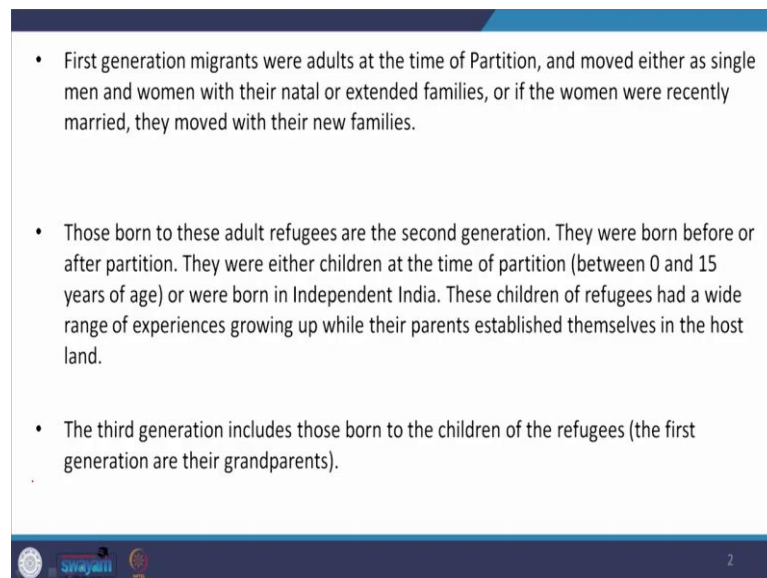





Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema
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Lecture - 60
Immigrant Populace in the Diaspora - I
Second and Third Generation Immigrants in the Diaspora

Good morning and welcome back to the lecture series on Partition of India in print Media and Cinema. Today we are going to talk about the Second and Third Generation Immigrants in the Diaspora. So, we have to understand what comprises the different generations first. (Refer Slide Time: 00:42)



- First generation migrants were adults at the time of Partition, and moved either as single men and women with their natal or extended families, or if the women were recently married, they moved with their new families.
- Those born to these adult refugees are the second generation. They were born before or after partition. They were either children at the time of partition (between 0 and 15 years of age) or were born in Independent India. These children of refugees had a wide range of experiences growing up while their parents established themselves in the host land.
- The third generation includes those born to the children of the refugees (the first generation are their grandparents).

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The first generation - when we talk about the first-generation migrants, we are talking about the adults at the time of partition, the ones that either moved as single men and women with their natal families, their extended families; or in the case of the women that were recently married, they moved with their new families. By second generation, we refer to a populace that were either born before or after partition, after their parent's came as refugees or immigrants to India.

So, they were either children at the time of partition, something between.. somewhere below the age of 15, or they were born in independent India. And these children had a wide range of experiences while their parents were struggling to establish themselves in the host land. And the third generation refers to those that were born to the children of

the first generation refugees; so, the first generation are their grandparents, right. (Refer Slide Time: 01:46)

- Each of these three generations have different understandings of partition for two reasons: they grew up in different time periods and their family narratives are disjointed.
- The memories are not straight-forward remembrances, but interspersed with forgetting: individuals do not want to remember, families do not want to recall bad times, people attempt to avoid the stigma of being a refugee, and the nation-state wants to focus on the newly established independent nation.
- The personal fragmented narratives have given each of the three generations distinct, yet overlapping, views of partition around three dominant issues: the emphasis on success, the temporary nature of the event and the shared culture.
- The second and third generations relate to the success of their families in two ways. On the one hand, they project back to a notion of pre-partition success and, on the other hand, they project forward and espouse familial duty and their own versions of a hard work ethic.

These three generations also have very different understandings of partition; the time period that has elapsed becomes very important. And so, the family narratives, the story of the original home on the other side of the border becomes diluted with the progression of time. The narratives are disjointed and the way of looking at the watershed of partition becomes very different for the different generations, and there are certain gaps which cannot be, you know, overcome.

So, memories are never straightforward and simplistic remembrances, but they are interspersed with forgetting. Individuals do not want to remember and sometimes family do not want to recall or even tell the next generation about the bad times. So, how much is remembered and then how much is passed on to the next generation is something very interesting to note, or is something that one might want to study.

And people often avoid the stigma of being the refugee, right, which is also why the narratives become trimmed. The narratives can either be trimmed or blown out of proportion and acquire a grandeur or acquire a grand, you know, scale depending on what it is about. If it is a story of a journey, of progress and you know, ultimately success, then it is actually told with a lot of pomp and elan within the family.

If it is a story of failure and a life of destitute, then it is not likely to be narrated or to be circulated too much within the family. So, a lot of those stories get sidelined to the point of being forgotten, right.

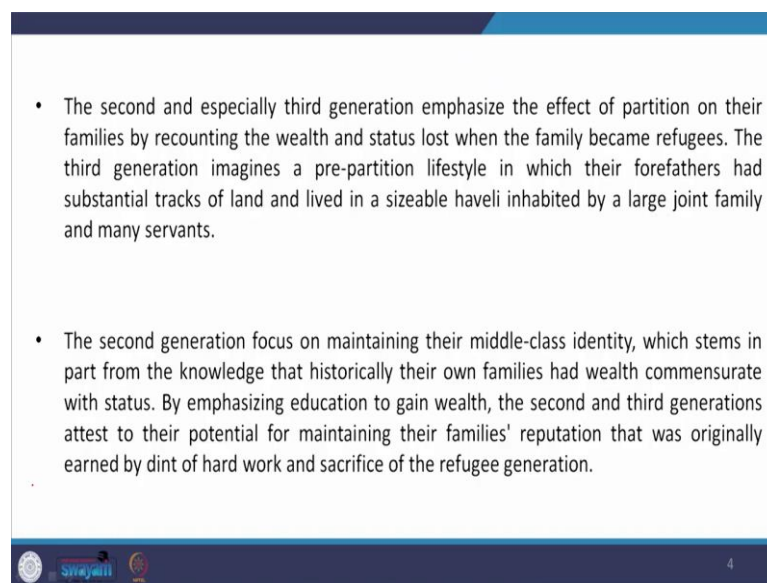
The nation also has an amnesia; nation wants to focus on the newly established independent nation, you know, the newly established notion of a free country, of an independent nationhood, and it wants to build on that rather than you know harping too much on the backlogs, on the setbacks of partition.

The personal fragmented narratives have, you know, given each of the three generations distinct and yet overlapping views of partition around the dominant issues. So, the dominant issues are...the dominant issues comprise the rhetoric of success, the temporary nature of and even the animalist nature of the cataclysm.

And then, you know, the pleasure of narrating about the shared culture, how the people struggled together the refugees struggled together shoulder to shoulder, and they overcame.. and how they came over the crisis.

So, the second and third generations relate to the success of their families in two ways - on the one hand, they project back to the notion of pre-partition success and on the other, they want to look forward, they want to embrace their family duties and their own versions of a hard work ethic.

So, this is mainly in relation to the Punjabi refugees I am talking about. So, the second and especially third generation emphasize the effect of partition on their families, and they recount, they therefore inherit those narratives of wealth and status that were once there and then they were [wealth and status] lost when the family became refugees. (Refer Slide Time: 06:07)



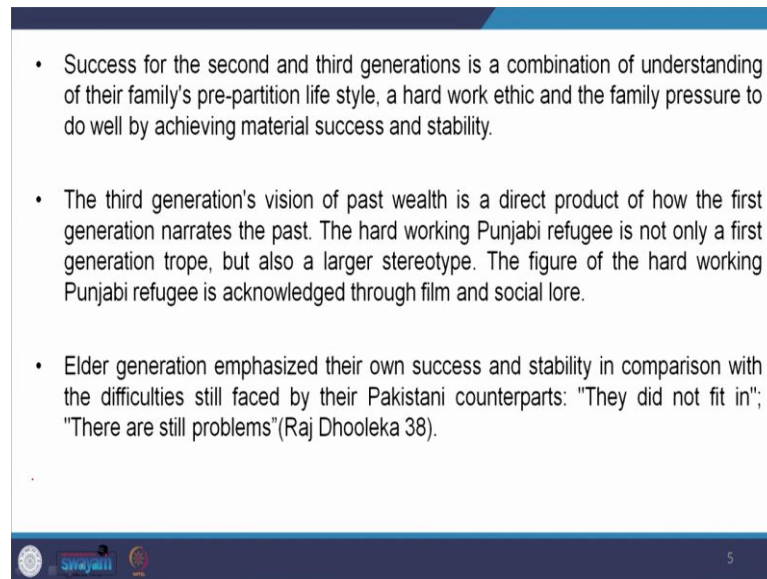
- The second and especially third generation emphasize the effect of partition on their families by recounting the wealth and status lost when the family became refugees. The third generation imagines a pre-partition lifestyle in which their forefathers had substantial tracks of land and lived in a sizeable haveli inhabited by a large joint family and many servants.
- The second generation focus on maintaining their middle-class identity, which stems in part from the knowledge that historically their own families had wealth commensurate with status. By emphasizing education to gain wealth, the second and third generations attest to their potential for maintaining their families' reputation that was originally earned by dint of hard work and sacrifice of the refugee generation.

And so, they have this imagination of the pre-partition lifestyle of their forefathers, which they want to you know regain, which they want to achieve again in the new land. So, the discussion of the sizable haveli and the large joint families with many servants, and the amenities enjoyed and the status enjoyed by the family are, you know, part of family legacies/ family lores, right.

Second generations focus on maintaining their middle-class identity and they had, you know, the knowledge that their family was not only...many of them actually boast of the fact that their families not only possessed wealth, but also you know a commensurate status which needs to be brought back, which needs to be regained.

So, emphasis is among the refugee.. there is a great emphasis on education, education as a means or the social capital as a means of.. (I am sorry) the social and cultural capital as

a means of, you know, gaining wealth or gaining economic capital. And so, they attest to their... the third and second generations attest to their potential, their capability of maintaining their family's reputation, something that the family had achieved once by dint of their hard work and the patriarchs' sacrifice most of the times, the sacrifice of the refugee generation. The second and the third generations want to maintain the family's reputation that was originally earned by dint of hard work and sacrifice of the first-generation refugees. (Refer Slide Time: 08:19)



- Success for the second and third generations is a combination of understanding of their family's pre-partition life style, a hard work ethic and the family pressure to do well by achieving material success and stability.
- The third generation's vision of past wealth is a direct product of how the first generation narrates the past. The hard working Punjabi refugee is not only a first generation trope, but also a larger stereotype. The figure of the hard working Punjabi refugee is acknowledged through film and social lore.
- Elder generation emphasized their own success and stability in comparison with the difficulties still faced by their Pakistani counterparts: "They did not fit in"; "There are still problems"(Raj Dhooleka 38).

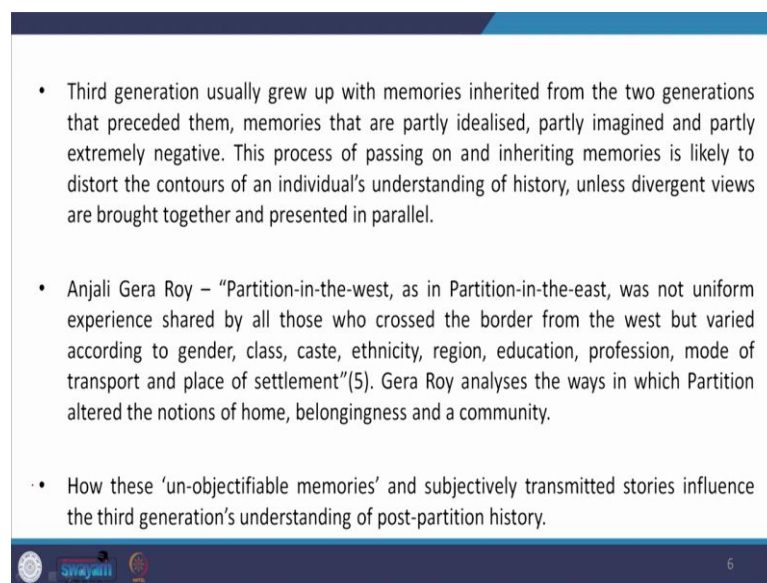
So, the success of the subsequent generations of refugees is a combination of understanding and knowledge of what the family had previously. The pre- partition lifestyle and then the inspiration and the determination to work hard as well as the family pressure that makes the subsequent generations work hard in order to achieve, you know, gain back... gain back the past, you know, reputation, past status, and achieve material success and stability.

So, the third generation's vision of past wealth is a direct product of how the first generation narrates the past. So, the third generation learns about the entire journey after partition through the direct witnesses, the ones that had been there, that had lived through all of it.

The hard-working Punjabi refugee is not only a general, you know, not only a trope, but it has become a larger stereotype that, in a way, is forced by the older generations. And in some cases, the younger generations actually espouse and strive to match up with that

stereotype, live up to that stereotype, the figure of the hard-working refugee, which is acknowledged both in films and in the social.. in the common social lore, common way of saying.

Third generation refugees actually grew up with the memories (like I was saying) that has been inherited from the two generations that preceded - the memories that are partly, in large ways idealized, part of which has components of imagination in it. And also, some of it being extremely negative and those negative aspects of memory are not much talked about, or talked about with a lot of pain, not [many] people want to discuss them too much. (Refer Slide Time: 10:38)



- Third generation usually grew up with memories inherited from the two generations that preceded them, memories that are partly idealised, partly imagined and partly extremely negative. This process of passing on and inheriting memories is likely to distort the contours of an individual's understanding of history, unless divergent views are brought together and presented in parallel.
- Anjali Gera Roy – “Partition-in-the-west, as in Partition-in-the-east, was not uniform experience shared by all those who crossed the border from the west but varied according to gender, class, caste, ethnicity, region, education, profession, mode of transport and place of settlement”(5). Gera Roy analyses the ways in which Partition altered the notions of home, belongingness and a community.
- How these ‘un-objectifiable memories’ and subjectively transmitted stories influence the third generation’s understanding of post-partition history.

So, this process of passing on/ bequeathing and inheriting memories - they are likely to distort an individual's understanding of the past history. Unless a well-rounded divergent, you know, understanding is shaped, different views are incorporated and they are presented, they are available in parallel. So, all the versions are available; so, child is able to understand that if this was true there was also a counter to this reality.

And so, that is how the notions you know developed about the past are not lopsided. Anjali Gera Roy says that partition in the west, as in [the case of] partition in the east, was not a uniform experience shared by all those who crossed the border from the west; but varied according to gender, class, caste, ethnicity, region, education, profession, mode of transport, and place of settlement.

So, Gera Roy analyses the ways in which partition altered notions of one's.. how partition altered one's notions of belonging and community. It is very interesting that memories cannot be objective; so, they are subjective in the first place and they are subjectively transmitted, and that is how they are retained as a displaced meaning from the original.

And that is how partition lingers.. partition stays back and comes back with newer significance in the post-partition decades. With every new generation, newer meanings come up. These meanings actually happen as a result of... these meanings are formed as a result of one's knowledge inherited from the family, which [the knowledge] further interacts with the contemporaneous realities, right. (Refer Slide Time: 12:33)

- For Punjabi refugees in Delhi, the convergence between the social arenas of the family and the nation reveals the corresponding characteristics of strategic ignorance. Family members who judiciously need or want to forget produce ignorance.
- In parallel, the newly formed nation's need to forget the violence of its origin generates its own specific ignorance.
- Ignorance on the state level does not always coincide with ignorance on the family level. These disjunctures expose the "set of norms whose sole purpose is to regulate the inherent debatability of the past in the present" (Appadurai 'The Past as a Scarce Resource,' 201).

So, for the Punjabi refugees in Delhi, the convergence between the social arenas of the family and the nation reveals the corresponding characteristics of strategic ignorance. So, there are many cases in refugee families, where family members wanted or needed to forget or, you know, produce ignorance. Ignorance on the state level is not something similar to ignorance on the, you know, family level.

So, there are two aspects. On the one hand, the Indian state was also refraining from talking too much about the bloody aspects of partition, and then the families had their disgraceful experiences that were being hushed up. So, these silences at different levels were also... there existed gaps and disjunctures within, you know, silences being enforced at different levels.

These disjunctures expose, as Arjun Appadurai states, the set of norms whose sole purpose is to regulate the inherent debatability of the past in the present. So, how the family as a unit or an individual personally you know muddies the past or, let us say, evade some parts, some aspects of the past. And how such evasion, such deletion happens at the state level may not follow the same processes.

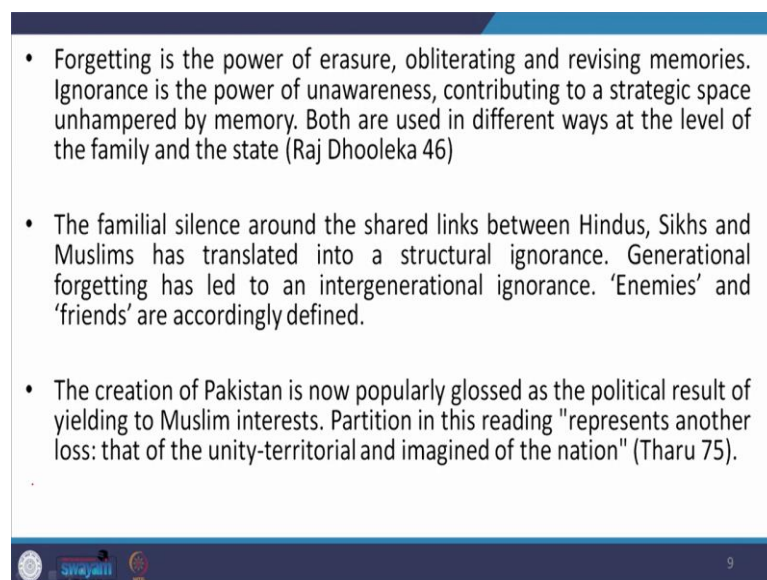
But it is very interesting to note how these two practices have some overlaps and then some differences, right. So, inherited memories seek to fill by talking to children and grandchildren of partition refugees and understanding how memory is passed down. So, what is retained or lost and how it is owned and shared by subsequent generations, right.

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- *Inherited Memories* seeks to fill, by talking to children and grandchildren of Partition refugees and understanding how memory is “passed down, what is retained or lost, and how it is owned and shared by subsequent generations.”
- Firdous Azim - “these are the memories of third-generation descendants of migrants/ refugees, who have no direct experience of life before the 1947 Partition... The story they weave is complex, with many strands, where differences pertain not only to religion, but also to ethnicity and language.”
- Partition narratives in refugee families illuminate two unresolved modalities of “anti memory” (Werbner ‘Beyond Oblivion: Confronting Memory Crisis’ 1998), the tension between ignorance and forgetting.

Firdous Azim states that these are the memories of third generation descendants of migrants and refugees, who have no direct experience of life before the 1947 partition. So, they have never been to the other side of the border, to their original homes. The story the view is complex with many strands, where differences pertain not only to religion, but also to ethnicity and language.

So, a partition narrative in refugee families illuminate two unresolved modalities; there is a tension between ignorance and forgetting. One part is how the.. especially the older generations want to forget some parts of the memory, and then the other part of the debate is how the subsequent generations do not have enough material to forget. They are basically ignorant, they do not remember, they do not even remember to be able to disremember or they do not even learn about the past to be able to unlearn them, to be able to unlearn it. (Refer Slide Time: 16:43)



- Forgetting is the power of erasure, obliterating and revising memories. Ignorance is the power of unawareness, contributing to a strategic space unhampered by memory. Both are used in different ways at the level of the family and the state (Raj Dhooleka 46)
- The familial silence around the shared links between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims has translated into a structural ignorance. Generational forgetting has led to an intergenerational ignorance. 'Enemies' and 'friends' are accordingly defined.
- The creation of Pakistan is now popularly glossed as the political result of yielding to Muslim interests. Partition in this reading "represents another loss: that of the unity-territorial and imagined of the nation" (Tharu 75).

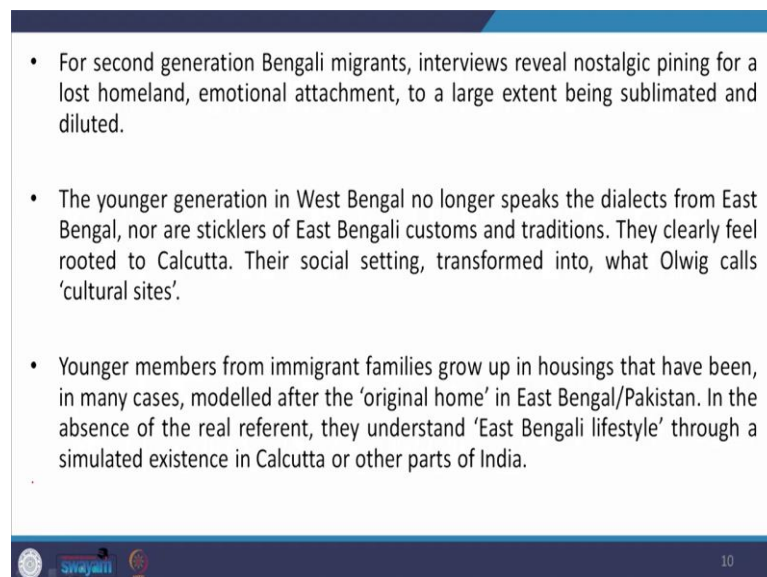
So, forgetting is the power of erasure, obliterating and revising memories; ignorance is the power of unawareness. In fact, ignorance is indeed a power because the baggage of a memory, if it does not shape one in a favourable and in a desirable way, can be cumbersome. It can be unfavourable and it can be overpowering on one's identity; it can crush one's identity. To be ignorant about certain aspects, not knowing about certain aspects of one's past can be potentially empowering.

It contributes to a strategic space, you know, unhampered by memory. Ignorance is not really hampered by a very overbearing and demanding you know remembrance from the

past. So, both forgetting and ignorance are used in different ways at the level of the family and at the larger level of the state. There are some things that we do not know and some things that we do not want to remember. The familial silence around the shared links between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, for example, have been translated into a structural ignorance.

So, when we have the stories about the enemies and friends, that is how they are defined; even the first-generation refugees sometimes play ignorant. Because they want to forget about the shared past, after all, that they have witnessed, many of them have lost their faith in inter-communal harmony and even the possibility that the different communities could live together...had lived together; in fact, with some degree of dignity.

So, it is a kind of generational forgetting that is imposed and passed on and naturalized, and that is how we understand the enemy and the friend. So in fact, seen from India's point of view/ Indians' point of view, the creation of Pakistan is popularly understood as a political result of yielding to the Muslim's interests, right. And so, partition is read as loss of the unity, the territorial unity, and the imagination of a unified nation, right. (Refer Slide Time: 18:57)



- For second generation Bengali migrants, interviews reveal nostalgic pining for a lost homeland, emotional attachment, to a large extent being sublimated and diluted.
- The younger generation in West Bengal no longer speaks the dialects from East Bengal, nor are sticklers of East Bengali customs and traditions. They clearly feel rooted to Calcutta. Their social setting, transformed into, what Olwig calls 'cultural sites'.
- Younger members from immigrant families grow up in housings that have been, in many cases, modelled after the 'original home' in East Bengal/Pakistan. In the absence of the real referent, they understand 'East Bengali lifestyle' through a simulated existence in Calcutta or other parts of India.

For the second-generation Bengali immigrants, interviews reveal that nostalgia is there.. nostalgic pining, and yet, there is a kind of emotional attachment towards the idea of or the imagination of the homeland. The homeland never seen is to a large extent

sublimated and diluted. The dialects, the different dialects from East Bengal are hardly, and in fact, never used, at least by the urban youths from the immigrant families.

And these families located in the urban areas in Calcutta are not sticklers for East Bengali customs and traditions. The lives have become more hybridized, and the roots for the third generation, you know, and the identification is with Calcutta or Kolkata. Their social setting has transformed into, you know, cultural sites. So, in other words, their cultural sites that the first generation actually carried inside their mind, inside themselves in their memories, have diluted.

The cultural sites are imagined in the immediate locality where they live, the immediate social setting where they inhabit. So, younger members from immigrant families.. we see they grow up, they grew up in housing...many of these were colony housings. In other cases too, the refugee houses would be modelled after the original home back in East Bengal and Pakistan (East Pakistan).

So, for the third generation, interestingly in the absence of the real referent, the real home that they have never seen and probably would never see, they understand East Bengali-ness East Bengali lifestyle through a simulated existence in Calcutta or in other parts of India, where they are born and brought up.

So, that is how, you know, the cultural site which their earlier generation carried inside their head when they moved from East Bengal, from East Pakistan, has been transcribed, has been transposed to the immediate social setting, where the third generation is living now.

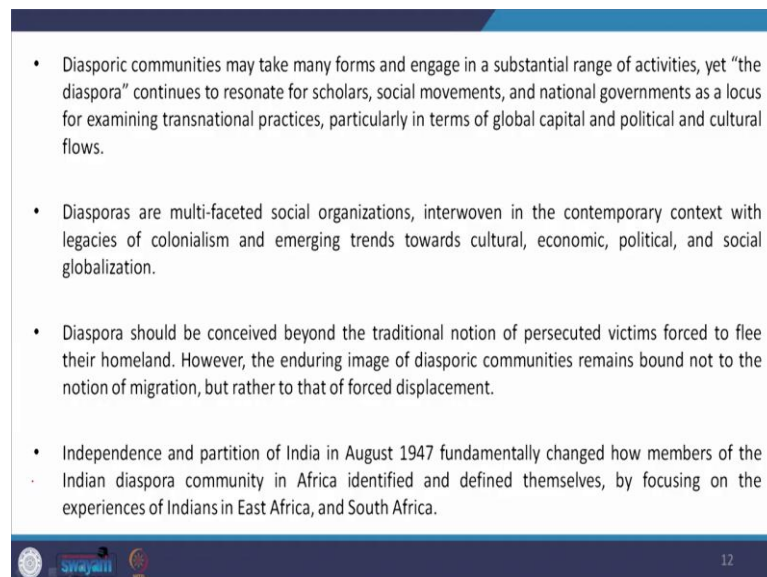
So, that is their home, I mean, that is what they understand, the East Bengali-ness that they get from their immediate family. Now the nuclear family is the East Bengali-ness that they know. And that is already not the original; that is already something besides the original - it is hybridized. (Refer Slide Time: 22:06)

- What is interesting, the Kolkata has undergone a lot of changes through the post-Partition decades and the meaning of the city has shifted through its interface with the new ways of living and being. Further, with the name changed, the city is a palimpsest.
- While for the first generation, landed property, rivers, joint-family system represented the cultural sites, for the second generation the cultural site has shifted to the country of immigration.
- Dipankar Sinha- By the turn of the millennium, the phenomenon of insider/outsider to a large extent has watered down. There has been considerable 'mainstreaming' of the colony population.

Now, Kolkata itself has undergone a lot of changes through the post-partition decades and the meaning of the city has shifted through its interface with new ways of life, new ways of being, new cultural practices, social practices. And even with the changed name, the city itself can be, you know, seen as a palimpsest with layers of meanings written one on top of the other.

For the first-generation, cultural sites would comprise landed property, rivers, joint family system - something that they had experienced back in their ancestral home on the other side of the border. However, for the second generation where such family systems, such extended family systems are not possible, the cultural site has shifted to the country of immigration.

And so, they actually extract or they derive meanings from the immediate surroundings. Dipankar Sinha notes that by the turn of the millennium, the phenomenon of insider-outsider, who is the insider or the native and who is the outsider or the refugee or immigrant, has actually watered down to a large extent. And there has been considerable mainstreaming of the colony population; so, these differences are highly theoretical. So, to say in everyday, in everyday practices they so much as almost do not exist... they almost do not exist. (Refer Slide Time: 23:40)



- Diasporic communities may take many forms and engage in a substantial range of activities, yet “the diaspora” continues to resonate for scholars, social movements, and national governments as a locus for examining transnational practices, particularly in terms of global capital and political and cultural flows.
- Diasporas are multi-faceted social organizations, interwoven in the contemporary context with legacies of colonialism and emerging trends towards cultural, economic, political, and social globalization.
- Diaspora should be conceived beyond the traditional notion of persecuted victims forced to flee their homeland. However, the enduring image of diasporic communities remains bound not to the notion of migration, but rather to that of forced displacement.
- Independence and partition of India in August 1947 fundamentally changed how members of the Indian diaspora community in Africa identified and defined themselves, by focusing on the experiences of Indians in East Africa, and South Africa.

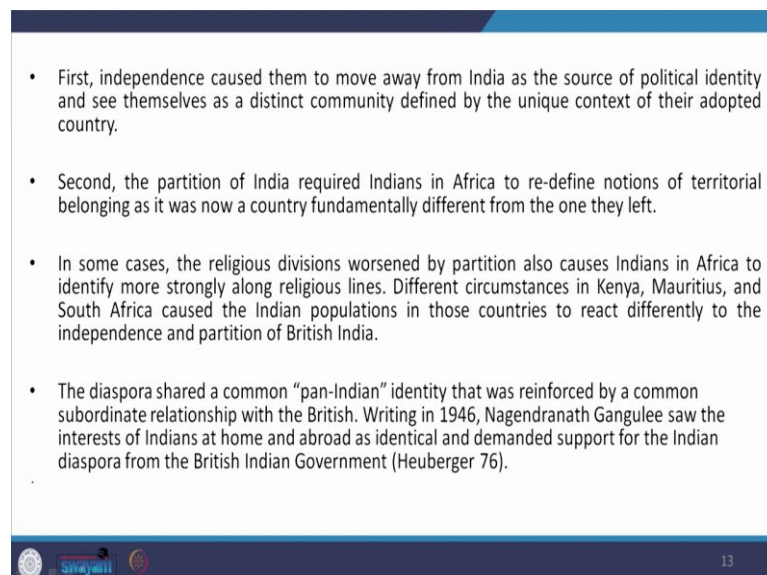
Now, talking about diaspora, diasporic communities take many forms and they engage in a substantial range of activities, and yet there is a tendency among the scholars...so,

among the socialists and, you know, even in the nationalist depictions to understand diasporic communities as a locus for studying the transnational practices only, right.

Diasporas in reality are multifaceted social organizations. They are interwoven in the contemporary context, in their immediate context with legacies of colonialism. And there are many interesting, emerging trends towards cultural, economic, political and social globalization. Diaspora is something in a state of flux, is never a constant. Diaspora should not be you know conceived only as a/ through the traditional notion of persecuted victims, who were forced to flee their homeland.

However, on the other hand, the enduring image of diasporian communities remain bound not only to the notion.. not only to the notion of migration, but rather to the notion of forced displacement.

So, dimension of victimage is naturally ascribed with or ascribed to the diaspora, whereas diaspora actually has more to their existence than only the history of victimization. Independence and partition of India fundamentally changed how members from the Indian diaspora community in Africa identified and defined themselves through focusing on the experiences of Indians in Eastern and South Africa. (Refer Slide Time: 25:33)



- First, independence caused them to move away from India as the source of political identity and see themselves as a distinct community defined by the unique context of their adopted country.
- Second, the partition of India required Indians in Africa to re-define notions of territorial belonging as it was now a country fundamentally different from the one they left.
- In some cases, the religious divisions worsened by partition also causes Indians in Africa to identify more strongly along religious lines. Different circumstances in Kenya, Mauritius, and South Africa caused the Indian populations in those countries to react differently to the independence and partition of British India.
- The diaspora shared a common “pan-Indian” identity that was reinforced by a common subordinate relationship with the British. Writing in 1946, Nagendranath Gangulee saw the interests of Indians at home and abroad as identical and demanded support for the Indian diaspora from the British Indian Government (Heuberger 76).

So, independence first of all caused them to move away from India as a source of political identity. They started seeing themselves as a distinct community defined by their immediate and unique context, as you know, created by the adopted country,

created by the new context/ as posed by the host country. Secondly, the partition of India required Indians in Africa to redefine the notions of territorial belonging because it was now a country fundamentally different from the one they had left. So, maybe the India that they had you know left when they ventured to travel abroad was now part of Eastern or Western Pakistan; it was not even India. So, in some cases the religious divisions worsened as a result of partition, and the inter-communal you know strife, say back in India, had repercussions in the diaspora. It caused the Indians in Africa to identify themselves more strongly along religious lines.

So, different circumstances come up in Kenya, in Mauritius and in South Africa, where the Indian populations react differently to the question of independence and the British, and the partitioning of the British India. So, the diaspora shared a common pan-Indian identity that was reinforced by a common subordinate relationship with the British, right.

Some of these writers, such as Nagendra Nath Ganguli, see the interests of Indian's at home and abroad as something parallel and identical. And so, they demand support from the Indian diaspora... there is a demand for support from the Indian diaspora, from the British Indian government.

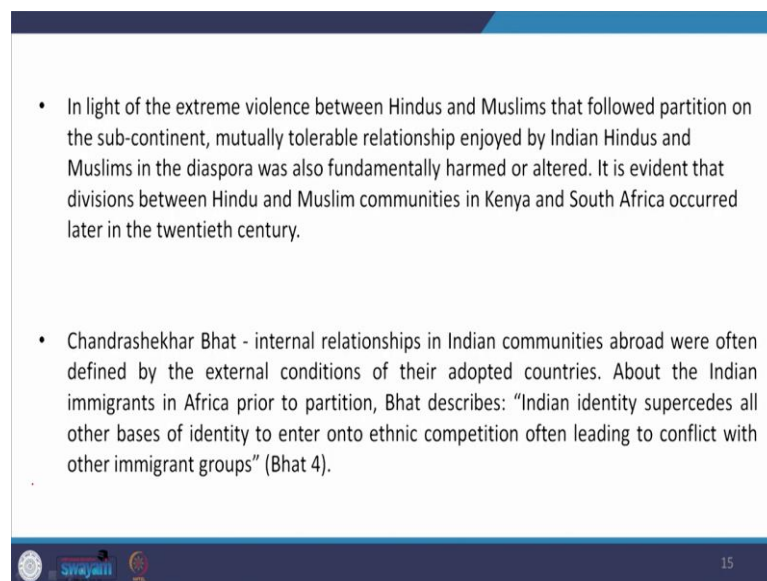
So, the diaspora is geographically away and yet, they are not really entirely detached from the political schemations and the political happenings back in India. They are somehow an extended part of it, they somehow echo the issues happening in India. (Refer Slide Time: 28:09)

- Partition of India, marked by the violent clash between Hindus and Muslims, affected the identity of the diaspora along religious lines. Due to the circumstances of their migration, the history of the Hindu and Muslim Indian immigrants in Africa was closely knit.
- Regardless of the social differences they experienced in India, indentured immigrants in Africa in the nineteenth century found themselves living and working side by side, often in very difficult conditions.
- According to Gangulee it was necessary for Indians overseas to compromise and adapt their "habits" in order to live in their adopted African countries.
- Intermarriage between castes that was forbidden in India also occurred regularly. For Indians born abroad, differences of caste and religion carried less cultural significance than in the home country.

We see that the violent clash between Hindus and Muslims that marked, that happened at the time of partition affected the identity of the diaspora along religious lines. Earlier, the history of Hindu and Muslim immigrants in Africa was closely knit. So, they led a kind of syncretic, you know, existence as indentured immigrants in Africa, and they found themselves living and working side by side often in very difficult conditions.

So, according to Ganguli, it was necessary for Indians to think of themselves beyond their community, especially in their overseas experience. They were... they thought it as important to compromise and adapt their habits or their, you know, conventional communal differences in order to be able to live in their new situations in the host land, in African countries.

Even intermarriages between castes that were forbidden in India would occur in diaspora. For Indians that were born abroad, differences of caste and religion had less cultural significance than the ones living in the home country. (Refer Slide Time: 29:18)

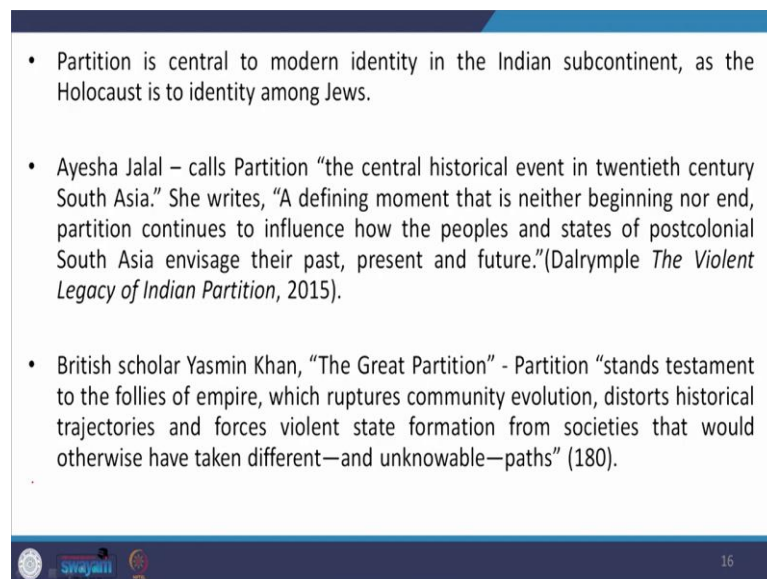


- In light of the extreme violence between Hindus and Muslims that followed partition on the sub-continent, mutually tolerable relationship enjoyed by Indian Hindus and Muslims in the diaspora was also fundamentally harmed or altered. It is evident that divisions between Hindu and Muslim communities in Kenya and South Africa occurred later in the twentieth century.
- Chandrashekhar Bhat - internal relationships in Indian communities abroad were often defined by the external conditions of their adopted countries. About the Indian immigrants in Africa prior to partition, Bhat describes: "Indian identity supercedes all other bases of identity to enter onto ethnic competition often leading to conflict with other immigrant groups" (Bhat 4).

However, we see that divisions between in the light of partition, in the light of the violence happening back in the homeland. There are divisions between Hindus and Muslims in Kenya and South Africa, you know, cropping up or becoming visible from time-to-time, even occurring later in the 20th century.

In this regard, Chandrashekhar Bhat notes that internal relationships in Indian communities abroad were often defined by the external conditions of their adopted countries. About the Indian immigrants in Africa prior to partition, Bhat describes:

“Indian identity supercedes all other bases of identity to enter onto ethnic competition often leading to conflict with other immigrant groups.” (Refer Slide Time: 30:14)



- Partition is central to modern identity in the Indian subcontinent, as the Holocaust is to identity among Jews.
- Ayesha Jalal – calls Partition “the central historical event in twentieth century South Asia.” She writes, “A defining moment that is neither beginning nor end, partition continues to influence how the peoples and states of postcolonial South Asia envisage their past, present and future.”(Dalrymple *The Violent Legacy of Indian Partition*, 2015).
- British scholar Yasmin Khan, “The Great Partition” - Partition “stands testament to the follies of empire, which ruptures community evolution, distorts historical trajectories and forces violent state formation from societies that would otherwise have taken different—and unknowable—paths” (180).

So, among the/in the diasporian community rather than Hindu-Muslim conventionally/traditionally, it has been as the Indians as a unified identity against other, you know, diasporian communities. But, the repercussions happening back in the homeland would leave their traces in the diaspora too; the differences would start showing, the differences that were otherwise not there.

So, I would like to conclude the lecture today by saying that partition is central to the modern identity of the Indian subcontinent. As you know, comparable with the holocaust among the Jews or something that defines the modern German's identity, Ayesha Jalal notes.. Ayesha Jalal calls partition as the central historical event in 20th century South Asia. A defining moment that is neither a beginning nor an end, partition continues to influence how the peoples and states of post-colonial South Asia envisage their past, present, and future. And British scholar Yasmin Khan studies partition, you know, as a standing testament to the follies of the empire, which ruptures community evolution, distorts historical trajectories, and forces violent state formation from societies that would.. that would otherwise have taken different and unknown paths; so, with this, I am going to conclude today's lecture.

Thank you.