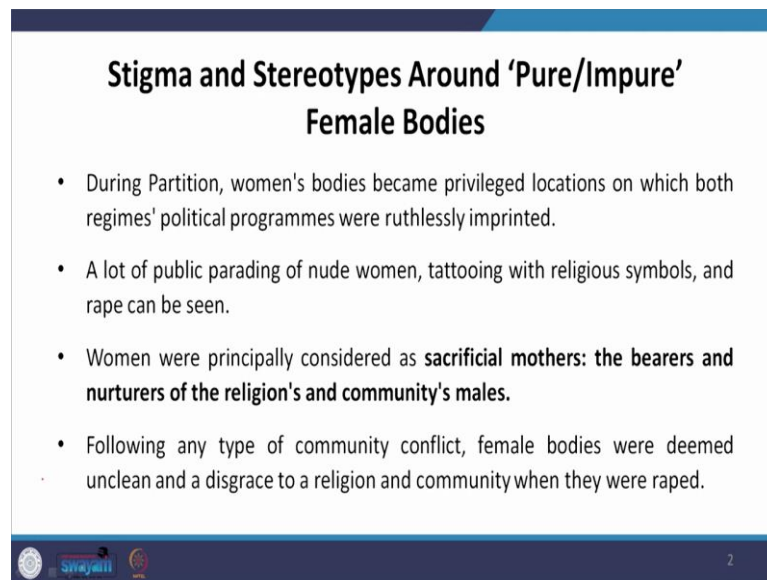


**Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema**  
**Prof. Sarbani Banerjee**  
**Department of Humanities and Social Sciences**  
**Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee**

**Lecture - 21**  
**Woman in the Context of Partition - I**

Good morning and welcome back to my course Partition of Indian in Print Media and Cinema. We are going to continue today with our discussion on Women in the Context of Partition. During the decades that preceded and followed partition, women's bodies became the privileged sites, on which both regimes' political programs were being inscribed. (Refer Slide Time: 00:54)



**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure'**  
**Female Bodies**

- During Partition, women's bodies became privileged locations on which both regimes' political programmes were ruthlessly imprinted.
- A lot of public parading of nude women, tattooing with religious symbols, and rape can be seen.
- Women were principally considered as **sacrificial mothers: the bearers and nurturers of the religion's and community's males.**
- Following any type of community conflict, female bodies were deemed unclean and a disgrace to a religion and community when they were raped.

swajali 2

A lot of public parading of nude women. Women that were tattooed with religious symbols, such as Allahu Akbar or Jai Shree Ram and of course, the body parts being mutilated. We see the carnage, the insanity being imprinted on the bodies of the women.

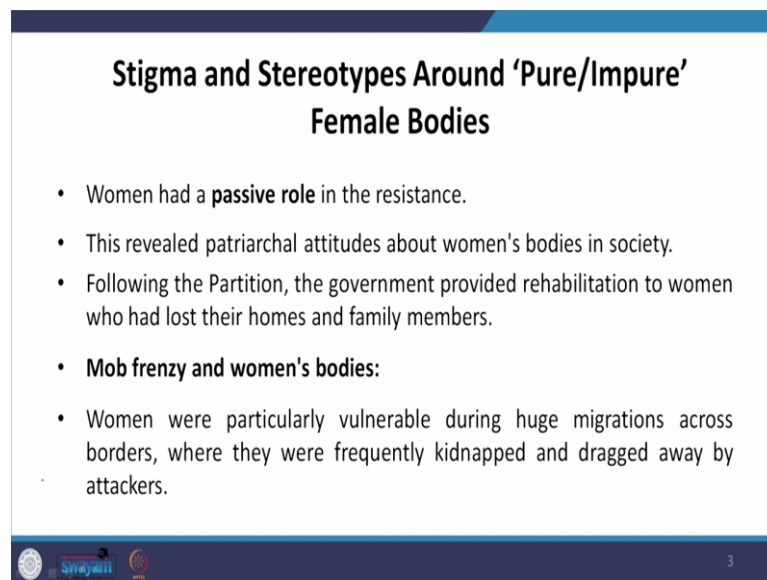
There were two treatments (that I was talking about in my earlier lecture also) - either the woman was being treated as a goddess; she had to shape herself in the line of the values that represented the figure of Durga or Sita; or conversely she would be violated by the other male, the male from the other community. They were principally seen as sacrificial mothers, the bearer and nurturer of the religions and the community's males.

It is important for us to understand that Kali as a goddess is never considered as an ideal figure, and her values are never...they are not expected to be emulated, they are not

expected to be owned and repeated. Those are not the qualities that shape the idealic domicile space.


Kali is an inspiring formidable figure; she is redoubtable and she is violent. So, only the male swadeshis worship her before going to the war. The violent woman, even as she is worshipped, the courage that Kali bestows...the male worshippers, the sons of the nation are takers of blessings from Kali, not the women. Women are not expected to shape themselves in the image of Kali. She inspires awe and fear.

We would see that following any type of community conflict, female bodies were deemed as unclean and a disgrace to a religion and community, when they were raped. (Refer Slide Time: 03:34)



**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

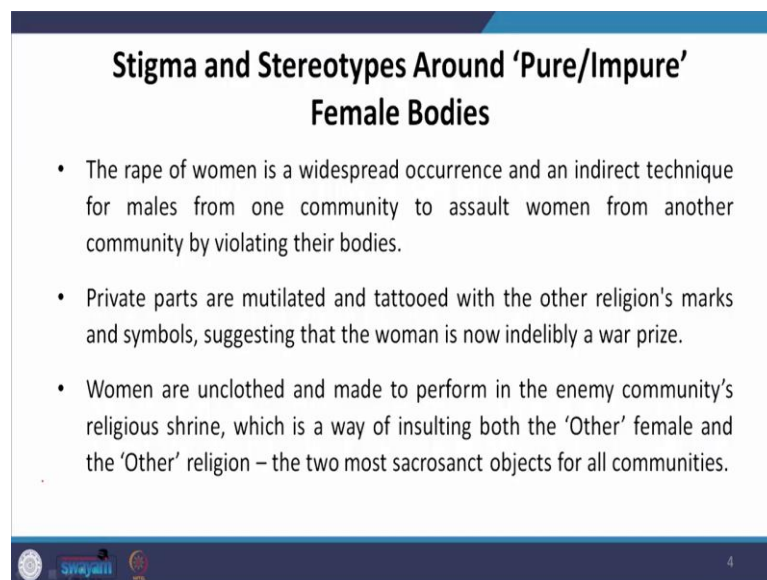
- Women had a **passive role** in the resistance.
- This revealed patriarchal attitudes about women's bodies in society.
- Following the Partition, the government provided rehabilitation to women who had lost their homes and family members.
- **Mob frenzy and women's bodies:**
- Women were particularly vulnerable during huge migrations across borders, where they were frequently kidnapped and dragged away by attackers.

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So, women throughout had a great inspirational role and yet were given a passive space within the discourse of resistance against the colonizers. So, a very passive function within the discourse against the British Raj (against the colonizers).


It revealed the patriarchal attitudes about women's bodies in a society. The laws that shaped the rehabilitation policies were adopted by the government during recovery operations. [They] were also invested with these patriarchal values. They were deeply invested with the male's notions of pure and impure and the male anxiety about the woman's body, obsession about the woman's body.

So, women were particularly vulnerable when the the large Kafilas that travel from... that cross the borders, and there are these huge migrations where women would be frequently kidnapped and dragged away by attackers. (Refer Slide Time: 05:17)



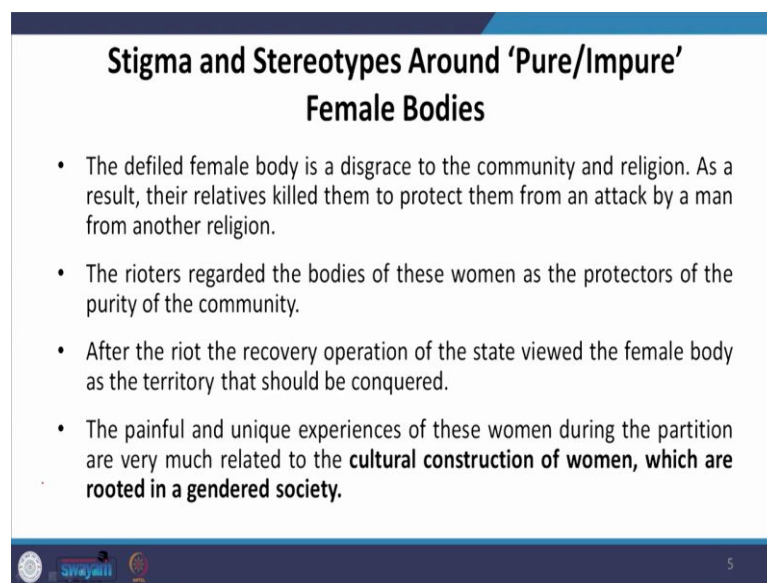
**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

- The rape of women is a widespread occurrence and an indirect technique for males from one community to assault women from another community by violating their bodies.
- Private parts are mutilated and tattooed with the other religion's marks and symbols, suggesting that the woman is now indelibly a war prize.
- Women are unclothed and made to perform in the enemy community's religious shrine, which is a way of insulting both the 'Other' female and the 'Other' religion – the two most sacrosanct objects for all communities.

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Rape of women, molestation, violation, mutilation of body parts was an indirect technique for males from one community to assault whatever was considered as sacred by the other community.

We see that the two most sacrosanct objects for all communities are the religious shrines and the females. There would be instances, where women were unclothed and made to perform in the religious shrine. It was a way of desecrating (at the same time) both the woman and the religious space. And through the woman, humiliation was being transferred to an entire community. Her body became the receptacle of this insult and humiliation. (Refer Slide Time: 06:25)



**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

- The defiled female body is a disgrace to the community and religion. As a result, their relatives killed them to protect them from an attack by a man from another religion.
- The rioters regarded the bodies of these women as the protectors of the purity of the community.
- After the riot the recovery operation of the state viewed the female body as the territory that should be conquered.
- The painful and unique experiences of these women during the partition are very much related to the **cultural construction of women, which are rooted in a gendered society.**

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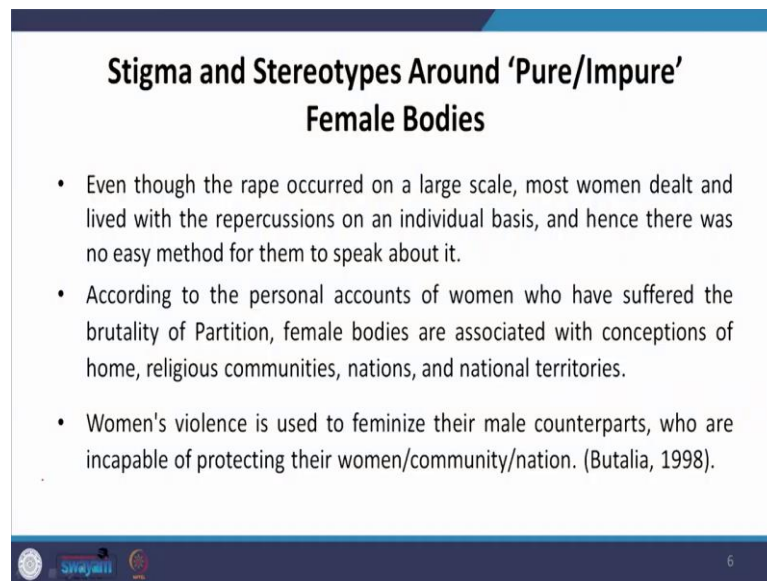
Then the defiled body becomes a disgrace and it is hardly espoused/ taken back to the natal family. Relatives, as we have already discussed, kill the women; they perform honour killing as a way of protecting [women] from an attack by a man from another religion or once they have been violated, the relatives are extremely reluctant to take them back. The bodies of the women represented the purity of a community. The bodies of women carried the secret values of a community.

They at once became a territory that ought to be conquered like the land. The woman was a territory that ought to be conquered; the body also became the medium for expression of extreme virility, of macho-ness (masculinity), of fanaticism and so forth.

So, the unique experiences of these women during the partition are related to the cultural construction of women, which are rooted in a gendered society. Veena Das makes some

very pertinent points about language and silence. The body remembers something, but can those remembrances be effectively transcribed in words? Does a culture, a given society and a culture have expressions through which a woman's pain or her experiences can be articulated?

Can she speak outside of the cultural construction that contains her? These are the questions that scholars observe later on. Even though the rape occurred on large scale, most women lived with the repercussions on an individual basis, and there were no easy methods to overcome the trauma. (Refer Slide Time: 08:47)



**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

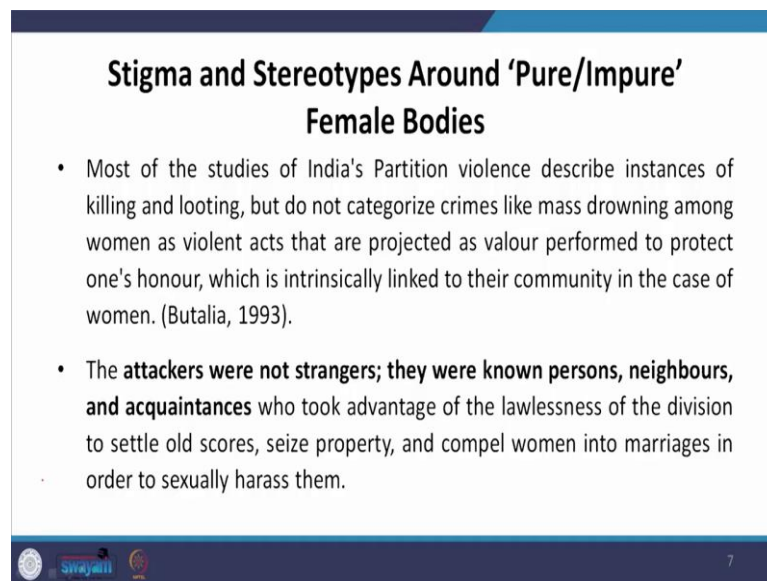
- Even though the rape occurred on a large scale, most women dealt and lived with the repercussions on an individual basis, and hence there was no easy method for them to speak about it.
- According to the personal accounts of women who have suffered the brutality of Partition, female bodies are associated with conceptions of home, religious communities, nations, and national territories.
- Women's violence is used to feminize their male counterparts, who are incapable of protecting their women/community/nation. (Butalia, 1998).

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According to the personal accounts of women that have suffered the brutality of partition, female bodies are associated with conceptions of home, religious communities and so, partition became a moment for making and unmaking of women.

[Violation of women's bodies] is extended to understand her male kin as effeminate. So, if a woman is violated and her male kin have not been able to rescue or defend her/save her, they are rendered unfit/effeminate and so, they are seen as incapable of protecting their women, their community and their nation.

It is a kind of a stigmatized image for males also. Most of the studies of India's partition violence describe instances of killing and looting, but they do not categorize crimes, such as mass drowning of women as violent acts. In fact, such acts of mass drowning are projected as valorous performances to protect one's honour and so, it is linked to a woman's community and her religion. (Refer Slide Time: 10:25)



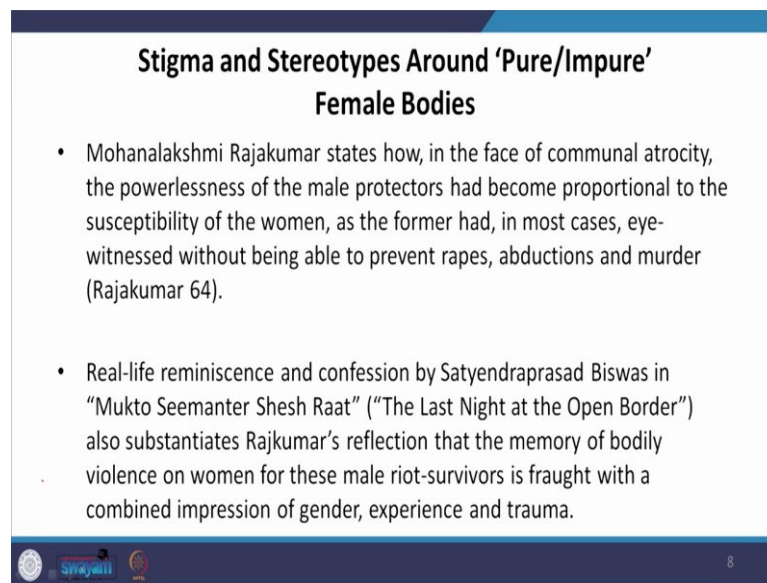
**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

- Most of the studies of India's Partition violence describe instances of killing and looting, but do not categorize crimes like mass drowning among women as violent acts that are projected as valour performed to protect one's honour, which is intrinsically linked to their community in the case of women. (Butalia, 1993).
- The **attackers were not strangers; they were known persons, neighbours, and acquaintances** who took advantage of the lawlessness of the division to settle old scores, seize property, and compel women into marriages in order to sexually harass them.

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Many women actually come out and own up that the attackers were not strangers, they were known persons; they were neighbours and acquaintances that took advantage of the general chaos that pervaded at the time of partition. So, along with looting of properties, women, seizing of properties, compelling women to marry and cohabit with a man forcefully - these actually comprised the general happenings at the time of partition.

A general situation of lawlessness, where many a times the police would play an inert role and even abet (basically support) the wrongdoers. (Refer Slide Time: 11:47)



**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

- Mohanalakshmi Rajakumar states how, in the face of communal atrocity, the powerlessness of the male protectors had become proportional to the susceptibility of the women, as the former had, in most cases, eye-witnessed without being able to prevent rapes, abductions and murder (Rajakumar 64).
- Real-life reminiscence and confession by Satyendraprasad Biswas in "Mukto Seemanter Shesh Raat" ("The Last Night at the Open Border") also substantiates Rajkumar's reflection that the memory of bodily violence on women for these male riot-survivors is fraught with a combined impression of gender, experience and trauma.

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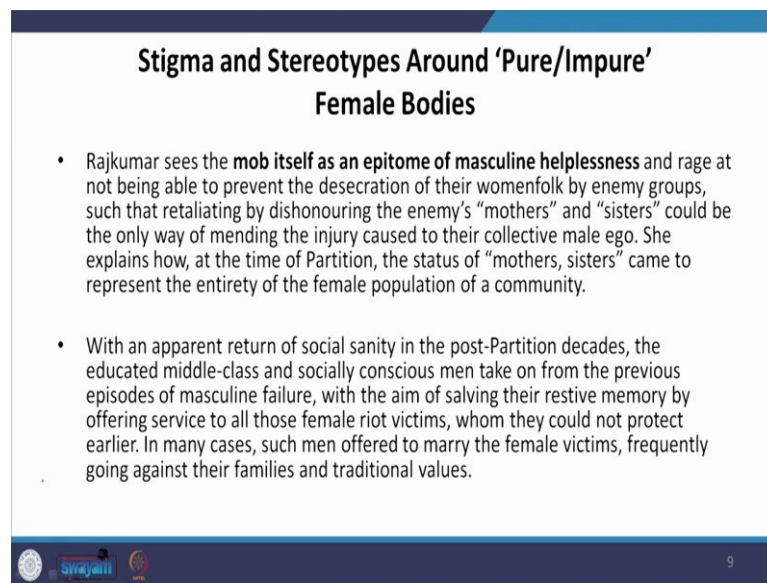
When talking about stigma and stereotypes around pure and impure bodies, we need to refer to Mohana Lakshmi Rajkumar. She makes a very pertinent observation - how in the face of communal atrocity there is a kind of helplessness that the males also undergo, and there is no strict demarcation separating the victim from the aggressor.

In one event, a man may have participated in an act of molestation or rape and in another event, he is rendered a victim's position where his own female kin are taken away in front of his eyes. The powerlessness of the male protectors become proportional to the vulnerability of the women.

In most cases, they were fathers and brothers, even sons that witnessed the molestation without being able to prevent such acts of rapes, abductions and murder. There is an essay written by Satyendra Prasad Biswas in Bengali; it is called "Mukto Seemanter Shesh Raat" or "The Last Night at the Open Border," where he sees... he carries that memory with so much of guilt... it is a guilt-laden memory, if we may, of violence on a

particular woman he witnesses, but he is so scared that he just saves his own life and he never sees the woman again. So, the bodily violence on women for these male riot survivors is also an impression that is traumatic. So the impressions of bodily violence on women and something that was witnessed by helpless males... [the memories] traumatize the witnesses as well.

Rajkumar sees the collective nature of mob itself as an epitome of masculine helplessness. (Refer Slide Time: 14:19)



**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

- Rajkumar sees the **mob itself as an epitome of masculine helplessness** and rage at not being able to prevent the desecration of their womenfolk by enemy groups, such that retaliating by dishonouring the enemy's "mothers" and "sisters" could be the only way of mending the injury caused to their collective male ego. She explains how, at the time of Partition, the status of "mothers, sisters" came to represent the entirety of the female population of a community.
- With an apparent return of social sanity in the post-Partition decades, the educated middle-class and socially conscious men take on from the previous episodes of masculine failure, with the aim of salving their restive memory by offering service to all those female riot victims, whom they could not protect earlier. In many cases, such men offered to marry the female victims, frequently going against their families and traditional values.

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The rage at not being able to prevent humiliation and desecration of the womenfolk by the enemy groups. So, basically the expression of rage, the angst, the retaliatory acts that we see carried out by a mob through dishonouring the enemy's mothers and sisters and wives and so forth, is the only way of mending their own injury - the injury that was caused to their collective male ego.

The rage of a mob is shaped by a sense of helplessness, guilt and injury [of the] collective male ego, and Mohanalakshmi Rajkumar explains how the status of the mothers and sisters went on to represent the female population, the entirety of the female population of a community.

There was a point, where people were ceasing to become individuals with a distinct name and a distinct identity. We see in a short story by Krishan Chander - it is called Peshawar express - where a very quiet man.. he is called Babu throughout the story. So,



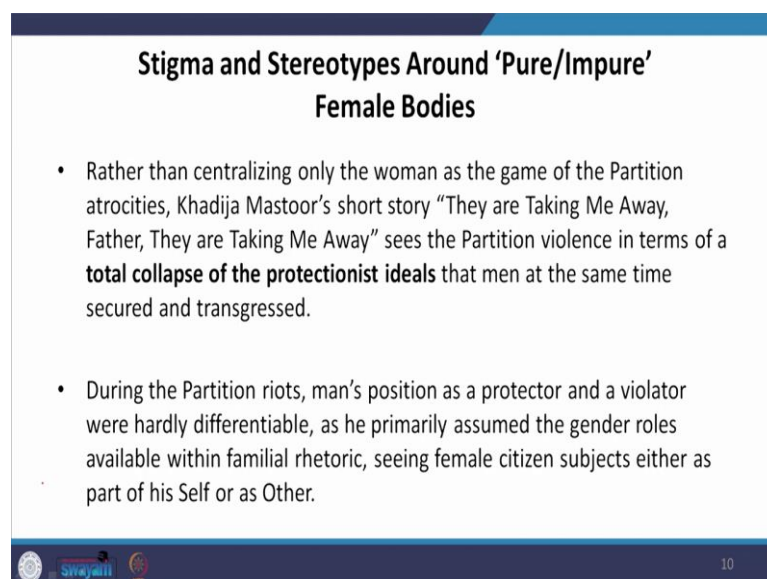
he is the Babu, the vegetarian Babu that the Pathans make fun of, and this man towards the end of the story becomes a murderer.

Partition is responsible for turning ordinary people that could never imagine of killing anyone into guiltless murderers, and once [committed], the process of killing is additive. Once a person has killed someone from the other community there is no looking back; he becomes a murderer. So, the Babu towards the end of the short story is hiding an iron rod and he has a smile on his face. So, he has imbibed the violence that has been normalized and naturalized in his surrounding.

The violence tends to shape the identity of ordinary people; a neighbour can suddenly turn into a murderer and so forth. So, sanity is not there, and when there is an apparent return of sanity in the post-partition decades, the educated middle-class, socially conscious men are trying to make amends for what have happened. So, with the aim of salving their own restive memory, the memory that is fraught with so much of guilt, [they are] offering service to female riot victims that they could not protect at that time.


Many middle-class educated men at that time... there were instances of these men coming forward to marry the female victims because marriage at that time, according to the middle-class imagination, was considered as a kind of security for the woman. These educated males in many instances would come out and offer to marry the female victims and in the process, they would go against their families and even the traditional values.

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**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

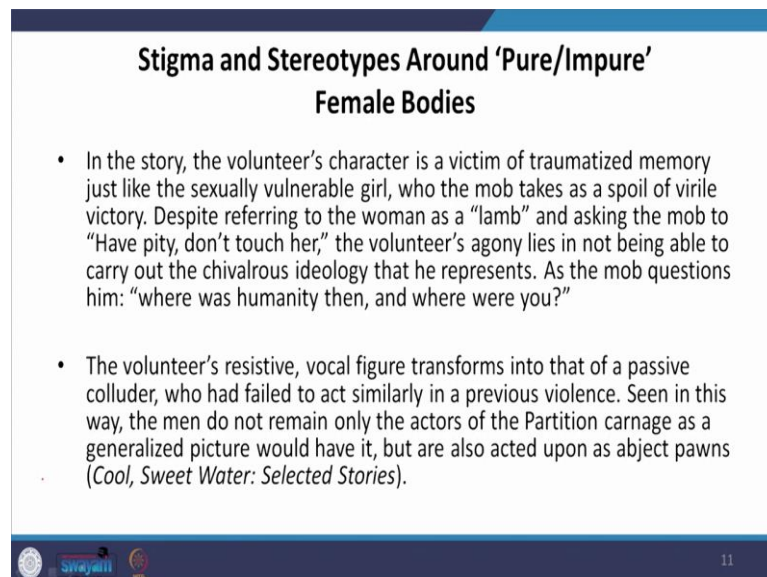
- Rather than centralizing only the woman as the game of the Partition atrocities, Khadija Mastoor's short story "They are Taking Me Away, Father, They are Taking Me Away" sees the Partition violence in terms of a **total collapse of the protectionist ideals** that men at the same time secured and transgressed.
- During the Partition riots, man's position as a protector and a violator were hardly differentiable, as he primarily assumed the gender roles available within familial rhetoric, seeing female citizen subjects either as part of his Self or as Other.

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So, rather than centralizing only the woman as the game of the partition, we see in Khadija Mastoor's short story that the partition violence is...Khadija Mastoor sees the partition violence in terms of a total collapse of the protectionist ideals. So, the protectionist ideals were being endorsed, were being harboured, valued and yet transgressed by the one and the same man. In one situation if a man played the role of a rescuer in another, he was the transgressor, he was abetting a crime.

Man's position as a protector and a violator would be hardly differentiable as he primarily assumed the gender roles available within family rhetoric. So, females were seen either as part of the man's self or as the other. This is the kind of masculinist sense of domination that is normalized and inculcated in men and so, they can think of a woman as either an extension of his own identity that needs to be protected or conversely an extension of his enemy's identity that needs to be tarnished.

So, in Khadija Mastoor's short story "They are Taking Me Away, Father, They are Taking Me," we see the volunteer's character is a victim of traumatized memory. We see that a sexually vulnerable girl that a mob is trying to take away as a spoil of their male victory is compared to a lamb, and she is appealing to the mob to have pity on her and not touch her. (Refer Slide Time: 20:23)



**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

- In the story, the volunteer's character is a victim of traumatized memory just like the sexually vulnerable girl, who the mob takes as a spoil of virile victory. Despite referring to the woman as a "lamb" and asking the mob to "Have pity, don't touch her," the volunteer's agony lies in not being able to carry out the chivalrous ideology that he represents. As the mob questions him: "where was humanity then, and where were you?"
- The volunteer's resistive, vocal figure transforms into that of a passive colluder, who had failed to act similarly in a previous violence. Seen in this way, the men do not remain only the actors of the Partition carnage as a generalized picture would have it, but are also acted upon as abject pawns (*Cool, Sweet Water: Selected Stories*).

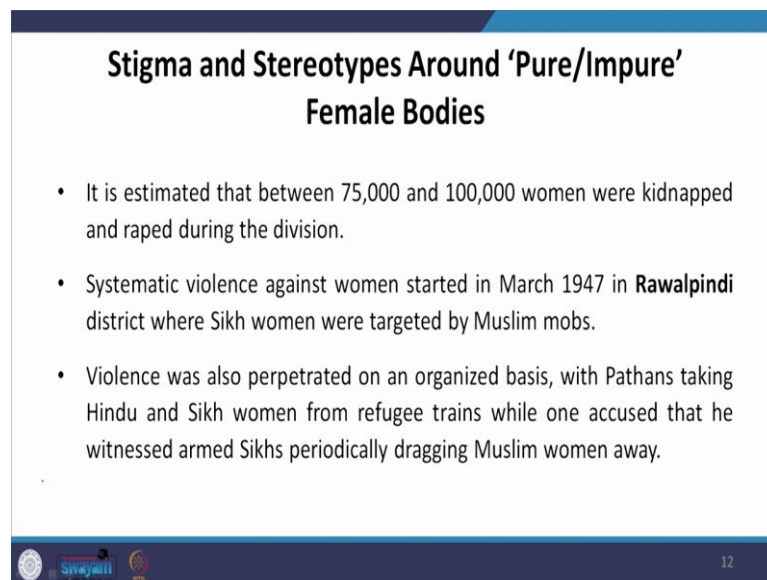
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However, the volunteer's agony lies in not being able to carry out the chivalrous ideology that he represents, and the mob questions him - where was the humanity then? So,

before/ while dragging the girl away the mob questions the volunteer, where was humanity then and where were you?

There is a reference that in a previous case of violence, this vocal figure (the volunteer) was a passive colluder; he was colluding to an earlier case of violence, maybe because the girl was not from his own community. Seen in this way, the men do not remain only the actors of the partition, but they are also played upon. Partition plays on these men and they are rendered status of pawns.

So, we have already talked about the kidnaps and the rapes that the partition witnessed. (Refer Slide Time: 21:58)



**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

- It is estimated that between 75,000 and 100,000 women were kidnapped and raped during the division.
- Systematic violence against women started in March 1947 in **Rawalpindi** district where Sikh women were targeted by Muslim mobs.
- Violence was also perpetrated on an organized basis, with Pathans taking Hindu and Sikh women from refugee trains while one accused that he witnessed armed Sikhs periodically dragging Muslim women away.

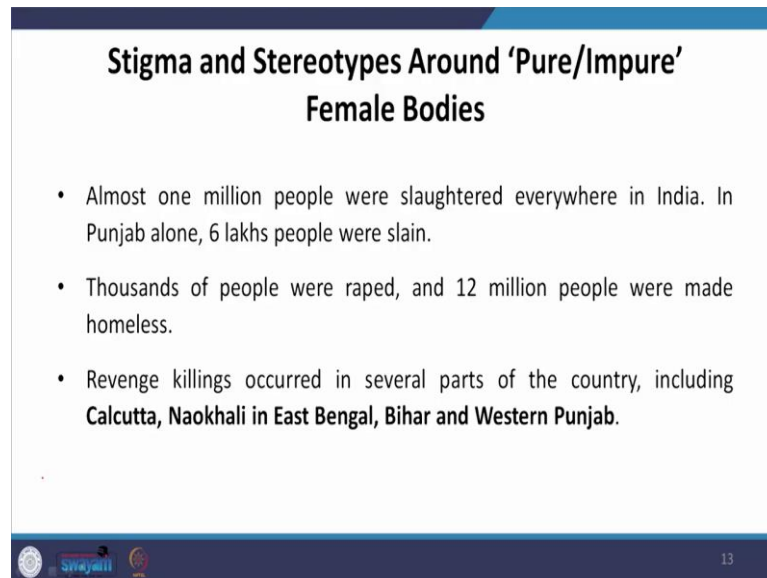
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There were systematic violence, especially in Rawalpindi, where Sikh women were targeted by Muslim mobs; violence was perpetrated on an organized basis.

I have already talked about pogrom, and similar sexual violence would also be implemented in a very organized, systematic fashion where people would be ready with weapons and arms to attack; and especially these attacks were made on trains, the trains that were carrying the passengers.

The ones that were migrating from one side of the border to the other, and we see that if the guards were from the community of the attackers, the police and the guards would hardly prevent the attackers; they would abet in that crime. So, we see the case of

Pathans taking away Hindu and Sikh women from refugee trains, and Sikhs and Jats also periodically took away the Muslim women. The higher estimate would say that almost one million people were slaughtered in different parts of India in Punjab alone...almost 6 lakhs were slain. (Refer Slide Time: 23:29)



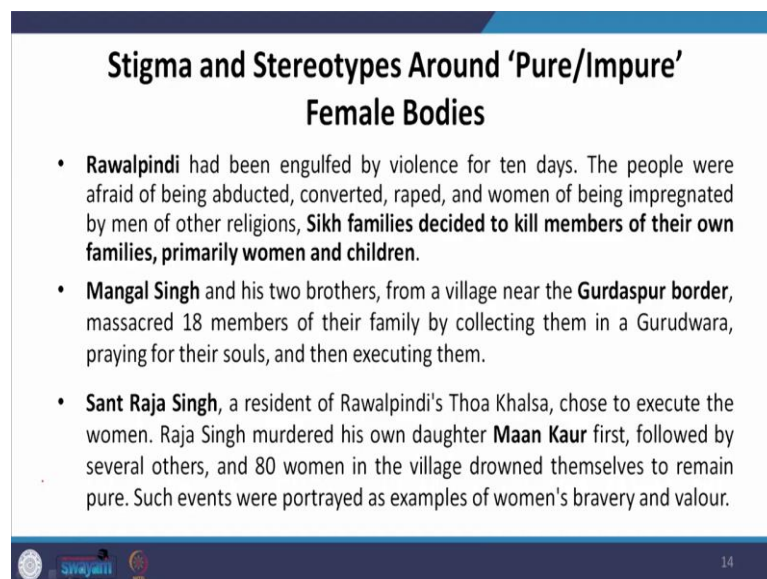
**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

- Almost one million people were slaughtered everywhere in India. In Punjab alone, 6 lakhs people were slain.
- Thousands of people were raped, and 12 million people were made homeless.
- Revenge killings occurred in several parts of the country, including **Calcutta, Naokhali in East Bengal, Bihar and Western Punjab.**

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And so, I have already talked about the nature of this fire spreading the great Calcutta killings. So, Calcutta being you know avenged in Naokhali. Naokhali being avenged in Bihar and then the fire moves to Bombay and finally, to UP and then once it reaches Punjab in Rawalpindi in Lahore there is no stopping.

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**Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies**

- **Rawalpindi** had been engulfed by violence for ten days. The people were afraid of being abducted, converted, raped, and women of being impregnated by men of other religions, **Sikh families decided to kill members of their own families, primarily women and children.**
- **Mangal Singh** and his two brothers, from a village near the **Gurdaspur border**, massacred 18 members of their family by collecting them in a Gurudwara, praying for their souls, and then executing them.
- **Sant Raja Singh**, a resident of Rawalpindi's Thoa Khalsa, chose to execute the women. Raja Singh murdered his own daughter **Maan Kaur** first, followed by several others, and 80 women in the village drowned themselves to remain pure. Such events were portrayed as examples of women's bravery and valour.

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Rawalpindi had been engulfed by violence for ten days. The people were afraid of being abducted, converted, raped and women were being rampantly impregnated by men from other religions and Sikh families decided to kill members of their own family, primarily the women and the children, to prevent rape and abduction.

There is this case of a man from Gurdaspur border - [at] a village near Gurdaspur border, a man called Mangal Singh and his two brothers actually massacred 18 members of their family by taking them to a Gurudwara, praying for their souls, and then executing them. These were all considered as honour-killing. Similarly, Sant Raja Singh, resident of Rawalpindi's Thoa Khalsa chose to execute all the female kin. Raja Singh murdered his own daughter Maan Kaur and then several others.

So, 80 women from that village...a number between 80 and 90 women in that village drowned themselves in a bid to remain pure. These chapters from partition history are portrayed as examples of women's bravery and valour. We see the novel *Tamas* by Bhasham Sahni picked the interest of Punjabis and so, the topic of honour-killing had come up through its projection in *Tamas*. This was being discussed again through Bhasham Sahni's artwork. (Refer Slide Time: 25:49)

### Stigma and Stereotypes Around 'Pure/Impure' Female Bodies

- The account of 90 women from the Thoa Khalsa hamlet in Rawalpindi District who drowned during the Partition unrest by plunging into a well. (The novel **Tamas** by **Bhasham Sahni**) piqued the interest of Punjabis and the rest of the country.
- Such images of heroism, on the other hand, frequently conceal other realities.
- The question that remains is whether women jumped into the well out of their own volition or as a result of social pressure. Unpleasant realities hidden behind stories of such 'heroism.'
- One of **Saadat Hasan Manto's** best-known stories, '**Khol Do,**' depicts the story of a young girl, Sakina, who was raped by a man from her own community who was supposed to protect her after Partition.

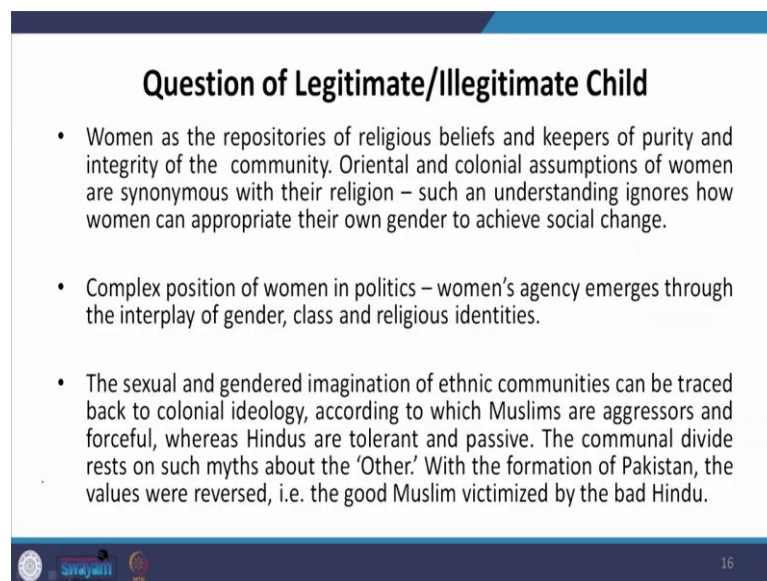
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These images of heroism fails to answer the question, whether women were taking their own lives out of their own volition or as a result of social pressure. Unpleasant realities that were hidden behind stories of such heroism need to be further examined.

Several stories by Saadat Hasan Manto talk about women being violated not only by men from the other community, but [men] taking advantage of the general chaotic situation - men from one's own community (like we see in the story Khol Do/The Return) the protectors, the volunteers actually take the girl and rape her. Everyone is taking advantage of the general confusion that pervaded at that time.

The person that is supposed to protect is actually initiating violations and crime. Women actually bore a very complex position and a kind of [position]... on the one hand, they have their agency yet it emerges through an interplay of gendered, class, and religious values. The sexual and gendered imagination of ethnic communities can be traced back to colonial ideology, (and this is something I have already said before).

The imagination of the Muslim, the quintessential Muslim as aggressive, the quintessential Hindu as a effeminate, passive and tolerant - these are the values that have been bequeathed through colonial ideology. From colonial imagination, these have been passed on to the South Asians as a result of the colonial legacy that we have. (Refer Slide Time: 27:54)



**Question of Legitimate/Illegitimate Child**

- Women as the repositories of religious beliefs and keepers of purity and integrity of the community. Oriental and colonial assumptions of women are synonymous with their religion – such an understanding ignores how women can appropriate their own gender to achieve social change.
- Complex position of women in politics – women’s agency emerges through the interplay of gender, class and religious identities.
- The sexual and gendered imagination of ethnic communities can be traced back to colonial ideology, according to which Muslims are aggressors and forceful, whereas Hindus are tolerant and passive. The communal divide rests on such myths about the ‘Other.’ With the formation of Pakistan, the values were reversed, i.e. the good Muslim victimized by the bad Hindu.

The communal divide rests on the myths about the other, and similarly the narrative actually [changes] when it reaches Pakistan. The values are reversed in Pakistan;

Pakistan's nationalist discourse [talks] about the good Muslim being victimized by the bad Hindu. Ritu Menon talks about the focus on the body of the abducted woman in the post-partition times, and through the entire recovery mission performed by India and Pakistan. (Refer Slide Time: 28:53)

### Question of Legitimate/Illegitimate Child

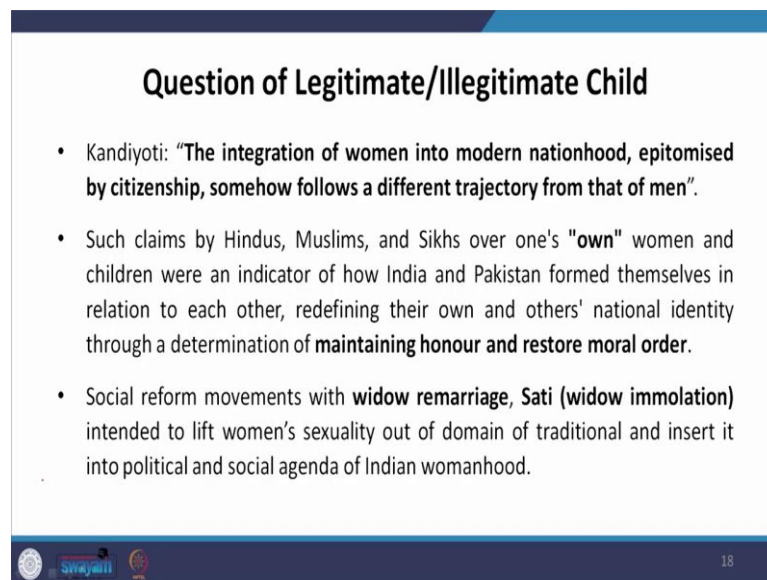
- ***Reproducing the Legitimate Community:*** Ritu Menon
- Focus on the body of the abducted women post-partition, as well as the combined recovery mission performed by India and Pakistan.
- A seeming humanitarian endeavour in rehabilitation, yet it is a significant definer of identities and demarcation of bodies within the community, gender, and nation.
- Woman's sexuality became a focal point of arguments in a secular and democratic India since it had been violated by abduction, transgressed by forced conversion and marriage, and exploited by unlawful cohabitation and reproduction.

Rehabilitation is apparently a humanitarian endeavour that is carried out by a welfarist, paternalistic nation, yet it is a significant way to define identities and demarcate women's bodies in terms of communities, gender and their national belonging.

Women's sexuality became a focal point of arguments, of discussion. Suddenly there was a kind of obsession around the woman's body and so, since it had been violated by abduction, transgressed by forced conversion and marriage and exploited through illegal cohabitation and reproduction, it needed to be rescued now.


And through this act of rescue... the project of rescuing the good woman would actually shape the image of the charitable, educated modern man - that is a man that is also willing to espouse the woman as his equal partner, but this was definitely the righteous talk that the leaders were doing; at that time, the real situation was vastly different from the ideal that was imagined, the ideal man and his duty towards the estranged female kin.

Kandiyoti says that the integration of women into modern nationhood epitomized by a citizenship somehow follows a different trajectory from that of men. (Refer Slide Time: 30:42)



**Question of Legitimate/Illegitimate Child**

- Kandiyoti: **"The integration of women into modern nationhood, epitomised by citizenship, somehow follows a different trajectory from that of men"**.
- Such claims by Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs over one's **"own"** women and children were an indicator of how India and Pakistan formed themselves in relation to each other, redefining their own and others' national identity through a determination of **maintaining honour and restore moral order**.
- Social reform movements with **widow remarriage, Sati (widow immolation)** intended to lift women's sexuality out of domain of traditional and insert it into political and social agenda of Indian womanhood.

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The question of citizenry, the question of men's visibility within the lattice of nationhood, within the operations of nationhood happened in a very different way from that of the woman.

The claims by Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs over their own women, the women that the men thought were their own and that they could actually execute their rights on and their children were an indicator of how India and Pakistan formed themselves in relation to one another.

As opposing, antagonistic entities, the two abutting nation-states that shaped themselves in opposition from one another's values - the women and the children were actually appropriated in defining these oppositional meanings and so, the way of determining and maintaining honour and restoring moral order would also be ensured through the policies centering the women and the children.

Social reform movements with widow remarriage, Sati intended to lift women's sexuality out of the domain of traditional and insert it into political and social agenda of Indian womanhood. So, whether such inclusion within the political-scape of the nation-state was actually making a case for the woman's emancipation or otherwise (or the lack thereof), or she was being incarcerated in an alternate/in a different fashion is something that needs to be probed.

She was certainly moving out of the domicile space, but her inclusion within the national agenda of womanhood - was this emancipating or otherwise? Kandiyoti also says that wherever women serve as boundary-markers between different national, ethnic and religious collectivities, their own rights are jeopardized.

Women do not endorse their individual self that is capable of taking charge of their own future. They represent the purpose of certain masculinist forces through being included within the political-scape. (Refer Slide Time: 33:58)

## Question of Legitimate/Illegitimate Child

- **Kandiyoti** - Wherever women serve as boundary markers between different national, ethnic and religious collectivities, their own rights are jeopardized.
- Nation as a concept itself has affinity for male society together with concept of respectability and **legitimized dominance of men over women**. (quoted in Parker et. al, (eds.) 1992: 6)
- **Benedict Anderson** - Nation is “**passionate brotherhood**” of “**deep comradeship**”. In this fraternity, women are enshrined mother (nation as mother) promotes male-male arrangements and **all-male history** - state constituted around roles of women.

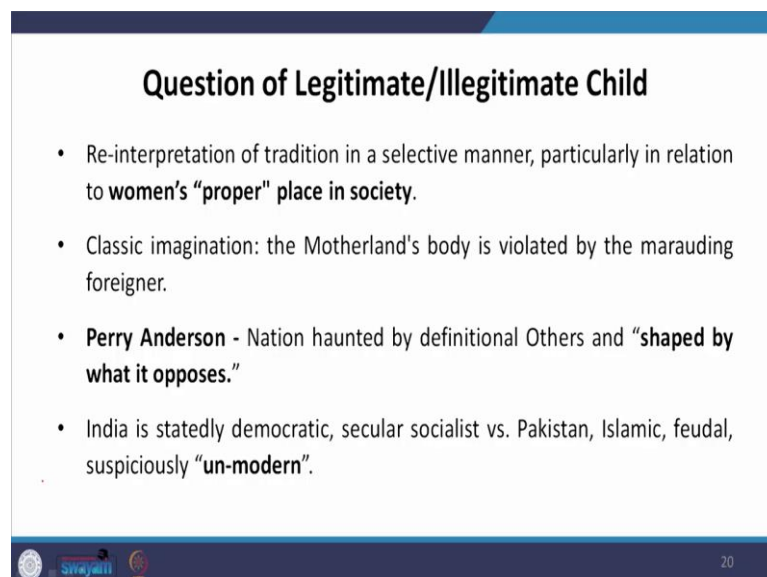
So, nation as a concept itself is deeply rooted in patriarchal values. It becomes a homosocial space, it is a space of brotherhood, and as a result of this cacophony among different male sects, the voice of the woman is automatically drowned. It is nowhere.

So, nation is a concept that has affinity for male society and homosocial bonding, and concept of respectability and legitimized dominance of men over women. And this is something we find in M.K Gandhi's discourse as well. We see Gandhi talking about men having to perform their duties towards their women. He does not talk about a woman salvaging another woman, for example.

That is how... although we are talking about the ideal man-woman relationship, it is still shaped in traditional gendered...it is actually imbued with traditional gendered meanings, and it is not a rupture, not a departure from such meanings.

Benedict Anderson says that nation is passionate brotherhood of deep comradeship. In such fraternity, women are the enshrined mother, woman as the nation and nation as the mother, and the entire national machinery, the machinations of nation promote male-male arrangement and leads to what we have as the all-male history. A state, where the women have only secondary services to men.

Women do not directly serve the nation; they serve the men that serve the nation, and the history is essentially a male history. Re-interpretation of tradition in a selective manner, particularly in relation to men's proper place in a society, makes us realize that such traditional values have a gendered nature. (Refer Slide Time: 37:00)



**Question of Legitimate/Illegitimate Child**

- Re-interpretation of tradition in a selective manner, particularly in relation to **women's "proper" place in society.**
- Classic imagination: the Motherland's body is violated by the marauding foreigner.
- **Perry Anderson** - Nation haunted by definitional Others and **"shaped by what it opposes."**
- India is stately democratic, secular socialist vs. Pakistan, Islamic, feudal, suspiciously **"un-modern"**.

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The classical imagination remains, till date, of the motherland's body that is violated. And that needs to be rescued from by the motherland's body that has been violated by the marauding foreigner and the children, the inhabitants, the sons of the nation have to salvage and rescue her. Perry Anderson says that nation is haunted by definitional others and shaped by what it opposes.

Going back to some of the critical thinkers, this could have a Derridean meaning of nation, a deconstructionist meaning of nation itself [as] an empty sign that develops in opposition from others. So, India essentially becomes 'not Pakistan' just like Pakistan becomes 'not India' rather than what it is - the qualities that define the nation is through what it is not, through negation and not through affirmation, like Perry Anderson tells us.

We see this kind of binarism in the ensuing decades. We see India becoming synonymous with qualities, such as democracy, secularism, socialism versus Pakistan this seen through qualities, such as Islamic, feudal [values] and so, when seen from the lens of India, Pakistan is statedly un-modern. At this point [On this note], I would like to stop today's lecture and we will meet for another lecture.

Thank you so much.