

The Quintessential Other:

The construction of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in the narratives of the
partition of India



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Abstract

The project primarily discusses the development of religious nationalism in India in the context of 1947 partition and attempts to open up space for future research on ontological security studies within a gendered framework, beyond the limits of disciplinary IR debate. It further reflects on the possibilities of applying security studies in conceptualizing collective identity within the domain of the construction of ‘self’ and ‘other’. The 1947- Partition of India and Pakistan will be looked at for its extraordinary historical significance of ostracizing humans based on their religious affiliations, and also for the colossal wave of displacement and communal genocide that followed. This dissertation is not a painful revival of all the memories of crisis and trauma that was experienced during the process of separation. It is a genuine attempt to study the social and psychological ripples of marginalizing the ‘other’ as fundamental threats to the ‘self’ by employing the pre-conceived notions on ‘honor’ and ‘shame’.

Key words: *Religious nationalism, Self, Other, Honor, Shame, Hindutva, Ontological security, Nation, Identity, Partition, India, Pakistan.*

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Introduction

We all live in denial as a deceived expression of our being, to acknowledge ourselves as distinct from the ‘other’. In this process of deception, we de-humanize a part of the humanity towards the collective accomplishment of creating an enemy ‘other’ to build an extraordinary truth about the ‘self’. Religious nationalism as an ‘identity signifier’ is the product of our denial to see the world of pluralism. In recent years, the term ‘religious nationalism’ has been widely used across a vast field of scholarship to study the contested meanings of identity relations.

For Indians of my generation communal myopic is in the air we breathe. The partition of 1947 was a landmark event in the history of the Indian sub-continent which redefined the boundaries of nationalism in India. The partition brought with it the emergence of a tendentious Hindutva philosophy of rewriting the history of the sub-continent on communal lines. This newly (re)created history has its own share of interests and aspirations for building a future based on religious and cultural homogeneity. The practice of myth-making, denialism, and Hindu revivalism have laid down the founding ideologies of the Hindutva movement. In the wake of ‘the politics of fear’ that created an environment of hatred and suspicion for the minority ‘others’, this project aims to systematically analyze the issue of religious-nationalism in the 1947- partition of India from a gendered-ontological security perspective.

This thesis works through four sections, the first seeks to illustrate the primary ways in which the concept of ontological security can be understood through identity relations. This section intends to essentially gender the ontological security structure to analyze the concepts of honor and shame within a religious-nationalist discourse with reference to paradigmatic authors associated with the approach (notably Giddens 1984, 1991; Laing 1990; Anderson 1991; Huysman 1998; Kinnvall 2004, 2006; Steele 2008; Waltz 2010; Freud 2014; and few others)

The second and third sections develop the theme of rethinking honor and shame in the context of the 1947 partition narratives. It explores centrally around the scholarships on pride and emasculation as two distinct strands determining ontological concerns among individuals/groups/communities. These sections are particularly grounded on the work of Golwalkar 1939, 1966; Savarkar 1969; Butalia 1998; Menon & Bhasin 1998; Hansen 1999; Saigol 2000; Jeffrelot 2007; Kinnvall 2006; Anand 2011.

The final section discusses the predominant patriarchal, masculine mindset perpetuated by the state that requires a comprehensive analysis of the contributions of nationalism and religion as parameters towards inflicting gendered violence against women. This segment will revolve around the complexities of ontological (in)securities and existential anxiety that emerged post-partition resulting in fluid efforts of homogenizing the Indian territory by colonizing female bodies.

The dissertation opens itself to the cacophony of arguments concerning the hegemonic perceptions of 'honor' and 'shame' to reconnoiter the act of humiliating the 'other' women as the core nationalist ideology to protect the honor of the 'self'- community, religion, culture, nation. The theoretical discussions in this thesis lays the foundation for a deeper qualitative investigation which is more pertinent to the two primary questions which I posed against my research puzzle.

The central research questions are:

To what extent do religious rhetoric and nationalist discourse contribute to building up gendered notions of ontological security, as studied in the context of the Partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947?

How has the (re)interpretation of history distinguished 'self' from 'other' by constructing hegemonic perceptions of honor and shame within the discourse of security?

1.Theoretical Framework

This dissertation discusses the ontological security theory to understand the development of strong sentiments of religious-nationalism in the post-colonial era which shaped the meaning of identity politics in India. The close interactions between religion and nationalism will be examined to conceptualize the masculine militaristic behavior of the state through the hegemonic perceptions of honor and shame by analyzing the communal episodes of 1947-Partition. Kenneth Waltz in his *Theory of International Politics* argues that the ontological security framework gives a new perspective to security dilemmas by rationally analyzing the otherwise “irrational” individual or state behavior. The theory prioritizes ‘...the need to experience oneself as a whole, continuous person in time — as being rather constantly changing — in order to realize a sense of agency’ (Waltz, 2010). In Giddens' words, ontological security is ‘a sense of continuity and order in events’ (Giddens, 1991:243). The existing literature on ontological security claims that if the ontological insecurities are left unaddressed they give rise to anxiety about the values related to ‘self’. Therefore, the reproduction of religious values and sentiments as ‘identity signifiers’ are the foundations of the pre-conceived notion among individuals/groups towards securing their ontological needs. In this thesis, I attempt to outline the arguments used in the theory to emulate the creation of a distinguished ‘self’ and ‘other’ in the wake of religious nationalism in India with reference to the 1947 partition.

1.1 Ontological Security

‘Despite the philosophical use of “ontology” ...I have used the term in its present empirical sense because it appears to be the best adverbial or adjectival derivative of *being* [emphasis added]’ (Laing 1990: 39).

R. D. Laing is one of the pioneers who contributed to the study of ontological security at an individual level reflecting on the ontological concerns of schizophrenic persons. Laing in his book *The Divided Self – An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness*, states ‘Such a person is not able to experience himself “together with” others or “at home in” the world, but, on the contrary, he experiences in despairing aloneness and isolation; moreover, he does not experience himself as a complete person but rather as “split” in various ways, perhaps as a mind more or less tenuously linked to a body, as two or more selves, and so on’ (1990: 17).

Picking up from where Liang had left, Anthony Giddens (1991) explored the philosophical nature of ontology. He stressed on certain elements of life that need to be taken for granted which he called as ‘natural attitude’ within a ‘framework of reality’ with a level of trust in particular measure (‘social token’, as he described) that can make an individual feel ‘at home’- content and ontologically secure. Catarina Kinnvall calls ‘home... a secure base on which identities are constructed’ (2006:31). So, experiencing ontological security makes a person feel at home in the huge world of change, uncertainties and existential crisis. Dupuis and Thorns (1998) also stressed the ontological security impacts of ‘home occupancy’ among older the generations living in New Zealand. Kinnvall in her classic study on religious-nationalism in India writes ‘Imagining the nation, especially in its religious form, has become a way for many migrants to solve a crisis of ontological security and existential anxiety’ (Kinnvall, 2006: 172). Ontological security, therefore, provides a sense of continuity and a sense of honor of being valued as an individual or a state, by maintaining a ‘continuous narrative’ about the self. Unlike the Realist understanding of state behavior which ‘first and foremost seek physical survival’ (Kennan,1985), in the ontologically security framework, individuals or the state often prioritize values related to their existence, such as, culture, patriotism, national honor/pride over their physical security.

Building on the ontological security theory, Anthony Giddens has interpreted ontological security from a sociological perspective, where he refuses to accept ontological security as a constant/stable ‘truth’ and argues that ontological security lies in constantly reproducing one’s own self-identity (Giddens, 1991). The subject thus grows within the circle of the narrative about their own-self and puts on a constant effort to evolve it further to find self-pride in existence. Therefore, ontological security is a need for survival, to maintain a secure self-existence.

As Giddens argues, ontological security needs are associated with the capability of an individual/state to keep up with a particular narrative about the self, going or in motion (*ibid*, 1991). Brent Steele (2008) furthered his analyses on ontological security by applying it on the state's behavior to keep up with a particular historical narrative that shapes the identity of the self. What makes Steele's work different from Giddens and extremely interesting in the context of the Indian subcontinent is his methodological considerations through which he applies ontological security to the states, at a whole new level, looking at the states as individuals with their own set of ontological requirements. Quoting Steele, 'State agents are the ones who construct the selves of states through narrative... The reason states have an ontological security is because they have a historical account of themselves that has been built up through the narrative of agents of the past, present and the future' (Steele, 2008:20).

Steele in his discussion on ontology focuses on the values of 'honor' and 'shame' which are held crucial to the identity of a state's self and therefore, acts as a determinant in the state's behavior. Following such ontological security framework, anything that goes against the pre-defined notions of a state's behavior would make a masculine state look feminine and thus, anxious of its own identity and existence as ontologically insecure. This depicts the gendered conceptualization of masculinity in which the state possesses a biographical narrative which enables it to take extreme pride in playing the role of a protector, a usual identity which it seeks to maintain.

The partition of the subcontinent broadly displayed such biographical narratives even stronger, where the 'pride' of a feminine nation became synonymous with the 'purity' of women. This leads to a situation of crisis where religion became the corner-stone to violent unrest, followed by the victimization of women waiting to be saved from the enemy men who were largely portrayed as 'bad' or 'other' (see Kimmel, 2004). Following the ontological security, this became a requirement to reproduce and re-emphasize the honor of Hindu Men as representatives of the masculine state, reinforcing the narratives of 'good men' fighting 'bad men' to protect the honor of helpless women. According to Michael Kimmel, this idea of manhood is socially constructed which needs constant approval from the 'other men' in order to be termed 'manly' (*ibid*, 2004). To illustrate this, we will do a gendered study of the ontological security perspective and critically analyze various events of the partition to build our understanding of 'honor' and 'shame'.

1.2 Gendering Ontological Security

‘In a society where “honor” is associated with independence, autonomy, and stoic acceptance of hardship, and “modesty” or “shame” with masking one’s sexuality and romantic attachments, ghinnawas present a world of sentiment, of attachment and vulnerability’ (Weidman, 2003: 519).

The notions of ‘honor’ and ‘shame’ are essentially gendered concepts that determine the individual/state behavior. Gendering the theoretical framework to do an in-depth gendered ontological security study will aid in the understanding of how the concept of honor and shame plays a significant role in shaping the idea of the ‘self’ and the discourse that evolve around it. Many feminist scholars have over the years analyzed that there has been a strong connection between gender and nationalism in which the dominant state is seen as a masculine agent. Irrespective of any literary definition of the nation which could be termed as an “imagined community” (Anderson, 2006), or simply a territory shared by a group of people with similar history, culture, belief and practices, a nation needs some amount of cultural or biographical narrative to stay alive. Therefore, the gendered structures evolved within the framework of social construction is not only responsible for influencing individual/community behavior, but also narrates the ideologies of nationhood, nationalism, and religion in a gendered-space. Sandra Harding has referred to three gendered characteristics, as typologies, such as *individual gender*; *gender symbolism* and *gender structure* (Harding, 1986). These typologies suggest that individuals perform their gender identity shaped within a gendered structured society, merging ‘self’ and ‘identity’. Masculine honor persists in protecting the purity of feminine pride, and therefore any situation or circumstance having the potential to affect the otherwise ‘pure’ women of the nation is a threat to masculinity and masculine honor. This identity threat in the form of emasculation creates a deep anxiety about self-existence and the consequential fear of making a man, ‘less of a man’ makes him ontologically insecure. Gender is an active component of identity manifestation as ‘Institutions are substantively, not just metaphorically gendered. The state, for instance, is a masculine institution.’ (Connell, 2005:72) Thus, the term “gender-neutral” is alien to the biographical narrative of the state.

The ontological security framework, therefore, argues that the capacity to possess the biographical narrative by the state actually acts as its secure identity. This also suggests that gender identities not only shape an individual behavior, but it also contributes to the identity of the nation, adding to racial pride and satisfying the notions of masculine hegemony.

Pursuing ontological security, the Hindu-nationalist forces considered themselves as state agents, who are masculine, strong and well-armed to fight against the enemies, redefined as ‘others’. Pandey’s work on *Partition holocaust and memory-building* studied the episodes of emasculation experienced by Hindu men in the form of subordination to the Muslim rulers from the 12th century, followed by the colonial occupation of the territory (see, Pandey, 2001). The partition of the sub-continent came as a haunting experience to the Hindu self for their inability to protect their mother nation (popularly referred to as *Bharat Mata*) from separation. Urvashi Butalia in her *The Other side of Silence* argues, the insecurities of being humiliated or emasculated by the members of the ‘other’ community largely shaped the behavior of the Hindu-self which essentially objectifies women as a storehouse of honor, and thus vulnerable to get polluted through the infusion of blood from the ‘other’ community (see Butalia, 2017).

1.3 Gendering Nationalism

Nations are ‘constitutive of people’s identities through social contests that are frequently violent and always gendered’ -(McClintock, 1993: 79).

Gender symbolism and protecting the ‘honor’ of the nation is a significant aspect of the entire debate on religious-nationalism in India. Barbara Einhorn calls the gendered nationalist structures as the ‘politics of national reproduction’ (Einhorn, 2006: 202) which requires outlining the interactions between sexuality, religion, and nationhood in building up a hegemonic masculine state. Women bodies often bear the symbolic burden of nationalism.

According to Yuval-Davis, women being mothers are expected to give birth to offspring of a “pure race” who will serve the nation by maintaining its legacy and honor (Yuval-Davis,1997). The child-bearing organs of women are highly conceptualized as the carrier of purity for the entire nation and hence it is the utmost responsibility of a woman to protect her purity vis-à-vis the purity of the race. Such labeling of women as mother or women's purity being treated as the nation's purity makes her vulnerable to the socially constructed notions of pride and shame. ‘Women are often required to carry the burden of representation as they are constructed as the symbolic bearers of the collective identity and honor’ (*ibid*,1997).

Feminist scholars have vividly discussed such gender hierarchies and power relations where ‘qualities that are valued as power-enhancing get defined as masculine and hence are associated with men’ (Hooper,1998:38). From an individual perspective, public spheres are highly male-dominated, and women are expected to be in the private sphere, within the four walls of security, guarded by guardian men, with their sole responsibility to “care” for their sexuality, perform domestic chaos and child care (Peterson,1992:34). Such a distinction between a “public man” and a “private woman” (Carver,1996) automatically makes women look vulnerable by lowering their exposure to the public domain and having them always under the guardianship of the dominant men. This militaristic behavior of the state gets ontologically satisfied by building up a “protection racket” (Wilcox, 2009) to protects the “private” from all external threats. Feminists identify this phenomenon of the “protection racket” as a form of hegemonic masculine illusion in which ‘war is the heroic activity of male soldiers saving the lives of innocent women’ (*ibid*,2009). Colonial literature critic, Partha Chatterjee identified such traditions as “barbaric” in which he argues that ‘the atrocities perpetuated on Indian women’ are not just a product of male domination but ‘an entire body of scriptural canons and ritual practices’ which rationalize such hideous patriarchal performances under the protected framework of religious doctrines (see Chatterjee,1993). The incredible amount of torture on women of all of the communities during the partition process is an extreme example of religious nationalism where the masculine ‘self’ completely took over the feminine ‘other’, violating women to humiliate her community, and experiencing pride in such hideous act.

1.4 Gendering Honor

According to Giddens, ‘pride’ and ‘shame’ functions in a dichotomous way in which experiencing pride in one’s own endeavor becomes a necessity to feel valued and sustain the biographical narrative about ‘self’ (Giddens, 1991:66). Shame, therefore is the flip side of the same coin, as it makes the ‘self’ feel regretful and invaluable of its physical existence. Building on the theories of Giddens, Steele recreated the notions of ‘shame’ and ‘honor’ in the literature on ontological security by furthering the understanding of their role in the construction of ‘self’ (see Steele, 2008). Giddens looked at the concept of pride as analogous to the idea of ontological security, whereas Steele’s idea of ‘honor’ is an extension of Giddens’s individual pride. Steele broadened his theorization of ontological security by claiming ‘our desires to become a particular person in future is shaped by our understanding of “what we find” honorable and complimentary to our self-existence today’ (*ibid*, 2008:97). Therefore, what we perceive as honorable comes from our understanding of being and what we aspire. Ontological security states that the masculine and feminine conceptions of honor and shame are significant in shaping the behavior of the state agents. The nation is often represented as a mother, a feminine figure who appears to be vulnerable and in need of protection by a masculine guardian state. An impure woman not only loses her honor within the society but also to herself as an individual and which in turn harms her self-existence. Urvashi Butalia digs deep into the experience of honor and shame on women bodies in the post-colonial space. Butalia, adding to the complexity of the partition history claims that at the time of the partition of the subcontinent there was no single community which can be called as ‘absolute good’ or ‘absolute evil’, rather every family had their own share of good and evil experiences in which they played both the roles of victim and aggressor (see Butalia, 2017). With the new-found nationalist sentiment, communities all over the subcontinent were overwhelmed with the idea of religious unity. The religious identity of individuals overshadowed any other identity of the ‘being’, and eventually paving the way for the construction of the ‘other’. The creation of the ‘other’ was, therefore, necessary to hold on to the enmities of the past in order to feel united, valued and honored within their homogenous ‘self’.

This phenomenon of embracing honor and feeling valuable in one's existence by humiliating the 'other' reinforces and reproduces the role of men as protectors (warriors), always fighting to save their women from getting polluted or victimized. Women's pride became synonymous to her purity, making her vulnerable to rape and honor-related killings. Thus, following the framework of gendering honor, the identity of the nation gets transformed as 'the body of the state' (*ibid*, 2017) which is a higher manifestation of masculinity and masculine hegemony in which the honor of the men lies in protecting the purity of the feminine nation. This brings up Wilcox's idea on "protection racket" (see Wilcox, 2009) which demonstrates the necessity of a victimized feminine object to complement the existence of guardian men who are facing constant threats from 'bad' men and fighting them to protect the honor of helpless women. Conceptualizing the idea of protection racket, the state in order to feel secure of its self-existence requires to have a definite, particular narrative about the self and protect it by adopting features from masculinity to guard the weak nation from getting harmed. It thus feels ontologically secure by keeping up with the narratives of national pride based on certain identities as 'self'.

Feminist theorist, Rubina Saigol, talking about nationalism pointed out that 'the *Qaum* (nation) is essentially feminine in construction' (Saigol, 2000). The narratives of a nation are connected with emotions and feelings that are closely associated with a feminine figure with her ability to reproduce and give birth to national heroes of a pure race. Kimmel in *Masculinity as homophobia*, argues that such features of a woman make her desirable to man, who gets transformed into a protector fighting for her safety and a woman is assaulted, humiliated, tortured, raped, mutilated and murdered as a part of the process by which the sense of being a nation is (re)created and (re)inforced (Kimmel, 2004). An important part of such efforts towards understanding religious nationalism in South Asia has been the way women and their sexuality are treated as the symbol of honor, culture, and tradition. Referring to the partition narratives, not only were the women raped, but their bodies were marked in particular ways with religious signs and symbols of the enemy community, meant as reminders of them being women- the honor of their community/nation. Women though not directly a participant in the process of violence that followed the partition, faced the brunt of it by bearing the bodies on which the narrative of violence was written.

1.5 Gendering Shame

In Giddens's words, shame "bites at the roots of self- esteem" (Giddens, 1984:55).

The accumulated feelings of anxiety and insecurities reciprocated as shame challenges the subject's self-identity. Therefore, within the ontological security framework, shame 'bites at the roots of self-esteem', restricting the person from creating a biographical narrative of his own. So, in order to feel ontologically secure, a subject must avoid the feeling of being shamed or humiliated as contrary to honor or pride.

Now, following the gendered framework of ontological security theory, shame and humiliation are both deeply engaged within the capacity of the subject to keep up to a particular narrative about the self in order. Gendering the self-identity and honor of an individual, thus, reflects a form of hegemonic masculine understanding of honor. It experiences pride by protecting its kinship from the 'other' who has the potential to hinder the capacity of the 'self' from maintaining an honorable-existence. In this process of securing one's self-identity wars are waged by putting physical existence at risk in order to avoid being shamed for not being a 'real man' in all capacities. Gender identities get transformed into realms of honor and shame when such masculine honor constantly fights with shame. Cynthia Cockburn in her *Militarism and war*, broadly discusses how feminine subjects are brain-washed into accepting their weakness and vulnerability, leading to victimization. They demand their masculine counterparts to uphold their features of masculinity and show responsibility towards protecting the pride of their women. Cockburn applies this concept using the example of World War I situations in Britain where British men were being shamed by their own women for not participating in the war in spite of being physically capable of contributing to the war (see Cockburn,2010). The notion of making an image of 'able-bodied' men in association with their masculine capacities became a thing of pride. Therefore, going against such pre-conceived notions of masculinity and macho-man culture would make a man 'womanly' leading to emasculation.

Quoting Stephen Ducat, ‘The actual threat that many men experience is an unconscious, internal one: the sense that they are not “real” men... this fantasy of being under constant siege by a multitude of external feminizing forces is really an unconscious defense that is employed to keep out of mind something even more disturbing—an identification with women’ (Ducat, 2005:1) Such guardian machismo builds up a wall between masculine vigoroussness of men and feminine passivity in women, forming an unconscious tradition of unprecedented assaults by universally imposed laws of specific gendered behaviors. Sigmund Freud named this phenomenon as ‘castration anxiety’ which urges young man to explore the difference between sexes. The portrayal of women as weak and helpless makes men fear being castrated like the women and this fear of being ‘womanly’ pushes men further to practice machismo (Freud,2014:207). Thus, a generation of psychotic masculinity is being created in which the male subjects stay completely unaware of the ideas of ‘soft’ and ‘kind’, rather they are engrossed with being ‘brave’ and ‘strong’ as the true image of themselves. This also brings men into fierce competition with women, trans-people and from the different ethnoreligious groups. Elaine Showalter in her book *In Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siecle* argues that the biggest challenge to young men in the modern society is ‘fears of regression and degeneration’ and their willingness to control borders around gender ideologies, race, class, religion, and nationality (Showalter, 1991). This shift in power hierarchy creates an ontological security threat across genders where the fear of emasculation is closely linked with shame and humiliation. The consequential anxiety in men to keep up with the narratives about their self-identity indulge them into war-like-conditions in which women are compelled to demonstrate their inability to protect their ‘women hood’ without the help of a guardian, ‘able-bodied’, and dedicated menfolk.

2.Methodological Approach

This dissertation intends to discuss methodology from the scholarly trends prevalent in the post-colonial literature. The methodological application is heavily connected to the theoretical framework being explained throughout the study.

The thesis looks at the partition of India and Pakistan from a gendered ontological security framework, subject to a diverse set of interpretations of communal ripples of nationalism as a socio-psychological phenomenon that belongs to our close history. Like any other form of violence, the communal violence and forced migration post-independence 1947 in the Indian sub-continent can be studied from a multitude of angles. Given the vast source of scholarly literature on the history of partition, this process can be analyzed from a varied and interdisciplinary framework of history, politics, religion, psychology, philosophy, jurisprudence, demographical accounts and many more. Any given approach of the topic therefore completely depends on the selection of theoretical and methodological tools adapted to interpret the history. Based on my choice of grounding the work within the theoretical framework of Ontological security, this study reflects a selection of arguments made among various other conceptual, theoretical and methodological positions to reveal itself as one perspective which intends to answer the question(s) posed in the dissertation.

Ontological security theory has a more nuanced approach of defining identity threats based on ‘self’ and ‘other’ as it ‘refers to the need to experience oneself as a whole, continuous person in time- as being rather than constantly changing- in order to realize a sense of agency’ (Giddens, 1991; Laing, 1969 qt. in Mitzen, 2006: 342). The study attempts to answer how religious nationalism has shaped the gendered equations of ontological security, studied in the context of the 1947 partition of India. It further tries to interpret the role of hegemonic conceptions of honor and shame in distinguishing the ‘self’ from the ‘other’. The dissertation works through a few sections and each section has dealt with selected scholarly categories. It begins with Laing’s idea of ‘ontology’ to carry out a psycho-analysis of the term ‘Indian-ness’- the search of a unique Indian identity as ‘self’. Steele and Giddens’ have been extensively used to explore the notions of ‘honor’ and ‘shame’ as behavioral attributes of ‘self’, necessary to keep their narratives in order, as distinguished from the ‘other’.

Catarina Kinnvall (2006) conceptualizes such behavior of the ‘self’ as a phenomenon that fights against ‘existential anxiety’ by attempting to ‘securitize subjectivity’ to avoid ontological insecurities within power relations. Classical works of Giddens (1984, 1991); Laing (1990); Anderson (1991); Huysman (1998); Kinnvall (2004, 2006); Steele (2008); Waltz (2010); Freud (2014); and few others have been employed to advance the arguments towards explaining the psychological waves of emerging religious nationalism in India within the discourse of security study.

Huysman’s concept of security as a ‘thick signifier’ has inspired the methodological selection for the study. He divides ‘thickness’ into three sections, the first thickness ‘...attempts to sketch the general essence of a category, in this case the essentials of security’ (1998:229). The greater thickness engages in a ‘conceptual analysis’ by not just focusing on a ‘single statement...but explores more extensively what characterizes a security policy or debate’ (1998:230). Huysmans’s greatest thickness interprets security as a signifier which ‘articulates a particular way of organizing forms of life’ (1998:231). This thesis explores around the essence of the concepts of ‘Honor’ and ‘Shame’ as inherent human/state qualities that function independent of time and space and integral for maintaining a continuous narrative about the ‘self’. It interrogates this characteristic of the ‘self’ by positioning the question vis-a-vis the Indian state’s nationalist identity, where the dominant state identity based on Hindutva ideology has empowered the state to utilize gender in (re)conceptualizing the nation and its socio-political (in)securities. The meanings of the term ‘pride’ (Steele’s ‘honor’) and ‘shame’ are unveiled as important signifiers of identity, constructed by the ‘self’ to ‘experience a sense of honor in one’s existence and biography’ (Giddens 1991:66). I use a content analysis of the data to explore the vast field of scholarship (mostly qualitative) that reflects on the 1947-partition of India.

The texts include (the notables):

- *General texts* (Brass 2004; Chatterjee 1993; Das 1990; Dasgupta 2015; Mookerjea-Leonard 2014; Pandey 2001; Roychowdhury 2017; Svensson 2013; Talbot 2009; Hansen 1999; Jeffrelot 1989, 2007; Kinnvall 2006; and Anand 2011),

- *Acedotal accounts* (Butalia 1994,1998,2017; Menon 2013; Menon & Bhasin 1998; Malhotra 2017; Saigol 2000),
- *Fictional works* (Saadat Hasan Manto's Mottled dawn: fifty sketches and stories of partition, and Ismat Chughtai's Roots: Stories About the Partition of India)

I have also collected my data from primary sources, like,

- the National Archive of the UK (Letter to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. *Evaluating Partition*, 14 October 1947)
- Newspapers (India Today 2014, Tribune 2015, The Indian Express 2017)
- Memoirs and First -Person Accounts (Godse 1993; Golwalkar 1939, 1966; Savarkar 1905,1969, 1971)

Qualitative data supports a qualitative observation and interpretation to deconstruct the discursive links between post-colonial India's nationalist identities, its religious rhetoric, the configuration of masculinities and the embedded ontological (in)securities. Braun and Clarke (2006) separates qualitative methods into two 'camps', one is bound by an epistemological position, such as 'Conversation Analysis' and 'Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis', while another is framed under different epistemological approaches. Qualitative Content analysis therefore, captures a clear conceptualization of a text and its potentials to shape the key concepts, categories, and themes that are looked for in the data set. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) in *Three approaches to qualitative content analysis*, identify 'three distinct approaches' to interpret data using a qualitative content analysis.

These are *conventional content analysis*, where coding categories are derived from direct observation of the raw data during the data analysis process to develop a grounded theory.

The *directed content analysis*, where initial codes are based on a pre-existing theory or research findings. The *summative content analysis*, starts with a keywords analysis to define latent themes to extend the process of analysis.

This dissertation is a combination of all these approaches in which a qualitative content analysis is designed to develop a gendered framework of ontological security. A *conventional content analysis* was applied to make the theoretical approach compatible with the understanding of the hegemonic perceptions of honor and shame within the gendered equations of religious nationalism in India. The *directed content analysis* extended the understanding of religious rhetoric and nationalist discourses by analyzing the pre-existing literatures of the theme. The *summative content analysis* was utilized to explore the secondary data collection through scholarly literature on ‘ontological security’; ‘religion’; ‘nationalism’; ‘gendered violence’; ‘women’; ‘honor’ and ‘shame’ as keywords to advance the arguments posed in the research.

The data were analyzed with an aim to answer the fundamental question that lies in the mechanisms of state identity and the embedded gender symbolism within the narrative of the 1947- partition of India.

Having said that, this dissertation has its own set of methodological challenges, among which is the dichotomy between the theoretical vs the empirical. The concepts and models of ontological security theory have outlined the structure of the research.

Each material I referred to, has its own logic and approach to conceptualize any given circumstance. This study has looked at various scholarly paradigms and made a conscious effort to furnish a scholarship with its own meta-theoretical choices that suit the aim of the research.

3. Deconstructing Honor in the History of Partition

3.1 Militarization of state and feminization of nation

“Hindustan had become free. Pakistan had become independent soon after its inception but man was still slave in both these countries — slave of prejudice ... slave of religious fanaticism ... slave of barbarity and inhumanity.”

- Saadat Hasan Manto
(quoted in The Indian Express, 2017)

Masculinization of the Hindu nation is an essential part in the process of nation-building that declares affinity towards feminizing the nation as a vulnerable figure. It looks at mothers as nurturers, ready to sacrifice their existence for the honor of the nation. To Jeffords masculinity is a ‘set of images, values, interests, and activities held important to the successful achievement of male adulthood’ (Jeffords, 1989). Cockburn in her *Gender relations as causal in militarization and war: A feminist standpoint* argues, that in the image of a male warrior, the term ‘rape has its own rhetorical significance which is a tool for men warriors to protect and prove their nationalism.’ ‘...War is a very masculine pursuit as it requires strength and cunningness that women lack, however, the implications of a war being fought by these brave men is often on the share of women who are weak, vulnerable and in need of constant protection for survival’ (Cockburn, 2010). This gives a general understanding of the role of women during a war, in which she lacks an identity as an individual being but is rather portrayed as a collective commodity that needs to be saved by the men of her nation to uphold the national honor. This makes women a priority target to the enemy community for humiliating the self-constructed ‘other’. Rubina Saigol quoting Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, talks about ‘a particular pattern in crimes against women during the partition holocaust, in terms of brutality, extreme sexual violence, and their collective nature’, in which ‘women bodies get transformed into a shared identity with territories that are supposed to be subjugated, occupied or marked by the faith of the assaulter’ (Saigol, 2000).

Jeffrelot argues that the process of a nation-building often goes through interpretations that allow different narratives to prevail in any given situation (Jeffrelot, 2007). Peterson claims that children from a very early age get fond of a certain narrative of the nation based on their upbringing, mostly through childhood stories, songs and pictures, where they learn of men as ‘brave warriors’ and women as ‘social reproducers’ (Peterson, 1998). Sikata Banerjee in her article on *Gender and Nationalism*, writes, ‘The theoretical rooting of the process of nation building in imagination denies malicious intent to deceive or falsify, but rather highlights the creative attempts on the part of communities to build an inter-subjective identity marked by common cultural myths, symbols, heroes, and heroines’ (Banerjee, 2003).

Bringing up the debate on Nations as ‘imagined’ creations as argued by Anderson (1991), the principle doctrine of nationalism and patriotism in shaping today’s India was co-existing with the formation of an ‘other’ who is fundamentally utilized to (re)inforce the bonds between ‘us’. In order to be united and to mobilize the population of the sub-continent in ways which are beneficial to the nationalist agenda, it was crucial to strategize how ‘we are different culturally, linguistically, religiously and ideologically from them’ (Hansen, 1999). The masculine Hinduism is the culmination of a series of gendered processes that took place in history and playing themselves out in the contemporary Indian social scenario. To the Hindu nationalists, *Hinduzing* the Indian nation was crucial to fighting the humiliations from the past by reclaiming its lost glory in the world. To the minorities, partition was a significant attempt to create a new nation towards liberating their faith (in this context, Islam) from the growing Hindu-ness of the subcontinent. The idea of an independent Pakistan was thus more than a concrete national sentiment as it crafted the ‘imagined’ idea of producing a nation based on religious sentiments, born in opposition to a majoritarian Hindu India.

Banerjee (2003) argues that the inevitability of the partition brought with it a fierce amount of aggressiveness and violence among the communities, in the form of a war on religion. ‘A conscious attempt was made through the separation to prove whose religion is superior to the other’ (*ibid*, at 169). The Militarization thus became a necessity to protect the ‘self’- faiths, beliefs, traditions against encroachment and intrusion from the enemy ‘others’. ‘The nation became an institution that demands protection from the aggressors and the state evolved as a masculine agent to guard the nation, fighting for its security and honor’ (Cockburn, 2010).

Nation forms the identity which is essentially feminine, a highly valued, admirable object which is a carrier of traditions, purity, culture, and pride. Such pre-developed notions on gender roles strengthen the responsibility of men as warriors to protect the honor of women as mother-nation. Butalia argues, ‘The construction of a male warrior is hence essential in the analysis of gendered social relations that influence the masculinization of the state to defend a feminine nation’ (Butalia, 1998).

Nation earns the position of a mother, a highly-valued feminine identity which symbolizes love, sacrifice, and kindness. Therefore, dishonoring the mothers vis-à-vis the women of the nation equals to humiliating the entire territory and its masculine agents who are born out of the mother nation. ‘... “Motherhood” has vast dimensions, it extends beyond the family to town, society, country, nation...’ (Banerjee, 2003: 177; Rai, 1996: 45). However, women behavior towards her sexuality gets conditioned from childhood. They are made to believe in a certain way about their weaknesses and limitations of just being born as a woman. That ‘a woman must raise strong sons to fight her inherent weakness’ (Saigol, 2000). The female bodies become an arena to depict the narratives of brutal torture inflicted upon them as an expression of masculine hegemony against the ‘other’ men. Such a process of masculinization has created a space within the inner spirit of the nation, delicately creeping its way through the socially dominant ideas of masculinity of the state and the negotiating femininity of the nation in ways that are visible and powerful.

3.2 Gendering the honor of mother nation

Jisha Menon in her book, *The Performance of Nationalism: India, Pakistan, and the Memory of Partition*, claims that the violence during partition quintessentially symbolized female bodies as objects that need to be branded with signs and symbols, implying that the woman’s body has been stained by religious ‘other’. The mother nation was abducted and raped, her body mutilated with signs and symbols suggesting her occupation by the communal ‘others’. ‘The female body served as the terrain through which they exchange dramatic acts of violence’ (2013: 121).

These brandings are therefore a constant reminder of impurity to all the women who had been through such ordeal, leaving behind imprints of trauma as marks which were carried out in the form of a revenge with the purpose of humiliating the other's- nation, community and religion. The women experiences of the partition had a complex narrative as they constitute the bodies which suffered the worst form of violence. The violence on women was not only inflicted by the enemy 'others' but also by their own male-kin with the purpose of guarding their purity and chastity from getting stripped off by the volunteers from the enemy nation. Kamla Basin, Ritu Menon, and Urvashi Butalia, among other socio-historic feminist scholars, have done extensive work on the various forms of violence inflicted upon women by their own male-kin as well as by the self- constructed 'other' within the discourse.

This section attempts to decipher the operative belief-system behind the gendered religious-nationalist sentiments that ushered such intensity of violence and the sense of possession over female sexuality. The massacres that took place during the partition of India in 1947 and the consequential acts of violence against women will be studied by looking at female identity from an ontological perspective.

Butalia in her *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India* (1998: 76) claims that almost twelve million people migrated across the borders without any clear understanding of the demarcations, into an unforeseeable destination which took away the lives of over a million. Dasgupta in his essay, *The extraordinary and the everyday* argues that women of every community faced humiliation from the other men, 'they were sacrificed by their own male kin to protect the national honor' (see Dasgupta, 2015). The concept of honor and shame played so strongly in the patriarchal structure of the society which made women believe in their inability to survive without a male protector and choose death than being dishonored. The women who believed 'in maintaining their purity and chastity from the bad men through accepting death with valor were considered martyrs' (Butalia, 2017 : 144). There was a sudden shift in the status of the women accepting death, from those who were fighting for survival. The *martyr* women became the national pride for their heroic act of sacrificing their life and saving their entire community from shame and humiliation. According to Butalia, 'Such narratives are meant to keep women within their *aukat* (their ordained boundary), which is one that defines them as non-violent' (Butalia 1998: 216). It impacts women in a certain way that makes them believe in their vulnerability on being born as a woman, as a creature surrendering to her destiny as certified by her male kin within her community.

Menon & Bhasin in the *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition* claims that over fifty thousand Muslim women were raped and abducted by men who belonged to either the Hindu or the Sikh community and thirty- three thousand Hindu and Sikh women faced similar ordeal in the hands of the Muslim men (Menon & Bhasin, 1998:70). Butalia also puts up similar numbers, claiming that seventy-five thousand women were raped and abducted from both sides of the border (1998:3). The proclaimed occupation over women body and sexuality indicated an ‘all-male, patriarchal arrangement of gender relations, between and within religious or ethnic communities’ (*ibid*, 1998: 41).

Deniz Kandiyoti in her essay *Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation*, holds the patriarchal culture responsible for the atrocities faced by women at the times of partition which assigns women a particular role in the society, predominantly as “mothers of the nation”, a nurturer who is responsible for giving birth to offspring of a pure race (1991: 1490).

Women being mothers are essentially responsible for giving birth to future leaders of a pure race. Therefore, women, if raped or publicly humiliated by men of the ‘other’ community can seldom find her honor back in her family or within her own community. They are to be considered ‘impure’ and cannot any further serve the familial, national, and religious honor. Stephen Ducat argues, for a religious community that associates the honor of a woman through her bodily purity, death is a far more an obvious choice to women than falling prey to the atrocities being committed to them by the communal ‘others’ (Ducat, 2005). The raped and mutilated bodies of women served as a metaphor, showcasing the supremacy of one’s religion over the other.

Menon and Bhasin claimed that such acts of desexualizing a woman in the form of amputation of her sexual organs immediately ceases her existence as a “nurturer” (1998:44) for the male community and hence altering her existential identity into crisis. Therefore, any circumstance having the potential to alter the otherwise regular course of life, violating the pre-conceived identity of a woman as the mother -carrier of national purity- can cause her severe existential anxiety.

‘Women identities in the patriarchal society are structured in a particular manner in which the term “mother” is often metaphorically placed’ (Douglas & Michaels, 2004). The physical-self of a woman is imagined as the national territory (*Bharatmata*) which can be violated by the intrusion of the ‘other’.

The construction of the idea of a nation as a female figure has its roots in the post-colonial literature that ‘stereotypes women as the role-model daughter, wives, and mothers, leaving little scope for their development as the self’ (Mayer, 2004: 153). Butalia uses an illustration of the image of mother India as portrayed in a magazine called The Organizer, owned by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, which lays out the image of a woman in the map of India with her right arm severely injured, symbolizing the creation of Pakistan which is chunked out of her body (Butalia, 1998: 189). An imagery portrayal of a woman locked inside a magician’s box with the names of Hindustan and Pakistan leveled on opposite sides was another representation of female mutilation experienced over the days of partition. This image was analyzed from Sukeishi Kamra’s *Bearing Witness: Partition, Independence, and the End of the Raj* where the woman is found sawed into half by Nehru and Jinnah on rival ends (see Kamra, 2002: 77).

Butalia states, ‘The making of motherhood as a nationalist agenda emphasizes taking control over female sexuality’ (Butalia, 1994). Women are essentially denied control to make conscious choices over their own bodies and desires. ‘They come under strict surveillance of their male guardians, much synonymous with the masculine state guarding over the mother nation’ (*ibid*, 1994).

The gendering of the nation thus makes it vulnerable to seek protection from a stronger and more masculine agency, like the state. The mother is therefore represented as a feminine figure who is inherently weak in playing the role of a nurturer and in constant fear of losing her honor. The nation which is imagined in the shape of a woman has been mutilated and partitioned towards the production of a new nation formed based on religiosity as a parameter to shaping nationalism.

The essay *The Extraordinary and the Everyday: Locating Violence in Women’s Narratives of the Partition*, talks about the experiences of women during partition with reference to satisfying the male ego to help reclaim their masculinity. The essay argues, to the nationalist agents’ partition was a failure to fulfill their nationalist agenda and staying united amidst the crisis. It also meant not just losing control over their territory but also their women and all these experiences of emasculation made them violent towards the ‘other’ (Dasgupta, 2015). The ontological insecurities faced by men at the time of partition, irrespective of the communities, was a display of their shameful self-existence- the very purpose of their being as ‘men’.

Partitioning the nation into two, followed by the episodes of humiliating women through the occupation over female sexuality to hurt the masculine ego of men, turned out to be a watershed moment in the history of the subcontinent. ‘The masculine menfolk as fighters were expected to fight till the end to free the nation from the clutches of shame and humiliation’ (Kimmel, 2004). Women experienced the gendered brutalities of Partition by playing the role of nurturer who are weak and frequently in need of their men to complement their simple existence.

Butalia in her *The other side of silence: Voices from the partition of India*, argues that the episodes from the partition history that went largely unaddressed were the violence and killings committed against women by their own male kin (Butalia, 2017). Menon & Bhasin furthers the argument stating that such acts could never find enough spotlight as they were considered a necessity, ‘...as death in the form of blessing to protect the helpless women folk from getting polluted and humiliated by the other men.’ Women were ‘...poisoned, burnt, drowned and strangled to death for the sake of protecting the honor of the community and family’ (Menon and Bhasin, 1998). The numerous cases of self-inflicted violence on women by their own male-kin became one of the ways of saving the honor of the nation. In the absence of their male members as guardian, women were expected to accept death by drowning, setting herself on fire or killing herself with poison, all as symbols of martyrdom. Quoting Butalia, ‘An incident took place in Khalsa village of Rawalpindi where around 90 Sikh women were forced to death by giving up on their life drowning themselves into the well’ (see Butalia, 2017). The incident shared by Butalia reflects on the power and control that the patriarchal society had on women sexuality. A woman is convinced to believe in her physical impurity for having been touched by the communal ‘others’. The volatility of the situation left these women with an easy choice to just die, rather than getting ostracized from the community to relive her narratives of impurity.

The amount of abduction and rape was so severe that the governments of India and Pakistan jointly established the Inter-Dominion Agreement which aimed at recovering the abducted women from both sides of the border. By December 1949, two years after the foundation of the Inter-Dominion Agreement, nearly 12,500 Muslim women were recovered from India and over 6,200 Hindu and Sikh women from Pakistan (Menon and Bhasin, 1998:70).

The cornerstone of the state ideology behind the formation of such recovery act was criticized across countries as it didn't just aim to reclaim the abducted women back to their motherland, but also made strict laws that essentially broke all her newly-formed ties with the 'other' nation, her abductor(s) by returning her back to her 'own' male kin.

Stephen Morton in his article entitled *Violence, Gender and Partition in the Narration of the South Asian Nation* rightly pointed out that the debates and controversies within the Inter-Dominion Agreement, as he stresses, relied on the widely perceived notions of women's purity and impurity. The women who have been raped, forced abducted, and impregnated by men of the 'other' community cannot find their sexuality and forced motherhood validated within the society (Morton quoted. in Sinai, 2017).

Amidst all criticisms, the Inter-Dominion Agreement was, however, highly successful in fulfilling its goal of recovering the lost women. Mayer calls The Inter-Dominion Agreement, a desperate attempt made by the Hindu men to bring back home their Hindu women for securing the grace of their manhood. Quoting him, 'a national boundary can be imagined in men's minds or drawn within women's bodies' (Mayer 2004: 166). Such efforts made by men to reclaim their women lost during partition was an extension to the promise they made to the nation (read, women) of protection. According to this treaty, all the women found in the enemy territory between a certain time period counted in years will be considered abducted and hence the subject demands to be sent back to her own nation. Quoting Butalia, 'The wishes of the abducted persons concerned are irrelevant and consequently, no statements of such persons should be recorded before Magistrates' (Butalia 1994: 140). This clause of the Agreement reduced the identity of the abductees to mere objects that needed to be recovered and returned back to their male owners. The bill deprived women of any right to decide on whether they chose to be where they were or any wishes to return back to their families if the later at all existed or whether their communities were ready to take back these women. 'The women became objects with violated bodies being bartered across nations, first forcefully abducted during the partition and then recovered and returned without their consent, following the recovery mission' (Talbot, 2009). In this entire process of double-edged violence against the women, their bodies were unconventionally dishonored with no power to voice an opinion about the 'self'.

The Inter Dominion Treaty, therefore, reduced women's identity to mere bodies vulnerable to be shamed and occupied as a symbol of one's victory over the other. It was a joint attempt made by both the states to feel ontologically secure by confirming to their hegemonic masculinity through the process of recovering the women of their nation, freed from the clutches of the enemy state.

Butalia in her work, *Community, state and gender: some reflections on the partition of India*, quotes the statement of Anis Kidwai who was a social worker engaged in the Recovery initiative, she claims,

'Rescuing her from the horror this good man has brought her to his home. He is giving her respect, he offers to marry her. How can she not become his slave for life?' (qt. in Butalia 1994: 144). Here, Kidwai challenges the very identity of the abductor by calling him a 'good man' who might have rescued a woman from an attack by the bad man and also offered her a place in his life by marrying her. The last line can be analyzed as a sarcastic statement describing the condition of women in a highly patriarchal setup where a woman is in constant need of a male partner to continue her existence and therefore when left alone, away from her own male kin, an abductor could easily take over the role of a protector necessary for her survival. The acts of violence against women by their own community, leading to mass instances of honor-killing and female suicide were also a consequence of the then political arrangements, put forward by eminent national leaders that further aggravated the condition of women.

Quoting Mahatma Gandhi's statement after pre-partition in the Noakhali riots (1946) in *Quarantined: women and the partition*, 'I have heard that many women who did not want to lose their honor chose to die. Many men killed their own wives. I think that is really great, because I know that such things make India brave' (qt. in Mookerjea-Leonard 2015: 32). Such statements in the context of pre-independence amidst rampant illiteracy and ignorance made the inhumane torture towards women legit (read, 'great') and widely acceptable. Mookerjea-Leonard in *Quarantined: women and the partition. In The Indian Partition in Literature and Films* (2015) argued that such statements strengthened the concept of 'purity and impurity' which validated the idea of polluting the women from being occupied by men of another community is synonymous with shaming the nation. It also provoked men to practice killing their women as a matter of pride and made them more confident about their actions.

Women during the partition violence accepted to stay subordinate without questioning the authority of men to make decisions on her existence. Soon after the recovery mission started, ‘...women who were recovered from the “other” nation was continuously questioned on their chastity and purity. The condition was further worse for the women who had been impregnated or had already given birth to the child of their abductors’ (Menon, 2013).

The sentiments of religious nationalism played strongly in the case of the women with an impure status, subjecting them to religious shame and dishonor. Butalia argued, a Hindu woman who is forcefully converted into a Muslim can be brought back ‘home’ by performing the process of purification and converting her back into a Hindu. However, the conditions intensified for the children who were born of a mixture of the Hindu-Muslim blood. These carriers of mixed-blood were never taken back by either of the two communities (Butalia, 1998).

As the intolerance towards these children started building grounds, thousands of them were left homeless and at the mercy of acceptance. The state came as a guardian which eventually reframed the definition of being called ‘an abducted’. The Recovery Bill redefined the criterion for abducted persons in 1949 under which ‘a male child below the age of sixteen years or a female with no age-bar if recovered from the enemy nation after 1 March 1947 will be considered abducted’ (Menon and Bhasin, 1998), and hence to be brought back to their own country. This, however, did not cease the widespread intolerance towards the women and children rescued, however abandoned by families, turning them into liabilities of the state. Menon (2013) claims that many expecting mothers were forced into abortion to pull out the impure blood of the communal ‘other’ as a part of purifying the women.

At this backdrop, Gandhi- the national father who earlier recognized the killing of women from falling prey to the religious ‘others’ as an armor of pride for the men on protecting their national honor, now radically transformed his views calling those men “barbarian husband or a barbarian parent” for not accepting back their wives and daughters into ‘home’. Quoting Gandhi in *Makers of modern India*, ‘It is being said that the families of the abducted women no longer want to receive them back. It would be a barbarian husband or a barbarian parent who would say that he would not take back his wife or daughter. ...They had been subjected to violence. To put a blot on them and to say that they are no longer fit to be accepted in society is unjust’ (Gandhi qt. in Guha 2011: 275).

Butalia in her essay *Questions of Sexuality and Citizenship during Partition* (1998) claimed that at the end of the recovery program there were 75,000 women termed as “Unattached”, a state-used term to describe women who were not under the ‘protection racket’ of her male-kin, i.e., father, brother, husband or an adult son and therefore a liability of state government to be taken care of. At that moment, the best possible initiative on the part of the state was to get these women married off to someone from her community or make them financially independent through government measures of traineeship programs for future employment. Rehabilitation Centers were set up across the country to aid in the process of settling down, looking after education, finding employment and overall maintenance needs for these ‘unattached’ women and young children.

Menon and Bhasin in the essay, *Borders & boundaries: women in India's partition* described the key task of the centers as to ‘[R]un production and training centres; organize the sale of articles produced in work centres; run schools; arrange for the adoption of orphaned children; give financial or other aid to women; assist in finding employment; and finally, arrange marriages for them wherever possible’ (1998:152).

Women set free to make decisions on their life goals wasn’t an acceptable choice in a patriarchal setup, turning the Hindu widows into victim of the widely perceived masculine societal behavior. ‘The sexuality of a single woman is deemed a potential threat to the society and therefore the rescued women must be taken under the wing of the male members of the community through auspicious bonds of marriage’ (Kandiyoti, 1991). In order to feel ontologically secure of one’s masculinity, the abducted women were brought back from the ‘enemy’ nation, ties were forcefully broken for those who started feeling ‘home-like’ in the land of their abductors. The masculine state played the role of a paternalistic savior to protect these ‘unattached’ women from the state created distress.

Hooper argues in *Masculinist practices and gender politics: The operation of multiple masculinities in international relations*, ‘the terrorization of gendered relations makes the inner core of patriarchy. The nation is feminized and subordinated under the guardian masculine state which draws boundaries based on myths about culture and religion, defining shame, honor, and belongings’ (Hooper, 1998). The woman body became the ruthless spectators of violence in which she was dishonored by the ‘other’ to humiliate her nation; forced to voluntarily accept death by her own kin to save the honor of her community.

‘Ethnic genocides are highly gendered if compared in term of the experiences and actions of men and women’ (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989: 1480). Men have always played the role of a fighter, a protector, a guardian of their women’s pride and feel ontologically existent if able to secure the honor of their nation and community. A man’s honor lies in protecting the pride of his nation, through guarding his women from getting polluted by the communal others. As discussed in *Woman-Nation-State* by Anthias and Yuval-Davis, the association of women with nation doesn’t only hold for her biological role of giving birth to national heroes from a pure race, but also as signifiers of religious and cultural ideology where women bodies and sexuality operates as ethnic or national boundaries (*ibid*,1989).

Women’s experiences of the partition were seldom an event brought to them by fate, but rather orchestrated by the men of their community, having control over their life, body, and sexuality. The recovery mission of 1947 further bartered back these violated bodies to tie them in a society which terms them as ‘impure’, ‘polluted’ and ‘unwanted’. Women with violated bodies are a reminder to the masculine state of its inability to protect the nation which is now marked with signs, signifying its occupation by the self-constructed ‘others’.

4. (Re)thinking Shame and Emasculation in the Context of the Partition of India

4.1 Emasculating experiences in the post-colonial encounters

“I will go into a thousand hells cheerfully if I can rouse my countrymen, immersed in tamas (darkness), to stand on their own feet and be men (emphasis mine)....”

-Vivekananda

(see Banerjee, 2003, p. 171)

The concepts of honor and shame operate very closely in the state's identity of the 'self'. Honor makes the subject feel valued whereas, shame undermines the state's ability to stand by its own narrative. Giddens calls 'pride' as 'the other side of shame: it is the feeling of confidence in the integrity and value of the narrative of self-identity...' (Giddens, 1991:66). Shame, therefore, acts as an analogy for ontological insecurity. This section will explore the various ontological security threats that operate within the Indian state in the construction of its self-identity. The period between 1946 and 1947 brought with it events of shameful catastrophe that ultimately divided the country into two separate nations based on communal grounds. 'The post-colonial Indian political history was marked by domestic instability, violence, and riots' (see Bhattacharya, 2017). The Hindus were desperately in need of maintaining their narrative about the self in order by upholding their masculine, sovereign agency and the Muslims were looked with indignity as 'others'- the representatives of Islamic aggressors from the past. The experience of 'humiliation and inability of the Hindu rulers to protect their nation from foreign invaders in the bygone days eventually evolved itself into a narrative of hatred against the minorities' (Pandey, 1995), leading to xenophobic hostility towards the Muslims. This conceptualized the creation of the 'self' and the 'other' in which both the communities experienced ontological insecurity and emasculation in their own ways by beholding each other's community as evil.

Guha in his *Makers of modern India*, argues that the definition of independence got transformed for both the communities. To the Hindus, independence meant sovereign rights to reclaim the nation as theirs, whereas, to the Muslims, independence was feared to give rise to a Hindu hegemonic rule in which the Muslims would be treated with shame and indignity (see Guha, 2011). A BJP (current ruling party) manifesto talks about how the post-independent India has forgotten all the past roots of Indian wisdom and how the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) aspires to celebrate Hinduism despite all the diversities.

‘Diversity is an inseparable part of India’s past and present national tradition. The post-independence tendency to reject all ancient Indian wisdom in political life led to all pre-independence values and symbols—be it the idea of spiritual nationalism expounded by Swami Vivekananda...or the soul stirring *Vande Mataram* song...as unsecular and unacceptable. The BJP rejects this attitude...’ (see Banerjee, 2003: 172).

Christophe Jaffrelot has termed Hindu Nationalism as a perfect recipe for ethnic nationalism as it appears one of its kind which was formed from the superimposition of a religion, a culture, a language, and a sacred territory (Jaffrelot, 2007:15). Jeffrelot in *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader* calls Hindutva an “heir to a long tradition”. Quoting him, ‘The first expression of Hindu mobilization emerged in the nineteenth century as an ideological reaction to European domination and gave birth to what came to be known as neo-Hinduism’ (ibid, 2007: 6-7).

The anxiety of the state over shame and emasculation has been building up throughout the course of history counting on the past experiences of humiliation. Bhattacharya (2017) argues, not long after the Mughal rule, ‘India fell under the British mandate that existed for two centuries of colonial occupation denying sovereign rights to the colonial subjects. Sovereignty as one of the key features of masculinity, had its own set of emasculating experiences that made the native menfolk feel shameful, emasculated’ (Bhattacharya, 2017) and ‘less of a man’. The British imperial masters penetrated into the Indian territory, depriving the countrymen of their rights and agency, robbing the men of their ontological needs. The 1947 declaration of the much-awaited independence and sovereignty was an ultimatum that confirmed the exit of British from India, surrendering all rights back to the countrymen. This occasion was an end to all the emasculating experiences of the past. The state got back its sovereignty to turn itself into a masculine guardian.

Hansen in his *The saffron wave: Democracy and Hindu nationalism in modern India*, argues that this new-found essence of independence and sovereignty created unrest among the population on the basis of majority-minority divisions built on religion. The nationalist groups tried to put up with the state narrative by calling themselves representatives of the nation (see Hansen, 1999).

The Hindu nationalist forces aimed at procuring their ontological security by establishing the fact (based on their assumption) that India has regained its lost identity as a Hindu nation by fighting the foreign forces from the past. ‘The post-colonial India was proud of its sovereignty and its self-identity as a Hindu nation, leaving the humongous section of Muslim population under threat of emasculation’ (Jeffrelot, 2007).

Dibyesh Anand in his *Hindu Nationalism in India and the Politics of Fear* studies the political psychology of the nationalist element towards the communal ‘others’. Quoting him,

‘A key plan of Muslims, according to Hindutva ideologues, is to “allure, attract and abduct young Hindu girls for marriage to the Muslims” (Paliwal 2003: 24). Statements such as this reveal what Hindu nationalism sees as the primary enemy—a certain stereotype of vile and virile Muslim masculinity. Fear, disgust, and desire work together in creating the image of “the Muslim,” a stereotyped Muslim hypersexual masculine figure that performs the function of the constitutive Other against which the new Hindu (read Hindutva) Self is called for’ (Anand, 2011:49-50).

Anand speaks at length about the narratives framed by the Hindu nationalists, trying to portray Muslims (men) as the biggest internal threat to the Hindu nation (women). They stereotype the disloyalty of the Muslim men by digging past histories of Islamic dominance over Hindus. A man’s love for a woman draw questions based on their respective religious affiliations and is often alleged as another shrewd attempt towards religious conversions. The experiences of the partition massacre even glorified such pre-conceived notions framed against the ‘other’ men and their attempts to dishonor the Indian women (largely depicted as Hindu women).

The partition thus displayed all the necessary ingredients that formed a starting point in the construction of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ within the discourse which later manifested into a strong Hindutva philosophy (Nandy, 1988).

The philosophy of Hindu fundamentalism intends to manipulate the history to (re)create memories of the past on the basis of an ‘imagined community’ tied together on myths of a common culture, nation, oneness, and brotherhood. It aims to unify the entire Hindu community based on religious rhetoric and the search for an identity that manifests itself through the creation of a single Hindu-self. Such Islamophobic mentality has turned into extremism towards justifying the xenophobic behavior of the state against the Muslims.

The 2002- Gujarat riot is one such ‘post-colonial encounter between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ which demonstrated the stronghold of Hindutva philosophy in independent India’ (Varshney, 2002). The killing of thousands of Muslims in the state of Gujarat based on an assumption which held the Muslims responsible for setting a train on fire which was carrying the *Karsevaks* (Hindu nationalists) returning from Ayodhya. Ayodhya saw disputes in 1992 between the two communities over a plot of land which is the historical location of the mosque called *Babri Masjid* (made by Mughal rulers in 1528 CE), but also considered to be the birthplace of Lord Rama (a Hindu deity), and an eventual demolition of the mosque by the *Karsevaks* (see Varadarajan, 2002). It was one of the cruel instances of xenophobic hostility against the communal minorities in recent times. Varshney argues, ‘...These events followed by provocative religious summons all over the country calling for Hindu awakening and revivalism in independent India caused immense anxiety among the Muslim population, forcing their masculine-self to fight out of a nation that makes them feel emasculated and weak’ (Varshney, 2002).

As Steele’s idea of ontological security claims that if a particular narrative about the self isn’t consistent with the behavior of the state then it gives rise to anxiety and shame about the self for not being able to keep up with the narrative (Steele, 2008:13). The immediate feelings of existential anxiety among the minorities intensified into a desire for creating an independent nation of their own. As the masculine conception of honor demands sacrifices and determination, retreating from the greater cause would mean emasculation not just for the entire Muslim community but also for Islam. These philosophies of masculinity and nationhood transformed the nationalist forces into an empowered being, and as saviors of their community vis-à-vis the nation. This further added to their sense of authority which empowered the masculine hegemonic state to take decisions for the national subjects.

Kinnvall in her book *Globalisation and Religious Nationalism in India* has conducted ethnographic fieldwork with many right-wing supporters. Quoting one such interviewee (49-years old male Hindu Brahmin)-

'Whatever Bal Thackerey (*Shiv Sena leader- anti-muslim organization) says is correct- this whipping up of Hindus is correct because Muslims have ruled over centuries. Whatever happens in India today is the Muslims' fault, like the robbing, raping, blasts, bombs, demolitions, etc. It is only the Hindus that are affected by family planning, not the Muslims as they have their Personal Law and are allowed to have four wives' (Kinnvall, 2006:155).

Analyzing the immediate reaction of the Sangha supporters against the Muslims pictures a clear hostility between the communities with strong anti-Muslim sentiments. The creation of these negative narratives implant myths that advocate hatred against the minorities for victimizing the Hindus in the past. 'There is a strong sense of emasculation among the Hindu men centered around the stories of the humiliation of the past non-Hindu occupation, apparently caused by the lack of masculine Hindu menfolk' (Anand, 2011).

Hindutva nationalism, therefore, has its own standards in which the honor and pride of the nation plays an equally significant role as traits of masculinity, celibacy, and self-control. Hindutva philosophy identifies a woman as synonymous to mother: as bearers of national heroes. Mother is a symbol of honor, tradition, and home that needs to be protected by her strong and masculine son whom she has given birth to and who is now responsible for her physical security. As Peterson says, '...Motherland is a woman's body and as such is ever in danger of violation—by 'foreign' males. To defend her frontiers and her honor requires relentless vigilance and the sacrifice of countless citizen warriors...' (Peterson, 1998:44).

Dibyesh Anand termed Hindu nationalism as a 'porno-nationalism'. Quoting him-

'Nationalism has typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation, and masculinized hope (Enloe 1989: 44). Hindu nationalism illustrates this clearly. It fantasizes potency (of a Hindu collective), yet it fears impotency. Nationalism, for Hindutva, is a politico-cultural project to create, awaken, and strengthen a masculinist-nationalist body (see also Bacchetta 2004; Banerjee 2005; Gupta 2001; Jayawardena and De Alwis 1998).

I analyzed Hindu nationalism by conceptualizing it as a porno-nationalism. Hindu nationalism, as a narcissistic ideology, has at its core a sexualized conception of sometimes the Self and often the Other; and at the level of nationalized corporeal bodies too, sexual desire and “perversions” play a crucial role (see Kabbani 1986; Lewis 1996; McClintock 1993; Said 1978; and Stoler 2002, 1995 on imperialism, nationalism, and sexuality). Jokes, slogans, gossip, and conversations of young male activists laced with sexual themes are ethnographically relevant. Such a porno-nationalist imagination of the hypersexualized Muslim Other convinces the Hindu nationalist Self of its moral superiority but at the same time instills an anxiety about the threatening masculine Other. Hindu nationalism, despite claiming to represent the majority Hindu community, has at its core a deep masculinist anxiety that it claims will be solved through a masculinist, often bordering on militarized, awakening’ (Anand,2011:153).

Therefore, the masculine greatness of a man lies in killing his woman to save the honor of his community vis-à-vis nation, whereas, abusing the women of the enemy community is legitimized as an act of revenge to humiliate the ‘other’. The fear of emasculation or the feeling of experiencing something ‘less of a man’ surrounds the entire history of partition massacre in which women bodies or lives were treated as objects. They were violated by their own male kin for the protection of the honor of the mother nation (Bharat Mata). Whereas women assaulted by the ‘other’ men were either disowned by the community or forced to commit suicide for being touched by the communal ‘others’ and hence turned into something ‘less pure’.

4.2 Quest for Hindu awakening

“My ashes may be sunk in the Holy Sindhu river when she will again flow freely under the aegis of the flag of Hindusthan. [...] It hardly matters even if it took a couple of generations for realising my wish. Preserve the ashes till then”

- Godse (1993: 186)

The above quote by Nathuram Vinayak Godse, a representative of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), in his, *Why I Assassinated Mahatma Gandhi*? shows the strong determination and dedication of the right-wing forces towards the philosophy of a Hindu Rastra (nation).

‘Hindutva (“Hindu-ness,” shorthand for Hindu nationalism) in India is a chauvinist and majoritarian nationalism that conjures up the image of a peaceful Hindu Self vis-à-vis the threatening minority Other’ (Anand, 2011:1). The divisive and dynamic approach of the Hindu nationalism leading to production of the Hindu- Muslim conflict has been largely explored by scholars with independent values and goals (see Van Der Veer, P. 1987; Nandy 1988; Das 1990; Basu et al. 1993; Pandey 1990, 1993, 1995; Panikkar, 1993; Bhatt, C., and P. Mukta. 2000; Varshney 2002; Brass 2011, 2004, 1997; Brass and Vanaik 2002; Hansen 1999; Jaffrelot 1996, 2007; Hansen and Jaffrelot 2001; Kinnvall 2006; Anand 2011).

This section intends to analyze the growing wave of communalism in the subcontinent; its origin and how it reduced individuals to one homogenous identity formed on the basis of their religious affiliations, dehumanizing a part of the humanity as the ‘others’- a threat to the ‘self’ and the ‘nation’.

Post-partition India has been witnessing a phenomenon of the rise of right-wing leadership who over the past two decades have been constantly putting significant efforts to combine religious rhetoric and nationalist discourse by claiming Hindutva as a ‘Way of Life’ (see Brodd, J.; Little, L.; Nystrom, B. P.; Platzner, R.; Shek, R. H. C.; & Stiles, E. E., 2012). With the massive victory of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in the 2014 general elections, the winds of Hindu awakening started gaining strong momentum. The fear and suspicion of imposing a totalitarian rule by the majority right-wing political party-in-power made ‘Intolerance’ a buzzword in the Indian politics, thereby attracting a lot of public debates, discussions, and research worldwide. Continuous attacks on minorities and categorizing them as elements of suspicion have made “anti-national” and “intolerance” as powerful vocals in a “Modi-fied” India (The Tribune, 2015). The *Sangha Parivaar* (right-wing family) describes their victory in the 2014 elections as the revivalism of Hindu rule in Delhi after 800 years (India Today, 2014).

From putting a ban on Beef-eating in twenty-two Indian States to anti-conversion laws made active in five States, and the immediate *Ghar Vapsi* (home-coming) movements publicly organized a calling for re-conversion from other religions to Hinduism have all added to the hostility (see Kaul 2017). Bhattacharya stresses on the employment of religious hate speeches and continuous efforts made by the nationalist forces towards portraying India as “Bharat Mata” (the mother goddess) are additions to the process of alienating the minorities from the mainstream (see Bhattacharjee 2017).

The colonial period saw the origin of Hindutva forces, primarily with the foundation of the core wing of *Sangha Parivaar* (Hindu right-wing organization), the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), founded in 1925. However, the partition of India and Pakistan restored the animosity between Islam and Hinduism by giving birth to a section of Hindutva activists who either seek to absorb all the ‘other’ cultural or religious minorities within its fold or systematically eliminate the minorities by resorting to violence. Bhatt in his book, *Hindu nationalism: Origins, ideologies and modern myths*, calls the partition as a phenomenon which has given a new lease of life to the Hindutva cause (Bhatt, 2001).

Post-independence, the advocates of Hindu nationalism started re-installing the memories and traumas of the partition with the motive of gathering religious sentiments to unite the entire nation as a “Hindu Rashtra” (see Sarkar, 2005). Such nationalism based on Hindutva ideology as articulated by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar calls for extreme racial pride in recognizing oneself as a Hindu, as he goes on claiming the Hindu nation on being grounded “in land, blood and culture.” (see Savarkar, 1969)

The concept of Hindutva has been defined by various scholars as different forms of nationalism. Thomas Blom Hansen in his *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India* (1999) and *Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideologies and Modern Myths* (2001) by Chetan Bhatt characterizes Hindutva as a form of ‘cultural nationalism’. They have extensively argued for the existence of a cultural Hindutva which is essential for the moral rejuvenation of an ‘imagined’ ancient community. Christophe Jaffrelot contradicts this idea of cultural nationalism and categorizes Hindutva ideology as ethnic nationalism. In his *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader*, he states, ‘Hindu Nationalism appears for the first time as resulting from the superimposition of a religion, a culture, a language, and a sacred territory—the perfect recipe for ethnic nationalism’ (Jaffrelot, 2007:15).

Catarina Kinnvall in her book, *Globalization and Religious Nationalism in India: The Search for Ontological Security*, studies Hindutva as another form of religious nationalism. She has done an extensive research on Hindu nationalism within the framework of ontological security theory by adding a global perspective to security studies.

Quoting Kinnvall,

‘...globalization has changed the relationship between the global and the local, the global-local nexus, paving the way for a postmodern emphasis on difference and identity- politics...analyzing the consequences of structural and emotional insecurity as individuals and groups have attempted to securitize subjectivity by searching for one stable identity. Despite the fact that such an identity is an essentialist illusion, it remains a powerful notion. For the Sikh and Hindu communities, securitizing subjectivity has meant ignoring existing divisions along lines of caste, class, gender, geography, nationalist and religious intensity’ (Kinnvall,2006:166).

The quotation gives a broader landscape on the changing dynamics of identity relations formed between the global and the local in which the very concept of a ‘stable identity’ has been reduced to ‘an essentialist illusion’. The sense of extreme pride on the self- culture, history, and religion inevitably suggests the creation of an ‘other’ within the discourse to secure the identity of the ‘self’ as distinct from the ‘other’. The intensity of existential crisis, anxiety, and insecurities brought about by the forced migrations took a heavy toll on human emotions and interactions in an emerging globalized world. The ontological security needs among the nationalist forces aimed at creating a community as ‘self’ based on their local identities.

The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism by C. Ram Prasad calls Hindutva ‘political Hinduism’ which has evolved over time as a device to search for, or to construct the Hindu identity. He opinions,

‘....Hindu culture becomes implicated in the affirmation of identity in the face of global erosion of difference— as Hindus construct identities through creative interpretations of history and community – organizations mediating cultural politics can seem to offer ways and means for such construction.

....If there is sufficient support for such activity, then the cultural route to making India a Hindu nation might still seem open. But this does not seem a straightforward or open route. The very plurality of the Indian people – especially the “Hindus” – that seemed to have made a direct political transformation of India virtually impossible, now stands in the way of any easy prognosis about the future of Hindu nationalism’ (Prasad, 2003:549).

According to Prasad, the pluralistic nature of the population in the subcontinent is the biggest challenge to the efforts towards a singular religious regeneration. Therefore, globalization can be a powerful force with the ability to counter the process of mobilizing the masses based on a homogenous religious identity as advocated by the religious fundamentalists.

Analyzing the thoughts of the widely read authors on the Hindutva project like Jeffrelot, Hansen, Bhatt, Brass, Panikkar, Pandey, Kinnvall, Anand and Prasad, suggests that despite the regular differences in scholarships, all of them have agreed on certain characteristics similar to the Hindutva philosophy. Among them, the defining behavior of the right-wing forces has been the generation of falsifying memory and employing elements of religion towards nationalistic ends.

Hansen quoted a line from Savarkar’s book *Hindutva: How is a Hindu?* which states that Hindus are those to whom Hindustan or India is not only their fatherland but also their holy-land (Hansen, 1999: 77). Savarkar believes in a Hindu nation which is bound together by a ‘common territory, culture and civilization’. This statement essentially reduces the possibility of anyone other than a Hindu to be truly considered as a member of the Hindu nation. Quoting Savarkar in his book, *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?*, he writes:

‘These are the essentials of Hindutva- a common nation (Rashtra) a common race (Jati) and a common civilisation (Sanskriti). All these essentials could best be summed up by stating in brief that he is a Hindu to whom Sindhusthan is not only a Pitribhumi but also a Punyabhumi’ (1969:116).

He further argues,

‘Hinduism must necessarily mean the religion or the religions that are peculiar and native to this land and these people. If we are unable to reduce the different tenets and beliefs to a single system of religion then the only way would be to cease to maintain that Hinduism is a system and to say that it is a set of systems consistent with, or if you like, contradictory or even conflicting with, each other. But in no case can you advance this your failure to determine the meaning of Hinduism as a ground to doubt the existence of the Hindu nation itself, or worse still to commit a sacrilege in hurting the feelings of our Avaidik brethren and Vaidik Hindu brethren alike, by relegating any of them to the Non-Hindu pale’ (ibid, at 104-05).

Savarkar viewed Hindus as a nation, with a common race, history, and culture. He speaks of Hindutva as a religion of the land and that the people residing in the ‘punyabhumi’ (holy land) are all Hindus. According to him, for the Hindu nation to exist it requires Hindus as residents of the sub-continent to subscribe to the philosophy of Hindutva or Hinduism. This triggers the creation of a crisis state in which the Hindus are placed in a situation of revivalism causing immense existential anxiety among the communal ‘others’ to put up with the narratives of a Hindu nation as defined by Savarkar.

Golwalkar, together with Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, worked hand-in-hand towards developing the concept of Hindu nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s, to promote the interests of Hindu society, religion and culture. He is acknowledged as one of the founders of the ideology of Hindutva and its theories.

His *We, Our Nationhood Defined* (1939) talks at length about the concept of an ideal Hindu *Rashtra* (nation) which radicalizes the idea of Hindu nationalism. Golwalkar’s political and religious philosophy was centered around the concept of Hinduzing the Indian nation and he furthered Sarvarkar’s ideology of ‘common nation-common race- common civilization’ to ‘One nation (Hindu), One culture (Sanskrit) and One religion (Hinduism)’ (See Golwalkar, 1966:177-201). In his *Bunch of Thoughts* (1966), he declared the Muslims and the Christians as potential threats to the Hindu nation. His concept of a ‘Hindu Rashtra’ seeks to form a nation based on ‘one culture-one religion’ to fight out the diverse nature of Indian society.

To the Hindu *Rashtravadis* (nationalists), true independence would mean freedom for all the religious and cultural pluralism that exists and transforming India into Hindustan: the holy land for the Hindus. Their ontological security needs call for the creation of a secure singular national identity in order to feel ‘at home’ in a world of pluralism and heterogeneity. Golwalkar openly accused the Muslims of separating the country and for all the ordeals that the Hindus living in the sub-continent had to once go through. In his work he displayed massive distrust against the Indian Muslims residing in post-partitioned India, questioning their motives and dedications towards the land. Quoting him,

‘Have those who remained here changed [...] Has their old hostility and murderous mood, which resulted in widespread riots, looting, arson, raping and all sorts of orgies on an unprecedented scale in 1946-47, come to a halt at least now? It would be suicidal to delude ourselves into believing that they have turned patriots overnight after the creation of Pakistan. On the contrary, the Muslim menace has increased a hundredfold by the creation of Pakistan which has become a springboard for all their future aggressive designs on our country’ (*ibid*, at 178.).

Golwalkar emphasized, to glorify the Hindu nation, all the ‘others’ should be merged within the Hindu ideology. If ‘they’ (referring to the ‘others’) are taken into the wing of a Hindu nation, they must adopt the Hindu culture, civilization, history, and language as their own and therefore become a part of the Hindu race. He writes in *We, Our Nationhood Defined* (1939)- ‘the foreign races in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture [...] or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment – not even citizen’s rights’ (1939,47-48)

Renounced historian Sumit Sarkar considers Golwalkar as an orthodox and more conservative version of Savarkar, with strong opinions on the religious minorities living in the country. According to Sarkar, Golwalkar left little to no room for the concepts of tolerance, secularism, and democracy to thrive on its own in an independent India (see Sarkar, 2005).

The riots that followed in the wake of the demolition of Babri Masjid (1992) and the Gujarat Riot (2002) are notable instances of approaching religious nationalism in the path of Golwalkar's ideology of alienating the Muslims as enemies, traitors, and threats to the Hindu nation. The 1992 Ayodhya crisis is one such instance that highlighted the growing inspirations of the masses following the Hindutva principles. The incident of Ayodhya dispute took place over a piece of land which is supposed to be the birthplace of Lord Rama (a Hindu deity). It ushered a movement aiming at demolishing a century old mosque, named *Babri Masjid* which is believed to be located at the birthplace of the Hindu god. Hindu nationalists rationalized the demolition of the mosque by calling it a monument of humiliation for the Hindus, built by a Muslim aggressor from the past and therefore, needed to be brought down to ashes. The *Karsevaks* (Hindu activists) gathered from all over the country, sloganning "Jai Shree Ram", while demolishing the mosque, in the name of Lord Ram (see Nandy 1995, Panikkar 1993).

The Godhra incident which followed in 2002, massacring thousands of Muslims in the state of Gujarat was another prime example of communal polarization which defined the feature of the Hindutva philosophy. The advocates of Hindu nationalism seek to rally the country's desperate population around the belief system of terrorizing the religious minorities living among the Indian population. The narratives of past violence are created, often 'replacing real memories with myths' that speculates an existential threat for the Hindus, coming from the minorities. (see Brass 2004; Varadarajan 2002; Ghassen-Fachandi 2012). The threats of survival as a Hindu-self legitimizes the act of violating the Muslim -other by cultivating the right-wing politics of hatred and fear. Young minds are harvested into fantasizing the past as a glorified era of Hindu-ness.

5.War on Mother India

5.1 Beyond the crisis of identity

“If I start describing the atrocities committed against Hindus and the rapes perpetrated against our daughters and daughters-in-law to forcefully convert them to Islam, then I will not be able to control my emotions. The Christians also regularly perpetrate similar kinds of violence against us... [Such] innumerable difficulties have befallen us. Even then we continue to remain weak. We can neither protect our women, nor save our daughters from being humiliated. They have come to believe that Hindu wives-daughters are their property. It is because of our weakness that they don’t feel the need to be scared of us...From now on we shall not commit this sin. It is because of this sin that our body parts have been cut....”

-Hedgewar (1972: 9-12)

The pursuit of an ideal world with no association to the reality as dwelled in the minds of the nationalist writers, portrayed the image of Mother India as ‘Hindu’-a pure being who ideally sparks patriotic sentiment. They reinforced the concept of an idealized world of ‘purity and impurity’ that destabilized the identity of women by making them vulnerable to ‘shame’ on losing their ‘honor’. The ontological approach to this section intends to carry out a psycho-analytical reading of the term ‘Indian-ness’ as a unique Indian identity from the perspective of mother India.

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay in his *Anandamath* shouts out ‘*Vande Mataram*’ (bowing down or offering prayers to the mother) to the sons as ‘enlightened children’ of Mother India (Chattopadhyay 2005). The desire to develop a narrative of the ‘self’ which is different from the ‘other’ developed the fear and insecurity of losing the ‘self’. The core to the partition violence is the creation of such an idealized vision of nationalism which separates the ‘self’ and the ‘other’. Michaels pointed out this violence as ‘unreal’ and in contrast to the typical identity of a mother, an object of affection (Douglas & Michaels, 2004:124).

Savarkar in his *Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History* adopted a very revolutionary approach to clothing the narratives of a Hindu nation and its philosophy. He began by vividly constructing the image of the Muslim ‘other’ as aggressors and intruders, possessing radical beliefs. He accused Muslim men of hyper-virility, stereotyping their identity as one of the rapists. Quoting his words,

‘With shameless religious fanaticism, the highly aggressive Muslim of those times considered it their highly religious duty to carry away women of the enemy side, as if they were commonplace property, to ravish them, to pollute them, and to distribute them all and sundry, from the Sultan to the common soldier... almost every Muslim kept at least three or four such forcibly polluted women’ (1971:176).

Analyzing this quote brings us to the conceptualization of identity of the enemy ‘others’ as volunteers who have assigned themselves the task to ‘pollute’ a Hindu woman by exploiting her feminine identity as mother. Gender being a potential component of identity manifestation became a burden on the female body and her sexuality. Amidst the arguments on Indian-ness and who belongs to India, what took away the life of a million was the conflicting discourse of insecurity and lost identity. Avtar Brah in *Cartographies of diaspora: Contesting identities*, says ‘The partition of 1947 has a strong metaphorical anecdote of identity.’ He argues that the urge to dominate the mother nation created a vicious circle of never-ending violence, (re)birth and death, tolerance and denial, oneness and alienness, which has rewritten the identity of a nation in which the mother nation is raped by her own sons over and over again (Brah, 2005). The 1905 pamphlet from *Vande Mataram*, uses women body as a metaphor which assumes greater significance of idealizing the body of the nation as the mother.

‘Brothers, we are, children of Mother Bharat [Mother India]. Our memorable ancestors were the sons of Mother Bharat The children to be born in this land in the future would be Mother Bharat’s sucklings, nestling in her arms... Does not Mother strike you as the granary of all grace and beauty...To this land made fertile by these sacred rivers we bow, O Mother...Like the swelling breasts of Parvati, the mangoes of India are. Like the sweet unkissed lips of the heavenly damsels, the grapes are. And the grape-vines bend like loving mother bending to suckle her baby.’ (Savarkar, 1905:1-4).

In the above quotation, Savarkar made a sensual description of Mother nation with all her ‘grace and beauty’ as imagined by the brave ‘sons of Mother Bharat’. A mother bestows love and acceptance to all her children, irrespective of any political decisions or religious sermons. The portrayal of women as the Mother of a nation is an identity which holds a lot of respect and authority. However, in the context of the 1947-partition, this notion of mothering the nation vis-à-vis the women goes in contrast with the amount of (honor)killings, rape, and mutilation that women bodies went through in the process of the production of India and Pakistan. Following such connotations of ‘mother-nation’, the partition not only divided the land between the two communities but further (re)categorized Indians as divided selves, lost in the discourse for identity formation. Sigmund Freud in his, *An outline of psycho-analysis* (1938) said that the Mother is the most loved object to her son. Daughters do not play a role in the farthest imaginations as they are not protectors of the mother, rather they are themselves future mothers, always dependent on their male counterparts for survival. Ferenczi’s *A theory of genitality* (1989) studied the mothers’ role in society with their ability to (re)produce and give birth, the feature that makes her a nurturer.

The minorities were experiencing an ‘othering’ within the discourse, completely thrown out of the time and space, while, the majority Hindus were developing a strong sense of belonging to the new nation as ‘self’. The plethora of grief over lost belongings was hidden behind the mask for the search for a true identity. ‘The impending amount of greed and the need to mobilize one’s community against the other further radicalized the awakening of a militarized state in an idealized world’(Bhatt, 2001). Post-independence, as the fear of foreign ‘other’ was dissolved, the desire to create an identity as ‘self’ tormented the body of the mother nation. The Hindus and the Muslims evolved as separate communities, both with insecure identities. The madness among the communities about not feeling ‘at home’ with each other ultimately channeled through the production of a separate Pakistan which is exclusively for the Muslims. (see Sarkar, 2005)

Bringing up Giddens idea of ‘existential anxiety’ in this context, in the form of insecurities about lost identity and belongings initiated the need to create a ‘home’ for the ‘self’. Giddens opinions, ontological security as a mode of survival that creates a deep level of trust among others, and in objects with emotional and cognitive orientations to hold on to a particular narrative about the self (Giddens, 1991).

Therefore, when certain situations or circumstances having the potential to turn a familiar into something ‘unknown’ or unfamiliar, it causes deep levels of anxiety at the psychological level and the need to retain a secure self. ‘This ontological security needs as a mode of survival is developed within an individual from birth- the need to feel secure in familiar surroundings’ (see Mitzen, 2006).

Hence, identity in the form of a subconscious desire to form one’s own narrative, portrays two different worlds - one is the world of familiarity, security, belongings, culture, tradition, and home; whereas, the other is the world of uncertainty, insecurity and unknown. ‘The 1947-partition of British India was a product of the accumulating desire for creating one’s own identity which was for long put on trials by the colonial rulers’ (Bhattacharya, 2017). The colonial experiences of the past introduced India to a new form of identity which was modern, western and much alien to the everyday narrative of the natives. Quoting Roberta Sigel in Kinnvall’s Globalisation and Religious Nationalism in India, ‘(t)here exists in humans a powerful drive to maintain the sense of one’s identity, a sense of continuity that allays fear of changing too fast or being changed against one’s will by outside forces’ (Sigel quoted in Kinnvall, 2006: 34). The feeling of lost identity amidst the call for modernity in a globalized world questioned the widely accepted traditions and beliefs of the locals. With the declaration of independence, the challenges of modern life caused a serious identity crisis, with an eventual segregation among communities as ‘self’ and ‘other’. As Stuart Hall argued, ‘(i)f we feel that we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or “narrative about the self” about ourselves’ (ibid, 2006:34).

The India of the natives - locals, traditions, culture, and home; went in conflict with an India ready to alter itself in search of modernity, over homogenizing the identity of the mother nation. The identification of the natives through the socially constructed ethic and local values has been a common colonial practice which revolves around ‘...a myth of common descent, memories, culture, association with a territory, and a sense of solidarity’ (Allahar 2005:9). Bhattacharya in *Colonization and English ideologies in India: a language policy perspective*, argues that the traditional Indian identity was not simple, rather it was far too complicated as any other modern society with its own set of ontological needs. There were different religions, beliefs, and identities in colonial India, but all were bound together under the flag of British legacy (see Bhattacharya, 2017).

The post-colonial India experienced divisive understandings of religion that disturbed their feeling of ontological security. Ted Svensson has elaborated this idea in his book *Production of Postcolonial India and Pakistan*, where he argues that, 'In the immediate aftermath of decolonisation, both India, and Pakistan, if - as here - understood in accordance with elite narratives, were caught up in the dual process of reactive and intentional amnesia rather than the recollection and display of inherited legacy. There was a move away from attempts to allow the colonial experience to visibly influence the present and the new' (Svensson, 2013:2). The accentuated levels of communal intolerance transformed religiosity into a parameter that decides one's nationalism or love for the mother nation. The divide between the majority-minority grew post-independence, each claiming their own share of the mother nation that ultimately mutilated her (read 'body') with imprints of religious symbols. Kandiyoti in her *Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation* says, 'The regulation of gender is central to the articulation of cultural identity and difference. The identification of women as privileged bearers of identity and boundary markers of then communities has had a deleterious effect on their emergence as fullfledged citizens... evidenced by the fact that women's hard won civil rights become the most immediate casualty of the breakdown of secular projects' (Kandiyoti, 1991: 443).

The identity of women as a reflection of the mother India is explicitly associated with the purification of the nation vis-à-vis its racial purity. The production of national heroes by the mother nation is not only a source to her survival, but also a means to protect her from foreign aggressors. Talbot argues, the significance of the presence of a weak and vulnerable feminine object to complement the existence of a guardian man (see Talbot, 2009).

Douglas and Michaels in *The idealization of motherhood and how it undermined all women*, says, 'Mythologizing the expression of motherhood demands to be protected from being a functionally submissive figure' (Douglas & Michaels, 2004). She is a nurturer who gives similar treatment to all her children, making everyone drawn towards her, irrespective of their distinguished identities. To the mother nation, all her subjects possess one single identity as her child- an identity which in itself is ontologically secure, irrespective of race, religion, class, or any other nationalist agendas. 'Mother nation bears the imprints of every culture that she once encountered, including the colonial experiences, making India the homeland of pluralism' (Vanaik & Brass, 2002).

The 1947-partition was a disrespect to the mother, disrupting her ontological security by disregarding her desire to unite her children into one single identity as ‘Indian’. The religious segregation between communities questioned the validation of her identity as a mother to all her children. The mother who was ‘theirs’, suddenly became an ‘other’, creating ripples of insecurity, anxiety, and unrest. The Mother India was other’ed as the mother of her Hindu children, leaving the minorities in existential crisis and hence in search of their own identity. The children breathing under the protective wing of the Mother nation for centuries started fighting amongst themselves to enslave and win the mother. Brass in his *The production of Hindu-Muslim violence in contemporary India*, argues that the communal identities- as Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims became the primary identity of the national subjects that completely took over any other human identity (Brass, 2011).

This sorrow of the Mother nation at a collective level depicted the trauma of the entire women community as representatives of the mother. Penetrating into the honor of a female body and branding her with communal symbols became an easy way to humiliate her identity. Ritu Menon argues in her book, *No Woman’s Land*, ‘Not only do women have no country, they cannot even call their bodies their own’ (Menon, 2004:7). Talking about the position of the women as assigned in the patriarchal society, she argues that women are ‘presumed to be outside history because they are outside the public and the political, where history is made. Consequently, they have no part in it’ (*ibid*, at 3). The dreams of the past, the experiences of the present and the hopes for the future created a deep level of anxiety which turned one community against the other. Jeffrelot in his *Hindu nationalism: A reader* argues that the idea of a secure co-existence became a myth amidst all the growing insecurities that emerged from being lost in the discourse of a new identity formation and nation-building (Jeffrelot, 2007). This conflict between traditions and modernity; past and present; colonialism and sovereignty, rapidly affected the discourse of security, altering the course of life.

Partition changed the expressions of identity on an unconscious level. The ontological realities of insecurity and ‘existential anxiety’ drove the wheels of segregation, causing alienness among the communities. Hindus and Muslims were no more to be considered sons from the same mother, rather they have now mutilated the mother, making a part of her as ‘self’. Pakistan as a new nation was carved out of the feelings of insecurity and alienness among the Muslims as a reaction to the growing Hinduness in the sub-continent.

The real essence of partition was therefore much more than the desire to create a separate Pakistan, but to create a unique identity as ‘self’ which was generated out of the need to feel more valued and dignified within one’s own existence as an individual/community/state.

5.2 More than just a partition

‘Own country? Of what feather is that bird? And tell me, good people, where does one find it? The place one is born in, that soil which has nurtured us, if that is not our country, can an abode of a few days hope to be it? And then, who knows, we could be pushed out of there, too, and told to find a new home, a new country. I’m at the end of my life. One last flutter and there’ll be no more quarreling about countries. And then, all this uprooting and resettling doesn’t even amuse any more. Time was, the Mughals left their country and came to create a new one here. Now you want to pick up and start again. Is it a country or an uncomfortable shoe? If it pinches, exchange it for another!’

-Ismat Chughtai,

Roots

The true essence of the partition cannot be captured through the limited human interactions and experiences of forced migrating across borders. The partition that took place in 1947 was intertwined with a lot of complex emotions where human attachments, belongings, and traditions were at play. The expressions of partition as a bundle of complex emotions of sacrifice, love, alienness, resettling, and death can be read through the eyes of the authors and poets during the era, who made a conscious effort to narrate their stories of (un)fulfilled desires and uprooting journeys towards uncertainty. This section analyzes the socio-psychological ripples of partition violence, and the moments of crisis and trauma caused by the reminiscence of the past.

Veena Das in her *Social Suffering* mentioned that the social exclusion towards the migrants encouraged the creation of narratives on social security and thereby stronger attachments towards ‘home’ (Kleinman; Das; & Lock,1997).

Home, therefore, became an identity signifier which allows the generation of immigrants to imagine a secure identity in the past within the socio-psychological dimensions. Quoting Huysmans in Kinnvall's work on *Globalization and Religious nationalism in India*,

‘...(i)n a thick signifier analysis, one tries to understand how security language implies a specific metaphysics of life. The interpretation does not just explain how a security story requires the definition of threats, a referent object, etc. but also how it defines our relations to nature, to other human beings and to the self’ (Huysmans, quoted in Kinnvall, 2006:26).

Deconstructing security as a thick signifier in the context of rehabilitation requires the revelation of the significance of narratives which are embedded into the deeper psychological understanding of security, self and social order. Patricia Foxen in *Cacophony of Voices* blamed the construction of a single narrative as ‘problematic’ due to changing social, cultural and political scenarios in the modernized world. Patricia Foxen held the development of a singular narrative about the ‘self’ as responsible for creating conflicting memories of past violence (Foxen, 2000). The narrative of a stronger and more masculine Hindu-self was created in order to (re)live the chronicles of the past that establishes the superiority and glories of a Hindu nation. This act generated feelings of detachment and isolation from the minorities already termed as ‘others’. The practice of hating in the form of stigmatizing the ‘other’ for violating the ‘self’ further (re)inforced the ever-simmering hostilities between the communal groups.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan addressed the dichotomous relationship between the Muslims and the Hindus in one of his political speech, where he says, ‘No settlement with the majority is possible as no hindu leader speaking with any authority shows any concern or genuine desire for it.’ - (Presidential address by Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Muslim League Lucknow, October 1937, quoted. in Devji, 2013:105).

The UK National Archive describes the circumstances of the violent era in its report entitled ‘*Evaluating Partition*’ (1939-47), ‘Painful as it is to say it, I believe it to be true that the two new Dominions were born of antipathy- to use no stronger word- and pressure of circumstances, rather than of desire to forget the past and face the future in a spirit of mutual co-operation’ (The UK National Archives, 1947).

‘The sudden wave of migration brought about by the partition exodus became manifested into strong emotions of insecurities and feelings of existential anxiety’ (see Ahmed, 2011). Thousands of people were crossing borders living behind a part of their being- the ‘self’ and in search of a new identity. In the new land amidst all religious homogeneity evolved a new identity that separates the locals from the migrants.

Aanchal Malhotra in her *Remnants of a Separation: A History of the Partition through Material Memory* shares a story of her childhood memories of partition recollected from her grandparents. Quoting her,

‘I have grown up listening to my grandparents’ stories about ‘the other side’ of the border. But, as a child, this other side didn’t quite register as Pakistan, or not-India, but rather as some mythic land devoid of geographic borders, ethnicity and nationality. In fact, through their stories, I imagined it as a land with mango orchards, joint families, village settlements, endless lengths of ancestral fields extending into the horizon, and quaint local bazaars teeming with excitement on festive days. As a result, the history of my grandparents’ early lives in what became Pakistan essentially came across as a very idyllic, somewhat rural, version of happiness.’ -(see Malhotra, 2017)

Here ‘home’ as an ‘identity signifier’ provides a sense of security to the older generations who were forced to leave behind a significant part of their existence and move towards the unknown. Kinnvall in her *Globalization and religious nationalism: Self, identity, and the search for ontological security*, talks about ‘home’ as an essential part of the being that secures one’s identity as a ‘self’.

‘Home, in this sense, constitutes a spatial context in which daily routines of human existence are performed. It is a domain where people feel most in control of their lives because they feel free from the social pressure that is part of the contemporary world. Home, in other words, is a secure base on which identities are constructed (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998: 28). Homelessness is exactly the opposite, as it is characterized by impermanence and discontinuity’ (Kinnvall, 2004: 747).

To the nationalists of both the nations, partition meant not only losing control over their home but also their belongings and beloved. The plethora of grief over lost belongings was hidden behind the mask for the search of true identity which completely took over humanity in the aftermath of the partition. The Muslims were feared as traitors, the enemy ‘other’ who could cause potential damage to the Hindu ‘self’. Ananya Jahanara Kabir in her *Subjectivities, memories, loss of pigskin bags, silver spittoons and the partition of India* discussed the term ‘alienness’ as a new form of identity was forced on the minorities to accept, with no choice but to be the ‘other’ son of the mother nation (Kabir, 2002). Muslims became the embodiment of alienness in a country which they were not entitled to love anymore. They were not given any choice to accept or refuse their new identity as ‘other’ but were forced on a journey that disrupted lives and awakened more fear and death. The insanity of the partition affected millions across the borders with its desire to form an indestructible identity of Indian-ness which ultimately manifested into a holocaust.

According to Butalia, the reports from the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation set up in 1948 coined the term “partition widows” for the abandoned women who lost their husbands in the process of partition. These were numbered approximately 75,000 by the end of the recovery mission (*ibid*, 1998). These women went through unprecedented trauma in the following years that saw a huge relocation of women across the borders. Talbot called this treatment a ‘second violence’ brought on women bodies by the state. He argued that many women were stigmatized as ‘impure’ or ‘carriers of bad blood’ and therefore abandoned by their own family (Talbot, 2009). The women who started accepting their new surroundings as ‘home’ were uprooted by the state decision of rehabilitation and relocation.

One such story of an abducted woman and her abductor is shared by Urvashi Butalia in her *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*. She narrated the story of Zainab and Buta Singh, a relationship that turned romantic between an abductee and her abductor.

‘Zainab was abducted from a *kafila* or caravan that was wending its way to Pakistan. She was passed from one hand to another until Buta Singh, a Sikh bachelor, purchased her. He married Zainab. They had two daughters. The rescue team tracked Zainab to the village near Amritsar. She had no choice but to go with the rescue team. The entire village came out to bid her farewell. As she stepped out of the house

with her younger child, she turned to Singh, pointed to the elder daughter and said, “Take care of this girl.... I’ll be back soon.” ...Buta Singh applied to the Pakistan High Commission for a change in nationality and a passport. However, the application was rejected. Subsequently, he was granted a short-term visa to visit Pakistan. ...Zainab was summoned to the court. Married to a cousin, and tightly ringed by her relatives, she told the court, “I am a married woman. Now I have nothing to do with this man. He can take his second child whom I have brought from his house...” Shattered, Buta Singh put himself under a train and died. His body was taken to Lahore for autopsy and a huge crowd turned up. Some were reported to have wept. A suicide note found on him made a request that he be buried in Zainab’s village.’ (see Butalia, 2017: 214-15)

The heart-wrenching story of Zainab and Buta Singh was one among the many realities of ‘social suffering’ that the partition survivors experienced and lived-through at a socio-psychological level. Sinai in her *The Other India: Narratives of Terror, Communalism and Violence* argues that the collective existence of the partition narratives got carried across generations as a social memory amidst struggles of obliviousness and reminiscence, norms and rituals, honor, and shame, with an immense sense of pain for lost belongings and joys of creating a new identity as ‘self’ (Sinai, 2017). The partition created a narrative of distress which had far-fetched implications on the mind of the future generations who had not physically experienced the agony of separation.

The partition of 1947 was more than just a separation in which thousands abandoned homes but never made it to the other side of the border. It was more than a separation brought by strong religious-nationalist sentiments that eventuated into the bigger phenomenon of parting ways. The partition was not a single narrative that talks about the dichotomous relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims; it was not just a war drawn on women bodies as territories left to be occupied, stripped, raped and mutilated. Partition was that ‘ripple’ which emerged out of the desire to feel secure within a common narrative by creating bodies of ‘self’ which are distinct from the ‘others’.

Gulzar experienced partition as ‘a thousand ripples’ each with ‘a story’ of its own. Quoting his words,

“The wind was playing with the disturbed waters of the pool. But it seemed only surficial. Somebody threw the stone of 1947 in the middle of it. A thousand ripples erupted from the bottom of the pond. Every ripple had a story behind it ...” -Gulzar (Indian Poet and Writer, qt. in Ahmed, 2011) [Cover copy]

Individuals ‘...fear of change generates the strong need to build up a narrative of the self as stable and constant’. (Laing, 1990) A new ‘other’ is therefore, constantly created within the discourse to put up with the narrative of the ‘self’. Kinnvall calls ‘...this process of turning the stranger into an enemy is an attempt to securitize subjectivity in times of uncertainty. Within this process, self and other are both seen as essentialized bodies, which means reducing self and other to a number of cultural characteristics. These characteristics although constructed and fabricated, come to be seen as natural, unified features for describing the group’ (Kinnvall, 2004:755). New identities were created in the middle of all the rape and mutilation and in this constant process of birth, rebirth, and death, the identity of a nation is (re)created over and over again.

Conclusion

'Pointing to the horizon, where sea and sky are joined, he says, It is only an illusion because they can't really meet, but isn't it beautiful, this union which isn't really there?'

-Saadat Hasan Manto (1997 p. xi)

To the survivors of the 1947 partition, this separation was one of inevitability. Saadat Hasan Manto's stories of partition give a naïve yet romantic outlook to this historic event which deals with deeper human emotions of love and later abjuring that love for the imperative need of a national revolution.

This dissertation takes us through a journey into the spectacles of communal implications of nationalism. The (extra)ordinariness of the founding ideologies of militant nationalism has been carefully deconstructed to translate the realities of violence in the context of partition. The discourse of security enables the creation of narratives about the viciousness of the 'other' which continuously intends to humiliate the 'self'. These ideological elements justify the retaliatory gesture of the nationalists, combined with normalizing sexual violence against women of the enemy group. The politics of hate feeds upon the sense of (in)securities by conceptualizing the 'other' as a potential existential threat to the 'self'. The tendency of combining religious revivalism with nationalism has been explored within the theoretical framework of ontology with regard to understanding the connections between socio-psychological insecurities and its homogenizing effects on identity formation. The case of Hindutva is illustrated within the discourse of security that aims to build up a homogenous Hindu identity as a counter-security measure to protect the 'imagined' Hindu nation. An engaged scholarship on the concepts of 'honor' and 'shame' is applied to re-emphasize the act of justifying violence against the minorities by stereotyping the image of the Muslim man. The partition history unfolded the truth about the feelings of being honored and ontologically significant as a priority over physical existence. This honor lies in controlling the sexuality of women, imposing psychological and physical torture over women as a part of the process which leads to freedom.

The paper concludes with a discussion on the parochial masculine desire to control women's sexuality by transforming their bodies into arena for violent occupation. It further interrogates the praxis of bullying the identity of the women as mother nation that underpins gendered violence and humiliation.

This dissertation contributes to the literature on ontological security by gendering its theoretical framework to explore the large-scale communal violence in the 1947 partition of India. It primarily studies the socio-psychological ripples of identity relations within the discourse of security which analyzes the patriarchal power-play between the two major religious communities. Ontological security theory is applied to (de)construct the identity of 'self' and 'other' and their utilization of women bodies as dehumanized territories that were socially ignored and culturally muted, but still held the imprints of partition history within their violated-self.

A recent instance of the militant state behavior based on embedded ontological insecurities and emasculation can be studied through the 2011 Syrian uprising. Syrian president Bashar al- Assad justified the violence of the state against its subjects by assigning the 'protestors'- a transformed identity as 'terrorists' and therefore, gunning down the enemy 'others' is the responsibility of the masculine paternal state to protect the national honor. The Syrian civil war features strong notions of 'honor' and 'shame' in which even though the regime lost sovereignty over its land, but the army- as masculine agents of the state kept fighting in order to feel valued and secure in their narratives of (re)gaining honor by upholding the features of masculinity.

This research also intends to provide a fertile ground in studying the expressions of nationalism and populism from a global perspective, by associating the increasing identity crisis in the modern society with ontological insecurities. The modernization which was expected to be conducive to religious secularization, instead gave rise to an edgy political and cultural response to the uncertainties of globalization. The modern concepts of religious pluralism, relativism, radical individualism, and liberal democratization came in contrary to the traditional values of the non-Western nations. Such developments problematically shuddered the historical assumptions and narratives of these nations, impacting their intrinsic values and understandings of the 'self'. Said (1978: 2) argues that the Orientalist thoughts are based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident'.

Therefore, Orientalism often pictures anything non-Western as inherently primeval body of thoughts which are fundamentally at odd with the modern Western ideologies and beliefs. The contentious debate on Islam vs the West, featuring on several countries in Europe, South-Asia, the Middle East, and parts of sub-Saharan Africa is a bi-product of this popular culture of alienating faiths based on Orientalist biases. For instance, the 2002 French electoral victory of right-wing politician, Jean-Marie Le Pen, saw anti-Islamic elements which includes ‘othering’ the Muslims as threat to French national security, followed by banning some prominent Muslim customary practices among which includes wearing the Muslim veils (*hijab*) in public. The Scandinavian repute for tolerance was tested from the dramatic rise of right-wing extremism and anti-Islamism that manifested the attacks on 22nd July 2011 by Anders Behring Breivik against the Labor Party youth based on the Utøya island. Bjørge (2012) made a detailed study on Breivik’s extreme ideology which has been brought to light through his statements during the trial in which he called himself a Crusader fighting against the third attempt of the Muslims to conquer Europe for Islam. The Muslim uproar in Denmark had a similar rhetoric against a series of cartoons published by *Jyllands-Posten* (2005), a newspaper agency in Denmark, with controversial content that mocks Islamic faith and the prophet Muhammad. Each event of religious fanaticism has its own set of socio-political and psychological factors embedded in its historical experience of subordination, humiliation and alienation. As Max Weber (1963) in his *The Sociology of Religion*, made a comparative civilisational study in which he talks about the ‘origins of civilisation’ where he presupposes a ‘historical divide’ as responsible for transforming social behavior. As a response to the insecurities and indignities created out of the distinctions between the ‘West’ and the ‘non-West’ (re)affirmed the combination of religion and nationalism as a powerful signifier in identity construction. Post twenty-first century, as the wave of xenophobic hostility against the immigrants strengthened in the Western Europe, religion appeared in the realm of politics as a collective influencer in every human affair. The religious nationalism in the colonized territories thus emerged as a response to the growing religious rebellion in the Western societies against the ‘others’. The post-Cold War era experienced political uncertainties, insecurities, and existential threats among the newly independent nations that ushered a religious revivalism as a collective identity in the face of a post-modern pluralist reality.

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