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Re-Narrating of Socio-Political History in Rohinton Mistry's Novels

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Abstract:

This paper seeks to discuss Rohinton Mistry's pre-occupation with history in his novels *Such a Long Journey*, *A Fine Balance* and *Family Matters*. All these novels are set during the critical periods of post-Independence Indian history, when India underwent through frequent political and social upheavals. Despite their universal appeal, the works concentrate on the particular turbulent points in Indian history, charting the adverse effect of socio-political turmoil upon the individual as well as the community, especially the diasporic Parsi community and the downtrodden Indian classes. In this paper, I have tried to emphasize that Mistry has re-narrated the socio-political history of post-colonial India from the perspective of Parsi minority and the depressed social classes.

Keywords: **downtrodden, caste, history, politics, ethnic, minorities, Parsi, Emergency, socio-political, marginalized, post-Independence India, post-colonial, anxieties, corruption.**

Introduction:

“And Jehangir said he was going to write a big fat book when he grew up, called *The Complete History of the Chenoy and Vakeel Families*”(47) - This was the aspiration of Jehangir, a young character in Rohinton Mistry's noted novel *Family Matters*, an aspiration that was expressed with a child's naivety in a conversation with his family members. Through this aspiration of the character, the author of the novel seems to have conveyed to his reader his implicit intention of writing the history of his motherland, for a critical reading of his novels shows that Mistry has written in his novels the socio-political history of India. For this purpose, he has taken up post-Independence Indian history – both political and social – and used it as the backgrounds of his novels. Along with the themes of diaspora culture, religion, war, subaltern ethnicity, humanism etc, Mistry has extensively and overtly treated the theme of socio-political history in his novels. However, Mistry's chief concern is with the post-Independence political

turmoil of Indian history when India was torn apart time and again both by internal strife and external wars. Thus, while his first novel *Such A Long Journey* is set against the backdrop of Bangladeshi war against Pakistan in which India inevitably got involved, his second novel *A Fine Balance* is set against the backdrop of State Emergency between 1975 and 1977 and his third and penultimate novel *Family Matters* is set against the backdrop of post-Babri Masjid riots in the 1990s. This socio-political history of post-Independence India serves as the major sub-texts to Mistry's novels.

Although Mistry himself has migrated to the West like so many others of his community, he has not picked out Western society for the theme or setting of his novels. Instead, he has preferably set all his novels in India where he was born and brought up. His long-left-behind India, especially the post-colonial India, thus features in his novels over and over again. In his novels Mistry has portrayed Indian society with its contemporary political history in such graphic detail, and he has registered his observation of Indian society with such acuteness that his novels are very often termed 'Indo-nostalgic'¹.

All of Mistry's novels centre around his native city Bombay which is now renamed Mumbai, a city that witnessed each and every political frenzy during the post-Independence period of Indian history. Although in his second novel *A Fine Balance* Bombay is not referred to by name, his readers can easily identify the city in the novel as Bombay. Except that, 'Bombay' is uttered time and again by the characters in his two other novels *Such A Long Journey* and *Family Matters*, and the major incidents of these novels take place in this city, involving the anxieties and concerns of Parsi minority. But the novels, set in Bombay as they are, do not exclusively depict the lives of Bombay Parsees, rather they incorporate as characters people from whole Indian scenario, people whose lives suffered direct or indirect offshoots of socio-political turmoil in the latter half of twentieth century. The novels skillfully draw characters from diverse Indian castes and religions as well as from the Parsi ethnic minority, and all the characters are brought together in the busy Bombay metropolis. Thus, Bombay appears as the microcosm of Indian sub-continent and stands as the landmark of post-Independence Indian history as well. Although critics sometimes likened Mistry's Bombay with Dickens's London, Mistry denied Dickens's influence upon his novels, stating that he has made no special study of, nor is particularly drawn to Dickens².

Mistry has exploited the history of contemporary India, especially that of the post-Independent India and incorporated it in his novels as the major sub-texts. But, Mistry has not viewed post-colonial Indian history like a conventional historian; instead, he has handled this history from a different viewpoint. He has ventured to explore the various pros and cons of the frequent political upheavals in the post-Independence Indian history; and he has particularly unveiled in his novels how these frequent political upheavals had their adverse impact on the common Indian masses or the minority Parsee people. He has also explored the pernicious impact of the rampant corruption of the then Indian politics and the riotous communalism of Indian society. He has consistently highlighted in his novels how this corruption and communalism brought about the

anxieties and predicaments of the people of his community and also the downtrodden and dispossessed Hindu minorities in the post-colonial Indian society. Mistry has thus treated socio-political history of post-colonial India from the perspective of Parsee ethnic as well as other ethnic minorities such as the downtrodden Indian masses or even the Muslims. In other words, Mistry has provided new dimensions of politics and social outlook to the understanding of both the post-Independence Indian history and the ethnic concerns of minority Parsee community. So Mistry can be said to have re-written and re-cast the social and political history of post-Independence India.

In all his novels, Mistry has invariably foregrounded the effects of politics on the fate of the individual and society at large. Mistry has successfully demonstrated how politics plays a determining role in the destiny of the individual as well as the entire humanity. He has meticulously explored how the politics of democracy in India is frequently subverted by corruption, nepotism, fanaticism or diabolic selfishness, and how this corrupt politics ruins the fate of a devout and honest Parsee as in *Such A Long Journey* or some innocent and hapless Indian untouchables as in *A Fine Balance*.

Mistry's works are very often compared with that of Salman Rushdie, but though thematically the works of both these authors run parallel, technically and stylistically they differ to a great extent. Whereas Mistry's novels are based on realism, the works of Salman Rushdie feature magic realism. The history that Mistry is concerned with is re-told or re-narrated in his novels in a realistic vein. For instance, except in *A Fine Balance*, Mistry even refers to the political parties and leaders in his novels by their real names. It is also noteworthy in this connection that his first novel *Such a Long Journey* suffered a violent political attack that was made by the Shiv Sena activists, as they accused the novel of using downright abusive language about Bal Thackeray, the founder of that chauvinistic party³.

Socio-Political History in *Such a Long Journey*:

In his first novel *Such a Long Journey*, published in 1991 and shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize in the same year, Mistry tackles the crucial period of 1970s of Indian history, and sets this period as the backdrop of the story of the novel. In this novel, Mistry narrates the story of a devout Parsi Gustad Noble in the historical year 1971 when India waged war against Pakistan, a war that resulted in the emergence of a new nation, Bangladesh. Gustad Noble is the protagonist of the novel, and the novel narrates Gustad's journey through a series of socio-political odds that ultimately robs him of his innocence and compels him to accept life with placid tranquility. Gustad is a hard-working bank employee living in a Parsi apartment block named Khodadad Building in Bombay. He toils and strives to keep his family away from poverty. His familial anxiety begins as his 9 year old daughter Roshan falls chronically ill and his son Sohrab, after qualifying at the IIT entrance test, refuses to get admitted to the prestigious technological institute. His trust is breached when his close and best friend Major Bilimoria suddenly disappears from their apartment block without even a word of intimation to him. In the

meantime, his wife Dilnavaz turns to superstition and black magic with the purpose of exorcising 'evil demons' from her son with no positive result. People in the street keep urinating and defecating in the compound wall of their apartment building, polluting the environment with stench and all that. All these incidents violently shatter Gustad's deep moral heart, and his family seems to fall apart. Along with this, Gustad's deep concern for the minority Bombay Parsees who invariably face political, social and economic threat from a section of majorities, especially from the newly-emerged Shiv Sena activists, adds to his plight. In the meantime, missive comes from Major Bilimoria requesting him to do Bilimoria a favour by depositing ten lakh rupees in his bank. This favour later proves a fatal irony for him as it gradually draws Gustad into an unwitting involvement in government scam and terrorism. As a result of this involvement, both his job and family are under untoward menace. When Gustad's bosom friend and colleague Dinshawji dies of a serious disease and the innocent Tehmul Lungara of Khodadad Building is killed in a violent public-municipality encounter, Gustad resigns himself to personal and social adversities, and reconciles with the life with all odds. Gustad then starts a long journey that unravels all his personal anxieties and simultaneously registers his sense of insecurity and of marginalization as a representative of minority Parsi community.

While faithfully representing history in his novel, Mistry takes up the Nagarwala incident of Indian politics, a case of national plotting of terrorism and money-laundering, and incorporates it in *Such A Long Journey*. As per the actual history, Mr Nagarwala received sixty lakh rupees from a bank manager in Delhi, allegedly imitating the voice of the Prime Minister over phone. Mr. Nagarwala claimed that the Prime Minister immediately needed the money for a "secret mission to Bangladesh" (qtd. in Wikipedia). However, soon the fraud was detected and Mr. Nagarwala was arrested. A few months later Mr. Nagarwala died in jail, and the fraud of sixty lakh rupees was allegedly hushed up by the Government⁴. This incident was a major issue that occupied the headlines of news in 1971 in Indian media. Through the Bilimoria episode in this novel, Mistry narrates this real-life history, namely the Nagarwala incident of Indian politics. As Nagarwala was a Parsi and his case perturbed the community to a great extent, Mistry re-narrates this incident giving voice to the anxieties and concerns of the Parsi ethnic minority. Through this episode, Mistry bares some deceitful aspects of national politics, and critiques those corrupt political leaders who misuse their state administrative power for their narrow self-interest and feed people on empty rhetoric of patriotism.

The sense of dispossession, displacement, and insecurity is consistently expressed throughout the novel. When his son Sohrab declines to get admitted to IIT, Gustad directly expresses his anxiety for the minority Parsees who live on the margins of mainstream Indian society. He vents, "No future for minorities, with all these fascist Shiv Sena politics and Marathi language nonsense" (Mistry, *SALJ*, 55). Gustad's bosom friend Dinshawji raises the question of social security for the minorities who are in a way forced to live a life of isolation and insecurity. He expresses his deep concern over the pro-Maratha ideology of the Shiv Sena party stating "They won't stop till they have complete Maratha Raj... Wait till the Marathas take over, then we will

have real Gandoo Raj”(Mistry, *SALJ*, 73). When Shiv Sena started renaming of places with the purpose of effacing colonial traces in the city, Dinshawji strongly felt a sense of displacement, and his loss of identity intensifies when he angrily recounts,

“Names are so important. I grew up on Lamington Road. But it has disappeared; in its place is Dadasaheb Bhadkhamkar Marg. My school was on Carnac Road. Now suddenly it’s on Lokmanya Tilak Marg.”

(Mistry, *SALJ*, 74)

Dinshawji further questions if such renaming of streets and places continue what will happen to his own life, because his whole life and identity are associated with the names he was brought up with. Naturally Dinshawji, as a representative of the marginalized Parsi community, feels a sense of loss and identity crisis. The anxiety of his community does not cease here, there are also other factors to contribute to their marginalization. Gustad and Dinshawji lament the loss of respect and affluence of their community, a loss that ensued when Indira Gandhi nationalized banking sector. In this novel, Mistry thus represents the cultural ethos of his community and at the same time re-writes the socio-cultural history of his community living in the post-colonial India.

Throughout the novel, Mistry is highly critical of the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who was very often compared with Mother India by the then Indian media⁵. He is also critical of Nehru and the whole Gandhi family for their autocracy, according to him, in post-colonial Indian politics. Mistry represents Nehru’s ill-treatment of his son-in-law, Feroze Gandhi, who was a Parsi: “Nehru never forgave Feroze Gandhi for exposing scandals in the government”, and “his darling daughter Indira...had even abandoned her worthless husband in order to be with her father” and “to become Prime Minister after him”(Mistry, *SALJ*, 11). Mistry’s castigation of Indira Gandhi is on two grounds – she advocated pro-Maratha ideology which caused so much bloodshed⁶ and which turned out as a direct threat to his community and secondly, it was alleged that she used her political power to entrap Mr. Nagarwala, a Parsi, and made him a scapegoat for the scam⁷. Mistry thus ventures to explore that the true history of post-Independence India lies not in the much-advertised secularism, communal harmony or democracy of a new-born nation-state, but in the religious fundamentalism, social intolerance and corrupt and intriguing state politics.

The Perspective of Socio-Political History in *A Fine Balance*:

Mistry’s second novel *A Fine Balance* is a ‘monumental epic scale novel’⁸ that was published in 1995 and shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize in 1996. The novel faithfully registers the socio-political shift in Indian history since Independence in 1947, and focuses mainly on the socio-political turmoil of Indian history from 1975 to 1984 when India remained a witness to the State Emergency declared by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. In this novel, Mistry casts four apparently distinct and unrelated characters – Dina Dalal, Maneck Kohla, Ishvar Darji and Omprakash Darji – against the political background of State Internal Emergency, and through these four characters he shows how the despotic emergency rule played havoc throughout the

country. Although Dina Dalal and Maneck Kohla belonged to middle class Parsi families, Ishvar Darji and his nephew Omprakash Darji were ordinary plebeians, and all of them were common people who had nothing to do with politics. But despite their political detachment, Emergency truded heavy on all four of them.

Dina Dalal is a Parsi widow who, frustrated at the oppressive and inhuman behaviour of her domineering brother, abandons his house in order to live a life of dignity and independence. For this purpose, she starts a sewing business in her deceased husband's rented flat, takes up the job of a seamstress for livelihood and lives independently on her own earnings. But some twenty years later when her eyesight gives out, she can no longer sew complicated embroidery patterns and so becomes penniless. However, she manages to receive orders of ready-made dresses from Au Revoir Exports company in her own city Bombay. Because of her poor eyesight and the order of the dresses to be timely delivered to that company, she engages two tailors Ishvar and Omprakash as payee labourers who come to her flat to make those pattern dresses with their own sewing machines. Ishvar and Om came from a village and their family belonged to the cobbler or charmar caste which was considered untouchable by the dominant Hindu castes. Although the caste system pre-imposed on their family the traditional profession of leather tanning, Ishvar's father Dukhi Mochi ventured to break out from that age old tradition. Dukhi had his sons Ishvar and Narayan apprenticed as tailors to a Muslim tailor Ashraf Chacha. This act of Dukhi however infuriated the so-called upper castes of his village and they looked upon it as a serious offence. As Dukhi's sons' new profession of tailoring brought money and his family moved towards affluence, the upper-caste-villagers' envy and malice heightened, because they had been so far enjoying social superiority over this suppressed class. Finally the day came when Narayan returned to village and wanted to cast his vote by himself in an election, and that was Narayan's 'crime' for which the village zamindaar Thakur Dharamsi brutally tortured and killed him and at last, as a punishment of crossing the line of caste, burnt the whole family to death, except Ishvar and Narayan's son Om. They survived this brutal murder as they lodged with Ashraf in town. When Ishvar went to the police station along with Ashraf Chacha, the police even did not file an FIR, as the deceased belonged to 'filthy achhoot castes' (Mistry, *AFB*, 148). Ishvar and Om now come to the busy Bombay metropolis in search of tailoring jobs for their bare means of livelihood, and Dina offers them this job. As her business can hardly rid her of her penury, Dina also rents a room in her own flat to Manek Kohla, a college student who comes from a middle class Parsi family in the Himalayan foothills. In due course Ishvar and Om are rendered homeless as their jhopadpatti, a rented dwelling in the slums, is demolished as a part of the Prime Minister's beautification programme. Now therefore, they are forced to spend nights on street under the open sky. But here they are targeted by the city police and one night they are forcefully carried to a work camp as a part of the city embellishment programme. The uncle and the nephew however manage to escape from the labour camp with the assistance of Beggar Master. Dina now allows them to stay in her own flat and work for her, as she does not want to lose them again. But the Emergency does not spare them hereto, because soon they meet their next calamity. One day when they visit the town square to find Om a bride, they are again forcibly

taken to a sterilization camp where both the uncle and the nephew are sterilized to fulfill the daily quota of sterilization. This sterilization now completes the ruin of Ishvar and Om, as Ishvar's legs are to be amputated due the infection he develops in both of his legs. The final tragedy comes when Ishvar sits on a rolling platform which Om draws in the streets of Bombay and they resort to begging for survival. As for Maneck, he had gone to the Middle East for a lucrative service to meet his family's financial crisis and now he returns home in order to attend his father's funeral. A broken-hearted Maneck now comes to know the death of his friend Avinash and also of his three sisters all of which were on account of the socio-political oppression his family suffered. Maneck is so much shocked to hear it and at the same time he is so much upset to see Ishvar and Om in their present wretched condition that he himself commits suicide. Dina returns reluctantly to her brother's house to reconcile with the servile life under her brother's patriarchal rule. Thus Emergency, like a gigantic tyrant with all forms of violence, brings death and destruction to these four protagonists of the novel.

In reply to Ishvar's query "Dinabai, what is this Emergency we here about?" Dina assures him that there is really nothing serious in Emergency to worry about because Emergency is not going to hurt them (Mistry, *AFB*, 75). But the irony lies in the fact that only the poor and the dispossessed like Ishvar and Om are grievously affected by the Emergency as they are at the receiving end of this dictatorial rule. Throughout his novel *A Fine Balance*, Mistry points out in detail the dreadful effects of Emergency upon the lowest strata of Indian society – the depressed, the dispossessed and the underprivileged. When Allahabad High Court nullified Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministerial position through a landmark verdict in 1975 which found her guilty of electoral malpractice, Mrs. Gandhi declared a state of Internal Emergency all over the country, thereby curbing some fundamental civil liberties of the people^{9a}. This Emergency was a severe blow to the people's existing restricted capacities, as political opponents were arrested indiscriminately, freedom of the media was strangled and a twenty point programme was forcefully imposed upon the public during this period^{9b}. Mistry uncovers in his book the unrevealed misery of the common masses brought about by the twenty point programme that included forceful sterilization, erasing of slums, city beautification etc^{9c}. In one statement of Sergeant Kesar, "Lots of people have disappeared in the Emergency" (Mistry, *AFB*, 570), Mistry sums up the whole sordid situation. However, Emergency was vindicated by some of the then Indian intellectuals who thought that it would bring stability in the country and development of the depressed and poorer section of the society by means of family planning, poverty and illiteracy eradication programme, programme for the growth in agricultural production etc, programmes which were launched during the Emergency.¹⁰ Mistry in this book destabilizes the traditional historical stance of those intellectuals by exploring the plight of the ordinary citizens, especially those belonging to the lowest stratum of Indian society, the plight that were brought about by those so-called progressive programmes. Mistry thus scrupulously unveils how Emergency penetrated smoothly into this lowest stratum only to aggravate their present wretched condition by means of bloodshed, death and destruction. Mistry in this book only tells the untold tyranny, violence and lawlessness that prevailed in India during the Emergency¹¹.

The age-old Indian caste hierarchy is one of the major poignant images Mistry draws in *A Fine Balance*. Through the brutal murder of the chamar caste family members by the village zamindar Thakur Dharamsi, Mistry bares the bestial mindset of the so-called upper-caste Hindu community still predominating among them even after Independence. He shows that not only the Parsis or Muslims in India live a life of isolation and anxiety, but also the lower caste Hindu population of India has to live a life of dishonour, slavery and that of a social outcast because of this caste prejudice. When Narayan goes to the police station to file a mere FIR of the brutal murders, even the government police summarily dismiss him by stigmatizing him as belonging to 'achhoot castes' (Mistry, *AFB*, 148). Mistry thus shows that casteism in India is a great rural menace and that the government is callous to remove this social evil and ensure social equality among its people living in a democratic, socialist and secular country. Mistry's point is that exploitation – social or economic or cultural – is not over and that the lower caste Hindu community is not free of imperialism in their own independent country. This is the post-Independence social reality that Mistry ruefully narrates in his novel.

Social and Political Matters in *Family Matters*:

Mistry's third and penultimate novel *Family Matters*, published in 2002 and also shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize in the same year, captures the period of the post-Babri Masjid riots in the 1990s when Shiv Sena, a Hindu supremacist party, flourished in Maharashtra. This novel, like the preceding two, is also set in Bombay and in similar vein registers the impact of agitation in the aftermath of Babri Masjid riots upon the ordinary townfolk of Bombay. The novel opens with Nariman Vakeel, a widower and a retired professor of the Parsi community, living with his middle-aged step-children Coomy and Jal Contractor in their apartment named Chateau Felicity in Bombay. Despite Coomy's repeated persuasion, Nariman, who has developed some symptoms of Parkinson's disease, goes out all alone for evening walks and falls in a ditch and seriously hurts himself on the very next day of his 79th birthday. He is bed-ridden with plaster cast on and Coomy and Jal are to remove their step-father's excretion with utter disgust. Now a helpless Mr. Nariman succumbs to Coomy's disgust and her consequent plotting, as he is removed from their flat and sent to the tiny flat of Nariman's real daughter Roxana. This is the main plot of the novel and the sub-plot deals with Roxana's husband Yezad Chenoy who works in Bombay Sporting Goods Emporium. Despite their love for Mr. Nariman, Roxana's husband Yezad cannot afford the surplus responsibility of Nariman. So Yezad plans to earn more money by persuading his boss Mr. Vikram Kapur to run an office. But his plan soon gets frustrated, as Mr Kapur is killed by Shiv Sena's murderous activists. In the meantime Coomy is killed in an accident in her house, and at Jal's behest, Roxana's family takes Mr. Nariman back to Chateau Felicity. A nurse is engaged to take care of Mr. Nariman all the time, as his disease gradually gets aggravated.

From the very beginning of *Family Matters*, the politically conscious characters are harshly critical of the political duality of Shiv Sena. Shiv Sena is a chauvinistic party that emerged as a potential political force with its considerable support of Marathi people in 1995 Maharashtra State Election¹². Mistry castigates the party through the mouth of Murad who informs that in order to

increase popularity among the younger generation, Shiv Sena has organized a concert in which they have invited the American pop star Michael Jackson for his performance, while at the same time this party has been taking anti-Western cultural stance. In their further conversation in the novel, more light is thrown on the dual feature of Shiv Sena, for example, they discuss the party with Hindutva extremism has banned Valentine's Day, men's magazines and women's working in bars, declaring these as anti-Indian culture, while at the same time indulging in the illegal lottery Matkah to fund their party. For this double role-playing in their political, social and religious matters, the whole Parsi family expresses their grievance against Shiv Sena. Even when Mr. Kapur declines to change the name of his shop from Bombay Sporting Goods Emporium to Mumbai Sporting Goods Emporium, he is gravely threatened and subsequently murdered by Shiv Sena activists. Mistry categorizes Shiv Sena as double-faced and corrupt, and chronicles its political violence upon the individual as well as the community.

Family Matters registers the impact of Babri Masjid riots through the character of Hussain whose family fell a direct victim to the riots. Hussain, who works as a peon in the sports shop where Yezad also works, frequently recollects the horror and trauma that he underwent when he saw all his family members were burnt to death by the rioters in his own house. Through this massacre, Mistry faithfully records the plight of the Muslim minorities alongside the Parsees in 1990s India. Mistry also shows how Gautam, a journalist, was ill-treated and beaten up by the Shiv Sena activists as he wrote an "in-depth analysis about the politician-criminal-police nexus" (Mistry, *Family Matters*, 206). Mistry here highlights how in an independent and democratic country, freedom of speech can be choked in the similar manners of the colonizers. A critic¹³ rightly comments "Mistry feels sorry for Mumbai for his "beloved Bombay is being raped" by politicians' (Mistry, *Family Matters*, 158) and calls Shiv Sena "the greatest urban menace" (Mistry, *Family Matters*, 209). Mistry's *Family Matters* thus showcases the political violence against the minorities living in a post-Independence Indian society.

Conclusion:

To conclude, Mistry has woven the threads of history into the texture of his novels, and thus his novels are the showcase of history-fiction interface. The history that Mistry chronicles in his fiction is the contemporary Indian history that moves closer to post-colonial period. In this sense, Mistry is a faithful chronicler of post-colonial Indian history. While re-narrating this history, Mistry has invariably explored the dark sides of Indian politics – both of national politics and of cultural politics (Bhautoo-Dewnarain, 64) – which have frequently rocked the very base of post-Independent Indian society. In this sense, his novels are great political novels. At the same time, Mistry has emerged as a great culture critic too, because while writing great diaspora literature of Parsi community as well as subaltern ethnic minority, Mistry has strongly critiqued the ills of Indian culture and society that have never evaded his memory, while still living in Canadian culture and society. Thus, Mistry's fiction obviously moves towards interdisciplinary studies. As again a post-colonial author, Mistry seems to interrogate the people of his motherland, 'Has colonialism departed with the departure of colonizers or is it the continuation of colonialism and

only in a new form? Throughout all his novels, Mistry endeavours to pinpoint the answers to these questions.

Notes:

1. This term is quoted in Wikipedia (about Rohinton Mistry).
2. See the comparison in Faber Book Club Guides.
3. See this info in Wikipedia (about *Such a Long Journey*).
4. For details of the Nagarwala incident see Wikipedia.
5. See *Such a Long Journey*, 298.
6. See *Such a Long Journey*, 39.
7. See Wikipedia (about Nagarwala scam).
8. K. Bhagirathi uses this term in their article.
9. a,b &c. See both K.Bhagirathi's article & Wikipedia (about the Emergency).
10. See Wikipedia (about the Emergency).
11. See K. Bhagirathi's article.
12. See Wikipedia (about Shiv Sena).
13. Adina Campu.

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