farm, Snowball's ghost being the social representation of Napoleon's panopticon. Because the latter "finds" traces of the former almost everywhere, the "animals [are] thoroughly frightened. It seem[s] to them as though Snowball were some kind of invisible influence, pervading the air about them and menacing them with all kinds of dangers" (53).

The omnipresence and lack of visibility of that menacing presence which is surveillance—features opposite to interpellation—are highly reminiscent of Bentham's panopticon, as theorised by Foucault. Should I have to say which of Althusser's set of apparatus the panopticon and surveillance are closer to, I would place them between repressive and ideological structures, even though closer to the latter. Panopticism implies that an external force may be involved in the observation of beings, but also and most likely that such a scrutiny may be internally suggested, subjectively imagined. In any case, I venture to say that here are other linguistically-disguised instances of the panopticon related to the pigs —and most notably, to Napoleon—and their practices.

From the very beginning of *AF*, the narrator informs readers that pigs are not workers, but supervisors and thus observers of the other animals (17). In addition, the pig Squealer remarks that "[d]ay and night we [pigs] are watching over your [i.e. nonpig animals of the farm's] welfare" (23). Therefore, I do not hesitate that surveillance is taking place in that prison—excuse me, farm. From inside only Mollie has left willingly (31). The rest of the animals has no intention to move from that farm except Snowball and Boxer, that have done it

by force: Snowball runs away to survive (36) and Boxer is transported to a slaughterhouse, where he will be sacrificed (81-82).

The last ideological structure I will examine is education, paying attention to how it works with regard to power and control. In Orwell's novel, animals learn to read and write (15), and they also teach reading and writing (20). In fact, a few months after the Rebellion against Mr. Jones, "almost every animal on the farm [is] literate in some degree" (20). The most literate animals are the pigs (20) and the donkey Benjamin (21); then, Muriel, the goat; finally, the dogs, the horses and the rest of the animals (21). Interestingly, oversimplifying, the most powerful animals are the pigs and, secondarily, the dogs. Consequently, *AF* appears to have a direct parallel between power and literacy.

The clearest evidence of this situation is that the pigs have been the ones that have written the Seven Commandments of Animalism (15) and their ulterior manipulations—the most representative being the conversion of the Seventh Commandment "All animals are equal" (15) into the capitalised "ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS" (90). In addition, it is only this capitalised commandment that remains where all the seven used to be, hence fluctuation reappearing again. Except Benjamin (the donkey), none of the nonpig animals has really noticed those manipulations, although the mare Clover seems to hint at it at the end of the novel: "It appears to me that the wall looks different. Are the Seven Commandments the same as they used to be, Benjamin?" (90) she asks the donkey. I interpret that what is suggested here is a link between interpellation and ignorance—in the form of illiteracy—as an essential device to control power efficiently. How would one contest or resist something whose existence is unaware? Subtlety is effective for power.

In conclusion, what Napoleon's practices evidence is that the original objective of the rebellion has been corrupted by a restricted sector of the farm—namely, the pig community—with an interest in controlling production and consumption of animal labour. In other words, this means that the majority of animals are trapped again within the same system, the product of the inversely changeable chiasmi that have been mentioned. In Marxist terms, the base against which they have rebelled has not changed: "The farm [is] more prosperous now, and better organized . . . Somehow it seem[s] as though the farm ha[s] grown richer without making the animals themselves any richer—except, of course, for the pigs and the dogs" (86). The significant difference is that, previously, the head of that system was Mr. Jones, a human being, whereas now it is a nonhuman animal, Napoleon the pig.

As said above, the resemblance between pigs and human beings, so explicit in *AF,* reinforces the idea that change has neither affected the base nor the structures, but only the chief in power. In the end, according to the analysis of state structures, it may be argued that a repressive apparatus such as the police or nourishment regulations is essential in order to control externally a community. Likewise, the role of ideological apparatus, for instance, education, religious-like beliefs, and political parties, in combination with the panoptical surveillance and interpellation, prove as effective as—or even more than—the repressive ones. Lastly, the connections among them also question the supposedly fixed nature of such categories.

2.2. *The White Tiger* and the Rooster Coop

Here the eye repositions from a closed space to another: from the farm to the Rooster Coop, following the terminology of Balram Halwai, as known as the White Tiger, the narrative voice in Adiga's *WT*. The story is a relation of how he has run a drivers' company in

Bangalore (256) with the money of his previous masters—Mr. Ashok and the family of this man, famous by his father, known as the Stork—that he has appropriated after killing Ashok in Delhi (244-246). To reinforce his "self-made" identity as "a business entrepreneur" (256), a feat he constantly boasts about, the White Tiger contrasts his present success with his humble past: he was born in the bosom of a poor family from Laxmangarh (11) in the "district of Gaya" (15).[12]

Before tackling *WT*'s structures, I should remind readers of the differences between Orwell's work and Adiga's novels: apart from the publication date mentioned above, the setting of the narrative moves from *AF*'s England, at an unspecified time, to *WT*'s contemporariness, probably in the first decade of the twenty-first century, when Wen Jiabao is China's Prime Minister. Although these reflections have been developed more thoroughly in the first chapter, what seems clear is that Balram's ideology and the superstructure in which he is trapped are a result of the mutable capitalist economic base that surrounds him. From Balram's narrative I perceive that everything revolves around money: it appears as if its monopolisation was the key to control human capital. All these are sources of money and power, a pair of terms that seem to go hand in hand in Balram's discourse; after all, liberty, guilt, crime, family, life and death are relative terms in this fictional world when monetary matters are at stake.

One last aspect worth mentioning on the capitalist base is the (omni)presence of exchange of services and servitudes—which is essential to understand the chiastic relations and transformations that take place in this work—, to the detriment of the production of goods, a key difference between Adiga's and Orwell's satires. For instance, Balram Halwai's

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[12] The only non-fictional Laxmangarh that I have found is a territory from the Rajasthan State, whereas the "district of Gaya" in real India is a location member of Bihar State ("Gaya"). See the map in the *Appendix* (Figure 1) to consult where actual Gaya is.

father, Vikram, is a rickshaw-puller; Balram first works in a teashop in Laxmangarh (26, 31) and Dhanbad (42). There he becomes a driver-and-servant for the Stork and his family (55), and then personal chauffeur for one of the Stork's sons, Mr. Ashok, in Delhi (93-95). Finally, Balram-as-Ashok Sharma runs his own successful taxi company in Bangalore (258). These examples document the contrast with Orwell's *AF*, in which the predominant productive activities, as has been hinted, are agriculture and farming, and even industry—e.g. the construction of the windmill (78)—although services appear at the end of the novel, when the pigs meet Frederick, the owner of an adjoining farm (94).

In view of Laxmangarh's landlords, Balram refers to them as the four Animals (Adiga, *WT* 20-22) to dehumanise or bestialise them for their interested and aggressive behaviour, authoritative superiority and lack of empathy, as the story shows.[13] The source of their wealth varies: two of them—the Wild Boar and the Raven, who are the least powerful—overtly obtain their money from the wages of agriculture and stockbreeding (21), while the other two—the richest ones, who are the Buffalo and the Stork—obtain it from the wages coming from the monopoly of the river and the communication infrastructure related to transport, to movement, to arrivals and departures in the village (20-21).

Because of Balram's experience with him, the Stork is the landlord about whom the readers know the most. In addition to the control of fishing and sailing, he also loans money in the village (31), but his covert essential source of income— the exploitation of a Chinese mine —is a result of patronage achieved by buying some politicians in Delhi (179). In connection to mining, it is not the only primary sector activity to appear in the novel; others are mentioned, although fewer times: for instance, cattle raising plays an important role in the

[13] I suggest that these and other instances of animalisation in the novel, such as "the White Tiger" itself, probably reflect the most hostile interpretation of the capitalist Indian economy, considered a tiger economy for its rapid growth ("Tiger Economy").

subsistence of Balram's family in Laxmangarh (17). In conclusion, it appears that the economic base conditions the dependence of everyone on everyone and everything, even the powerful village landlords. Homogenous though this aspect of the "Rooster Coop" may seem, Balram is aware that there exist ranks, and also in his world, as in *AF*, some animals are more equal than others.

Despite the economic base being the root of the tree, the enquiry into its branches will contribute to the acquisition of a comprehensive knowledge of Balram's realities. I am alluding, of course, to Althusserian structures, the theme to which I will allocate the final part of this chapter. Due to the length of this project, this time I will have to cover fewer institutions than in *AF*, only the most significant in structural terms. I will commence by describing the ideological apparatus, predominantly caste, as the superstructural core of Balram's world determined by family, surveillance and hegemony—not by religion, as we shall later see. In the end, I will shift toward the police and thus repressive apparatus, but in a certain continuous way. The reason for it is that in *WT* the police and political parties are materialised together even more explicitly than in *AF*, so their boundaries are less clear.

Regarding ideological structures, caste is the first element that I will discuss. Unfortunately, even experts have not been able to reach an agreement on the very notion of caste. The combination of several sources (Chakravorty; Gupta 409-412; Pániker 14, 161-172; Ritzer and Ryan 49-50) leads me to define it as a South Asian category traditionally formed by four—five in practice—hierarchical socio-spiritual classes, known as *varnas*,[14] which connect individuals, society and cosmos through restricted relationships and cultures. Over time, these *varnas*, initially taken from a cosmogonic Brahmanic tradition, started to acquire socioeconomic interpretations, and this originally harmonious and self-inclusive

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[14] A visual summary of Indian caste system is included in the *Appendix* (Figure 2).

system developed its two basic precepts, which then led to the dichotomy 'purity/impurity': the principle of difference and that of hierarchy.

The *varnas*, more theoretical than practical in South Asian societies, were appropriated by the British during the colonial period as a means to spread their rule and control efficiently so different and vast a civilisation. According to the aforementioned scholars, the promotion and generalisation of the system, in its present form, is a colonialist construction that the British administration contributed to generalise, with the subsequent enlargement of social inequalities that have survived until today. In current India caste is still a stigma or a disadvantage for many people, for the untouchables or *dalits* in particular, traditionally excluded from society because they belong to none of the four Brahmanic *varnas*. To be more accurate, while in contemporary urban India the influence of caste is gradually decreasing, it continues to be quite a pervasive issue in the countryside. Adiga's novel itself points at this permeation: the rural village of Laxmangarh, where Balram is born, is a space associated with "the Darkness," which, together with "the Light" (identifiable as urban India), constitute the "two countries" that India is divided into, according to Balram (Adiga, *WT* 11-12).[15]

To the difficulties of definition of caste shall be added the even more disputed issue surrounding its very nature: as Agustín Pániker notes (18), is it part of the superstructure or is it a sort of Indian equivalent to "class"? On the one hand, the first option, related to the sociologist Louis Dumont, makes the religious nature of caste ranks prevail over the socioeconomic dimension, whereas the second, which is Frederick's Bailey's line of thought, favours the socioeconomic essence of caste as "a simple manner of social stratification."[16] On

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[15] The exploration of this dichotomy will take place later since there are problematic issues about caste that have not been tackled yet.
[16] The translation is mine from the original source in Spanish.

the other hand, the former approach would imply “ascribed status” or a kind of predestination, while, in contrast to it, the latter would convey “achieved status,” that is, a sort of construction (Ritzer and Ryan 49).

A possible response to this controversy can be found in the position of the narrator of Adiga’s *WT*. Balram states that caste means ‘destiny:’ “my caste—my destiny” (53). As regards this affirmation, he is making an allusion to the ascription of Dumont’s view and therefore implicitly recognising the prevailing religious aspect of caste. Notwithstanding this, it is worth stressing the subtle way in which Balram turns upside-down what he has just said, this being the first important chiasmus in the novel: “in the old days there were one thousand castes and destinies in India. These days, there are just two castes: Men with Big Bellies, and Men with Small Bellies. And only two destinies: eat—or get eaten up” (54). He clearly turns to a Marxist binary opposition and discounts the religious element from his discourse, thus embracing Bailey’s theory by identifying caste and class. This fluctuant choice is essential for him because it enables a possible individual liberation from the chains of ascribed status.

Nevertheless, Balram’s eclectic perception seems to follow in part the opinion of Nicholas Dirks, who claims that, in order to study Indian caste properly, religion should not be separated from politics (60). He declares that caste, “if ever it had an original form, was inscribed from the 'beginning' by the relations and conceits of power” (74). In this respect, I connect Indian caste with ideological structures, because I interpret Balram’s Rooster Coop as a metaphorical category which condenses ideology, hegemony and hierarchy. Hence, according to the narrator, the Rooster Coop is responsible for training a “handful of men in this country . . . to exist in perpetual servitude . . . so strong that you can put the key of his emancipation in a man’s hands and he will throw it back at you with a curse” (Adiga, *WT* 149).

Another proof of the narrator's consideration for the ideological nature of the coop is the recognition that surveillance operates to control individuals: e.g. he utters that servants "have to keep other servants from becoming innovators, experimenters, or entrepreneurs . . . The coop is guarded from the inside" (166). Ideology, acquiesced servitude, surveillance and inner control clearly point at Gramscian hegemony, a concept recurrently mentioned in this essay. That passivity and tacit submission may come either from an environmental, collective or communal level, either from an individual one. For different reasons, some examples have already been dealt with or will be later: I am alluding, firstly, to the incident of the rickshaw puller who is not aided by his colleagues when the police massacre him (85) and, secondly, to Balram's rescue of his nephew Dharam after Mr. Ashok's murder (250), for instance.[17]

Among the examples not tackled yet, I want to highlight a singular one related to collective hegemony, which approaches the world of servanthood from within. As Balram naturally recognises, "[s]ervants need to abuse other servants. It's been bred into us . . . We attack anyone who's familiar" (109). Those internal struggles of power are present among the Stork's servants, Balram, Ram Persad and "ex-driver number one" in Dhanbad (91-93), and later between Balram and "Vitiligo-Lips" in Delhi (201, 227). In turn, the previous quotation from page 109 illustrates Balram's individually internalised hegemony. His mention of the first-person plural in "[i]t's bred into us" and "[w]e attack," denotes his own consideration as a servant. A sign close to this one is Balram's continuous defence of Mr. Ashok several times throughout the relation, with affirmations such as "I do think about [Ashok] a lot—and, believe it or not, I do miss him. He didn't deserve his fate" (272).

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[17] Examples of the police as repressive apparatus in *WT* and of Dharam's rescue as a demonstration of Balram's conscious hegemony will be offered later.

Other traces of hegemony are the meaning of Balram's name and the role of illiteracy. First, Balram's name is an example of symbolic determination of servanthood by a figure in power because it has been conferred by Mr. Krishna, the village teacher. According to him, Balram is the Indian mythological "sidekick of the god Krishna" (10-11), so the narrator's anthroponym connotes the idea of submission to an authority. Lastly, the link between education and hegemony discussed in *AF* above may be equally hinted in *WT*, as occurs when an illiterate man seems to recognise the police poster with Balram's photograph in Hyderabad's train station (251-253). As the gentleman cannot read, he asks Balram to do it for him and Balram creates a story that differs widely from what is actually written down. This passage proves how literacy, freedom and independence go hand in hand, while illiteracy contributes to subjugation and dependence.

Resuming the issue of panopticism, if there is an institution that epitomises surveillance in Adiga's novel is the family, the heart of caste in *WT*. Its beats are felt everywhere in the novel, as when Balram Halwai affirms that family "is the reason we are trapped and tied to the [Rooster] coop" (150). Balram probably thinks this owing to the Indian "pervasive emphasis on context," as explains A. K. Ramanujan. According to this researcher, family is a perfect example of such an emphasis: "Indians carry their family wherever they go, feel continuous with their family" (52-53). This is the reason why Balram is forced to leave school and start working (Adiga, *WT* 25), to move to Dhanbad (42) and also why he is allowed to take driving lessons: to become a driver and keep sending more money home to his grandmother Kusum (47), who controlled the house (13).

In this scenario, all individuals are tied to their families and their duty is to pay back the economic investment in them, as Kusum often reminds Balram (224). This happens to poor families, like the Halwais, and richer ones, like Mr. Ashok and the Stork's family, for instance. Sometimes Ashok feels family is a burden, others as a blessing: "When I was in

America, I thought family was a burden, I don't deny it . . . But without family, a man is nothing. Absolutely nothing" (161). Be it as it may, what Ashok is aware of is that family is his duty: when he complains about bribing a cabinet minister and wishes not to do it, he is asked to avoid the backhander. He replies that "it's not that simple" because it has been ordered by his "father and brother" (179).

Nevertheless, I can imagine the White Tiger questioning Ashok's opinion. While to Mr Ashok the literal absence of family at the moment Balram kills him has driven him to death in a way (244-246), in the case of Balram, such a lack has brought freedom to him, and deciding to break with them, with his roots, has been very simple. It has been Balram's own decision to change literally the direction of the line of his life—to stop being his family's and Ashok's servant—and to choose his route, literally again,[18] to vanish from his cage as the white tiger from Delhi's Zoo has done (237).

The murder of Mr. Ashok seems to me the attainment of the sovereign chiasmus—the servant Balram Halwai becoming master, the master Mr. Ashok becoming servant, a crisscross exchange of positions that Balram himself has formerly suggested: he and Ashok's "bodies crossed each other again, [their] scents were exchanged once more, and [Balram] was again the driver and servant and Mr. Ashok was again the passenger and master" (94). Nonetheless, this does not signify that he is released completely: arguably, he may have left the Rooster Coop of his family and he indeed exclaims "*I've made it! I've broken out of the coop!*" (275). I think Balram is still locked in the cage of hegemonic servitude in Bangalore. Should Balram really believe in his freedom, it could be considered an example of Althusser's "interpellation." However, as I shall later explain, some textual hints demonstrate that Balram

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[18] The Indian map in the *Appendix* reflects this shift: from the line Gaya-Dhanbad-Delhi to Bangalore.

is not duped by “interpellation,” but fully conscious of his captivity, of the intriguing workings of Gramsci’s hegemony.

As I see it, Balram’s change of coop is confirmed by his new identity as Ashok Sharma, owner of the taxi company White Tiger of Bangalore, and by his economic relations with the police in Bangalore, but I will characterise the police before pertaining that scenario. The police is characterised as violent and corrupt because of political and/or economic reasons, both in the more ideologically conservative and “dark” countryside and in the more open, progressive and “light” industrial urban centres. To begin with Balram’s rural and traditional village, Laxmangarh, the police does not appear to be at the service of social justice. Instead, they are subservient of the political parties there that, in the last analysis, are the leading economic forces: the Great Socialist and the landlords.

A straight-forward example of police backhander and abuse in Laxmangarh is their behaviour during the election campaign: at the beginning of that campaign, the Great Socialist and the four landlords do split into two different parties despite having had a mutual agreement “[f]or years” (82). A certain objection leads the landlords to start “a party of their own” which is publicly declared a rival to the Great Socialist: “DO YOU WANT GOOD ROADS, CLEAN WATER, GOOD HOSPITALS? THEN VOTE OUT THE GREAT SOCIALIST!” is the slogan for the election campaign of their party, named “ALL INDIAN SOCIAL PROGRESSIVE FRONT (LENINIST FACTION)” (82). Balram affirms that he witnessed how a policeman wrote the “slogan on the wall outside the temple with a red paintbrush” (82). Likewise, when a school inspector asks Balram about the Great Socialist’s “message to little children all over this land,” which is “[a]ny boy in any village can grow up to become the prime minister of India” (30), the narrative voice reports a very similar story: he had also seen a policeman writing it “on the wall outside the temple . . . in red paint” (30).

In addition to this ideological servitude, the essence of the police as a repressive structure is definitely evident on election day. At that time they massacre a rickshaw-puller who demanded his right to free vote in the middle of the crowd (84-85). As far as Gramscian hegemony is concerned, this event is an instance of it because none of the witnesses attempts to stop the lynching (85), although they have endeavoured to stop him before the riots began by warning him about such an insanity (84). In the city of Bangalore corruption exists as well, the first remarkable example being Balram bribing a Bangalore's police inspector. Both started a friendship with "a bit more" than twenty thousand rupees given in his police office, in which Balram's "poster was right there . . . the whole time [Balram] was negotiating with him. The WANTED poster, with [Balram's] dirty little photo" (257).

Such a relationship becomes effective when one of Balram's drivers from the White Tiger taxi company has an accident and kills a cyclist (263). The brother of the boy who dies asks for justice, but he is told by the assistant commissioner that "[t]he number plates will be changed" and that they will say "it was a hit-and-run" (265). Of course, to ensure this fluent interaction, the commissioner will "ask for another envelope. Then another, then another, and so on. There is no end to things in India" (266). That is what the Indian police looks like in *WT*: corrupt from the Darkness of Laxmangarh to the Light of Bangalore because of political and/or economic interests.

Here is the hint that I find contradicts the supposed interpellation mentioned at the end of my discussion about family. The continuity of decay, I infer, is subsequently extended to all dimensions concerning India and its peoples, so there is neither "end to things" related to Balram. To be more specific, the survival of the family is incarnated by Balram's nephew Dharam, whom Balram decides to save from being murdered by the Stork's family in revenge after Ashok's assassination (250). I consider that Balram feels internally forced to save his nephew because of the hegemonic weight that family has in him. Finally, the persistence of

servitude as part of interpellation or hegemony may be expressed by the bribery of the police in Bangalore (257), among other examples. In sum, all these scenes evidence Balram's actual captivity as part of the everlasting "things in India," a reference that I connect to the notion of hegemony.

To conclude, Balram Halwai, theoretically speaking, identifies class and caste. In addition, the narrative shows that caste, as represented in the Rooster Coop, in practice is the most potent instrument to control the state from within—i.e. if not an ideological state apparatus, it would be very close to them. It bears reminding, however, that the mainstay of *WT*'s coop is not religion, but economic differences—those who have Big vs. Small Bellies (54)—plus the institution of family, which operates with the aid of hegemony and surveillance, persuading people to be submissive. Likewise, the intervention of the external police force, the primary repressive apparatus that yet seems to be moved by ideological or economic interest, also contributes to identify these notions on the public sphere. In fact, I have argued that the interaction between the police and Balram-the-White-Tiger in Bangalore, along with Dharam's survival, reveals the scope of the narrator's crisscross inversion and the nature of the Rooster Coop. From my standpoint, Balram has simply changed his position within a cage, and he is aware of it because, as he himself claims, if nothing ends in India, neither does his imprisonment.

Conclusions

The exploration of power in this project has begun with the explanation of the mutable circumstances in which *AF* and *WT* were published, pointing at the first signs of fluctuant crossing of elements that characterise each satire. The specific study of what Althusser defined as state apparatus or structures has been developed in the fictional world of *AF*, first, and *WT*, later. State structures can be either repressive—if they work by external force—or ideological—if they do so through ideology. Among the first ones are the police and the government; among the second, political parties, education, religious-like beliefs, family and caste.

The leading conclusion drawn from the application of the Althusserian outlook has been the tenuous boundary between the different types of apparatus, which tend to overlap with each other and even become "synonymous" or exchangeable, as when repressive structures are identified with ideological ones—the police and political parties. In these societies where surveillance is the norm, its omnipresent influence appears in the form of the unnoticed, subtle control of ideology, or else as the acquiesced control of hegemony. I consider that these chiasmic transformations are analogous to those of the characters and of the plot, all of them being enabled by the relativism explained above. Moreover, these satires restrict the effectiveness of such chiasmi to the individual sphere, neglecting the collective sphere or the system itself. There is evidence of vertical permeation, upwards and downwards, of individual agents within the system such as the pigs—especially Napoleon—and Mr. Jones in *AF,* or Balram, the Great Socialist, and Mr. Ashok in *WT*. The pervasive structural net of apparatus survives regardless of the actors who perform on the stage.

This reading thus uncovers, from my point of view, another chiasmus that also emphasises the experimental nature of each novel: their shift from an apparently structuralist

beginning toward a post-structuralist end. Both *AF* and *WT* pose an initial framework that appears to separate categories, entities and structures, such as all the dichotomies I have enumerated ('nonhuman animals vs. humans,' etcetera). Hence, the application of Althusser's theory of structures proves insufficient or, at least, non-systematic, since many of the apparatus explored overlap with each other—the police and political parties moved by economic interests, for instance. In a deeply poststructuralist move, therefore, Orwell's and Adiga's satires reveal the limits of fixed essences when attempting to define categories. One can even wonder if this realisation might be extrapolated to the field of identity.

The preceding statement opens the door to reflect upon ourselves. In the first place, it invites us to ponder our nature as humankind—e.g. are we as civilised as we think? What does civilisation mean? Is brutality part of human beings? Is there any difference between being anthropomorphic animals and bestialised humans? In the second place, it enables us to reconsider our relation with others—are we all equal? Why are there differences, some being more privileged than others? Who decides that hierarchy? Is it fair? Is it possible to change it? In the third place, it invites us to examine our interaction with power and the State—what kind of system governs us? Is it just? Is it possible to improve it or even change it? What is the extent of human agency? Can we make our own choices? Are we controlled, spied, followed? Is power fairly, proportionally and coherently shared, or is there evidence of abuse of power? These are only some issues on which any reader could reflect.

Before finishing this essay, I would like to share one last point pertaining my personal reception of *AF* and *WT*. In the particular event of these satirical works, I interpret them as "precautionary novels," a term used by Molly Wallace. From her ecocritical perspective, Wallace claims that people read "speculative fiction of nuclear holocaust in order to learn how to avoid it," which turns such texts into precautionary novels (9). That is how I read Adiga's and Orwell's satires, as speculative fictions of manipulation, selfishness, deceit and

social failure which, echoing Wallace, we should read as a caveat, as precautionary narratives. In other words, I see these novels as precautionary tales that work, to employ a medical metaphor suggested by Atul Gawande (qtd. in Srikanth 8), as the movement from "failure to rescue." This is the name given by surgeons to those situations in which patients pass away, but that work as lessons to the members of the medical profession That experience helps them to learn and probably succeed if a situation is repeated. The shift from failure to rescue means turning destruction into construction, end into beginning, and death into life. For these reasons I consider optimistic the otherwise pessimistic novels written by Adiga and Orwell: both *AF* and *WT* can help us prevent such events in our real world, if we are willing to respond. At least, they should help us to muse upon them.

To conclude, I have asserted that *AF* and *WT* are full of apparently discrete dichotomies—in the sense of separate, non-continuous—founded on the struggle of binary opposites. Nonetheless, I have attempted to demonstrate that categories are relativised and that limits are blurred, being turned upside-down in a chiasmus-like development. I have also shared my belief in the extra-textual fluctuating reality as the source of those cross-like inversions present in the world of each text. With specific regard to these satires, I have interpreted that the major chiasmi show the false continuous nature of the dichotomies: those entities initially introduced as discrete—such as "nonhuman animals vs. humans"; "servants vs. masters"; "slavery or servitude vs. liberty"; "death vs. life"; "Napoleon vs. Snowball"; "animalism vs. humanism"; "cate vs. class"; "countryside vs. city"; "Darkness vs. Light"; "Balram vs. Ashok", "to eat vs. to be eaten up", and so on—are progressively revealed as a continuum whose sides have been inverted. What I intend to affirm is that Orwell's and Adiga's novels begin with a clear structural framework in which each category seems to be well delimited, and yet they are gradually relativised while the chiasmus-like transformations are taking place. Even though structures are ultimately maintained, both narratives seem to

suggest that bestialisation and anthropomorphisation, animality and humanity, as well as the hierarchical interactions of masterhood and servanthood are dynamic and even exchangeable notions.

Instead of reading *AF* and *WT* in a negative way, I argue that Napoleon's and Balram's relations encourage readers to be critical, to have a deep concern and desire for a systematic change and to reject the tempting ambition of individual rise to power that state apparatus will offer. They are stories of human—not personal—failure, but I have offered my interpretation that such a failure can work as a rescue. Despite the early-Marxist claim that economic systems determine people, I want to believe that this can also be reversed, in yet another chiasmus, and people can likewise determine and shape systems. The starting point is to be aware that interpellation, ideology, hegemony and power exist, and that we can be engulfed by them. Once we are aware of that, it is up to us "to eat" them or to be "eaten up" by them.

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Appendix

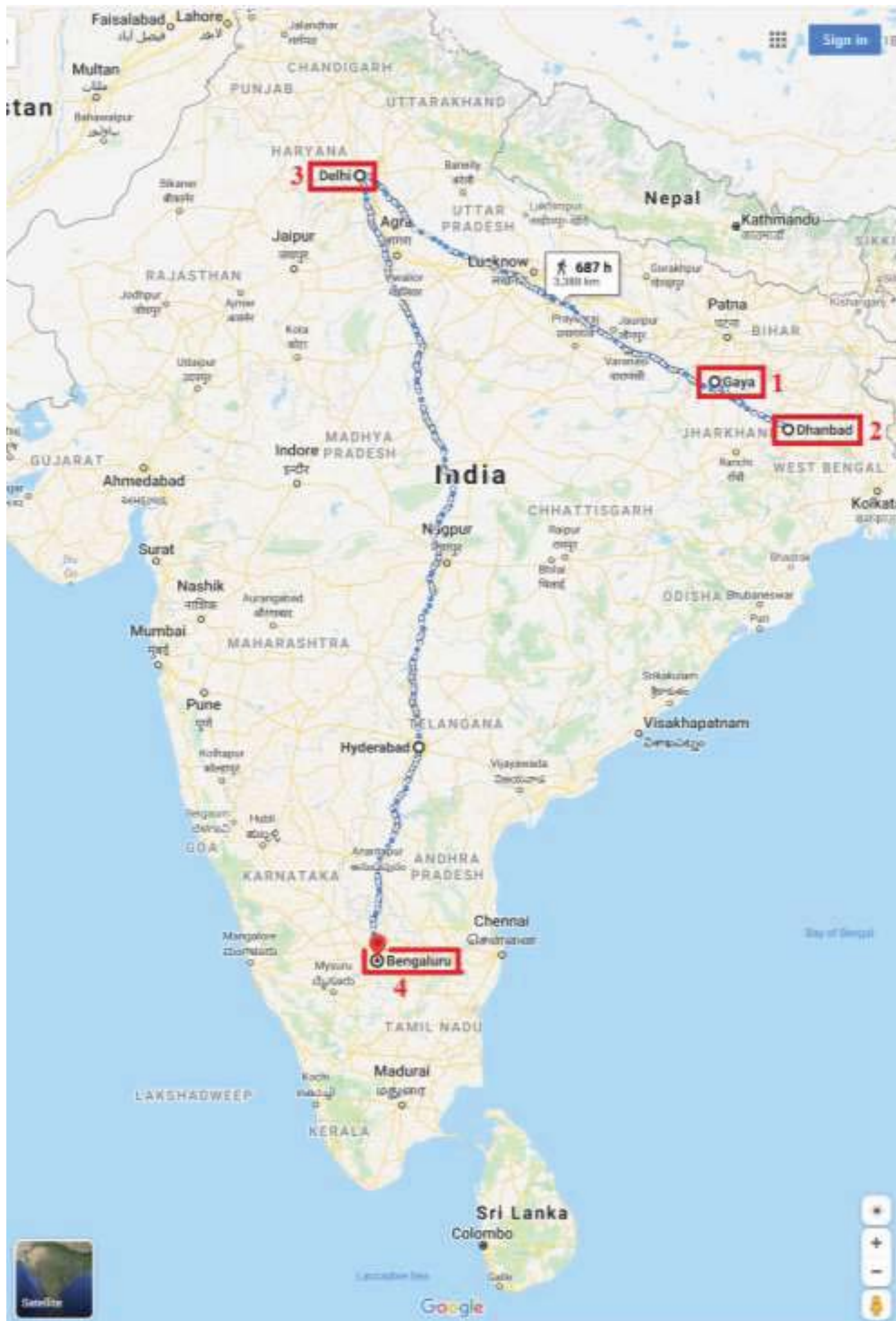

Figure 1. Map of India with a tentative recreation of Balram's journey (modified from the original source: *Google Maps*).

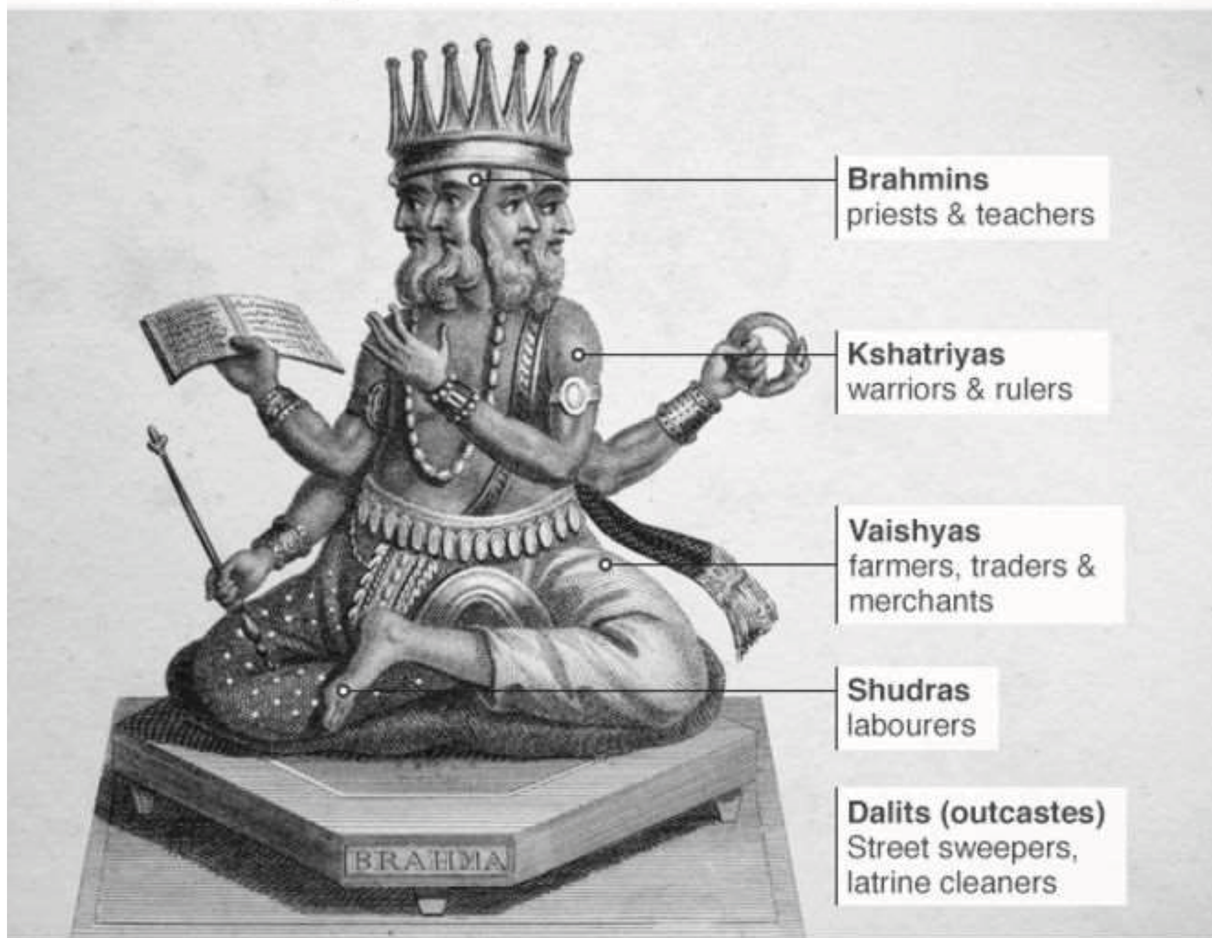

Figure 2. A visual representation of Indian caste system (Source: "What").