NATION OF MEN: PARADIGMS AND PRACTICES OF GENDER IN NATIONALIST DISCOURSES

Thesis submitted to the
University of Calicut
for the award of the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in English Language and Literature

ASHA MARY ABRAHAM



Department of English University of Calicut

December 2023

Declaration

I, Asha Mary Abraham, hereby declare that the thesis entitled Nation of

Men: Paradigms and Practices of Gender in Nationalist Discourses submitted to

the University of Calicut for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

English is an original record of observations and bonafide research carried out by me

under the guidance of Dr. M.V. Narayanan, Professor (Rtd.), Department of English,

University of Calicut, and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award

of any degree or diploma or similar titles.

Calicut

01.12.2023.

Asha Mar Abraham

Certificate

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **Nation of Men: Paradigms** and Practices of Gender in Nationalist Discourses submitted to the University of Calicut for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English Language and Literature is an original bonafide work of research carried out by Ms. Asha Mary Abraham under my supervision and that it has not been previously submitted for the award of any degree or diploma or similar titles.

Dr. M.V.Narayanan

Research Supervisor

Calicut,

01.12.2023.

Dr. Sajitha M.A.

Dr. Sajitha M.A.

Associate Professor English

Associate Professor Calicut

Department of Calicut

University of Calicut

University, P.O. Thenhipalam

Calicut University, P.O. India. Pin. 673635

Malappuram District, Kerala, India.

NO CORRECTION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the examiners who valued the thesis *Nation of Men:*Paradigms and Practices of Gender in Nationalist Discourses by Ms. Asha Mary

Abraham, have not been suggested any corrections. Hence the thesis is submitted as such without making any corrections.

Calicut, 30.10.2024

My Navay avan Research Supervisor

UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT CERTIFICATE ON PLAGIARISM CHECK

1.	Name of the research scholar	ASHA MARY	ABRAHAM			
2.	Title of thesis/dissertation	NATION OF M PRACTICES O DISCOURSES	OF GENDER I	IGMS AND N NATIONALIST		
3	Name of the supervisor	Dr. M.V Naraya	nan			
4.	Department/Institution	Department of University of C	0			
		Introduction/ Review of literature	Materials and Methods	Result/ Discussion/Summary/ Conclusion		
5.	Similar content (%)identified	0%	0%	0%		
			1			
4	Acceptable maximum limit (%)	10	10	10		
6.	Acceptable maximum limit (%) Software used	10	10 DrillBit	10		

*Report on plagiarism check, specifying included/excluded items with % of similarity to be attached.

Checked by (with name, designation & Signature)

Dr. VINOD V.M.
Assistant Librarian (Sl.Grade)
University of Calicut

Name and signature of the Researcher

Name & Signature of the Supervisor

Research accomplished herein.

The Doctoral Committee* has verified the report on plagiarism check with the contents of the thesis, as summarized above and appropriate measures have been taken to ensure originality of the

Name & Signature of the HoD/HoI (Chairperson of the Doctoral Committee)

* In case of languages like Malayalam, Tamil, etc. on which no software is available for plagiarism check, a manual check shall be made by the Doctoral Committee, for which an additional certificate has to be attached

Dr. Sajitha M.A.

Associate Professor & Head
Department of English
University of Calicut
Calicut University, P.O. Thenhipalam
Malappuram District, Kerala, India. Pin: 673635

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I express my deepest sense of gratitude to my Research Supervisor Dr. M.V. Narayanan, Profesor (Rtd.), Department of English, University of Calicut for his expert guidance, empathy, emotional support, unfailing generousness and meticulous scrutiny of this dissertation. I am deeply obliged to him for the academic, professional and personal lessons he taught, intentionally and otherwise. I am extremely grateful to the institutional support that was offered by the University of Calicut. I am indebted to Dr. Sajitha.M.A., Head of the Department of English, University of Calicut for her warm nature and timely assistance. I extend my love and gratitude to the faculty at the Department of English, University of Calicut – Dr. K.M. Sherrif, Dr. Janaky Sreedharan and Dr. Umer Thasneem for their guidance and motivation. I thank the librarians for their assistance and the non-teaching staff of the department for their technical and clerical support.

I extend my heartfelt love to my fellow research scholars who have been a steady source of inspiration as well as criticism and with whom the time spent together were academically and personally enriching; a special note of gratitude to my constants Dr. Roshna and Dr. Aparna for the academic interactions we had and the laughter we shared. I am thankful to my fellow researchers Obed Ebenezer, Salini and Amritha Vyduri for their timely assistance. I am grateful to my friend Likesh for the proof reading assistance he so willingly offered. I fondly cherish the comradeship I developed at the campus and the strength derived from it.

I am obliged to my parents and my sister for their unbounded love and their conviction about my life choices. I am grateful to my parents for their constant reminder of the hard work required for dreams to be manifested. They have emotionally sustained me through the highs and lows of my academic journey. I

express my affection and gratitude to my life partner, who through his unwavering support and trust, became the wind beneath my wings, fuelling me with energy. I am indebted to my yet-to be born baby who took shape and grew uncomplainingly alongside this thesis, for ushering into my life a tenderness I never knew to exist. I extend my love and gratitude to my in-laws for their faith and patience in me, sustaining me through the long-drawn journey of research. I am thankful to my extended family, friends and well-wishers for their love and concern.

I am grateful to the benevolent provider and the universe for the kindness I am bestowed with and the blessings I am abundantly provided with. Above all, I am grateful to the five and half year-long academic exercise that this thesis has subjected me to, helping me evolve into a better version of myself, academically and personally.

Asha Mary Abraham

Contents

			Page No.
Introductio	n: N	Nation and Nationalism: Origin and Evolution	1 – 20
Chapter 1	:	Nation and Nationalism: Definitions, Typology and Western Theoretical Positions	21 – 129
Chapter 2	:	Indian Nationalism: Evolution, Theories, Political Perspectives and Political Practices	130 – 251
Chapter 3	:	Nation and Gender	252 – 353
Chapter 4	:	Reflections of the Masculine Indian Nation in Literature	354 – 473
Conclusion: Nation of Men			474 – 481
Works Cited			482 – 511

"As a woman, I have no country.

As a woman, I want no country.

As a woman, my country is the whole world"

- Virginia Woolf, Three Guineas.

ABSTRACT

The thesis is titled *Nation of Men: Paradigms and Practices of Gender in Nationalist Discourses*. The thesis studies how the slow yet steady process of evolution of nations and nationalisms did not take gender into account, treated its women populace inequitably in comparison to their male counterparts and the progress that were made in this regard. Hypothesizing a gender disproportion in the manners in which various nations are conceived, imagined and developed, the thesis delves into the biological reasons, historical impetuses, political motives and sociocultural stereotypes that induce and sustain this gender disproportion and facilitate and validate the persisting gender injustice. Hypothesizing the titular statement that nation is a masculine concept, the thesis looks into various aspects of the nation that overtly and covertly display its masculinity and evaluate how promising is the masculine nation for the women in/out of the nation, particularly with regard to the Indian nation that is asserting its swelling masculinity on a daily basis.

The thesis is divided into an Introduction, four chapters and conclusion and is an attempt to comprehensively study the existing discourse on nations and nationalism and to expose the lacunae in the traditional studies on nationalism carried out until the late 20th century in which explorations about the gendering of nations, gendering within the nations and the gendering of the national imaginary were conspicuously sparse. It attempts to bring to light the historicity of the practices of gender inequity and sexism and the means by which modern nations appropriated it. The thesis establishes firmly the apparent fact that nations have historically conceived male and female citizenship differently in terms of rights and duties and analyzes the obvious, yet largely unmapped connection between national and masculine traits and the national and feminine bodies. The thesis empathizes with the women cast out from the nation, figuratively and otherwise and studies the forthcoming prospect of the concept of nation and nationalism for these women. The thesis opens possibilities for novel means of conceiving nations in hitherto-unthought-of ways whereby the gender disparity can be bridged.

Keywords: Nation, nationalism, femininity/masculinity, iconography, Hindutva.

they hardonar

സംഗ്രഹം

Nation of Men:Paradigms and Practices of Gender in Nationalist Discourses എന്ന തലക്കെട്ടുള്ള പ്രബന്ധം ദേശരാഷ്ട്രങ്ങളുടെ പരിണാമത്തെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള പഠനങ്ങൾ ലിംഗഭേദം കണക്കിലെടുക്കാതെ സ്തീസമൂഹത്തെ അസമത്വത്തോടെ കൈകാര്യം ചെയ്ത എന്ന അനമാനിക്കുന്നു. വിവിധ രാഷ്ട്രങ്ങളുടെ സങ്കല്പനത്തിലും വളർച്ചാഘട്ടങ്ങളിലും ഉണ്ടാവുന്ന ലിംഗപരമായ അസത്തലിതാവസ്ഥയുടെ കാരണങ്ങളിലേക്ക് പ്രബന്ധം വെളിച്ചം വീശുന്നു. ശീർഷകം സൂചിപ്പിക്കുന്നത് പോലെ, ദേശരാഷ്ടം ഒരു പുരുഷ സങ്കൽപ്പം ആണെന്നും അത് അതിന്റെ പൗരുഷം പ്രത്യക്ഷമായും പരോക്ഷമായും പ്രദർശിപ്പിക്കുന്നു എന്നും പ്രബന്ധം സമര്ത്ഥിക്കുന്നു. അടിസ്ഥാനപരമായി സ്തീസങ്കൽപ്പത്തിൽ നിലകൊള്ളമ്പോഴും ഇന്ത്യ അതിന്റെ പുരുഷത്വം ദിവസേന ഉട്ടിയുറപ്പിക്കുന്നു എന്ന് സിനിമ, സ്പോർട്സ്, കല, രാഷ്ട്രീയം എന്നിവ പ്രബന്ധം സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നു. അതിനായി ജ്രൂഡിത് ബറ്റ്ലരുടെ വിലയിരുത്തി performativity theory ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നു.

ആമുഖം, നാലു അധ്യാങ്ങൾ, ഉപസംഹാരം എന്നിങ്ങനെ തിരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രബന്ധം ലിംഗവിവേചനത്തിന്റെ ചരിത്രപരതയെ അന്വേഷിക്കുന്നതോടൊപ്പം സ്ത്രീ-പുരുഷ പൗരത്വ സങ്കല്പംങ്ങളെ വ്യത്യസ്തമായിട്ടാണ് വിഭാവനം ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളത് എന്ന് സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നു. ലിംഗപരമായ സമത്വം പരിഹരിച്ചു കൊണ്ട് പുത്തൻ രീതിയിൽ ദേശരാഷ്ട്രങ്ങളെ വിഭാവനം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനുള്ള സാദ്ധ്യതകൾ പ്രബന്ധം തുറന്നിടുന്നു.

Keywords: ദേശരാഷ്ട്രം, ദേശീയത, ഫെമിനിനിറ്റി/മാസ്കലിനിറ്റി, ഐക്കണോഗ്രഫി, ഹിന്ദുത്വ.

the Hardonaran

INTRODUCTION

NATION AND NATIONALISM: ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION

Eric Hobsbawm's *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* begins with the prospect of an intergalactic historian landing on earth devastated by nuclear war and is now devoid of humans. His efforts to study the history of earth will soon arrive at a conclusion that "the last two centuries of the human history on planet earth are incomprehensible without some understanding of the term 'nation' and the vocabulary derived from it" (1). The inevitable need to academically address the concepts of nation and nationalism is faced by any scholar of history, political science, anthropology, literature, culture, sociology and a variety of other disciplines.

A nation is a congregation of people based on certain common factors like language, religion, shared culture and ethnicity or even a group of people inhabiting a common territory. The word 'Nation' is derived from its Latin equivalent *Natio*, meaning 'tribe'. *Natio* referred to 'children from same birth/origin'. The Latin root *Nat* denotes birth, from which the old French word for birth – *Natum/ Nacion* originated, which eventually resulted in the evolution of the Middle English word 'Nation'. The first documented use of the word 'Nation' was in the first half of the 13th century. The *Oxford Dictionary* defines the countable noun 'Nation' as "a country considered as a group of people with the same language, culture and history, who live in a particular area, under one government" ("Nation" 648). 'Nation' is defined by The *Cambridge Dictionary* as "a country, especially thought of as a large group living in one area with their own government, language, traditions etc." and

also as "a large group of people of the same race who share the same language, traditions and history but who might not all live in one area" ("Nation").

There are cohesive and divisive factors that determine a nation. Divisive factors, usually geographical, pull people apart while cohesive factors like religion, economy, caste and language bind people together; sometimes, the divisive factors like mountain ranges and sea leave no alternative for people but to stick together as a community while the cohesive factors can induce schisms and violence amidst communities. Hence these factors need not necessarily act as absolute determinants of the nation. A nation is largely conscious of the cohesive factors that facilitates it to adhere together into a single entity and is explicitly, a political unit.

Nations, while being the elementary constituents of modernity and nationality being an inevitable essence of modern man's identity, nations and nationalism evade descriptions and definitions and are highly enigmatic political concepts. Real, detailed studies about nationalism became mainstream prominently in the 20th century, particularly after the year 1983, which saw the publication of three seminal studies on nationalism – Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, Ernest Gellner's Nations and Nationalism, and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's The Invention of Tradition. There are many definitions of nation and nationalism that concur and collocate with and even negate the pre-existing definitions, some that open new vistas for discussion about nations while some others that view nations as a pessimistic entity. The Anglo-Irish historian Benedict Anderson explored the origin and evolution of nations in his 1983 book *Imagined* Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. He anthropologically defines the nation in the book as "an imagined political community, imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). His definition is a response to Czech philosopher and anthropologist Ernest Gellner's postulation that "nationalism is not the awakening of the nation to self-consciousness. It invents nations where they do not actually exist (*Thought* 169). Gellner's definition clearly posits that the emotion of nationalism predates the concept of nation and is a prerequisite for nation formation. "It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round" (Nations and Nationalism 55). He further specifically states that it is not agrarian civilizations that engender nationalism but industrial ones. Anderson expands on Gellner, and is critical of the phrase 'invents' in Gellner's definition; being imagined doesn't make the nation fabricated or unreal. Modern nations that are geographically bound, nations that go beyond territorial bounds such as the one imagined by Chief Seattle, male and female nations, imagined communities thriving within existing nations, subnational imaginations, highly jingoistic national imaginations are all diverse ways in which nations are conceived. The nation is imagined because the multitudinous members inside the body of a nation do not know each other but are united in spirit by common ancestry, ethnicity, language etc. Most members live and expire as total strangers, leading Vance Packard to coin the phrase 'Nation of Strangers' (qtd. in *Imagined* 3). However, an "image of their communion" is kept alive in their minds (*Imagined* 6).

Nation is conceived as a community of people with commonalities that allow them to live together. "Regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (*Imagined 7*). Nation is defined as limited because modern nations have finite territorial boundaries. No modern nations are imagined as infinite and equivalent to humankind, says Anderson. Joseph Stalin, in a Soviet Socialist context, defines the nation as "a historically evolved, stable community of language,

territory, economic life and psychological makeup, manifested in a community of culture" (8). Each definition is highly contextual and is a product of the time in history. Nation is an amorphous and fluid concept and while being an extremely political concept, it is equally a psychological concept, since it involves an emotional connect with one's soil and people. Nation is defined and categorized on the grounds of different criteria, none of which are clearly objective and final. All definitions and classifications are somewhat ambiguous, relative and never ultimate. Eric Hobsbawm in his Nations and Nationalism since 1780 compares treating these criteria as markers of the nation to treating cloudshapes as landmarks (6). Nation and nationalism are constantly evolving, elusive ideas that are repeatedly redefined. Walter Bagehot says that "the nation is one of those many phenomena that we understand so long as we are not asked, but that we cannot explain in brief and succinct terms" (qtd. in Bauer 39). This puzzling political phenomenon has no precise definitions and very little academic consensus about its antique v/s modern dichotomy. Hugh Seton-Watson opines that there is no conclusive scientific definition for nation (5). Anthony Smith cautioned against "the chimera of universally valid, once-for-all definition of nationalism" (Theories 165). He, instead, is of the position that "nationalism is most fruitfully conceptualized as a single category containing sub-varieties, genus and species, a diversity within a unity" (193). The imagined communities reshape and reorient themselves frequently that Ernest Renan defines the nation as "a daily Plebiscite" (What is a Nation? 10).

Benedict Anderson identifies three paradoxes underlying the concepts of nation and nationalism: first is the fact that even when the nation seems to be an antique concept, it is fairly recent and modern; second is the fact that even though every individual has a nationality and belongs to a nation, each nation is distinct and particular; third is the contrast between the political power of the entity called nation

and the lack of intellectual thoughts on it. He posits that scholars were oblivious of the might of the political unit called 'nation' and did not adequately explore it. He refers to this "philosophical poverty" when he states "unlike most other isms, nationalism has never produced its own grand thinkers: no Hobbeses, Tocquevilles, Marxes or Webers" (*Imagined* 5).

Nation, state and nation state are often confusing terminologies for readers, that demand a clarification. A nation is a socially constructed/evolved group of people who identify themselves as a unified, coherent unit, based on historical, cultural, geographical, linguistic, ethnic or other shared criteria that facilitate cohesion. A state is an independent sovereign government exercising its control over a spatially defined territory, with its borders recognized and acknowledged internationally. Not every state is a nation; neither does every nation have a state; a single nation can even spill over into multiple states; some states may contain all or parts of multiple nations. Stateless nations like Palestine are a reality. A nation-state is a homogenous nation governed by its own sovereign state, i.e., a state with a fixed geographical territory, ruled by/for a community of people (mostly ethnic community) who identify themselves as a nation. In other words, a nation state is a sovereign polity in which the nation and the state politically correspond in harmony. This congruence is a goal aspired by most nations. A nation can still comprise of people who are not part of the nation state, but have to accept and surrender to the rule of the majority. "The national consciousness and national sentiment expanded by bourgeois development and reinforced by the Napoleonic Wars pointed to the nation as the 'natural' foundation of the state and formulated this idea as the principle of nationality: each nation its state! And each state only one nation!" (Bauer 75). The nation, on a peripheral note, seems to be a natural and emotional bound concept intrinsic to the citizens' minds while the state, an external, artificial

concept that makes rules and maintain order. Ernest Gellner observes that "just as every girl should have a husband, preferably her own, so every culture must have its state, preferably its own" (*Coming* 110). The post-revolution France is deemed to be the first nation-state in the world, though traces of it can be detected in the Puritan Interregnum in the Great Britain from 1649 to 1660, declaring England to be a Commonwealth. In the 18th century, nation-states gradually replaced dynastic rules, monarchy, autocracy, imperial colonies etc., through a transfer of power to the people's government. Nationalism is the emotional expression of fidelity, adherence and allegiance to one's nation.

The process of naturalization by which an individual is conferred the status of a national, is different according to the organizational principles of each nation. If the nation is organized on an ethnographic principle, an individual has legitimate claim to be a national only through his/her blood ties to the homeland; he/she should, by the virtue of birth, belong to the ethnic community that constitute the nation. If the nation is organized on a linguistic principle, the individual's claim to be a national is legitimate only if he/she shares the spoken tongue of the core group. However, in a Republic, an individual's claim to be a national depends on his/her submission to the law of the land and willingness to share the political culture of the land. "It is this which explains Nationalism: the principle – so strange and eccentric in the age of agrarian cultural diversity and the 'ethnic' division of labour – that homogeneity of the culture is the political bond, that mastery of (and, one should add, acceptability in) a given high culture (the one used by the surrounding bureaucracies) is the precondition of political, economic and social citizenship" (Gellner, *Nationalism* 29).

Sociologists and theoreticians have identified four perspectives in tracing the evolution of nationalism. First is the principle of perrenialism, largely endorsed in

varying degrees by most nations. The principle states that a particular nation has existed, in its essence, since time immemorial; its glories waxed and waned over time and the nation has entered a hibernating phase with foreign invasions and intermixing of blood. However, the nation is capable of resurgence in favourable environments, resulting in a national rebirth. The ethnic aspect of the nation is central to the perennialist principle. This principle cannot easily be dismissed as erroneous or outdated and is often used by hyper-national forces to justify themselves. Second is the unpopular and outdated perspective of primordialism which believes the nation to be naturally made, archaic and fixed. This perspective has been widely discarded because of the present consensus that nation is, in the present sense of the term, a modern concept. Third is the perspective of ethnosymbolism that believes nation has pre-modern origins and is evolutionary and relies on symbols and traditions to analyze it. A.D.Smith was a major proponent of the ethno-symbolist perspective. Fourth is the modernist perspective that locates nation as the by-product of the socio-cultural progress brought about by modernization, thus consolidating the national consciousness and facilitating novel national imaginations. Modernists not just see nation as a novel product of modernity but also as a socio-political inevitability of that time.

Now that an attempt is made to define nations and nationalism, it is inevitable to take a look at the various factors that contributed to their origin and evolution. It is not entirely wrong to state that modern nationalism is the outcome of two Revolutions that ushered in newer ideologies and perspectives. The Revolutions in America and France greatly contributed to the evolution of nations and nationalism. The American Revolution of 1765 culminated in the downfall of Britain and the consequent establishment of the United States of America. It served as the primary catalyst for a world-wide revolutionary cry which in turn triggered a

multitude of uprisings in various parts of the world. Under absolute monarchy, France's political and cultural upper hand in Europe diminished, military dominance dimmed, as an outcome of which French territories were lost, the economy crashed and intellectual and literary productions were fettered. The French populace lived in political chaos and misery that led to nation-wide revolts, culminating in the landmark revolution. The French Revolution of 1789 promoted the idea of liberal democracy across the world. Popular sovereignty or people's rule became an ideal for other nations to strive for. *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* became revolutionary tags for the modern democracies that were to emerge later. French Revolution "asserted the right of individuals not only to determine their form of government but also to choose the state to which they would belong. In other words, it enunciated both the doctrine of popular sovereignty and the doctrine of national self-determination" (Hayes *Essays* 44).

The Revolution spelt the doom of the French aristocracy, transferring power to its middle class, thus commencing a new order, with its thrust on equality. The state was strengthened at the expense of the Church and supreme loyalty to the national state was insisted even though the basic religious affinities of the people were tolerated. The new national state necessitated all able bodied men to be martially trained and to willingly yield to military conscription. A scheme of state-sponsored national primary education was introduced in which patriotism and duties towards one's nation were matters of compulsory instruction. Nationalist journalism that can rouse patriotic sentiments in the masses through inexpensive, everyday publications became popular during and after the French Revolution. To elevate loyalty to the nation above all other loyalties, linguistic uniformity was insisted and French was instituted as the national language, in spite of the plurality that prevailed. A nation with the people as its absolute sovereign gradually took shape. The

people's loyalty towards their nation was elevated through the shift in their status from subjects to citizens.

The revolution diminished the reputation of religion, and laid bare the possibility of alternate governing systems. As in all revolutions and wars, the national 'self' took shape against an oppressive 'other', making people re-define the 'self'. The awakening of the national impulse happens when the nation is facing an alien other, in terms of an autocratic rule or a foreign domination. With the French and American Revolutions spreading the new Gospel of nationalism, a number of uprisings and popular mobilizations followed, which served as "modern crusades for democratic nationalism" as Hayes calls them, resulting in a universal deterioration of authoritarianism and oppression, opening to the world alternative ways to imagine themselves as communities (*Essays* 45). A set of political upheavals popularly known as 'springtime of nations' that spanned for over a year in 1848 served as the trumpet call for political refashioning and the world-wide strive towards democracy resulted in the fostering and diffusion of nationalism. Hayes observes that nationalism spread more rapidly than democracy in the nineteenth century (49).

National consciousness that had already spread its roots in Europe during the middle ages got really exalted in the 17th and 18th centuries. Industrial revolution that had its origins in the cloth mills of Britain in the late 18th century was a pivotal factor in the making of the concept of the 'nation'. Machines reduced human labour and the development of the factory system resulted in a large-scale demand for labourers in the cities, causing a massive influx, resulting in the expansion of the cities. The rustics migrated to the cities where "the population is drawn from farflung parts of the country, mutually influencing one another and mixing their blood, where in place of the old traditions, the monotony of the old peasant life endlessly recurring with the change of seasons, they encounter the vivaciously pulsing life of

the metropolis, which destroys all traditional views - a new and ever-changing world" (Bauer 44). Industrial revolution brought about massive changes in the social organization of the society as well as the economy. "... The essence of man is not that he is a rational, or a political, or a sinful or a thinking animal, but that he is an industrial animal. It is not his moral or intellectual or social or aesthetic etc., etc., attributes which make man what he is. His essence resides in his capacity to contribute to, and to profit from industrial society" (Gellner, Thought 35). Industrial capitalism replaced feudalism and the social structure consisting of the landlord and the peasants transformed with the acquirement of private wealth, resulting in the growth of the middle class. The economy improved as the money hoarded by the social-elites got widely distributed. Britain and other colonial countries depended on their colonies to source resources for production, resulting in a broader awareness of community existences in different parts of the world. While agricultural society inextricably tethered men to their land, industrialization necessitated movement, correspondingly making trans-geographical imaginations possible and even necessary. The factory system and mass manufacturing optimized production; increased production necessitated new markets, making cross-border and transoceanic trade the need of the time, shaping the human minds to perceive communities in hitherto unimagined ways. Mechanization of labor as well as the introduction of printing press considerably shaped human sentiments, to identify themselves as part of a large, shared nation, rather than a family, shire, county or province.

The Renaissance man had in him an inquisitive spirit that drove him beyond the porous borders to seek new worlds, the most perceptible results of which were colonization and globalization, but in a subterranean fashion, these explorations significantly altered the ways in which Europe perceived the world. Benedict Anderson observes, "In the course of the sixteenth century, Europe's 'discovery' of grandiose civilizations hitherto only dimly rumoured- China, Japan, South East Asia and the Indian subcontinent- or completely unknown- Aztec Mexico and Incan Perusuggested an irremediable human pluralism" (*Imagined* 69). The European idea about language also changed largely afterwards. With the philological analysis in the eighteenth century, the Indic and Egyptian civilizations were traced to be more archaic than any European civilization, their languages having its origins prior to any European tongue. "From this point on, the old sacred languages – Latin, Greek and Hebrew – were forced to mingle on equal ontological footing with a motely plebian crowd of vernacular rivals" (70).

The development of print capitalism, a product of industrialization, was a major contributory factor in popularizing the nation over all other possible imaginations about community-existence. Capitalism sought newer markets, making the borders more porous, and gradually standardized linguistic diversities. With the decline of Latin hegemony, print capitalism popularized the vernaculars which soon became mediums of distinctive and mostly impressive literary expressions. The most commonly spoken dialect of the vernacular tongue or the dialect associated with the power centres became the standard language for printing. It thus became possible to disseminate national literature among the common folk. With the spread of literacy, language became an easy unifier and reading the Bible, newspapers and literature in a common language created a sense of identification among fellow readers, which Benedict Anderson calls as "the embryo of the nationally imagined community" (*Imagined* 44). Carlton Hayes writes, "literary differentiation of nationalities was accompanied, at least in western Europe, by political differentiation, that is, by the erection of sovereign national states" (*Essays* 34).

With Bible translations and the vernacularization of the Christian literature, Christendom radiated a sense of pride and admiration about their ancestral feats. This sense of pride in their collective ancestry is the beginning point of national consciousness. The Protestant revolution and the Catholic Reformation that followed largely contributed to the rise of nationalism. Some nations adhered to Catholicism while others gave in to the Protestant preaching and drifted away from Papal control. Drifting away from the universal control system of Papacy and developing regional alternatives was itself a quintessential deviation towards nationalism. Religion thus served as a strong factor that aided the development of national consciousness by clearly creating a self-versus other binary. By questioning the Papal sovereignty, the sale of indulgences and other injustices, Martin Luther's reform measures were quite effective in shaking the foundations of Catholicism. Luther's Bible and his theses created a particular reading public with anti-Catholic sentiments. The "coalition between Protestantism and print capitalism" shook the established religious communities and dynasties (Imagined 40). Although print capitalism and Protestantism served as the keys to Anderson's pioneering approach to nationalism, he is criticized by other theorists of nationalism for universalizing concepts such as print capitalism, thus putting aside the marginal populations, the unlettered populations etc.

Even during the heydays of Latin, the Latin speakers were diverse, geographically scattered and never politically unified. But the vernaculars came to be employed for administrative coherence, making the speakers politically unified. With the popularization of the vernacular tongues, a vogue of classicism set in and reading the Greek and Latin classics in the vernacular became fashionable. National consciousness grew with this trend as the classical masters celebrated patriotism as a noble virtue and those reading them did the same too. Newer imaginations of the

community were thus made possible, "which in its basic morphology, set the stage for the modern nation" (*Imagined* 46). "What made the new communities imaginable was a half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print) and the fatality of human linguistic diversity" (43). Carlton Hayes observes that luck favoured the concept of the nation and the socio-political, economic scenario was befitting to the emergence and expansion of nations. "It was a fortune of war that obliged the English monarchs in the fifteenth century to abandon their possessions in France and to devote their energies to Britain. It was a marriage alliance which united Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella", he writes in *Essays on Nationalism* (35). Heterogeneous factors like geography, politics, demography, language and above all, fortune made diverse national imaginations possible.

Adding to the trans-geographic imaginations were the crusades which were the military mobilizations to redeem the Christian Holy Land from Ottoman Turks. With the Europeans making transnational journeys, they acquainted themselves with their own kind, who shared a common tongue or a common ancestry, whose existence was hitherto unknown, and with other kinds who looked different from them and spoke diverse languages, thus making the self-versus the other dichotomy prominent. As an outcome, a great national sentiment and pride developed, making Europe's gradual transition from feudal states to territorial states largely effortless. Heavy taxes were levied per head to fund the crusades which resulted in a Europewide sale of lands. Participation in the crusades was a matter of pride since it offered a clear indication of one's wealth and social standing. Crusades were largely fought by the landed elites, who were property owners capable of disposing their assets to finance their noble cause. Many who left Europe failed to return and those who

managed to return found themselves in a changed financial status, altering their social class alongside. The dwindling of the noble class resulted in a social as well as financial imbalance, necessitating a political change that manifested in the form of decline of feudalism. This transition did not result in a centralized system, but certainly marked a perceptible political discontinuity. Carlton Hayes observed that:

The fourth Crusade peculiarly fostered the jealous rivalries and national enmities of Latin and Greek Christians; the Albigensian Crusade exalted the nationality of the French in measure as it abased that of the Provencals; and from the conflict between Christians and Moslems in the Iberian peninsula emerged a lively national consciousness of Castilians, Portuguese, and Catalans. (*Essays* 30)

Crusades also opened new trade possibilities for Europe through the Mediterranean sea ports, making exotic goods from the East accessible. Parallel to this, a cultural merging of the southern and northern Europe happened gradually. Places with greater crusader mobilization underwent smoother political transitions and gathered more political stability, which was integral to nation building. Flourishing of trade, economic prosperity, decline of feudalism, cultural integration between the East and the West and newer ways of imagining communities conjointly facilitated the growth of nations and nationalism. It is therefore not wrong at all to conclude that nation is a historically contingent concept and its growth has been socio-politically facilitated.

Nation, in its present sense is conclusively a modern phenomenon. The dating of the origin of modern nations spans from early 16th century, accelerated by the Revolutions and progressed with the slow dawn of industrialism. Many nationalisms and thus a plethora of typologies of nations emerged by the mid-20th

century, gathering masses and featuring themselves in the global picture through their anti-imperial struggles. There are debates among scholars regarding the cultural and political nature of nations. Most of the scholars prioritize the political aspect over the cultural and believe that the origin and evolution of every nation is inextricably linked to its political autonomy embodied by the independent political control it exercises over its territory. Some scholars on the other hand, believe that though the nation is modern, its cultural roots that run into the distant past can reveal more about the growth and evolution of the nation. Although the nation is a recent concept, precedents of the modern nation can be identified in many medieval European nations. The organizational principle of the medieval nations, their criterion for political participation and the circumstances stimulating nationalist spirit were, however, very different from that of the modern nations.

'The Republic', the 4th century BC utopian national imagination of a 'just state' by Plato was conceived contextual to the Peloponnesian war. The ideal Republic had Philosopher-Kings, mighty guardians and able-bodied, virile subjects. Plato endorsed censorship of literature and music to inculcate nobility in the subjects. He details a breeding and suckling pattern to ensure absence of personal family so that one's allegiance is completely to the nation state. Women, effeminate men, slaves and eunuchs were denied political participation. Medieval battles played considerable role in consolidating early nationalist sentiments. The Anglo-Saxon ousting of the Picts and Scots, Hundred-year war with France, the Spanish Armada, crusades to redeem the holy land Jerusalem etc. largely shaped the medieval English nation. Literature has also aided in molding the medieval nations; King Alfred ordering the composition of Anglo Saxon Chronicles, Bible translations etc. largely consolidated medieval the English national sentiments. **Biblical** nationalism/Covenantal nationalism also served as a precursor to modern nations.

The medieval universities became the breeding spots for nationalist spirit and students hailing from the same region or speaking a common tongue were called 'natio'.

The University of Paris had four nations: *l'honorable nation de France, la fidele nation de Picardie, la venerable nation de Normandie,* and *la constante nation de Germanie*; these distinctions in use within the university, indicated places of provenance, but in no way corresponded either to modern geographical divisions, or indeed to what is now understood by 'nations'. Thus, the *nation de France* referred to speakers of Romance languages including Italians and Spaniards; the *nation de Picardie* referred to the Dutch, that of Normandie to those originating from North-Eastern Europe, and that of *Germanie* to Englishmen as well as to Germans proper. (Kedourie 4)

Lord Acton is of the opinion that poetry always lured humankind with the utopian prospect of an ideal community "at some distant time or place, in the Western islands or the Arcadian region, an innocent and contented people, free from the corruption and restraint of civilized life" prospered (*Nationality* 17). Philosophical imaginings of the nation, as in Plato's *Republic* or More's *Utopia* were however not simply manifestations of the ideal, but also a revolt against what those philosophers/authors found objectionable about their communities and nations. These philosophical proposals however remained merely in their literary realms and did not politically materialize as nations, not just because of their lack of political vigor to mobilize masses but also because they were not backed by socio-political and cultural historical factors that can facilitate their growth into actual nations. The origin and evolution of the idea of the nation and nationalism has to be analyzed in

the socio-cultural context of the 17th and 18th century Europe from which and against which the 'nation' took shape. Enlightenment and the concomitant culture of rationalism marked the decadence of religion and the challenging of the notions such as 'dynasty', 'hereditary heirship' 'divine legitimacy of the king' etc. As Benedict Anderson observes, "Latin's hegemony was doomed" and the intelligentsia experienced a radical shift with Bible translations as well as the other outcomes of Renaissance and Reformation. The sovereignty of the Christian church was questioned, dynasties fell and with the waning of Latin, hitherto linguistically bound communities got "fragmented, pluralized and territorialized", observes Anderson (*Imagined* 18). This created an unforeseen vacuum and necessitated a continuity of some kind that can bind people together. This purpose was met and to an extent, fulfilled by the idea of the nation. The concept of 'the nation' emerged to replace the extinct religious communities and the fallen dynasties. The socio-political situation of the time was quite conducive for such a concept, its evolution and establishment.

The primordial kinship relations wax, wane and refresh as communities get subjected to unforeseen circumstances and exposed to unknown enemies, profoundly shaking and largely redefining the existence of the community. Some of these include droughts and famines, economic crisis, political uprisings, wars, natural calamities, migration, outbreak of epidemics etc. Wars and revolutions serve as major factors behind the consolidation of nationalist sentiments. Wars are certain to rouse nationalist fervor by creating a feeling of belonging together – of collectively enduring suffering and collectively celebrating triumph, thus valorizing the past. Over time, war experiences get mythologized and serve as triggering moments of nationalist spirit in generations who can never mentally conceive a war in its tangible sense. The memory of the wars in their collective past will help in sustaining the 'self'-versus the 'other' dichotomy. "War made the state and the state

made war", observed While Tilly (42). However, the annexations and exiles that follow wars have always problematized the concept of nation and nationality – confusions about who constitute the majority of the population post war, the questions about one's 'real' homeland, ambiguity regarding the reconstituted national boundaries after war or a natural calamity, and discussions about the criterion for membership in a nation - whether through the individual's voluntary choice or through objective binding factors like religion or language are definite outcomes of war. War and nationalism exist in a collegial relationship; wars awaken nationalism and unbridled nationalism provokes wars.

The combined outcome of the various above-discussed factors and their conjoining with fortune resulted in the spread of nationalism and the establishment of modern nations. This dissertation aims to look into how this slow yet steady process of evolution of nations and nationalisms did not take gender into account, treated its women populace inequitably in comparison to their male counterparts, the progress that were made in this regard etc. and aims to shed some light on the future of the concept of the nation with reference to the gender marker. Hypothesizing a gender disproportion in the manners in which various nations are conceived, imagined and developed, the dissertation delves into the biological reasons (if any), historical impetuses, political motives, socio-cultural stereotypes and other whys and wherefores that induce and sustain this gender disproportion and facilitate and validate the persisting gender injustice. Hypothesizing the titular statement that nation is a masculine concept, the dissertation looks into various aspects of the nation that overtly and covertly display its masculinity and evaluate how promising is the masculine nation for the women in/out of the nation, particularly with regard to the Indian nation that is asserting its swelling masculinity on a daily basis.

The first chapter of the dissertation theoretically explores the concept of nation and its diverse typologies, undertakes a chronological tracing of the western theories about nation and nationalism and explores the gender dichotomy inherent to the concept of the nation, which is hypothesized as masculine, both in terms of conception and construction. The second chapter traces the evolution of the Indian nation and nationalism, explores the prominent Indian theoreticians on nationalism and the primary and inevitable strands of Indian political thought and their take on gender and women as well as the means by which the masculine Indian nation asserts its virility upon its women on an everyday basis, othering, disowning or disinheriting them. The third chapter investigates the historical context of the evolution, establishment and the exercise of the gender binary and the gender stereotype, studies the incongruities within masculinity, examines women's violation of the gender stereotype, politically and otherwise and probes furthermore into the emphatically male and increasingly Hindu Indian nation's various banal expressions of its masculinity in popular cinema, sports, literature, art, iconography, culture and in its quotidian political assertions. The chapter also delves into the recent political and cultural trends of Indian nationalism which are evaluated as clear indicators of the nation's escalating masculinity and gauge their similitude to fascism as well as endeavor to locate women within the growingly Hindu and masculine Indian nation. The fourth chapter carries out a textual analysis of select texts that mainly include partition narratives, fictional renderings of communal riots, narratives on the Indian Emergency etc. to evaluate the physical, political and cultural subordination of women by the nation and within the nation. The primary focus of the analysis is how women's bodies get employed in real and in literature as representations of the nation and markers of national honour. The conclusion of the dissertation peruses how promising is the masculine nation in general and the

increasingly masculine Indian nation in particular is for the women who are metaphorically and literally, the outcastes in a male nation.

The dissertation aims to comprehensively study the existing discourse on nations and nationalism which is by now, unsurveyably vast, with its branches establishing themselves as independent disciplines, and expose the lacunae in the traditional studies on nationalism carried out until the late 20th century in which explorations about the gendering of nations, gendering within the nations and the gendering of the national imaginary were conspicuously sparse. It targets to bring to light the historicity of the practices of gender inequity and sexism and the means by which modern nations appropriated it, instituted gender taboos and stereotypes to effectively employ the gender binary and practice sexism. The dissertation aims to establish firmly the apparent fact that nations have historically conceived male and female citizenship differently in terms of rights and duties and to bring to the forefront the obvious, yet largely unmapped connection between national and masculine traits and the national and feminine bodies. It seeks to empathize with the women cast out from the nation, figuratively and otherwise and aims to study the forthcoming prospect of the concept of nation and nationalism for these women. The dissertation intends to explore novel means of conceiving nations and to unveil possibilities of hitherto-unthought-of ways in which nations can be imagined, whereby the gender disparity can be bridged.

CHAPTER 1

NATION AND NATIONALISM: DEFINITIONS, TYPOLOGY AND WESTERN THEORETICAL POSITIONS

Representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth.

— Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*

The emotion of nationalism and the concept of nation are the combined products of the French and American Revolutions, the Industrial revolution leading to the establishment of printing press that resulted in the mass circulation of vernacular literature, Renaissance and Enlightenment, the Protestant Reformation and the Bible translations that followed, transoceanic explorations resulting from human inquisitiveness and trade requirements, medieval battles that reoriented communities etc. and their incidental coalescence with sheer fortune. Historically and culturally, the time was conducive for the birth of the concept of nation, as elaborated in the Introduction to the dissertation. The often quoted and hence popular definition of nation is that of Benedict Anderson's which defines the nation as "an imagined political community, imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Imagined 6). In spite of the obvious differences among the members of a nation, in their heart lives "an image of their communion... a deep horizontal comradeship", serving as the kernel of nationalist sentiment (6-7). There is a lack of consensus among theorists of nationalism whether nations predated nationalism or vice versa. However, majority of them approve Ernest Gellner's position that the sentiment of nationalism predated the concept of nation, that "it is nationalism which

engenders nations, and not the other way round" (*Nations and Nationalism* 55). This chapter is designed as a study of the diverse typologies and characteristics of nations along with a survey of the substantial Western theories on nations and nationalism from the ancient age to the present; those that seemed vague or outdated are omitted to render the discourse in a coherent shape. The chapter also problematizes the way in which gender functions in the manner in which nations are imagined and practiced.

Even though the innate instinct of humans is to bond with its own kind, nationalist sentiments do not predate the 18th century. The history of human civilization is the history of man learning to befriend his kindred tribe, settle as societies and develop kinship with his fellow beings. The sense of belonging to one's family, tribe, totem or province and taking pride in it is as old as human civilization; however the modern concept of nationalism is not older than the American and French revolutions. Nationalism is, as a matter of fact, a product of these revolutions. Tribe heads, and medieval rulers did not seek to ensure cultural homogeneity, which is the cornerstone of modern nations. The theoretical position that nations have existed throughout history and nationalism is its natural product is considered outdated and is replaced by the modern school of thought that views nation as a novel phenomenon and nationalism as an evolutionary product of modernization. This modern perspective sees nations as "imagined communities" and nationalism as an "invented tradition". Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in their book *The Invention of Tradition*, postulate that what gets celebrated as antique tradition is most often recent, and sometimes invented (1). In the book's introductory essay titled "Inventing Traditions", Hobsbawm observes that it is a "curious but understandable paradox: modern nations and all their impedimenta generally claim to be the opposite of novel, namely rooted in the remotest antiquity

and the opposite of constructed, namely human communities so 'natural' as to require no definition other than self-assertion" (14). By intellectually primordializing the nation, the institution called nation and the concept of nationalism get legitimized. The sense of 'being together since ages' aids in creating a sense of belonging. In effect, the primordialization helps in cementing the nation's political solidarity.

Every nation will have a foundational narrative, produced at its moment of inception, created around the ethnic features/qualities of the core community or around certain prized values, principles or ideologies or as a combination of all of these. These narratives are orally spread for a long phase followed by an even greater spread through written literary texts after which mass schooling will diffuse it further among the members of the nation and beyond, resulting in a methodical inculcation of the national values, occasioning the deep entrenchment of the values, thus aiding the fixing of the national identity. These founding narratives are usually binding and altering them is challenging, though not impossible. It however, necessitates unrelenting efforts.

Depending on the nature of each nation, there are different not-mutually-exclusive types of nationalisms such as civic, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious and ideological nationalisms. These typologies mostly overlap to varying extents and there is no large-scale consensus among the intelligentsia regarding their reliability. Categorizing nations and nationalisms into typologies that are binary dichotomies is problematic as it follows the line of the good/bad binary. Such an act is not only ineffective, but mostly reductive. However, it is necessary to explicate the popular typologies of nationalisms. It was Hans Kohn who popularized the difference between taxonomies like civic and ethnic nationalisms, claiming civic nationalism to be western, democratic and inclusive and ethnic nationalism to be

eastern, less democratic and exclusive in nature. However, the rigidity of this demarcation only adds to the typological complications. Ethnic nationalism has blood ties as its core organizational principle; the members of a nation have a common descent and a new member is part of the nation only by his genetic inheritance. The preconditions for the formation of nations as outlined by Anthony Smith include a fixed homeland or a historical semblance of a homeland, political autonomy, hostile surroundings against which the national 'self' can take shape, collective memories of a common shared past and mighty battles fought, common language and alphabet, common traditions and customs etc. Ethnic nationalism is outdated as most modern nations are geographically defined. Anthony. D. Smith traces the prototypes of ethnic nationalism in pre-modern, non-western nations. Civic nationalism is where the nation gains political legitimacy through the active political partaking of its members, who made a voluntary choice to be part of their nation unlike the natural membership. It is evaluated in reference to the extent to which the nation is the manifestation of the people's will. The early origins of Civic nationalism can be traced to Rousseau and his theory of social contract. While the membership in ethnic nationalism is natural/hereditary and therefore involuntary, membership in civic nationalism is voluntary and involves individual choice.

Cultural nationalism has a shared culture and tradition as its primary organizational principle, while linguistic nationalism has a common spoken tongue as its organizational principle. In either case, membership is neither completely hereditary nor voluntary. The taxonomy of nativist nationalism advocates national belonging strictly on the grounds of birth within the territorial bounds of the nation. The taxonomy of ideological nationalism such as socialist nationalism or fascist nationalism fuses a political ideology with nationalism. Left wing nationalism adheres to left political ideology alongside principles such as national will and

people's sovereignty. Anti-colonial, national liberation struggles are usually associated with left wing nationalism. The Scottish nationalist Party and Irish Republican party are examples for left wing nationalist movements. In the taxonomy of religious nationalism, members of the nation will be united by their affiliation to a common religion and the nation gains legitimacy through its adherence to the principles of the particular religion. Liberal nationalism is a non-xenophobic practice of nationalism, upholding liberal virtues of freedom, equality, individual rights etc. Exclusionist/Essentialist nationalisms, which are characteristic attributes of nationalism, invoke national solidarity by denigrating other nations, degrading conflicting opinions and ideologies, aggressive suppression of minorities and involve a deliberate narrative of self-validation. Expansionist nationalism is an aggressive practice of nationalism, usually driven by xenophobia and jingoism, attempting to restore the territory that is believed 'rightfully' to belong to the nation using the nation's military force. Irredentist assertions and armed war are part of expansionism, which can be considered as an attribute of the typology of exclusivist nationalism.

In most of the commonwealth countries, nationalism underwent a shift post their independence, giving birth to third world nationalism, shaped chiefly by the sufferings under the colonial yoke which is the alien 'other' against which the third world national 'self' shaped itself. Diaspora nationalism is a post-colonial, post-globalization typology, where the globally scattered members of a nation retain a sense of communion amidst themselves and harbor a longing for their ancestral nation, as in the Jewish population across the world. Risorgimento nationalism that was prevalent in various European countries in the 19th century is the typology where a nation seeks to establish a liberal state. Within a particular typology of nation, other typologies can still be present as sub nationalisms, which is why it is

posited that none of them are mutually exclusive. The aggressiveness involved in all these types of nationalisms will depend on the shaping of the 'self' against the alien 'other' and the relation between them, depending on which the emotion of nationalism can range from pacifism to regressive ideologies to extreme atavism, irredentism, xenophobia, hyper-nationalism, militarism to even armed violence resulting in mayhem and bloodshed.

Various sub national dispositions that prioritize regional interests over the national ones exist within every nation; the regional interests don't usually collocate with the national but clash with it often. These demands may include annexation of additional territory, granting of additional status, reorganization on linguistic, cultural or ethnic terms, cry for a different state anthem or flag etc. Some of these can be fully or partially sanctioned by the state depending on the political scenario of the nation while some of these that affect the sovereignty of the nation have to be quelled, if required, by force. Sub nationalisms are common to any multicultural, pluralistic nation and they preserve the diversity, counter majoritarianism, decentralize power and promote inclusiveness. For this same reason, sub nationalism is not always separatist but it raises voices of the people left out from the mainstream or feel left out, thus fortifying the unity of the nation, maintaining the nation healthy. However, sub national inclinations have to be kept in check when they have an extremist, secessionist character.

Supranationalism is the political phenomenon where a superior, international organization/institution is granted authority to exercise certain powers otherwise reserved to states. Large share of the powers of states is ceded to the supranational authority, risking the state's sovereignty. In the seventeenth century, Europe was envisioned as a supra-power called Christendom, spiritually presided over by the Pope and politically reigned by the Holy Roman Emperor. In the post-Reformation

Europe, this was countered by the protestant nations, heatedly questioning the Papal infallibility and his ecclesiastical sovereignty. The European supra-power did not materialize as it was anticipated to turn out despotic to its member nations. The state sovereignty and non-interference that became the norm after the pact of Westphalia in 1648 which served as the cornerstone to the modern political system, is surrendered partially or fully in a supranational union. The member nations share their opinions, usually as votes, regarding matters that are internal to the states and a collective decision/policy is made for the common good which is final and binding on all member nations. A post-Westphalian political system with supranational unions became a necessity in the 20th century after the world wars to exercise a check on the world nations regarding arms and ammunitions, human rights violations, market and trade, border security etc.

Being in a supranational union is strengthening to its member nations because of the global respect and acceptance the collective decision of the union acquires. A supranational union stands midway between a federation and a confederation and is a specialized coalition of states. The European Union is the finest and the closest example of a supranational union. ASEAN, GCC, SAARC etc. are unions that function partially independently and are deemed as supranational unions. The United Nations however is not a supranational union since it is not authorized with the power to intervene in matters of the state that demand internal jurisdiction. Supranationalism can be seen as a means to creating harmony by promoting economic prosperity, regulating migrations, reducing insurgency, preventing policy violations, averting militant combats and even deterring full-fledged wars. However, simultaneously the sovereignty of the state to make decisions about its most internal matters is compromised. Britain quitting the European Union following the Brexit Referendum was a political landmark of the

21st century. UK with its secluded island geography, influx of commonwealth diaspora and not sharing the EU currency had always been an oddity in the European Union. However, the immediate reason for The United Kingdom's momentous exit from the European Union is that the EU took decision making farther away from the English commoner. Supranational unions exercise transnationality by framing policies that are not geographically limited or merely concerning individual states; they mostly fuse approaches and policies of different member nations but sometimes submerge individual opinions into a collective decision which may not cater to the interests of certain member nations and therefore not appreciated by them.

In spite of nationalism's aspiration for congruence between the state and the nation in order to nurture a national core population and irrespective of the organizational principles of different nations, there will always be people out of the nation, not belonging to, or never wanting to belong to the national core. The nation then resorts to measures of assimilation and accommodation to incorporate them into the national core. When assimilation seems impossible, the nation resorts to measures of exclusion. These include but not restricted to socio-political subordination, denial of political representation, cultural eradication as in rewriting history to villainize or even to eliminate the minority, ethnic purge and even genocide, as in the case of the Jews in Nazi Germany, obliterating them from the territorial, cultural and political boundaries of the nation. Multicultural existence is preferred by most modern day nations over exclusivist politics; unceasing dialogue and policy amendments lead to a peaceful coexistence of diverse populations, making nation a "daily Plebiscite" (Renan 10).

The concept of nation being of European origin, it is inevitable to look at the way in which major European nations were imagined and the manner in which their

nationalisms took shape. French nationalism refined itself during the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte, although the reign later dwindled into an autocratic regime. Through centralized administration, martial proficiency, reinstatement of the Catholic Church through the Concordat in 1801, revised education system, Napoleonic code of laws and the major policy of territorial expansion, the enlightened tyrant in Napoleon added the finishing touches to the centralized French nation state. The spirit of nationalism permeated the entirety of Europe with the Napoleonic wars that brought large parts of Europe under a centralized administration, reshaped the European map, thus resulting in a spread of the fruits of the French Revolution and the eventual modernization of Europe. Monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy etc. were replaced by respective national ideologies. The early spread of nationalism was a cultural movement in Europe.

Seventeenth century England witnessed the first full-fledged expression of modern nationalism. The English man's loyalty to the nation and to their religion largely coincided since allegiance to the British throne was synonymous to allegiance to the English Church. Unlike other European nations, England's transition to Protestantism acquired a national character very early on with the sovereign monarch Henry VIII converting to Anglican faith, though for personal reasons than political and establishing the Anglican Church of England, making it the nation's official church. A number of political factors contributing to the consolidation of the national sentiment took place in England in the 18th century. In 1712, John Arbuthnot created the satirical character named John Bull, who represented the English common man. He was adorned in the colors of the English Union Jack and gained popularity as an English national personification. James Thomson's poem *Rule Britannia* was set to music by Thomas Arne in 1740. The refrain "Rule, Britannia! Rule the waves: Britons never be slaves" contributed in

perfecting a sensibility conducive for the growth of nationalism. The song championed the British naval prowess that in years to come, would conquer and colonize the world. In 1801, the Union Jack was adopted as the English national flag. The religious and political scenario in England was conducive for the burgeoning national spirit. English nationalism was largely influenced by the philosophies of French Revolution and the influence was explicitly expressed in the English poetry of the time.

The Lyrical Ballads, the trailblazer work of English Romanticism, was published in 1798, about a decade after the French revolution. The English romantic poetry of the 18th century abounds with ideas of a harmonious commune. In the times of Beowulf which is thematically and culturally a Scandinavian Epic written in Old English or the early ballads such as that of *Chevy Chase* or *Sir Patric Spens*, the concept of an English nation was practically nonexistent. The consolidation of the English national sentiment happened much later and the poetical expression of the concept of the English Nation began since Chaucer with his choice of an English saint, English language, and a motley of English characters to compose The Canterbury Tales when French was the easiest and elitist option, heightened with the distinctively English poetry of Spenser who glorified the Tudor monarch Queen Elizabeth as the virtuous virgin queen Gloriana and fine-tuned with the romantic poetry of the 18th century. Spenser's The Faerie Queene portrayed England as an ancient land, made fit for human habitation by defeating the resident monsters. The people together endured unanticipated twists, myriads of obstacles, successive rulers and reversal of fortunes to assume its present shape. This nationalist sentiment of springing from the same stock generates a pride about the national past.

When England was slowly assuming its shape as a modern nation, English poetry revisited its national past, culminating in the romantic revival of the 17th and

18th centuries, reviving the passionate style and the idyllic diction of the Elizabethan Romantics. In that sense, the 18th century Romanticism itself was a product of the growth of the English nation. Romantic poetry, though unconsciously, emphasized on the various attributes of the nation such as the individual, his rights to liberty and happy life, his right to protest, social coexistence (the coexistence extended beyond human beings in romantic poetry), allegiance to the national state etc. The spirit of the French Revolution manifested in William Wordsworth in the form of his dauntless faith in the dignity and moral strength of mankind. He elevated country life to national level, thus shaping the English community further. National spirit found its expression in Coleridge's penchant for antiquity. Through his oriental lores, opiated visions and mystic recreations of a supposed past, he indirectly aided the growth of the English nation. The revolutionary romantic in Shelley was so inspired by the Revolution in France that he composed "Ode to the West Wind", hailing the mighty west wind as "destroyer and preserver", with clear allusions to the Revolution, requesting it to be his lyre to spread the word and message of the revolution across the world like "from an unextinguish'd hearth ashes and sparks" (lines 14, 66-67). The poem is a clear expression of Shelley's disillusionment about the English state and its need for reform through a revolution, much like the one in France. His optimism about the looming revolution is summed in the concluding line "If winter comes, can spring be far behind?" (line70). With revolt being his foremost principle, Shelley expressed his distrust of organized religions whose spiritual doctrines shrink and harden into blind tenets, thus perpetrating tyranny. His Prometheus becomes the embodiment of the concept of modern man, thirsty for liberation, which itself is the product of enlightenment and the French Revolution. John Keats in whom the romantic trait of farawayness manifested in the form of Hellenism, awakened the English reading public to divergent cultures, thus indirectly shaping the national 'self'. Prose writers of the romantic age also

contributed greatly to the shaping of the English nation. Charles Lamb and William Hazlitt through their choice and craft of English characters, rendering of London life as well as the English countryside, incited the English sensibility. Literature had always acted as a mirror held against the society.

The Europe-wide changes due to territorial annexation and consolidation following the Napoleonic wars anticipated the formation of the German and Italian nation states. German romanticism largely explored the role of history and tradition in the evolution of nations and nationalism. The French Revolution inspired the German masses but did not generate a love and honor for the German nation "which few believed existed and even fewer desired" (Kohn, Eve 257). A political consolidation as in France was impossible in the fragmented, hierarchical Germany, religiously divided amongst the Catholics and Lutherans. "In the midst of tremendous political upheavals and military expeditions, Germany still slumbered" (Kohn 61). The birth of the modern French nation had little political impact on Germany, except for minor nationalist stirrings in a few corners. "Germany did not enter the age of nationalism until twenty years later and then merely with tentative steps, more in cultural aspirations and in the enthusiasm of battle than through the transformation of the political and social structure of the nascent nation" (269). The French lesson was not pertinent to Germany which, unlike France, was not a nation then.

The starting point of German nationalism can be traced to the romantic nationalism during the Napoleonic invasion of Europe, which necessitated the formation of an economically, politically and socially unified German nation. In romantic nationalism, otherwise known as organic nationalism, the legitimacy of the state is derived as an organic consequence of its people's unity, constituted by the particular cohesive factors binding that nation. Organic nationalism, which is an

amalgam of cultural productions and political thinking, is a retort to monarchial hegemony in which legitimacy of the state is gauged top down, from the monarch, who is the divinely ordained sovereign. Romantic nationalism viewed nation as being stamped with certain cultural traits, marking its people who are bound by biological ties since birth as members of that nation. Nation thus became a source for artistic expressions, which in turn served as a tool to arouse political consciousness. The 'springtime of nations' in 1848 that marked a pan-European revolutionary surge was a defining year for romantic/organic nationalism. Though the 'springtime' largely reverted to the status quo, the revolutions, particularly in Germany, marked a leap towards the founding of modern, unified German nation.

The existence of a long established cultural elite with a language and national literature of their own is one among the three criteria of nationhood listed in Nations and Nationalism since 1780 by Eric Hobsbawm (17). National literature is a pool of canonized texts in which the national sensibility, national characteristics and history are inscribed, which as a collective, facilitate social, political unity and consolidate nationalist sentiments. National literature preserves the past, partly as facts and partly as fiction, to interact with and shape the present in favor of the nation. In the preface to the comprehensive German Dictionary Deutsches Worterbuch (1854), Jacob Grimm famously asked "what else do we have in common but our literature and language?" (xi). German language and literature gave the most needed thrust and momentum to German nationalism. The German Sturm und Drang was a proto romantic movement, particularly in literature and music of the 18th century Germany. The emphasis of the movement was on the free play of the romantic traits of subjectivity and emotion in contrast to the Enlightenment rationalism. Leading writers of the movement were Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, who later initiated the transition to Weimar classicism which

originated in their hometown of Weimar and blended romanticism with classicism and enlightenment rationalism. The Storm and Stress movement prepared Germany for the Romantic Movement that is to grip it in about three decades.

The Romantic Movement began as an artistic revolt against eighteenth century culture which seemed not to satisfy the soul and not to warm the heart. This apparently uninspired and uninspiring civilization seemed inflated with philistine pride in the recent progress of men. The romanticists found there neither chivalry nor poetry, neither miracle nor mystery. French rationalism had contemptuously looked down upon the past and especially upon the middle ages. The romanticists found in these very periods the wondrous fairyland which they missed in the present. Repelled by their contemporary world, they discovered inspiration and beauty in history. (Kohn, *Romanticism* 445)

Goethe was a classical liberal in his politics and his writings generated a fascination with the past, which was a clear romantic trait. He reworked and retold old German tales and legends such as that of *Faust*. He expressed his unwavering loyalty to Napoleon and expected him to inaugurate a reign of peace. The proclivity to the past being the foremost romantic trait, Goethe warned against modeling modern patriotism upon antique models, since the patriotism of the ancient times was limited by territory. He envisioned an inclusive realm where nations freely interact and share commerce, philosophies and cultural productions. He prioritized world literature above all national literatures and was a great advocate of cosmopolitanism. German playwright and philosopher Friederich Schiller's plays addressed themes such as ethical state, individual liberty and German idealism and many of his philosophies that can be summed up as aesthetic Republicanism were influential on

the 1848 revolution. Schiller was looked up to as a model for his anti-aristocratic idealism by many young Germans during the phase of resentment to the German Confederation. His highly political dramas and political philosophies were invoked by the Republicans in 1848.

With the contributions from German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, who was a forerunner of German nationalism, the scope of the term 'nation' widened. In the wake of Weimar Classicism, Herder further nuanced the existing concept of Volksgeist to denote the nationalist spirit of belonging together. The volksgeist will determine the nature of each nation as well as what constitutes them and what laws govern them. Herder believed cultural ties to be the core reason for the organization of the nation. This view of Herder is in opposition to the enlightenment philosophy that nation is a political construct, constituted by all members who are governed by the same sovereign and is a product of social contract; for him, nation was more of a spiritual concept. Herder shaped the idea of the nation as a peaceful resistance against the dynastic states that prevailed in Germany. He also discussed the case of unpolitical nations/implicit nations that possess the traits of a nation, without being conscious of it. He envisioned nations as peaceful entities, content with in their territorial boundaries. But unlike his vision, the very idea of nation involved binaries, hostility, xenophobia etc. and legitimized competition and violence.

Friedrich Schlegel in his *Essay on the Concept of Republicanism* (1796) regarded political liberty and equality to be the vital requirements of a state. He initially saw Republicanism to be the ideal state model but gradually found it lacking and inadequate; the slightest of the civil discord could extinguish its flame. Schlegel therefore endorsed monarchy, not the constitutional monarchy but the medieval monarchy, taking counsel from the Church. Schlegel was an Indologist, with

profound knowledge of Sanskrit. He was a pioneer of comparative linguistics and identified linguistic parallels between Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages, thus concluding that Sanskrit was the parent tongue from which German derived. He traced a common Aryan ancestry and upheld racial superiority. Schlegel had a considerable influence upon the Indian right wing nationalism. He composed patriotic poems, exhorting the Germans to fight Napoleonic tyranny. The growth of a nation depended, alongside many other factors, on the possession of glorious national memories. Poetry preserves them metrically, saving them from fading. He clearly stressed the importance of human race being differentiated into nations over the assimilative trend among the nations of that time. "The greater the community of blood, and the stronger therefore the perseverance of the past, the more the people would form a nation. Second to a common past and affinity of blood, Schlegel rated the unity of language in which - for reasons difficult to understand because they contradict all historical evidence-he saw the indisputable testimony of common descent" (Kohn, Romanticism 460). Frederich Hegel popularized the idea of Zeitgeist, which is the spirit of the time that regulated the actions of a group of people. He admired Napoleon and longed for a national hero to rouse the sleeping Germany into a unified political community. The romantic trait of prioritizing emotion over form was the factor that aided romanticism in its contribution to nationalism. Beethoven's symphonies and Richard Wagner's operas largely impacted German nationalism.

The antiquarian in Herder collected folk songs, dances etc. of the *volk* which he believed contributed to the consolidation of the nationalist sentiments. Following his lines, the Grimm brothers collected popular German folk tales in 1812. Though the tales were collected from the oral past, their published version clearly exhibited German national traits and also brought to public notice the parallels among the

storytelling patterns of various regions of Germany, thus indirectly creating a sense of togetherness. Romantic nationalism popularized the idea of a national epic which is central to defining the nation. Revival of folk narratives and traditional tales was a romantic trait that played an integral part in nation building. Parallel to German romanticism contributing immensely to the shaping of the German national identity, the growth of nationalism inspired more romantic cultural productions. Romanticism and nationalism share a symbiotic relationship, which was even more prominent in the case of Germany. Alongside literary and cultural factors that accelerated German nationalism, the formation of the *Zollverein* in 1818 and the development of German railways were instrumental in strengthening German nationalism. They awakened the Germans to the multiple cohesive factors that bind them other than their common language, which was a realization inevitable to unify a nation that existed as a cluster of polities, culminating in the unification of Germany in 1871.

Nationalism underwent rapid changes all over the world in the 19th and 20th centuries and prioritized aggression and exhibited an inclination towards exclusivism, which became intensely prominent by mid-19th century, particularly with the Napoleonic era. In the 20th century, nationalism was exposed to the novel volatile ideologies of communism, socialism, fascism etc., assimilating these political ideologies into its core. The proclivity towards totalitarianism was very palpable in both the left and right political spectrums and Communist and fascist regimes coexisted in the 20th century. Though communism was not connected to nationalism during its ideological inception, fascism was an explosive engorgement and absolutization of nationalism, as seen in the Italian Fascism and the German National Socialism. While the desire for a socialist commune became the organizational principle for communist nations, absolute allegiance to the nation became the organizational principle for fascism. However, the communist regimes

later unveiled their totalitarian trait, demanding absolute allegiance to the communist state. British political theorist Roger Griffin posited that "outside the snug igloos of Marxist doctrine where the chill winds of postmodernist relativism and methodological skepticism blow, there are almost as many characterizations of fascism as there are self-appointed experts who write about it" (Staging 1). The German Romantic Movement, with its emphasis on the shared past and shared culture, directed and designed German nationalism towards a racialised, ethnic orientation, which was later appropriated by Nazism, making heredity and genetics the decisive criterions for German nationality. German nationalism was basically founded upon the core principles of national self-determination, territorial unification and a common cultural past, with an added emphasis on the ability of cultural productions to rouse nationalism. The aggressive nationalism Germany gradually embraced was the crucial cause for the two world wars. The grand Nazi dream for a Greater German Reich culminated in an anti-Semitic, inhuman ethnic cleansing, notoriously known in history as the Holocaust.

Though early prototypes of German nationalism identified the German nation in vague, collective terms, it was Johann Gottlieb Fichte, hailed as the 'founding father of German nationalism' who gave it a broader definition in his Addresses to the German Nation (1806), suggesting a sense of German distinctiveness. With NSDAP and Adolf Hitler, German nationalism shifted to the extremes of ethnic exclusivism and tyranny. Fascism was a combination of ethnic nationalism and state nationalism, with imperial aspirations. German fascism had perfected its principles and ideologically established itself before it assumed power, unlike Italian fascism that designed itself after assuming power. Blood assumed the vital role in German Fascism, both in terms of blood purity and sacrificial blood. Anti-Semitism and Pan-German Aryan nationalism form the core of German

fascism. The speeches of Nazi leaders and the propagandist literature of the time represented Jews as a hybrid Oriental-Negro stock, parasitically feeding on other races, religiously practicing incest to maintain racial purity but simultaneously seeking to corrupt the Aryan blood through miscegenation. The Jews were accused of murdering Christian children for their innocent blood, seducing Nordic Aryans, spreading venereal diseases in German cities, promotion of illegal, subterranean cults, diffusing communism etc. In his autobiography *Mein Kamph* (1925), Hitler likened Jews to afflictions like tuberculosis and plague and denigrated the race:

In times of distress, a wave of public anger has usually arisen against the Jew; the masses have taken the law into their own hands; they have seized Jewish property and ruined the Jew in their urge to protect themselves against what they consider to be a scourge of God. Having come to know the Jew intimately through the course of centuries, in times of distress they looked upon his presence among them as a public danger comparable only to the plague. (256-257)

Hitler details about what he believed to be nature's unsaid law for maintaining species purity- mating is permitted only among the likes, which became a foundational principle for the Nazi racial purity and the ethnic cleansing that ensued from it. The Nuremberg laws strictly forbid the Aryans from marrying beneath their race, thus violating the iron law of nature. He states:

The titmouse seeks the titmouse, the finch the finch, the stork the stork, the field mouse the field mouse, the common mouse the common mouse, the wolf the wolf, etc. Only exceptional circumstances can change this; first of all the compulsion of captivity, as well as any other impossibility of mating within the same species. But then nature begins to resist this with the help of all visible means,

and her most visible protest consists either of denying the bastards further procreative faculty, or she limits the fertility of the coming offspring; but in most cases she takes away the capacity of resistance against disease or inimical attacks. This is then only too natural. Any crossing between two beings of not quite the same high standard produces a medium between the standards of the parents. That means: the young one will probably be on a higher level than the racially lower parent, but not as high as the higher one. (389-390)

The awakening of the German race consciousness was deliberated as the remedy to the impending Jewish takeover. The racial principle of Gobinism had already politically established itself in Germany. The principle was derived from the race theory of white Aryan supremacy by the 19th century French writer Arthur de Gobineau and was used in Germany to legitimize Aryan superiority over the Jews. In his 1854 work *An Essay on the Inequality of Human Races*, Gobineau argued in favour of the intellectual differences between races and white hegemony. Deriving from Gobinism, Hitler distinguished the Aryan race as the zenith of human civilizations and posited that racial miscegenation can cause civilizations to collapse:

What we see before us of human culture today, the results of art, science, and techniques, is almost exclusively the creative product of the Aryan...he alone was the founder of higher humanity as a whole, thus the prototype of what we understand by the word 'man.' He is the Prometheus of mankind, out of whose bright forehead springs the divine spark of genius at all times... Exclude him and deep darkness will again fall upon the earth. (Hitler 397, 398)

The biological nationalism that derived from racial differentiation gripped Germany and the Nordic Aryan blood that was a minority in the country was prized over all other racial denominations. The Nazi party made deliberate efforts "through race hygiene and eugenics, not only to protect the nation from the Jewish ferment of decomposition but to increase the proportion of a Nordic stock in the population" (Schuman 217). Biological experiments to propagate the pure race included strict endogamy, forced sterilization or imposed celibacy for those with hereditary diseases, frequent birthing and the Nazi programme of *Lebensborn* to counter the diminishing Aryan population and thus reinforce the Master race. Breeding homes were set up to meet this purpose. Extermination of inferior races such as the Poles and the Slavs and the liquidation of Jewish-Marxist threats were carried out for the realization of a mighty German nation.

The Nazi conception of the state is an outgrowth of the racial-national-social *Weltanschauung*...This conception postulates the inequality of men, the subordination of individual liberty to national freedom, the rule of an elite, and unlimited power over the nation, accompanied by unlimited responsibility to God and the people...oligarchy and dictatorship, under contemporary conditions are regarded as prerequisites to national strength...The organic, corporative, authoritarian state, by preventing class conflict, destroying Marxism, and suppressing pacifism and internationalism, will at the same time revitalize private-property economy and unify the nation for the accomplishment of Its mission. (Schuman 224)

The Nazi Reich was In war against Parliamentary Democracy and Its economic corollary of communism. The NSDAP, with its principle of power seeping top down and duties rising bottom up, insisted on unquestioning allegiance to *Der Fuhrer*,

who was projected as the Aryan Messiah, in contrast to the Messiah for whom the Jews are waiting, who could pave the path for Aryan redemption and establish a mighty German nation. The new racial elite were accountable to the *Fuhrer* and the *Fuhrer* was accountable only to God and his chosen people. The German population was psychologically indoctrinated through mass demonstrations, political rituals and deliberate racist, xenophobic propaganda, compelled to internalize Aryan racial supremacy, thus legitimizing the inhuman crimes perpetrated on Jews and other inferior races.

Manipulation of the national education system by permitting the permeation of Nazi ideology into the curriculum was a major means by which Hitler's regime attracted young minds. "The rising generation, from kindergarten to university, is treated to a curriculum in which physical training, political indoctrination and moral education are given definite precedence over the imparting of knowledge" (Schuman 228). Erika Mann, the daughter of Thomas Mann, in her School for Barbarians, published in 1938 at the peak of Nazism, discusses in depth about the systemic conditioning of the German youth. The book is about how young minds are indoctrinated through education to take pride in their Aryan genes and their homogenous national core. Mann herself being part of the war generation German youth, is extremely critical of the German schooling system that teaches young children that "one is German by the grace of God and the state, and in God's name by the grace of the Fuhrer of the Third Reich and his Archangels, the leaders of the Third Reich" (School 17). Mann condemns a social situation where every German child is a Nazi child, programmed to say "Heil Hitler" about 150 times a day, raise his hands for the Nazi salute as many times as possible, see the Swastika many times a day and breathe the air fuming with the poison of hate (24). Not just the Aryan children but the Jewish children are subjected to indoctrination too. At schools, they

teach that Jews are Germany's misfortune which gets internalized by the Jewish children who wish they were born to Aryan parents so that they could lead respectable lives, devoid of hunger. Under the Nazis, textbooks used for instruction at school included *The ABC of Race* and the like, spreading animosity amidst people. All science was Nazi science; drawing classes meant learning to draw family trees and pedigree of residences and adding color to the everyday reality of bombing, parachute drop, searchlights, burning houses etc. Study of religion meant the study of National Socialism, which is religion for the Nazis, observes Mann (108). As children grow out of schools, they get initiated into the Hitler Youth or the League of German Girls. Though Nazi ideologues portray their fascist ideology as *de novo*, it has its roots running deep into the German past.

After the Second World War, German fascism yielded to the Soviet Red Army, assisted by the liberal democratic nationalism of the west. The conquest of Berlin resulted in an unconditional surrender of the German armed forces, legalized by the German Instrument of Surrender document, liberation of the prisoners from the Auschwitz concentration camp and the end of the Second World War. With Mussolini's execution and the suicides of Adolf Hitler and his propaganda minister cum anointed successor Joseph Goebbels, the Fascist front lost its morale and the capitulation was completed in a few days. With Germany's defeat, racial, ethnic and territorial absolutism and totalitarianism simply masked itself under the guise of liberal democracy but unveiled itself thereafter in various parts of the world, in various forms and degrees, as in the case of present day India, which will be addressed in detail in the following chapters. Militarism and absolutism permeated liberal democracy in a quite subterranean fashion. A zealous enthusiasm for belligerent nationalism has become a global phenomenon, though largely implicit.

The Nazi Germany envisioned by Hitler was a Volksgemeinschaft, a racially organized, hierarchical nation that prioritized the national cause over individual interests, and equipped for any combat to protect national purity. The French, Portuguese and Spanish equivalents of this doctrine, sans the racial purity were popularly called as Integral nationalism. Deriving its principal doctrines from the 19th century French politician Charles Maurras who endorsed monarchy, absolutism and integral nationalism over liberal democracy, this version of nationalism envisioned territorial unity and national glory. Maurras viewed that the French splendor and valor during the reign of Louis XVI was lost in the national decadence brought about by the romantic spirit that permeated the nation after the French Revolution, corrupting the national values. As a resolution, he endorsed reason over imagination, classicism over romanticism and authoritative regimes over liberal democracies. Parallels can be drawn to Plato's chastising of baser artistic imitations and his banishing of drowsiness-inducing romantic literature. Indisputable centrality of the state is vital to integral nationalism, which is a radically extremist, aggressively exclusionist, militarist and expansionist nationalism, thoroughly rooted in the right wing ideology, though lacking the ethnic, racist aspects of German Fascism. Though integral nationalism seems equivalent to fascism, it differs doctrinally from fascism in the point that it does not endorse an exclusively totalitarian state but encourage a certain degree of power decentralization and approves traditional power structures like the monarchy and Catholic Church.

Another associated concept is that of Palingenetic Ultranationalism, its constituent words being derived from their Greek roots *palin* meaning 'again' and *genesis* meaning 'birth'. Like Plato and Maurras, many political theorists were of the opinion that in an absence of conflicts, a nation steeps into decadence, where its population is trapped in a metaphorical slumber/figurative death and the national

values get corrupted. A national rebirth, i.e. palingenesis is required for national revival. British political theorist Roger Griffin coined the "single binomial, albeit initially cryptic" term "Palingenetic Ultranationalism", identifying it as a core principle of Fascism (*Staging* 13). "The adjective 'palingenetic' first acquires a definitional function when it is combined with the historically quite recent and culture-specific phenomenon of 'nationalism', and only when this takes a radically anti-liberal stance to become ultra-nationalism" (13). Griffin posited that a Fascist state aspires to revive the national past and refashion the present upon its ancestral political model. He is of the opinion that "Fascism is a political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultranationalism" (*Palingenetic* 98).

Fascist Italy under Mussolini attempted for a reincarnation of the Roman Empire and Nazi Germany attempted to revive the Holy Roman first Reich in Hitler's Third Reich. Fascism gathers support from the masses by promising to deliver a better future for the nation, unlike the present decadent monotonous life. It promises an overthrowing of the current order thorough a much needed revolution and a revival of the glorious past of the nation, thus ending the present national despair. Griffin states, "The faith in the possibility of regeneration from a present condition perceived as played out or no longer tolerable, is arguably the affective driving force behind all revolutionary ideologies" (*Staging* 13). In palingenetic ultranationalism, the golden past becomes a model for the post-revolution nation, making the nation rise from the ashes of decadence, torpor and corruption. In its revolutionary new order, Fascism aimed to fashion a virile, hyper-masculine, militaristic 'new man' out of the inert ordinary man, modeled on his aggressive, militaristic ancestors, embodying all the virtues of the new nation (redeemed from the golden age) fascism seeks to establish. According to Hitler, the new man was

"slim and slender, quick like a greyhound, tough like leather and hard like Krupp steel" (*Nuremberg Speech*, 1935). In order to facilitate the revolutionary national transcendence, fascism draws from extreme traditional values, and attempt to project the nation as an archaic entity, thus primordializing it and may even "recourse to religious discourse and symbology to create the 'spiritual' climate it believes conducive to the new order" as Griffin noted (*Staging* 15). The trend of primordializing the nation, glorifying the national past and attempting to recreate the golden age of the nation are clearly identifiable characteristics in many modern nations with fascist inclinations, such as India.

With the tide of nationalism rising steadily in the 19th century, the 20th century witnessed massive changes in the form of the collapse of existing nations and the making of new nations. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the downfall of the Russian Empire after the Russian Revolution, the split of Ireland after the Anglo-Irish war into Northern Ireland that remained part of the UK and the Irish Free State, the emergence of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia etc. made 20th century eventful for Eastern and Western Europe with regard to nations and nationalism. The disintegration of the Soviet Union led to novel national movements in Europe towards the turn of the 20th century. With Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Latvia and other component nations of the Soviet Union asserting independence and declaring themselves as sovereign states, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina etc. breaking away from Yugoslavia and the spread of Communist ideology in Eastern Europe, particularly in nations like Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and its eventual spread to Western European nations like France, Italy, Belgium and Netherlands, the 20th century proved to be politically eventful for Europe. Though the Communist regimes in the Eastern Europe fell by the end of the 20th century, the ideology still thrived to be influential, particularly in Eastern Europe. Post Second World War, Asian countries underwent a nationalist upsurge with the influx of liberal democratic virtues into the orient, resulting in an increased demand for self-governance from the colonized nations. Nationalist movements in India, Ceylon, Burma etc. were products of this awakened national consciousness. In the second half of 20th century, a non-European wave of nation state formation echoed in Asia and Africa.

In the 21st century, the watershed moment of the global pandemic caused by the Corona virus problematized national boundaries, mobility, migration, interpersonal relations etc. and contrary to the assumption of bringing the world together in resisting the virus, the pandemic cleaved nations farther, making them turn inward, closing the territorial and mental gates against humanity. Supranational unions were only partially successful in coordinating the combat against the virus. With fear about the imminent contagion, humankind began to other his fellow beings further; curfews and lockdowns became means to the nationalist cause, to champion the nation against the virus. Slogans such as "I'm saving the nation by staying indoors" were popular during the pandemic. Subnational, secessionist demands escalated and nations regained the confidence to implement actions that would have otherwise generated mass protest. The trend of hoarding vaccinations and the highly politicized action of its biased supply to various nations came to be notoriously summed as Vaccine nationalism. "The pre-existing plague of right-wing, populist, exclusionary nationalism made the pandemic more dangerous than it might otherwise have been", observes Prerna Singh (105). Over the pandemic, the cyber media became pivotal in national mobilization. With the massive death toll, economic crisis and asocial existence, the pandemic demanded newer means of imagining nations. Ranging from an innate love for one's homeland to jingoistic,

fanatic obsession with the superiority of one's nation that ennobles it over its fellow others, nationalism simply changes shapes and forms, but is a real, all-pervading force in the modern world. Rabindranath Tagore observed that "...nationalism is the most powerful anesthetics that man has invented. Under the influence of its fumes the whole people can carry out its systematic programme of the most virulent self-seeking without being in the least aware of its moral perversion, in fact feeling dangerously resentful if it is pointed out" (*Nationalism* 43).

Western Theories about Nationalism

Given the exceptional abundance of the theoretical discourse on nations and nationalism, coherence of the chapter necessitates an organizational principle which can facilitate a chronological arrangement of philosophers/theoreticians and their postulations on nations and nationalism. Employed here for this purpose is the chronological classification of the growth of the discipline called Nationalism Studies into four phases by Umut Ozkirmli in his foundational work Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction. The first phase spans over the 18th century that marked the origin of nationalism and the 19th century that marked the spread of nationalism and colonialism, the second spans over the first half of the 20th century, when the two world wars reshaped the global geography and politics, the third is the post war phase where the major academic studies and theorizations about nationalism were made and the fourth begins from the last decade of the 20th century, marked by the autumn of nations, due to the fall of Communism and continues till the present, during which the academic interest in nationalism burgeoned (15). The theorists and their theoretical positions are chronologically arranged in the following pages of the chapter in accordance to this classification. However, there are many theorists who overlap across phases; theorists are sorted into their respective phases not strictly based on their birth-death timeline but on the

basis of the years of publication of their major works. Theories flourished with time, each of them validating, questioning or reshaping its precedents, but not negating any, that a progression of the concept of nation and nationalism can be clearly delineated through a chronological study of the theoretical positions of scholars from various parts of the world, in various times.

Ozkirmli's chronological classification is strictly based on the assumption that the concept of nation is not older than the 18th century. However, there are a few theoretical positions that predate his classification but should be inevitably analyzed to ensure a continuity of the concept of nationalism over ages. In spite of positing that nation is a modern concept that originated in the 18th century, there is no denial to the fact that the concept had its antecedents in the past. Biblical nationalism, a national model that did not demarcate the religious from the political and is based on the covenants of the Hebrew Bible served as a prototype for the protestant nations in the 16th and 17th century Europe. Prototype of an infantile nationalism can be seen among the ancient Hebrews. Though the idea of a nation state was beyond their imagination, the Hebrews and the Biblical Israelites celebrated the idea of 'chosen people', practised cultural superiority, physical pollution and endogamy, emphasized the importance of collective memory during their Egyptian enslavement and lived in hope for the imminent Messiah who would bring order to the world, all of which are primary traits of nationalism. The Exodus, which is the founding myth of the Old Testament, is a journey towards a more established nation. With the European nations modeling themselves on Biblical prototypes, the Mosaic covenant in the Pentateuch served as the national law and Biblical heroes became national heroes. Ancient Israel was fully, and Puritan England was partially, modeled on Biblical nationalism, which Anthony Smith calls as "Covenantal Nationalism" (Biblical 22). The Israelites believed themselves to be God's wards and Abraham's grandchildren,

and therefore refused to mix with pagans to corrupt their racial purity. In his letter to the Church of Rome, St.Paul, the Apostle writes, "Let everyone be subject to governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. Consequently, whoever rebels against the authority is rebelling against that God has instituted and those who do so will bring judgment on themselves" (*NIV* Romans 13:1-2).

Post Renaissance and Reformation, Bible got translated into the vernaculars. Their 'real' encounter with the Bible for the first time, in contrast to sermons, abridged stories, commentaries and parables gave people an authority of knowing the 'true' word of God. The Biblical model of nation follows the belief that God created a world arranged into "clans and languages in their territories and nations" (NIV Genesis 10:20), by which he created rightful borders and allotted fixed territories to clans. Facilitated by the socio-political and intellectual scenario after Reformation, Europe sought Biblical models to fashion its nations upon. According to Diana Appelbaum, "Sixteenth century Biblical nationalism was the unintended side effect of reformation" (330). She identifies models of Biblical nationalism during the Reformation in Netherland, Scandinavia, Hungary, Bohemia and Sweden as well. A number of nation states modeled on the Bible and called themselves 'New Israel' took shape and these national imaginations roused mass political participation.

Predating Ozkirmli's classification are the philosophers of yore who viewed the nation as a product of the social contract between the rulers and the ruled. The fifth century BC Greek philosopher Plato assumed that all existing governing systems were corrupt and envisaged an ideal city state, *Republic*, ruled by philosopher-kings. The ideal state comprised of a merchant class, military class and political class of philosophers. He is of the opinion that societies originate when man

has needs greater than what he can provide for alone. Conventional family structure is absent in his Republic; he proposed a eugenic scheme to fortify the nation. He likened the philosopher-king to the captain of a vessel. Plato categorized five regimes: aristocracy, timocracy, oligarchy, democracy, governments into and tyranny. His ideal Republic had its doors shut to baser artistic engagements, particularly poetry. Plato's disciple Aristotle (fourth century BCE), hailed as the 'father of political science', viewed the nation as a necessity for human existence, since singular existence is impossible for man. Man is a social animal with an innate desire for a good life, for which he exists in societies which collectively form a nation; nation formation is a natural process for him. "He who does not live in a state or who does not need a state is either a beast or a God", said Aristotle (Politics 1.1253a 28-30). Even though the state /nation is a man-made construct, Aristotle values state over man and proposed the dictum "state is prior to man for, the whole must be necessarily prior to the part" (Politics 1.1253a 19-20). He believed that power and virtue cannot co-occur and endorsed regular check on the ruler's exercise of power.

Renaissance Italy's prominent philosopher Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) who is hailed as the 'father of modern political science', in his works *Discourses on Livy* and *The Prince*, makes philosophical observations about nations, nationalism, power, federalism etc., some of which turned out to be infamous. Deviating from the fifteenth century Christian doctrines of peace and modesty, Machiavelli endorsed ambition, greed for power, the earnest pursuit of it and recourse to violence in the pursuit. For him, nation stood for unlimited power and nationalism involved a pursuit of power, adding to the nation's glory. His *The Prince* is a manual for a ruler to effectively pursue and acquire power, manipulate things in his favour and maximize his power. He advocated absolutism and posited that the individual's

interests have to be sacrificed for the interests of the state; his visions had despotic inclinations. He justified any means to achieve the end of an ultimate, all powerful, non-religious state, with a perfectly maintained military force.

Enlightenment philosophers' position on nations and nationalism moderately concurs with the modern positions. Seventeenth century English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) elaborated the social contract theory in *Leviathan*, published in 1651. It details about communities and their organization as well as the legitimate governing mechanisms of these communities. Hobbes advocated absolute sovereignty so that a united government can prevent situations that shake the existence of the community. The ultimate aim of community formation is maintenance of peace, from which springs individual and collective prosperity. The absence of a political community or the staying out of it will result in discord and anarchy. The sovereign gains the accumulated power that the constituent individuals surrender in order to ensure their wellbeing in the community. Hobbes uses the conventional term 'commonwealth' to denote the political communities formed for collective good. "The final cause, end, or design of men (who naturally love liberty, and dominion over others) in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves, in which we see them live in Commonwealths, is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miserable condition of war which is necessarily consequent, as hath been shown, to the natural passions of men when there is no visible power to keep them in awe, and tie them by fear of punishment to the performance of their covenants..." (Leviathan 2, 17, 1). Hobbes approves censorship of speech when it challenges the irrefutability of the sovereign. He categorizes the mode of governance of communities depending on the nature of the sovereign – a unitary sovereign would constitute a monarchy, an assembly of representatives

would constitute a democracy and a not-all-inclusive assembly constituted by representatives of a particular social class would constitute an aristocracy. Out of these, Hobbes endorses monarchy because the private and the public interest collocate in a monarchy. Apart from these three, he did not acknowledge other forms of governance. His political thoughts being largely shaped by the English civil war, he assigns the state with decisions over matters that might generate dispute, such as religion.

Seventeenth century English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) was of the position that nation is the outcome of a social contract whereby individuals transfer part of their rights onto the government so as to ensure equality, freedom, political stability and social harmony. Though he doesn't detail much about what constitutes the nation, he clearly states that coercion should never be the means by which nation and nationality take shape. He stressed the primacy of liberty, dignity and happiness of the individual in any nation and significantly departed from the Christian notions about community and was against the divine right theory. He instead advocated natural rights, accessible to any man with an ability to reason; both can coexist simultaneously but former should not contrast or be allowed to triumph over the latter. Concept of consent is fundamental to Lockean political thought; individuals join together as communities on consent. His emphasis on consent was instrumental in framing the section about the creation of a government on general consensus and the safeguarding of individual rights in the America's Declaration of Independence in 1776. The political scenarios and historical circumstances that led these ancient and medieval philosophers to make observations of the above kinds were completely different from the circumstances that led to the origin of modern nation. To evaluate their observations in comparison to the modern positions and postulations on nations and nationalism would be anachronistic.

Umut Ozkirmli's first phase in his four-phased classification of the growth of nationalism spans over the 18th century marking the origin of nationalism and the 19th century marking its rapid spread. Political theorists, philosophers and scholars grouped into the first category include Voltaire, Rousseau, Immanuel Kant, J.S. Mill, Giuseppe Mazzini, Ernest Renan and Emile Durkheim. The eighteenth century French Enlightenment philosopher Voltaire (1694-1778) wrote An Essay on Universal History, the Manners, and Spirit of Nations in 1756 in which he challenged the assumptions regarding the political nature of nations of the East and the West. With his Enlightenment spirit of reason, Voltaire logically dismissed the assumption that the East is pagan and primitive while the Western nations are Christian and modern and that the Muslim world is primitive and despotic in comparison to the civilized Christendom. Universal peace was the end goal for Voltaire and the cordial relation between the state and its members was central to it. The fulfillment of the social contract necessitated the state to ensure fundamental individual freedom and the individual to be compliant to the state's power and exercise his rights without hindering others' individual liberty. This harmonious existence will bring about national security through a balance of power, which will in turn add to international stability, thus culminating in universal peace, which was Voltaire's objective. He valued an individual's right to choose his/her homeland to be of utmost importance: membership of any state is not obligatory, but a free choice. State/nation for him was an artificial, human invention which came into being through a social contract between the state and the citizens. His concept of nation was theist; he believed the presence of the divine to be necessary to maintain order and decorum. During his exile to England, Voltaire closely observed the British constitutional monarchy to come to a conclusion that an ideal social contract is best manifested in the English model.

(1712-1778),Genevan philosopher Rousseau whose philosophies considerably influenced the European Enlightenment, in his work The Social Contract (1762) outlined an appropriate political order for the state, for he believed that the problems of the society were products of improper political choices and can therefore, be bettered. According to him, the social contract of equal rights and duties into which the individuals of the civil society enter via common consensus, abandoning their individual entitlement to natural right, will help in preserving themselves as well as retaining their freedom. He popularized the concept of general will, which becomes the rule of the land. Yielding willingly to the general will of the people ensures individual liberty than any other system of governance. Rousseau vehemently opposed the divine right of kings and stated that the capacity to coerce people into submission is not a guarantee to power. He distinguishes between the sovereign with all legislative powers, consisting of the entirety of the community and the government, concerned with the execution. For Rousseau, the best expression of freedom is seen in small nation states than larger nations. Any system of governance gains legitimacy only by submitting itself to the sovereign rule of law in the nation.

Eighteenth century German Enlightenment philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) held that every individual had the natural right to freedom and a duty to belong to a community, governed by a social contract in order to exercise and maintain one's freedom. He was a liberal Republican in his politics and was a pacifist and his philosophy of a warless, peaceful political community was quite popular in the 20th century. Kant considered state to be a product of the social contract and advocated limiting the power of the state in order to protect its people from authoritarian impositions. He borrowed the term *Rechtsstaat* from German legal jargon to denote the legal restriction upon the power of the state. *Rechtsstaat*

later became a goal for many democracies in the 20th century. Constitutionalism was central to Kant's political principles but he was highly critical of democracy, considered majority rule as nothing less than despotism in which the 'general will' excludes some members of the nation. He instead considered a mix of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy as the ideal form of government. Perpetual peace was the final goal of any system of governance for Kant and towards this goal, he advices the governments not to violate individual liberty and advocates complete submission of the individuals to the government. In *The Metaphysics of Morals* (1797), he posited that "any action is right if it can coexist with everyone's freedom in accordance with a universal law, or if on its maxim the freedom of choice of each can coexist with everyone's freedom in accordance with a universal law" (6:230). The state for him is the embodiment of all virtues that any rebellion against it is impossible; citizens can only persuade the sovereign to reconsider or exercise passive civil disobedience.

The English philosopher J.S.Mill (1806-1873) suggested that nation states were a necessary precondition to democracy. Mill's notion of the religion of humanity necessitated a universal fraternity, enabling men to transcend their singular existence. He was against the militaristic nationalism and viewed general as well as particular human welfare as the end result of nations and nationalism. His nationalist concerns were not limited to Britain alone; such reductive nationalist perspective was not shared by Mill. For him, a shared political identity and a shared history serve as better cohesive factors than ethnicity, race or language. He views annexation of minor, weaker territories by larger nations as normal and beneficial; the intermixing of nationalities will eventually blur the aggression and hostility in either nations. The intermixing can happen either through imposed authoritarianism or a mutually consented federal sharing of power. Mill's cosmopolitanism was

however subjected to vehement criticism for its defense of tolerant imperialism and benevolent despotism, which are conflicting in their very essence.

For Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), nation was God's chosen way for advancement of mankind and patriotism a divine duty. He viewed nation to be midway between the individual and humanity. He prophesied a day when Europe will yield to God's will, harmony will prevail and nation and state will be coterminous. Mazzini was an ardent campaigner for Republicanism and an avowed anti-Marxist. For him, nationalism was not just a territorially bound emotion; he imagined nations to be unusually large collectives; reducing Mazzini to Italian nationalism alone is reductive and a disgrace to his philosophical positions. He considered nation as the ultimate expression of people who share aspects in common and believed that with the maturation of the nation, religious hegemony will fall; Mazzini's Christian faith was not church-centric. Mazzini endorsed democracy yet he valued the divine authority over the people. Only those with national consciousness deserved to be called 'the people'. Nation, for him is an all-inclusive, supreme political unit, sanctioned by divine providence, and he prioritized moral duties over rights of the citizens.

A serious academic perspective on nationalism with its focus on the constitutive factors of a nation first came from the French scholar Ernest Renan (1823-1892). Renan identified racial and ethnic unanimity as a major uniting factor for the nations of antiquity. The European nations that had a largely homogenous population emerged as nations long before those with ethnically diverse population. In the former case, the conquerors and the conquered blended indistinguishably into a homogenous culture so that the ethnic and cultural differences between them got obliviated and the reality of the conquest in their past is forgotten. In his celebrated speech *What is a Nation?* (1882), Renan said, "forgetting, I would even say,

historical error, is an essential factor in the creation of the nation, and it is for this reason that the progress of historical studies often poses a threat to nationality" (3). Historical investigations would reveal the forgotten conquests and the bloodshed it caused, eventually resulting in the cultural intermixing that culminated in the political formation of the nation. Brutality always lies at the core of nation-making; the brutality that is gradually forgotten over time will be uncovered by the historical enquiry which induced Renan's disapproval of it. Forgetting of the violent past coaxes people to willingly live in harmony. "The essence of a nation is that all of its individual members have a great deal in common and also that they have forgotten many things" (3).

Cohesive and divisive factors in the formation of the nation are addressed in the speech *What is a Nation?* Among various factors for the conglomeration of independent princely states and provinces to form a nation, Renan discusses annexations following conquests, intermarriages between royal houses, diplomatic unions etc., and considers the race of the population to be the major organizational principle for earlier nation formations. He does not however deem race to be relevant in the constitution of modern nations that were founded at a time when racial purity was only conceptual; a lot of blood-mixings had taken place by then and all prominent nations of Europe have a mixed blood and are heterogeneous. Renan states that the ethnographic principle of organization is clearly detrimental to free living:

The modern nation is therefore the historical result of a number of facts that have converged in the same direction. Sometimes unity has been achieved by a dynasty as was the case in France; sometimes it has been the expression of the direct will of provinces as was the case for Holland, Switzerland, and Belgium; and sometimes by a general

spirit finally overcoming feudal caprice as in Italy and Germany.(What is a Nation? 4)

Linguistic unanimity is also not a necessity for nation formation, says Renan. Languages and its speakers evolve over time, and to fixedly associate language with race is a fallacy. Speakers of the same language need not necessarily belong to the same race and vice versa. Languages should not, in any way "shackle human liberty when it comes to determining the family with which one unites one's self in life and in death" (What is a Nation? 8). He also questioned religion as the nation's organizational principle. Modern nations, some of which have constitutionally declared themselves secular and have no official religious inclinations, have come a long way from the pre-modern nations where religion essentially meant state religion.

Among the cohesive factors that hold the nation together, Renan lists geography, common interests and collective sentiments as prominent principles for nation making. Rivers proliferate civilizations while mountain ranges limit human movements, thus regulating the formation, size and demography of the nation. However, geography is not an absolute organizational principle for a nation; for Renan, "geography provides the substratum, the field of battle and of work, but man provides the soul. Man is everything in the formation of this sacred thing that one calls a people. Nothing material suffices. A nation is a spiritual principle resulting from the profound complexities of history - it is a spiritual family, not a group determined by the lay of the land" (What is a Nation? 9-10). Renan defines the nation as a soul and a spiritual principle, constituted by the past as well as the present. Collective memories, current consent to live together and the yearning to share the common heritage are the fundamental principles upon which nations thrive. "A heroic past with great men and glory is the social capital upon which the

national idea rests...Having suffered, rejoiced, and hoped together is worth more than common taxes or frontiers that conform to strategic ideas and is independent of racial or linguistic considerations" (10). The citizens have to unceasingly express their will to stay together, making the nation's existence a "daily plebiscite"; the citizens choose the nation and not vice versa (10). At a point in the future when nations are no longer inevitable, the withdrawal of consent of the citizens will result in the very dismantling of the nation.

Man is a slave neither of his race, his language, his religion, the course of his rivers, nor the direction of his mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, in sane mind and warm heart, created a moral conscience that calls itself a nation. As long as this moral conscience proves its strength by sacrifices that require the subordination of the individual to the communal good, it is legitimate and has the right to exist. (*What is a Nation?* 11)

French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), popularly regarded as a pioneer of social science devised a scientific approach to sociology and profoundly analyzed the role of religion in the social and cultural lives of different societies in his seminal work *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912). He cannot be strictly limited to the first phase of the growth of nationalism alone as his works span over the 20th century as well. Durkheim did not directly address the concept of nation in detail and was criticized for underestimating the potential of nations. Although he did not attempt a comprehensive study of nations and nationalism, he made influential sociological analysis on communities, which serve as the groundwork to nationalism studies. Nation always underlay his analysis of modern society. He regarded religion as a product of peaceful communal existence and viewed religion as a source of cohesion, holding the community together. In his

doctoral study titled *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893), he analyzed concepts like creation, composition and continuity of the society, collective consciousness binding the society together etc. He formulated the concept of collective representations, which are icons, symbols, views, concepts or beliefs of the collective, which cannot be reduced to individuals. Collective representations are products of extended cohabitation and socialization, which are some of the preconditions for nation formation.

In his Division of Labor in society, Durkheim proposed that "man is only a moral being because he lives in a society" (331). He identified two basic principles behind the evolution of society, namely, mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity, which can be differentiated by the nature of the society that generates them. The determiners of these solidarities include the size and composition of the population of the society, regulations prevalent in the society, the strength of collective consciousness etc. Mechanical solidarity springs from a homogenous society. Homogeneity of the members can act as a cohesive factor only in small societies where the collective personality alone exists, such as a clan or a tribe, where people are homogenous in terms of ethnicity, color, language, education, occupation etc. These societies are ritualistic and are marked by repressive penalization and extreme religiosity. Collective authority has an upper hand over the individual in smaller societies. In larger, more advanced industrial, modern societies that are heterogeneous and larger in size, there is division of labor which generates an inevitable interdependency, from which springs the organic unity. Such societies are largely secular, offer more room for the individual and endorse restitutive penalties. Organic solidarity is much more organized than mechanical solidarity (Division 70-130).

For Durkheim, each human community was unique in its own terms. 'Community' for him included the clan, tribe, nation, religious groups, occupational groups and other communities in which the aggregate exhibits traits different from the individuals. Among these, he held nation (*la patrie*) to be superior. Nation was above the sum of the individuals and the territory that composes it. He stressed the importance of a common historical past for nation formation. "A nationality is a group of human beings, who for ethnical or perhaps merely for historical reasons desire to live under the same laws, and to form a single state; and it is now a recognized principle among civilized people that when this common desire has been persistently affirmed it commands respect, and is indeed the only solid basis of a state" (*Germany* 40). He regarded these collective societies as "the most powerful combinations of physical and moral forces" (*Elementary* 446). Each of such societies has a collective consciousness, from which the norms and rules of the society originate. Durkheim holds the "collective and anonymous force of the clan" above the individual (221).

Durkheim proposed that society and God are one and the same and the totem representing the God represents the society itself. All things hallowed, according to Durkheim, had its origin from the society and not from the individual. Durkheim posited that every national society will have a character which will be preserved for long. He identified instinctive wisdom and rationality to be French national characters and excessive pride, vaulting ambition and systematic savagery to be German traits (*Germany* 42). He observed that "the nation can be maintained only if between the state and the particular individuals there is interpolated a series of secondary groups which are near enough to the individuals to attract them strongly and draw them into the general current of social life" (*Division* xxxiii). He believed in the might of national gatherings, celebrations and national icons in consolidating

national sentiment and integrating the nation since they express the abstract emotions and national unity in a tangible, material form. "It is only by uttering the same cry, pronouncing the same word, or performing the same gesture that the people feel themselves in unison...The flag was an essential rallying point for *la patrie*, just as the totem was for the clan" (*Elementary* 230-231). Durkheim believed these ceremonies and gatherings to produce a "moral remaking" that can revitalize the nation (427).

Durkheim regarded schools as a socio-political microcosm and suggested educational amendments to ensure rational development of students to facilitate healthier socialization among students and advocated state control over education to some extent, thus contributing to better adhesion among members of the nation. Education should ennoble individuals to prioritize the *la patrie* above themselves and national cause above the domestic. Durkheim viewed the nation as a partial incarnation of the concept of humanity and prioritized man's association with the la patrie above all human associations. He advocated "spiritual patriotism" that enables individuals to sacrifice themselves for the nation (Moral 117). Patriotism was for him, the entirety of all emotions and sentiments that bind an individual to the nation. The weaker the nation, consequently, the weaker the patriotism towards it. He believed in evolutionary nationalism, where small nations merge with the large, growing into a world patrie/internationalism which would rule out conflict, violence and wars. The ultimate core of Durkheim's approach to nationalism was his basic assumption about the supremacy of the nation among all possible human communal existences. His theoretical positions about nation and nationalism are all derivatives of his principle of social determinism.

Umut Ozkirmli's second phase in his four-phased classification of the growth of nationalism spans over the first half of the 20th century in which

nationalism and its evolution was considerably shaped by the two World Wars. Unbridled nationalism leads to wars and wars on the other hand, trigger a different nationalism or reshape the existing nationalism. The common man's exposure to war fatalities can psychologically generate a different kind of identification with their nation. Emile Durkheim continues his sociological contributions over this phase as well. His *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912) and *Germany Above All* (1915) were products of this phase. Other major theories and postulations on nationalism in this phase emanated from Max Weber, Otto Bauer and Carlton Hayes.

German sociologist and Historian Max Weber (1864-1920), regarded as one of the founding fathers of modern sociology alongside Emile Durkheim formulated profound observations about nations and nationalism. In his 1919 lecture titled Politics as a Vocation published later in the same year as an essay titled the same and regarded as a classic text in sociology, Weber addressed the students of Munich University about how to respond to the call of the vocation of politics. Contrary to the students' expectation of a fiery, rousing speech referring to immediate post-war German crisis, he gave a philosophical perspective on state, government, power etc. Weber narrowed the term 'politics' to denote the leadership of the state which he believed can be defined only in terms of Gewalt or "the physical force that has the capacity to be violent" (Politics 134). Physical force is specific and intrinsic to the State that the State would cease to exist in the absence of *Gewalt*, creating anarchy. He further observes that in the present world, State alone has the "monopoly on the legitimated use of physical force" (134). The area in which the state can exercise the physical force would territorially define it. The State is the "sole grantor of the right to physical force" and individuals can exercise force only to the extent the state permits (136). Weber categorizes the legitimacy to wield power and exercise physical force into three "intrinsic justifications"- first is that of the traditional

authority, which is the "authority of an eternal yesterday" where conventions get established as norms through habituation, second is the charismatic authority based on "special personal gift or charisma...of a Fuhrer" and third is the rational-legal authority based on the "validity of legal statutes". According to him, traditional authority is seen in patriarchy and patrimony, charismatic authority is wielded by a prophet, an elected ruler or a demagogue and legal authority is wielded by civil servants (137-138). Thus, for Weber, modern state is a defined, independent entity with centralized system of governance, legitimately possessing all authorities, even to exert violence over a definite geographical territory as well as an icon of collectiveness and community belonging, from which the need for a nation state organically springs.

British historian Perry Anderson observed that Max Weber "was so bewitched by the spell of nationalism that he was never able to theorize it" (205). Coercion is an inevitable element of Weber's political theory. Weber endorsed plebiscitary democracy, derived from the consent of the masses offered to the leader, thus weakening the masses, making the political scenario conducive for top-down exertion of power, legitimizing and executing violence. This draws directly from his position on charismatic authority giving rise to the *Fuhrer*. In his posthumously published book *Economy and Society* (1921), Weber lays bare the difficulties in defining abstractions like nation and ethnicity in terms of objective criteria like race, geography, economy etc.

If the conception of nation can in any way be defined unambiguously, it certainly cannot be stated in terms of empirical qualities common to those who count as members of the nation. In the sense of those using the term at a given time, the concept undoubtedly means, above all

that it is proper to expect from certain groups a specific sentiment of solidarity in the face of other groups. (922)

Weber observes that the nation is a sentiment-oriented community. He stresses on the importance of collective memories to sustain the sentiment and maintain the nation. A victorious war can consolidate national sentiments better than a lost war; defeat after defeat will dampen the nationalist spirit and the loyalty to the nation will wane over the years. A 'political memory community' can transcend all the inner differences to stay better together as a nation.

Weber's views on the nation derive from the socio-political circumstances of a Germany prior to Hitler and the world wars. His conceptions about the nation were from an economic-sociological perspective. He considered nationalism to have more modern traits but did not conclude nation and nationalism to be modern phenomena. He did not largely address the process of nation building but analyzed the sociopolitical and economical preconditions which facilitated the survival and success of existing nations. In a growing world where nations compete for economic monopoly, he predicted the split of the world economy into national economies bound by the territorial borders of the nation. Every national economy will compete with others for resources and market and will relentlessly try to annex territories or colonize suitable geographies. Weber coins the metaphorical phrase "elbow room" to refer to this striving for monopoly (National 14). He regarded the fight of the national economy for elbow room inevitable for the growth of nations. "Our successors will hold us answerable to history not primarily for the kind of economic organization we hand down to them, but for the amount of elbow-room in the world which we conquer and bequeath to them", he spoke at his Freiburg Address in 1895 titled The Nation State and Economic Policy (14). So nation for Weber was not just a community of sentiment with common features, shared history and a defined

territory, but also a power strong enough to contest in the world's race for 'elbow room'. While Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner connected the rise of nationalism to Reformation, print media and industrialization, Weber linked the rise of nationalism to the world market and the worldwide contest for the 'elbow room'. He envisioned a future where concepts such as ethnicity or nation would become irrelevant for sociological analysis, which is as of now, far from getting actualized, given the sociological burgeoning these concepts underwent.

Austrian Socialist Otto Bauer (1881-1938) challenges the previously discussed organizational principles of the nation, finding anomalies in postulating that a nation is comprised of people of the same descent, language, race and the like. The English speaking population is scattered in different nations while the Jews with no common language belong to one single nation, however scattered across the globe they are. In his essay *The Nation*, Bauer necessitates the existence of "an objective criterion for this togetherness" before people become conscious of their togetherness and organize themselves as a nation (40). He problematizes the national character, defining it as the physical and mental traits that differentiate one nation from another and is not fixed but is evolutionary and historically contingent. The national character is the sum total of the relative commonalities of character of the collective population of the nation at any given time, irrespective of their personal traits that distinguish each of them. This national character in turn distinguishes them from members of other nations and serves as the substrate of the nation. "National character is never anything but the precipitate of nation's history" (43).

Bauer further analyses cohesive factors that bind the nation together to arrive at a conclusion that those factors that were conventionally believed to be cohesive were divisive at the same time. Similar to the biological evolution of new species due to spatial separation, the branching and geographical distancing of the ancestral stock (in search of food, water, new pastures or forcefully parted due to natural calamities) should logically produce new tribes, each proliferating in their own unique ways in the diverse environments that they are exposed to. This diversity would only eventually accentuate as the geographical distance and the cultural practices that might have evolved over time would hinder inter-tribe marriages. This would divide and diversify a group that once existed as a 'community' in the most primitive sense of the term. This process of natural differentiation was met by another cultural unification on the other side. "The unification of the tribes into a people cannot be conceived in terms of the natural facts of heredity, which can only explain the division of one people into segments, and never the creation of a nation from different tribes; this unification can only be conceived in terms of the effective influences of common culture" (The Nation 42-43). Physical properties get transmitted to the descendants through heredity and the set of cultural values get transmitted through cohabitation and socialization. Bauer argues that nations originate from communities organizing themselves on the basis of shared/socially inherited cultural values rather than hereditarily inherited physical properties. These cultural values determine the national character of the nation.

Of the various factors that contribute to the consolidation of nationalist sentiments and the creation of the modern nation, Bauer particularly credits the workers' movement. It strengthened, gave voice and enabled the impoverished worker not to be left out of the cultural community that makes the nation. Capitalism impedes the development of a community with shared national culture. "Capitalism cannot let the nation fully emerge as a cultural community, since every fragment of mental culture becomes a power in the hands of the working class, a weapon to be one day wielded against it" (*The Nation* 47). The workers' movement, on the other hand, aids the permeation of the cultural values that constitute the nation into the

otherwise excluded class of workers, thus unifying the cultural community and strengthening the nation. Little did capitalism in its proliferation of factories and increased demand for human resources or the working class in their migration to cities knew they were making a paradigm shift not just in their private or immediate social lives, but concurrently altering the character of the nation itself, unconsciously.

However, Bauer posits that this change in the fate of the nation is very much conscious and predetermined in socialist societies because the creation of new jobs, the allotment of human resources and the social re-organization is studied and planned. Therefore, in a socialist society, the "future history of the people becomes the product of its conscious will" (*The Nation* 49). The concept of nation is thus, to an extent, autonomous in socialism. However, Bauer is of the opinion that though socialism is ideally expected to level indifferences, "the fact that socialism makes the nation autonomous, and its destiny the product of its own conscious will, means that socialist society will see an increasing differentiation of nations, a sharper definition of their specificities and a sharper separation of their characters" (49). Socialism continues the trend initiated by capitalism of unifying the material cultural contents of the diverse national cultures, which by no means ensure an equalization of all nations. The national culture of a socialist nation will not blindly accept novel ideas without deliberation and ponder; it won't just mechanically adopt a novel idea but rather contextually and culturally assimilate it through a process of "national apperception", altering the concept in the process (50). "In socialist society, no new piece of mental culture will be able to gain entry into a nation without linking up to its national culture, placing itself in connection with this, and being co-determined by it. Thus autonomy of national cultural community in socialism necessarily

means, despite the equalization of material cultural contents, a growing differentiation of the mental cultures of nations" (50).

The same historical event or socio-political-economic circumstance need not necessarily shape two nations alike. It is the shared experience of these circumstances that make and unmake nations. Various cohesive and divisive factors shape different communities so much so that Bauer defines the nation as "a community of destiny" (*The Nation* 51). The collective experience of this destiny, that unites people more than any other belongingness (like class, caste or race) constitutes the nation and maintains it different from the others. The sharing and retelling of this collective experience of destiny is easily facilitated by a common language, which makes a shared language an easy organizational principle for any nation. Any community of descent/natural inheritance, held together by a "commonality of germplasm" can remain as a nation only as long as their common language facilitates communication of the joys and sufferings of their destiny (52). The erasure of blood ties or the common language will dismantle the nation, splitting it into miscellaneous communities of characters.

Bauer identifies three basic types of national cultural communities; the first being one where the members are connected by blood ties and inherited common culture. This nation bears within itself the likelihood of its own degeneration into independent clans or tribes as the cultures grow and develop independently. In the second type, the common ties of blood and language are already nonexistent and the population has undergone large-scale differentiation. The cultural unity of the ruling class alone sustains the nation. The third type is the futuristic socialist society, united not by common blood or language, but by common education, labour, entertainment etc. which create a sense of collective belonging that unifies the nation, thereby making it immune to decay (*The Nation* 55-56). The national

character is a product of history and is never fixed but always in a flux of being shaped and then perishes. Bauer observes,

The nation for us is thus no longer a rigid thing, but a process of becoming, whose nature is governed by the conditions under which people struggle for their necessities of life and to maintain themselves. And since the nation does not yet arise at a stage when people only seek their sustenance and do not produce it, where they secure their necessities of life by simply taking possession and occupying unowned wealth where they find it, but only at a stage at which man wins from nature by labour the goods that he needs, so the origin of the nation, and the particularity of each nation, is determined by the mode of labour of the people, by the means of labour they use, the productive forces they master, and the relationships they enter into in the productive process. (56)

The four stages of the development of a nation include the first stage of the small nomadic community of people with common origin; the second stage of settled cultivation resulting in fragmentation of the unified nation into diverse, independent communities where the concept of private property is in practice and the property owners rule over the proles; the third stage of capitalism further diversifies nations but shows a tendency to unify nations on the grounds of national education; and the fourth stage when the community exist as a unified nation on the grounds of national education, work and culture as the society overcomes capitalism (60).

Awareness about an existence foreign to oneself is the vital pre-condition for national consciousness. Bauer observes that for this very same reason, soldiers, merchants, sailors etc. who get constantly exposed to newer geography and populace develop national consciousness quicker. The nation is supposedly the sum of its people's national consciousness which is an awareness of the national 'self' and its distinctions from the 'other'. Capitalism, particularly print capitalism and the proliferation of visual media has enlightened the masses to the existence of other nations against which the 'self' takes shape, even though they have never physically encountered the 'other'. Therefore, the proliferation of national consciousness among the members of the nation is principally a product of capitalism. The idea of the nation is not a stand-alone one; an individual's personal tastes, loves and emotions fuse into his idea of the nation that belittling the nation would be for him, a belittling of himself and everything he loves. Otto Bauer observes that nation becomes a part of one's ego (*The Nation* 63). Consciousness of a heroic past, colossal battles fought, mightier enemies defeated and artistic and architectural feats achieved add to this sense of pride in collective belonging. This romantic pride is then ascribed to the "motely parade" that Benedict Anderson called the nation (*Imagined* 83).

According to the American scholar and historian Carlton J.H. Hayes (1882-1964), who is regarded by Eric Hobsbawm as "the twin founding fathers of the academic study of nationalism after the first world war" alongside Hans Kohn, the word 'nation' is "tantalizingly ambiguous" (*Nations* 3). It is a longstanding expression that has gathered moss with passing time, got diversified and gained manifold meanings. He traces the early origins of nation in his work *Essays on Nationalism* and observes that it was only in the seventeenth century that the word came to denote "a population of a sovereign political state, regardless of any racial or linguistic unity" (*Essays* 4). Before the word 'nationality' gained its present day meaning of citizenship, it denoted a group of people sharing the same tongue and customs, a tad more specialized than the word 'nation' which denoted the members of a sovereign political state. In its original sense, nationalities could exist without

nations and a nation could comprise numerous nationalities. However, the modern tendency of every nationality is to identify with its peer and aspire for political independence, manifested in the form of a sovereign nation; nationality establishes itself as a nation. "A state is essentially political; a nationality is primarily cultural and only incidentally political" (5).

Nationalism, for Hayes, is the "fusion of patriotism with a consciousness of nationality" (*Nationalism* 2). It is a mental state where the loyalty to one's own blood tribe is above all other loyalties, an emotion capable of building national states out of tribes and empires and is an amalgamation of patriotism and nationality. The former is the natural emotional attachment to the land one belongs to, though the definition of 'belonging' is debatable. However, Hayes sees the latter not as an innate political identification as it is usually assumed. The feeling of nationality is the outcome of a "continuous process of social learning and habit forming" (6-7). Nationality is a social and cultural phenomenon that later assumes a political form. Neither natural geographical boundaries nor racial purity determines or demarcates nationalities. Hayes admits the discerning factor to be the presence of a "national mind," the likely equivalent of the German *Volksgeist*, which is a psychological force that urges the members of a nationality-group towards some community of similar beliefs and customs. He clearly adds that the national traits that bind masses together undergo radical changes in spans of time.

For Hayes, among the multiple cultural characteristics of nation, language is of paramount importance. As the unified population of yore moved apart in search of food and greener pastures, tribal differentiation was accompanied by the bifurcation of the proto parent language and their growth as individual languages. Thus the newly evolved tribes were differentiated linguistically. This tendency continued as the tribes grew and mature into nations. The rise and fall of

nationalities have always gone hand in hand with the rise and fall of their corresponding languages, though not without exceptions. Hayes notes that,

There was no such thing as the English nationality which we know until Anglo-Saxon had been fused with Norman French to produce the English language. There was no such thing as the French nationality until the Germanic Franks, mingling with the Latinised Gauls, had modified the Latin speech so far as to give rise to a new and different language called French...The old Slav-speaking Prussian nationality long ago lost its language and was absorbed into the German nationality. (Essays 14-15)

A common language can generate uniformity of thought and political solidarity, enabling the speakers to empathize with a common cause and constitute a nation. The different dialectical variations of the same language within the geographical boundaries of a nation can magnify into secessionist subnationalist cries in the long run, if facilitated by conducive circumstances.

The second factor that Hayes deems pertinent to nation formation is common history. Humankind, unlike animals, is bestowed with the gift of sense of time and memory and they commemorate the memories of national heroes, collective valor, triumph and loss. In passing down history to the younger members of the nation in order to inculcate loyalty to the nation, scientific logic and historical veracity sometimes get unconsciously compromised and subordinated to the nationalist zeal. The sense of sharing common history binds people together beyond imagination; nationality thrives upon the memories in the collective unconscious. "The sagas of the Norsemen, the Vedas of the Hindus, the Pentateuch of the Hebrews, the Homeric poems, the Virgilian hexameters, all the famed deeds of the brave men before Agamemnon...have served to inspire linguistic groups with

corporate consciousness and to render them true nationalities" (Essays 17). The third characteristic of the nation that Hayes identifies is the members' belief that they constitute a cultural community. Though globalization has largely levelled the cultural particularities of distinct communities, each nation tirelessly consider itself as "the tabernacle of a unique civilization" (19). The distinction of cultures largely revolved around religion in the pre-globalization past as in the case of Jews whose religion and nationality are indissolubly blended. However, with the cultural synthesis that happened over time, religions crossed over the national boundaries, overlapped over another religion at times and created an amalgam that made insistence on religious uniformity practically impossible. Religion therefore is not a rigid attribute of nationality. Hayes concludes that "nationality rests upon cultural foundations, that a nationality is any group of persons who speak a common language, who cherish-common historical traditions, and who constitute, or think they constitute, a distinct cultural society in which, among other factors, religion and politics may have played important though not necessarily continuous roles" (21).

The human virtue of loyalty which is a byproduct of the social nature of man varies in different degrees and need not necessarily be limited to national discourse alone. It can range from (but is not limited to) loyalty to one's family patriarch, deity, natal village, tribal chieftain, landlord, monarch, caste, trade union, an ideology or to the nation itself. The loyalty to one's nation is an evolved emotion. Patriotism, which is the love for one's land of birth, predates loyalty to nation; patriotism of a minor intensity existed even in the earliest precursors of modern political communities. This loyalty to the *Terra Patria* was later extended to the nation. The smaller the community, the greater is the patriotic sentiment which drove ancient philosophers to limit the size and population of nations. However,

modern nations insist that each nationality should constitute an independent sovereign state and each of these states expect loyalty and complete allegiance, i.e. patriotism from its citizens. What is different in the modern nations is the novel demand for nationalism, i.e. for an unwavering faith in the nation's ability to surpass and excel other nations and beam with pride about its eminence. Hayes is of the opinion that "the fusion of patriotism with nationality and the predominance of national patriotism over all other human loyalties is modern" (*Historical Evolution* 6). He locates three set of factors central to the spread of the modern phenomenon of nationalism. First is the intellectual output from historians, anthropologists, economists and other scholars of diverse disciplines that created a doctrine of nationalism, second is the masses getting attracted to the charm of nationalism and championing it and the third is the doctrine of nationalism gaining mass visibility and becoming a commonplace term through mass education (*Essays* 62). Education need not necessarily refer to formal school education; family, peer groups, religious circles all serve in educating an individual.

In his *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*, Hayes classifies nationalism into six categories – Humanitarian, Jacobin, Traditional, Liberal, Integral and Economic. Humanitarian nationalism is identified as an 18th century phenomenon, characterized by individual rights, social contract theory, popular sovereignty etc. Major philosophers associated with humanitarian nationalism were Rousseau, Bolingbroke, Herder etc. With the French Revolution of 1789, humanitarian nationalism got democratized and evolved into Jacobin nationalism marked by suspicion, intolerance towards conflicts and a missionary fervor. Aggression and religious fanaticism were key aspects of Jacobin nationalism and it anticipated integral nationalism. "Jacobins substituted the old Catholic faith with the new religion of nationalism" (*Historical* 55). As a response to the French

Revolution, Edmund Burke, Louis de Bonald, and Friederich von Schlegel developed the concept of traditional nationalism, embracing conservatism and resisting radical changes. The 19th century witnessed the evolution of liberal nationalism of Jeremy Bentham, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Giuseppe Mazzini, and integral nationalism of Charles Maurras and Maurice Barres, integrating the state with the nation and glorifying the aggressive militaristic aspect of the nation. Economic nationalism of Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Friedrich List etc. insisted that the states should be self-sufficient and its economic and political units should be congruent.

Hayes analyses how nationalism gets regularized and establishes itself as a religion without obliterating the existing religions and draws parallels between nationalism and religion. In place of God in organized religions, nationalism worships the nation personified, such as Marianne, Britannia or Bharat Mata. Hayes observes that these personifications get deified and establish themselves as Gods of a chosen community, either of a dominant ethnicity, religion or skin color (*Essays* 104). Nationalists of the nation express their reverence to the national deity through adoration, complete submission of lives/willingness to offer themselves at the altar of nationalism and their readiness to fight and kill for the nation. Like regular religions, nationalism engages the intellect, imagination as well as emotions of its followers (105). Just like an individual has affinity towards a particular religion, one should affiliate to a particular nation. "Nationalism has its parades, processions and pilgrimages. It has moreover, its distinct holy days, and just as the Christian church took over some festivals from paganism, so the national state has borrowed freely from Christianity" (108). This religious allusion is universal in modern nationalism.

The third phase in the four-phased classification of the spread of nationalism by Umut Ozkirmli spans over the second half of the 20th century. It is in this phase

that most of the major theorizations on nationalism are made. With the Central and Eastern Europe broken into smaller nations, the fall of European Communism, the World Wars crippling the European economy, establishment of the Jewish state of Israel in 1948 and postcolonial nationalisms on their growth in Asian and African continents, the second half of the 20th century was eventful for nationalism and rich theoretical contributions were made to Nationalism Studies in this phase. German Fascism and aggressive nationalism were factors that shaped the nationalisms of the time and the theories about it. Major theorists of this phase include Louis Snyder, Hans Kohn, Miroslav Hroch, Elie Kedourie, Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, Anthony Smith, Michael Billig, John Breuilly, Hugh Seton Watson, Kenneth Minogue, Tom Nairn, etc. The phase also demands an investigation into the Marxist and Anarchist perspectives on nationalism.

American scholar Louis Snyder's (1907-1993) perspective on nations and nationalism were largely shaped by Hitler and Nazism. Witnessing early Nazi rallies, Snyder anticipated Hitler's rise to power and Germany's fall. He analyzed German nationalism in detail, particularly Hitler and his Third Reich. His works about German nationalism include *From Bismarck to Hitler* (1935), *Roots of German Nationalism* (1978), *The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (1976) etc. In his major work *The New Nationalism* (1968) which he deems to be an extension of the works of Carlton Hayes and Hans Kohn, Snyder celebrates the birth of a new nationalism in the 1960s, marked by the widening of European and American nationalism into internationalism and refashioning of existing nationalism in Asia and Africa based on European models. Asian and African nations began their cry for national self-determination, giving rise to independence struggles, culminating in the birth of new, independent nations. He views nationalism as a modern phenomenon; modernization, while bridging the economic, social and cultural barriers between

men and the nations they belong to, thus contributing to internationalism, it concurrently emphasizes the relevance of national symbols, national heroes, and glorifies the homeland, thus furthering the trend of nationalism; often, the latter triumphs over the former. This inherent conflict in nationalism is identified and addressed by Snyder. He observes the unpredictable, partially real and partially mythical nature of nationalism, with multiple shades and nuances and describes it using the adjectives like 'multifaceted', 'disheveled', 'murky' etc.

Snyder compares nationalism to religious faith, inevitable yet "easily perverted into oppression and aggrandizement". He observed that "nationalism breeds imperialism, and the latter, in turn, breeds imperialism again" (New 2). He is filled with awe for the might of nationalism to convert pacifists into crusading belligerents. He identifies nationalism's "impelling thrust to both war and peace" as a paradox of nationalism (16). He details eight facets of nationalism- a force for unity, which enables divided territories to consolidate in solidarity; a force for the status quo, enabling the nation to hold together instead of disintegrating like the USSR; a force for independence, manifesting in the form of the mass' desire for national self-determination and autonomy; a force for fraternity, negotiating the differences and staying together; a force for colonial expansion, widening existing territories; a force for aggression, enabling nations to amass wealth, power, territory, human resource etc.; a force for economic expansion, enabling mightier nations to grow economically, even if that involves exploiting lesser nations and as a force for anti-colonialism through which new self-determining nations are established in places which were previously colonized (3-4).

Snyder identified seven distinct geographical categories of nationalism viz. European (fissiparous nationalism), African (Black Nationalism), Asian (anticolonialist nationalism), Middle Eastern (politico-religious nationalism), Latin American (populist nationalism), United States (melting pot nationalism) and Soviet Union nationalism (Messianic nationalism) (*New* xii). He is also credited for devising a historical typology of nationalism keeping the rise of fascism as a reference point. The fourfold typology includes Unifying nationalism (1817-1871), Separatist nationalism (1871-1900), Aggressive nationalism (1900-1945) and Universal nationalism (1945-present). In his Preface to *The New Nationalism*, John. D. Montgomery observes that "Snyder's future envisaged a pluralistic world of nations striving to avoid fatal collisions by finding ways to respect the world community. That is a future yet to come but it is on the way" (xvi).

Czech-American philosopher and historian Hans Kohn (1891-1971) who was a pioneer of Nationalism Studies defines nationalism as a psychological emotional expression of supreme loyalty and allegiance to one's nation and asserted that "...the nation-state is the ideal and the only legitimate form of political organization and that the nationality is the source of all cultural creative energy and economic well-being" (Nationalism: Meaning 10). Kohn was a German Jew who later moved to America. His perspectives on nation and nationalism are shaped by his experiences as a Jew, the World War in which he fought as a soldier and served as a prisoner of war, his desire to establish a utopian Jewish commonwealth, his rift with Zionism, his witnessing of the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, losing his family to the holocaust etc. His Magnum Opus is The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origin and Background (1944) which addresses the binary of Eastern and Western nationalisms. He observes that nationalism embodies in it a yearning for liberty and progress. He viewed nationalism as a modern phenomenon and observed that "Only very recently has it been demanded that each nationality should form a state, its own state, and that the state should include the whole nationality" (Nationalism: Meaning 9). For Kohn, Johann Gottlieb Fichte formed the basis of nationalist thought since

he divided the world not into Germans and non-Germans but believer and non-believers of people's freedom.

Kohn carried out a diachronic study of the evolution of European nationalist thought and devised a binary typology of nationalism - Western nationalism oriented towards liberalism and Eastern nationalism oriented towards authoritarianism. In the West, he identified an optimistic, pluralistic, voluntary/civic nationalism that followed the nation-building process or was simultaneous to it, and in the East, he identified an authoritarian, sentimental organic/ethnic nationalism which preceded the nation-building and was closely connected to historical myths. Western nationalism was benign in nature while the Eastern counterpart was malignant according to Kohn. The former is marked by the prominence of the middle class while the latter by its waning, culminating in authoritarianism (*Idea* 16). English nationalism is the epitome of Western nationalism for Kohn. In Eastern nationalism, individual rights and liberty gets subordinated to the national interests. However, this binary division has been criticized for being impractical; pure civic/ethnic states are merely conceptual. Civic states evolved at a later point and they were all ethnic in their core. Civic or ethnic aspect may dominate the nation's nature at a given point, but all nations bear in it both civic and ethnic aspects. Criticisms were directed against the prejudice that West has an upper hand over the East as well as Kohn's postulation that Western nations were civic since their inception. Ethnocultural aspects have always been a shaping force for nations, particularly in their early phase. Kohn's idea of Western nations predating nationalism gets challenged by Ernest Gellner through his postulation that "It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round" (Nations and Nationalism 55).

In the 1965 book *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* dedicated to fellow nationalism scholar Louis Snyder, Hans Kohn spurns objective cohesive factors like

common territory, common origin, language, shared culture etc. and valued the active corporate will of the members as the major cohesive factor behind nations. Kohn traces the origin of three core traits of nationalism to the Hebrews - the concept of the chosen people, necessity of common memories and collective optimism about the future and national messianism (Nationalism 11). He regards the 17th century England to be the first full-fledged, modern manifestation of nationalism. With Renaissance and Enlightenment, English nationalism prioritized individual liberty over everything else and religious supremacy was questioned and the English middle class grew alongside, necessitating the looming of the English nation. However, contrary to Kohn's postulation about Western civic nationalism, English nationalism was built on cultural nationalism. Kohn differentiated American nation from others, claiming that its organizational principles are different from that of other nations. The United States "was not founded on the common attributes of nationhood – language, cultural tradition, historical territory or common descent – but on an idea which singled out the new nation among the other nations of the earth" (American 8). The US was for Kohn the pinnacle of civic nationalism.

In his 1922 essay *Nationalismus*, Hans Kohn posited that each age has an ordering principle; nationalism replaced religion as the ordering principle of the modern age. However, Kohn's theories about nationalism were not divorced from religion but instead drew all basic tenets of nationalism from religion and considered religious humanism as the goal of nations. He stated that "nationalism was deprived of its religious forms but retained its religious fervor" (43). His analysis of the Arab and Eastern nationalism revealed its excessive dependence on religion. English nationalism glorified by Kohn was espoused by the Puritan spirit and exhibited a clear religious nature in aspects like national chosenness, an eventful national exodus etc. He deemed religion central to the dynamics of nation and nationalism in

the early phase of his career but towards the later years, he disengaged religion from nationalism. He clearly stated that nations are not naturally occurring communities but imagined in a particular fashion based on the socio-cultural ethos of the time, and the means of imagination get redefined with space and time. Kohn also prophesies a historical end to nationalism. Post the world wars, Kohn expressed the need for multinational federations, because he viewed fascism as a belligerent extension of nationalism; fascism cannot be countered by excessive nationalism but internationalism, which can only be facilitated by a resurrection of religions. Hans Kohn is a precursor to the modernist approach to nationalism studies championed later by Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm etc. and is simultaneously a source for the primordialist views on nationalism championed later by Anthony Smith.

Miroslav Hroch (1932-), the Czech historian and a pioneer theorist of nationalism formulated his theoretical positions by historically comparing and contrasting the national movements in the central and East European nations. He views the nation as never natural but as a historical product. He defines the nation as "a large social group integrated not by one but by a combination of several kinds of objective relationships (economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, historical), and their subjective reflection in collective consciousness" (*From* 2). He lists some of these "objective relationships" that hold the nation together, the inimitable ones being a memory of a common past, dense cultural ties that can create a sense of communion and equality among all members in the community. In his distinguished work *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* (1985), he assumed nation formation to be a social phenomenon that shared a symbiotic relationship with the transition from feudal society to a capitalist society of citizens, wherein a third estate evolved, comprising of all citizens and deemed

itself equal to the nation. He carried out a comparative study of nationalism in Bohemians, Finns, Danes, Flemish, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Estonians etc. and observed that the pattern of nation formation is not uniform across Europe. To explicate this anomaly, Hroch proposed a tripartite taxonomy of nations, dividing them into large, small and transitional - large nations follow the presumed model of nation formation and have their own states and is ruled by their own ruling class; small nations lack their own ruling class, is dominated by a ruling class of an alien nationality and therefore not an independent political unit; transitional nations had their origin like a large nation but got relegated to the features of a small nation (*Social* 8). England and France are examples for large nations and Poland and Hungary are examples for transitional nations. Small nations like Czechoslovakia and Croatia are also called as oppressed nations; 'large' and 'small' are not mere geographical or demographic quantitative indicators for him.

Hroch further categorized small nations into two – 'nations without history' that had never been an independent political unit and nations that were self-constituted political units in their past but lost independent status as they grew into modern nations (*Social* 9). Hroch's observations about the contribution of national festivals and celebrations which are performances in the name of nation to the rousing of nationalist sentiments are very relevant to studies on nationalism. He identified typologies of festivities and celebrations such as fertility festivals, religious celebrations, commemorations of nationally relevant days such as war victory days or birth/death days of national leaders and even festivities that involve display of military prowess and physical might, all of which do not equally contribute to nationalism.

Miroslav Hroch's chronological study of the nation revealed that the initial growth of nationalism was very haphazard and unorganized. Hroch proposed a

three-phase division of the evolution of nationalism, wherein the first phase A is a 'purely cultural' phase of literary productivity with no political implications and engaged the elites of the society. Patriotic literature was written in this phase to rouse national consciousness. In the second B phase, the middle class intelligentsia fuses the cultural demands with the political, thus shaping the "national idea" and initiating political campaigns as well as patriotic agitations that sometimes turn even militant. Hroch credits print media and sociability for bringing about this culturalhistorical, socio-political transition. In the third C phase, these political campaigns gain momentum and harness mass support. Both the urban and rural masses join the campaign in this phase and the collective political demand can even give way to separatist political aspirations. This third phase can happen before or after the formation of the nation (Social 23). There were contestations amidst theoreticians about the commencement of phase C because of the ambiguities and disparities in the conceptions of what and how many participants constituted a mass movement. Hroch deemed phase B to be of ultimate importance and considered it vital in the formation of small nations. Transitions from the first to the third phase were not instantaneous; between the intellectual manifestation to the political diffusion of nationalism lies a long drawn "epoch" as Hroch phrases it in which the "fermentation process of national consciousness" transpired (23).

Hroch's A-B-C schema, even though it occasionally proves ambiguous, is a landmark in nationalism studies, given the difficulties in a taxonomical approach to nationalism and the complexities roused by binary taxonomies. Hroch's taxonomy served as a stimulus to many similar taxonomical responses such as the tripartite academic—cultural—political division by Ukrainian historian Roman Szporluk and the tripartite Heritage gathering stage-organizational stage-political stage division by another Ukrainian historian Paul Robert Magocsi (Maxwell 870). Many

theoreticians suggested an extension of the A-B-C schema into a fourth D phase to denote the newly formed nations. Many others have questioned Hroch's assumption of the sequence; the progression of nationalism need not be linear and sequential but can be very haphazard or can even be simultaneous and not mutually exclusive. Just like binary taxonomies, the boundaries are fuzzy and not well differentiated in non-binary taxonomies as well; they intersect, overlap and are sometimes absent. However, non-binary taxonomies such as that of Hroch's sidestep the excessive normative judgment that the binary taxonomies invite.

Each national movement has its own unique features, but Hroch posited that each of them can be approximated to his fourfold typology of process of nationformation. This fourfold classification of national movements namely, integrated, belated, insurrectional and disintegrated patterns, is principally dependent on the A-B-C schema he devised, particularly based on the conditions in which the vital Phase B happens. In the integrated type of national movement, the national movement transitions to phase C and garners mass support during or immediately after the industrial and bourgeois revolution and "the organized working class movement asserted itself after the modern nation had emerged" (Social 27). The newly formed modern nation devises its democratic programme during the course of the revolution. In the belated type of national movement, the national agitation in phase B occurs prior to the industrial and bourgeois revolutions but mass movement in phase C is delayed and happens alongside or after the organized working class movement, resulting in a belated formation of the modern nation. In the insurrectional type of national movement, the movement already attains a mass nature prior to the formation of the capitalist society itself. Transition to phase C is accompanied by armed fight with the ruling nation. In this case, the growth of the modern nation is very rapid and it takes shape prior to the bourgeois revolution and

the industrial revolution. In the disintegrated type of national movement, the national movement happens after the bourgeois revolution and the industrial revolution. Hroch regarded this typology as a starting point for the comparative study of national movements across Europe. Hroch's non-binary typologies however fell into obscurity with the growth of nationalism studies and the eventual popularization of binary taxonomies.

British Historian Elie Kedourie (1926-1992) had Iraqi-Jewish origins and harbored a distinctive view towards nationalism; unlike his fellow scholars on nationalism, he viewed nationalism as havoc-inducing, particularly in the Middle East. In his 1960 work Nationalism, Kedourie considers nationalism as a doctrine "invented" and "naturalized" in the early nineteenth century Europe and circulated across the world over time, clearly pointing out the artificiality of the nation (9). He views the popularization of the idea of nation as an outcome of the combination of philosophical debates, favorable socio-political scenario and the largely accidental fortune of the idea of the nation itself during the turn of the century. He considers Enlightenment philosophy, with its emphasis on reason in order to comprehend the order of the universe, a primal reason for the evolution of the concept of nation. He agrees with Renan's observation that the nation is the product of individual will. He posited that the individual "in pursuit of self-determination, wills himself as the member of a nation" (75). He approved Renan's observation that nation is a daily Plebiscite and observed that "national self-determination is, in the final analysis, a determination of the will; and nationalism is, in the first place, a method of teaching the right determination of the will" (Kedourie 76). He considers the French Revolution to be pivotal to the origin of the modern idea of nation. Inspired by the Enlightenment philosophy, the post-revolution French National Constituent Assembly drafted the Civil Rights document called *The Declaration of the Rights of* Man and of the Citizen in 1789, upholding the natural and universal right of man. Its third article states that "the principle of sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; no body of men, no individual, can exercise authority which does not emanate expressly from it", which Kedourie considers to be a foundational principle of nationalism, which he did not appreciate (National Assembly 1789). This hostile approach towards a nation's self-determination summarizes his skepticism of the idea of the nation.

Kedourie posits that the French Revolution created an innovative atmosphere of possibilities and alternatives, aiding the spread of the doctrine of nationalism. In the opening chapter of *Nationalism* titled "Politics in a New Style", Kedourie clearly expresses his pessimistic outlook towards nation and nationalism which he believes causes divisions, chaos, wars and catastrophes. His criticism of the artificiality of the concept of nation probably springs from his troubled Arab-Jewish existence in the heydays of Arab Nationalism. He was critical of the supremacy of the state's will over the people and its forceful imposition, which negates the rights of the citizens. Kedourie's theoretical positions and his logical condemnation of nationalism largely influenced Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Anthony Smith and many others, though not sans critique. Kedourie was criticized for his monism and intellectual determinism. His inability to consider the social and class forces that are the decisive agents of nationalism blinded Kedourie, limiting his intellectual eelecticism.

The British-Czech anthropologist and philosopher Ernest Gellner (1925-1995) was one among the highly dynamic intellectuals of the 20th century and served as the Head of the Prague Centre for Study of Nationalism. Nations and nationalism were the central themes of his oeuvre. Jewish in origin, his family fled Czechoslovakia during the commencement of the Third Reich to settle in London. His 1983 work *Nations and Nationalism* and 1997 work *Nationalism* are vital to the

discourse on nationalism. Nationalism became his subject of focus in various other books as well. The year 1983 was decisive for Nationalism Studies across the world with the publication of three pivotal and groundbreaking works on nationalism – Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition*.

Gellner begins his seminal work Nations and Nationalism: New Perspectives on the Past with the definition "nationalism is primarily a political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (1). The anger produced by the breach of this congruence or the joy produced by the fulfillment of this congruence can make or unmake nations. Therefore, the emotion of nationalism predates the nation. Nationalism seeks to maintain the state and the nation congruent in terms of territory, ethnicity, language, religion etc. but partially fails in it since the state and the nation might not always overlap. Nationalism maintains that nations should have self-determination to govern itself without external interventions and that the nation is the only fair source of political power. All the state-dwellers need not necessarily belong to the dominant national group and sometimes, members of the dominant national group might reside in other states. This lack of congruence creates diverse national positions and even wars, for territorial annexation, secession/ousting of the minor ethnic group or to aid their fellow-nationals in other states for ethnic dominance. Gellner argues that "...nationalism, sometimes take preexisting cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures" (Nations and Nationalism 48).

Gellner recognizes the presence of the state, with finite boundaries and a favourable political climate to be pre-requisite for nationalism, although not inevitable for the same. The nation and the state share a symbiotic relationship. Both of them are contingencies. The presence of the state loomed as a necessity as human

civilization evolved from hunter-gatherers to a developed industrial society; political division of labour in the industrial society demanded the presence of the state. In 1983, Jacques Leruez coined the phrase "stateless nation" in his work L'Ecosse, Une Nation Sans Etat referring to the political positioning of Scotland in Britain. Stateless nations such as the Kurds, the Myanmar Rohingyas and Palestine exist when the ethnic or linguistic minorities are denied the status of a state, denied citizenship or have their state annexed by mightier powers. Nationalism was a modern phenomenon for Gellner; he categorically postulated that nationalism was a contingency central to modernity. With the fall of monarchies and aristocratic regimes, the newly gained liberty coupled with the linguistic vernacularization, scientific advancements, social developments and political realizations paved way to modernization and thus to nationalism. Through the increased social mobility brought about by industrialization and mechanization, masses evacuated the villages and migrated to the cities. Displaced from their native homes and forced to live in unfamiliar, crowded cities, Gellner assumed that people were forced to reconsider their affinities and allegiances, thus developing a sense of belonging, which served as the cornerstone to nationalism.

In his essay "The Coming of Nationalism and its Interpretations: The Myths of Nation and Class" in *Mapping the Nation*, Gellner categorizes society into three – hunter-gatherer, agro-literate and advanced industrial, the first two which are "not nationalism-prone or even is nationalism-resistant" and the third which "could not be organized on any base other than a national one" (111). Advent of industrialism serves as a defining moment for Gellner. "Industrialism engenders mobile, culturally homogeneous units" (142). Industrialization brought about manifold social, economic and political changes, necessitating presence of a state to homogenize the society. Presence of the state is inevitable in an industrial society with division of

labour and perpetual growth. "The state-cultures live in competition with each other. So this is the end product: a mobile, atomized, egalitarian society with a standard culture, where the culture is a literate, 'high' one, and where its dissemination, maintenance and boundaries are protected by a state. Stated even more briefly: one culture, one state. One state, one culture" (110). For him, nationalism is the imposition of the high culture, which is the sophisticated "garden culture" over the low cultures, which are spontaneous, unchecked "wild cultures" (*Nations* 50-51).

Gellner disapproved most previously existing theories about nations and nationalism such as that of naturalism, primordialism etc. and was critical of his contemporary Elie Kedourie whom he called the "declared enemy of nationalism" (Nations 125). He spurned Kedourie's postulation that nation is an inessential, regrettable, accidental development. "It is not the case, as Elie Kedourie claims, that nationalism imposes homogeneity; it is rather that a homogeneity imposed by objective, inescapable imperative eventually appears on the surface in the form of nationalism" (Nations 39). He was cynical about the Marxist position that the state is not indispensable, even in an industrial society and wanted it to be proved false by time. He also expressed his disagreement with the A B C schema of Hroch and traced a trajectory of the evolution of nation as the agrarian society progressed into homogenous nation states, which however is not universally applicable. First is the baseline, where the modern concept of nation was non-existent, second is the age of nationalist irredentism, spanning from 1815-1918, in which efforts, sometimes bloody, are made to ensure the 'one culture, one state' equation. To ensure the culture-state congruence, frontiers can be efficiently synchronized, people can be changed to accommodate differences, people can be ousted to level differences or people can be killed to alleviate differences. Some or all of these were employed alone, or in combination to ensure homogeneity. This phase was marked by

nationalist agitation and cultural awakening. In the third phase, the old political order collapse to make way for smaller, cohesive units that insist on self-determination, though not without shortcomings. In the fourth phase of *Nacht und Nebel*, the assimilatory homogenization transitioned to mass murders and exile, as seen during the Second World War. The fifth phase is the post-industrial phase of reduction in the intensity of ethnic sentiment which began after the Second World War since totalitarianism suffered a setback. Nationalism got tamed with the dwindling, though not absence, of its virulence (*Coming* 111-126).

In Thoughts and Change, Gellner identifies some pre-industrial loyaltyevoking political units which he did not categorize as nations. Some of those cultures matured into nations while others did not. He details two sets of factors that act as catalysts for people to adhere together as nations – will, voluntary adherence, identification, loyalty, solidarity etc. on one side and fear, coercion, compulsion etc. on the other (Nations 53). For him, nationalism is the tribalism that flourished beyond recognition or a distinct variant of patriotism which turns mighty and pervasive under favorable situations. By relegating religion to insignificance, Gellner's theories on nationalism were revolutionary and therefore faced opposition from the conservatives. He values national amnesia as an important aspect of nation formation, like Renan. In his analysis of Gellner's theories, A.D. Smith endorses Gellner's position stating "no memory, no identity; no identity, no nation" (Memory 383). Gellner was criticized by many other theorists of nationalism for taking too lightly the influence of nationalism as a political doctrine. Liah Greenfield accused Gellner of being ahistorical and attempted to trace English nationalism prior to the advent of industrialization, which served as the opening point to Gellner. He was also criticized for his failure to explain the emergence of nationalism in nonindustrial societies.

British political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson (1936-2015), is a path-breaker in Nationalism Studies with his magnum opus Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (1983) that analyses the various factors which contributed to the emergence and spread of nationalism in the past three centuries. He anthropologically defines the nation as "an imagined political community, imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). This definition of Anderson's is a response to Gellner's formulation that "nationalism is not the awakening of the nation to self-consciousness. It invents nations where they do not actually exist (Thought 169). Anderson criticizes Gellner for the use of the word 'invents' in his definition of nationalism. He believed Gellner to associate the word 'invent' to the sense of 'fabrication' rather than 'imagination'. Any community that is beyond face-to-face recognition is an imagined one according to Anderson, but being imagined does not render it unreal. It is imagined because the members of the nation don't know each other but cherish "an image of their communion" in their hearts (6). Nation is defined as limited because modern nations have finite territorial boundaries. The criterion for Anderson to classify nations is not the binary of genuinity/falsity but the manner in which nations are imagined. He credits the Industrial Revolution, print capitalism and religious Reformation to be the primary driving factors for the rise of nationalism in Europe.

Anderson in his introductory note to *Mapping the Nation*, traces a genealogy of the critics and their theoretical positions about nations and nationalism. He credits Ernest Gellner and Miroslav Hroch for their pioneering comprehensive study of the theory of nationalism; "the detonators were two Czechs of the generation born before the Second World War and the atomic age", he observed (10). Gellner viewed nationalism as a functional product of the social transformation from the stagnant agrarian to the mobile industrial societies. Hroch on the other hand, did not

emphasize on the role of this social transformation in the creation of nationalism; he viewed it with skepticism and uncertainty and viewed nation as a real anthropological formation. Almost a decade after Gellner, Anthony D. Smith emphasized the ethnological aspect of nationalism over the sociological reasons highlighted by Gellner. In about another decade's time, John Brueuilly prioritized the political nature of nations and nationalism over its sociological and ethnological aspects, thus furthering the arguments of Gellner and Hroch. In the Introductory note, Anderson credits Partha Chatterjee for adding the dimension of imperial domination to the discourse of nationalism. Chatterjee argued that any understanding of nationalism is incomplete without taking into account the colonial domination that sprung from the European renaissance, enlightenment, industrial revolution and modernization which were the very factors acknowledged to contribute to the evolution of nationalism.

Distinct to Kedourie's pessimistic take on the impacts of nationalism, Anderson and Gellner view it in a different light. Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* (1983) is a direct response to Kedourie. While Kedourie views nationalism as a byproduct of historical circumstances, socio-political conduciveness and sheer fortune, Gellner views nationalism to be the inevitable outcome of the amalgamation of history, socio-political circumstances, scientific progress and the growth of philosophical thoughts. He viewed nationalism as a sociological inevitability and therefore criticized Kedourie for his omission of sociological analysis in his study of nationalism. He observed that,

When general social conditions make for standardized, homogenous, centrally-sustained high cultures, pervading entire populations and not just elite minorities, a situation arises in which well-defined educationally-sanctioned and unified cultures constitute very nearly

the only kind of unit with which men willingly and often ardently identify. The cultures now seem to be the natural repositories of political legitimacy. (*Nations and Nationalism* 55)

Anderson on the other hand, is optimistic about nationalism and observed that "nations inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love. The cultural products of nationalism...show this love very clearly in thousands of different forms and styles. On the other hand, how truly rare it is to find analogous nationalist products expressing fear and loathing!" (*Imagined* 141-142).

Eric Hobsbawm (1917-2012), the British, Marxist historian of nationalism begins his work Nations and Nationalism since 1780 with his observation of the entry 'nation' in several dictionaries to conclude that the word gathered the present meaning only in the 18th century. "Nation is the political expression of people with shared ethnicity, territory, language or culture, who willingly consent to live together, united by common interests and aiming collective good", he posited (Nations 18). He sees a common tongue, common religion, kinship ties etc. as factors facilitating a "popular proto-nationalism" (46). However, the modern nation is a product of the socio-political and religious circumstances produced by the Enlightenment and the Reformation, resulting in the denial of the linguistic supremacy of Latin, destabilization of the religious monopoly as well as the divinely mandated monarchial heirship. The nation therefore, marked a deviation from the traditional, monolithic faith and embraced religious plurality and the reference to being 'sovereign' in Anderson's definition is emblematic of this linguistic, religious liberation as well as the decay of the divinely validated regal heirship. The Western nations that took its modern shape during the European Renaissance and Reformation later served as models for the nations in the East. Hobsbawm considers the war and interwar period ranging from 1918 to 1950 as the "apogee of nationalism" when new states were being made on linguistic and ethnic criteria (131). He posits that the words 'nation' and 'nationalism' are not applicable in the conventional sense to the states that came into existence post the world wars and the adjective 'nationalist' does not pertain to the anti-imperial struggles of these nations.

In his 1990 work Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Hobsbawm divides the evolution of nationalism into three historical stages —the first spanning from the French Revolution to the culmination of the first world war (1789-1918) in which 'nationalism', in the modern sense of the term, took shape and gained popularity in the forms of democratic nationalisms and reactionary nationalisms, the second spanning from 1918 to 1950, marked by growing left lenience and rise of fascism and the third spanning from 1950 to the end of twentieth century which made nationalism historically irrelevant. He observes two crucial changes that expressed national sentiments and also contributed largely in their proliferation post the First World War – first is the growth and spread of modern mass media like the press, cinema and radio and the second is the transition of sports into a national spectacle (Nations 141-142). The media was effectively employed to homogenize sentiments in favor of the national propaganda, particularly in Germany by instituting the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in 1933 under the ministership of Joseph Goebbels. The ministry exercised hegemony over the press, literature, theatre and radio and made state-produced films to cerebrally mobilize the masses and proliferate the Nazi ideology. Media played a huge role to bridge the privatepublic divide. Hobsbawm illustrates the influential might of the media citing the media's role in rendering the English royal family as a domestic as well as public icon of Britain (142). Sports got transformed from being a mere visual spectacle to a national spectacle with the propagation of the sentiment of triumph over the 'other'

nation. He observes that sports and sportsmen became immediate representations of the national imagined community. The Olympic Games became "occasions for competitive national self-assertion". Football became an expression of European nationalism that "the imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people" (143). The audiences who cheer for the team become an expression of the nation. The workers and the middle class were largely mobilized by these aspects.

For Hobsbawm, nations and nationalism are an outcome of social engineering. Nations and nationalism are largely 'invented traditions' for him, that is "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (*Invention* 1). Nations rely on history for legitimacy; in spite of its temporal novelty, the nation historically establishes itself as an old institution existing since ages from which it draws legitimacy for prolonged existence. To this end, either old traditions get adapted to new circumstances or altogether new traditions are intentionally invented. Hobsbawm observes three processes as contributing to the invention of traditions – spread of primary education, public ceremonies and the mass production of public monuments (*Invention* 270). He suggests that national identification and the intensity of national sentiment can vary among individuals belonging to the same nation and also that national belonging need not be the most superior among all identities for all members of the nation (*Nations* 10).

The anti-fascist period witnessed nationalism leaning towards the left which continued with the anti-imperialist period in the second half of the 20th century, observes Hobsbawm. "The general movement towards independence and decolonization...was unquestionably identified with socialist/communist anti-

imperialism, which is perhaps why so many decolonized and newly independent states...declare themselves to be in some sense 'socialist'" (*Nations* 149). The ad hoc ideological alliance between nationalism and communism shifted in the 1970s and anti-communist sentiments gripped the West and religious and linguistic nationalism gripped most of the post-colonial nations. For various similar reasons, Hobsbawm calls the world war span from 1918 to 1950 as the "apogee of nationalism", i.e. the pinnacle of invented traditions (131).

The post war society marked the disappearance of the international state system prior to the wars and started revolving around the two mighty nations of USA and USSR. In the latter half of 20th century, USSR disintegrated in 1991, the USA emerged as a super power, separatism grew, with colonial landmasses transitioning to independent nations, religious and linguistic tensions grew in third world nations, authoritarian regimes were quelled and the frontiers of nationalism widened. Hobsbawm observes that even regional or sectional movements started to disguise themselves as national movements, so that nationalism started to seem omnipresent in the last decades of 20th century. He also observes that after world wars, the concept of national economy got undermined; nations no longer constituted a territorially bound national economy. With trans-geographic migrations and settlement becoming common, communal, racial frictions aggravated, thus problematizing the concept of nationality. Hobsbawm observed that in the turn of the century, the world is "living through a curious combination of the technology of the late twentieth century, the free trade of the nineteenth, and the rebirth of the sort of interstitial centers characteristic of world trade in middle age" (Nations 182). With the concept of old nation states ceasing to be functional, he also observed that the independent existence of smaller nations is securely possible only with the emergence of a new international system. "What I am arguing is that in spite of its

evident prominence, nationalism is historically less important. It is no longer, as it were, a global political programme, as it may have said to have been in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is at most a complicating factor, or a catalyst for other developments", he said (191). Hobsbawm finds it impossible to narrate the history of late 20th century in terms of nationalism and nation building but rather depict it as "a world which can no longer be contained within the limit of nations and nation states as these used to be defined, either politically, or economically, or culturally or even linguistically" (191). He discerns that the term 'nation' is inadequate to describe the post war political entities nor does the term 'nationalism' suffice to describe the sentiment emanating from it.

British historical sociologist Anthony Smith (1939-2016) differed from his contemporaries who claimed that the nation is a modern concept by advocating the ethno-symbolist approach, believing that the comprehension of the nation as a modern phenomenon is incomplete without taking into account its previous ethnic manifestations, which the present may modify but never obliterate. Even though he believed nationalism to be an 18th century concept, he postulated that the perception of nation as modern and of European origin is a fallacy and that every nation is composed of people that have historically shared resources, stories, memories and culture. Smith was influenced by American theorist John Armstrong's (1922-2010) study of pre-modern political entities, holding the opinion that nationalism did not exist prior to the 16th century. In his trailblazing work Nations before Nationalism (1982), Armstrong enquired into the pre-modern ethnic sources to find out that ethnic consciousness and belonging existed even in the primordial civilizations and it later transitioned into the sentiment of belonging to a common nation. He analyzed ethnic affiliations over a lengthy temporal span and observed that myths and symbols effortlessly persist over long time spans and contribute largely to ethnic

affiliations in the yore and national belonging in the modern times. Contrary to Gellner or Anderson, Armstrong firmly asserted that nations preexisted nationalism, but also concurred with them in the observation that nation is a modern innovation. Smith followed the lines of Armstong to develop his critique on modernist perspective towards nationalism.

Smith formulated the concept of the pre-modern Ethnie, the ethnic core that acts as the archaic predecessor of the nation (*Ethnic* 34). He identified six main attributes for such ethnies - a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of a common culture, an association with a specific homeland and a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population (*National* 21). With the intensity of these attributes fading, the ethnic cohesion fades simultaneously. Smith identified two patterns in ethnie formation – convalescence by which independent ethnic units combine into a single ethnic entity and division by which an ethnic entity undergoes a fission, whereby new ethnic communities take birth (23). Wars, natural calamities, exile etc. can induce convalescence or division, making ethnies shift shapes. However, none of these can destroy the ethnic continuum. Persistent ethnies form the ethnic cores, from which modern day nations evolved. He made a functional typology of nationalism, dividing it into territorial and ethnic nationalisms.

On October 24th 1995, Ernest Gellner and his ex-PhD ward Anthony Smith attended a discussion hosted by the Warwick University, the proceedings of which are popularly known today as the 'Warwick Debate on Nationalism'. Both Gellner and Smith presented contrasting views on nationalism – Smith's primordialism clashed with Gellner's modernism. Smith expressed his clear disagreement with his mentor Gellner's postulation that the nation is a modern phenomenon, in the sense of being temporally recent, and is the product of favorable socio-political

circumstances such as the Industrial revolution and the French Revolution. Smith challenges this modernist standpoint and posits that "although we can discern elements of deliberate planning and human creativity in their formation, nations and nationalism are also products of pre-existing traditions and heritages which have coalesced over generations" (Smith). He criticizes the modern tendency to overlook ethnic ties and cultural sentiments that bind people, without which any study on nations and nationalism will be lacking. He suggested that the study of nations and nationalisms should excavate deep to reveal the ethnic components such as memories, myths, symbols etc. that bound the nation together since primordial days. Gellner's reply to Smith is known for the popular expression "Do nations have navels?", through which he tried to problematize the origin of nations – whether nations spring from some pre-existing entity or were they evolutionary products of spatial, temporal factors (Gellner). "The ethnic, cultural, national community, which is an important part of Anthony's case, is rather like the navel. Some nations have it and some don't and in any case it is inessential" (Gellner). Gellner believed nations to be without parents, and therefore navel-less; they begin de-novo. For him nation was a modern construct and he sets certain criteria for potential nations to assert themselves as full-fledged nations, such as size of the nation, continuity or even historical accidents. The Warwick debate on nationalism is a seminal moment in nationalism studies.

Almost a decade after Hroch discussed the manner in which fertility rites, commemoration of national events, military parades etc. contribute to the consolidation of nationalism, British academic Michael Billig (1947-) coined the phrase 'Banal nationalism' in his 1995 work *Banal Nationalism* to denote the mundane, everyday expressions and representations of the established nation state, which are largely unconscious and invisible that it may even go unnoticed, working

in conjunction to generate a sense of communion and national unity, thus constantly reminding the citizens about their existence in the nation. The word 'banal' implies the commonplace nature of these representations, which include flags, anthems and songs, pledges, sporting events, currency notes, lexicons underlining the self-versus the other dichotomy etc. These banal aspects successfully create a sense of togetherness since they are repeated on a daily basis, effectively contributing to bottom-up nation building. Billig argued that the ideology of nationalism derives strength from these veiled aspects through which nations are represented. Since these expressions go largely unnoticed and are usually unchecked, they are mighty tools for the dangerous extremism if mobilized.

John Breuilly (1946-), professor of nationalism at the London School of Economics, author of the groundbreaking work *Nationalism and the State* (1982) and editor of the Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism (2013) addressed the centrality of the state authorities in mobilizing people and regulating nationalism. Breuilly's major concern is the legitimacy of the state. The history of the German nation was his major interest. In Nationalism and the State, he defines nationalism as "political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist arguments" (2). People crave for communal affiliations, develop a strong self/other dichotomy, develop affinity to homelands and evolve as a nation. Though precursors of the nation existed in the yore, he cautions against labeling any political consolidations prior to the French Revolution as nationalism. He was modernist and constructivist in his approach to nationalism. He finds the existing discourse on nations and nationalism deficit and challenged the traditional views about nationalism as a product of a sense of shared culture or as a historical necessity produced by social and economic factors. There is a tendency in the academia to associate nationalism with sentiments, doctrines and politics, with

which he finds fault. These aspects can exist in different permutations in different spatial and temporal settings. Among these, Breuilly chooses to address politics, particularly the transformations in the nature of power, contributing to nationalism. Nationalism for Breuilly is a form of politics developed in opposition to the modern state. He writes,

I treat nation as a function of nationalism. I also delimit the term nationalism to apply only to political movements which seek to realize the project of national self-determination in whatever form – democratic or undemocratic, liberal or illiberal, civic or ethnic. In other words, I bracket out the concept of nation in trying to understand nationalism and I reject the importation of a moral dimension into the definition of nationalism. (*Nationalism and Modernity* 41)

Breuilly distinguishes four different approaches to nationalism namely, primordial, functional, narrative and modern, of which he values only the modern approach (*Approaches* 149). He spurns the primordial approach, championed by Anthony Smith. He proposes that pre-modern ethnies are not the precursors of the modern nation since they lacked legal, political and economic unity, inevitable for the formation of modern nations. "Almost all the major institutions which construct, preserve and transmit national identities, and which connect those identities to interests, are modern: parliaments, popular literature, courts, schools, labor markets, et cetera" (154). He dissuades various functional arguments since they answer only 'how's and not 'why's. The narrative approach is despised for the lack of credibility of the myriad stories about the evolution of nationalism. A beginning, middle and end conceived upon partial understanding and dubious assumptions lack veracity and are unreliable. "There are many insights and partial truths contained within

primordial, functional and narrative accounts of nationalism. However, they are all inadequate as departure points for the understanding of nationalism. What is needed is a framework which begins with an account of the place of the national idea within modernity" (158). Breuilly concurs with Gellner's modern approach; both used the division of labor as a reference point for the emergence of the modern society. The development of a sovereign, bounded state from among a number of competing states is possible only in a modern society.

Breuilly stresses the importance of physical boundaries for nations. "The nationalist elite can become the political elite within what is claimed as the national territory" (Nationalism and Modernity 49). He also gives due importance to symbols and ceremonies in giving nationalist sentiments "a definite shape and force" (Nationalism and the State 64). He observes that nationalist leaders get used as symbols in phases of national uprising, especially in movements that lack cohesion. These symbols become the substantial expression of national unity. He finds the cry to restore the nation's glorious past when it exercised mighty power central to nationalist ideology. He earnestly addressed anti-colonial, post-colonial nationalisms, with special reference to India. From the political perspective of westernization, Breuilly argues that nationalism is a European trait imbibed by the colonized nation and is therefore a product of colonialism (157). The nationalist spirit for national self-determination spread through the western-educated natives and permeates the masses, leading to an anti-colonial struggle. He cites the examples of British West Africa, Belgian Congo, India etc. where the westernized elites and the politically roused middle class are responsible for the rise of nationalism. He equates the early period of silent compliance and absence of resistance to the phase where the natives imbibe western values.

British historian and political theorist Hugh Seton Watson (1916-1984) with his major works The Russian Empire, 1801-1917 (1967) and Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism (1977), made substantial contributions to nationalism studies. Seton Watson observed nationalism and communism to be the two great plagues of the 20th century (*Nationalism* 91). He is of the belief that nations existed before nationalism, which is only as old as the French Revolution. He concurs with the early theoretical positions regarding the ambiguity of the concept of nation and proposed a two-fold definition of nationalism -"a doctrine about the interests and aims of a nation and a movement to achieve these alleged aims which usually amount to the creation of an independent state, or the union of several territories in one state, or the diffusion among the inhabitants of a state of a sense of forming the nation" (91). He is credited for the typology of old and new nations, examples for the former being England, France etc. and the latter include India, Africa, Serbia etc. Among the former set of northern and western European nations which are slowly and continuously emerging, national consciousness is already present prior to the emergence of nationalism and continues to grow while among the latter set of nations, national consciousness is a product of the spread of nationalism and both developed side by side. The evolution of old nations was largely unpredicted and even accidental with the participants uninformed that they are part of nation-making; however, the new ones are largely a result of nationalist movements, actively predesigned and well documented. In the new nations, he observed three patterns of nationalist movements - irredentist, secessionist and nation-building nationalism of which the last is the ideal (Nations 6-12).

Seton Watson observed that "monarchs, noblemen, churchmen and bourgeois played a leading part in the process of formation of the centralized monarchial state, within which the old nations were formed" (*Nations* 421). The downward diffusion of national sentiments was a long drawn process in which the middle and the lowest rungs of the society played an active part. New nations that emerged after the nationalist struggles that won them independence and self-rule were not actually territorially 'new', but just territorially modified and imagined anew. These nations might actually be culturally older than their 'old' European counterparts. Seton Watson noted that towards the middle of the 20th century, nationalism started exhibiting behaviors which were once monopolized by religion such as fanaticism and persecution. With the decline of religion post the world wars, nationalism acted as its substitute. He warns about the havoc that gets wreaked when nationalism gets relegated to ethnolatry and taxolatry (God getting replaced by nationalism and Soviet Communism, respectively) (*Nations* 465).

Seton Watson also discussed the dissolution of nation states, offering a number of possibilities. When national loyalty is weakened, it can get replaced by larger/inferior loyalties, it can get overpowered by subnational interests, or can even make way for some new phenomenon, hitherto unwitnessed. "If we imagine the nation as a pyramid, then this, like some form of stratified rock, can be splintered either horizontally or vertically" (*Nations* 478). Horizontal fissures are common and are an outcome of class struggle. Vertical stratification, Seton Watson observed, is less noticed and studied. It was common in the industrial nations of the 1970s where people developed a loyalty to their occupation, resulting in the establishment of trade unions and the consolidation of sentiments (479). Unchecked sectional interests are conclusive to trigger anarchy, splintering the nation. When the national loyalty becomes unidentifiable, people will drift towards sectional loyalties which they find meaningful and identifiable. Loyalty towards the nation can then be reinforced only by force. Trivializing the national cause or being disloyal to the

nation are indicative of some deep-lying ailment and a crime against civilization according to him. As a concluding observation to his *Nations and States*, Seton Watson noted that,

We are still faced with two sets of truth, equally valid. The first is that nationalists, fanatically determined to set up their own independent state, usually with the aid of a government, hostile to the government which they are fighting; and nationalists in possession of a sovereign independent state determined to impose their nationality on peoples within their jurisdiction who do not own it, or to seize territories under another government's rule which they claim should be theirs; are capable of terrible civil wars and interstate wars which, in the age of nuclear weapons, may threaten the whole human race with extinction. The second is that nations, created over longer or shorter periods of time, with their own speech and culture and beliefs and institutions, are virtually indestructible; persecution and massacre more often intensify than eliminate their national feeling; and continuous repression serves to keep them in an explosive condition which also threaten all humanity. The survival of human civilization depends on the recognition of both sets of truth: that neither absolute state sovereignty nor the abolition of national identities is possible; that there must be a balance ...if destructive civil wars and nuclear holocausts are to be avoided. (482-483)

Australian political theorist Kenneth Minogue (1930-2013) was a modernist in his perspective towards nationalism and viewed nation as a political construct. He viewed nationalism as a transient phenomenon, having its precursors in the past, but is largely modern as a doctrine about the criterion for a proper state (*Managing* np).

He acknowledges Kedourie for conclusively asserting nationalism to be modern. He defined nations in his magnum opus *Nationalism* (1967) as "something to be found largely in the aspirations of nationalists" (31). In the third edition of his *Theories of Nationalism*, Umut Ozkirmli discusses the fairy tale analogy employed by Minogue in his discussion on nations where he likens nations to the sleeping beauty who is woken to life by the kiss from the nationalists, whom he likens to the prince bringing the princess back to life (85). This endorses the palingenetic myth previously discussed, where the dormant nation is awaken to action and aggression in order to revive the golden age of the past.

In his essay "Nationalism: The Poverty of a Concept", Minogue distinguishes between good and bad nationalisms. Good nationalisms are always at rebellion against the imperial forces and are commonly seen in Asia and Africa. European nationalism, particularly in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany are bad nationalisms according to him. Good nationalisms are seldom aggressive; their aggression can be justified as self-defense. On the other hand, bad nationalisms are inherently violent, perpetrating terror (332). Minogue tries to counter three faulty assumptions that infiltrated the study of nationalism. First, he counters the conventional assumption that nationalism is in essence, the struggle between the colonized and the colonizer. What goes missing in this analysis is the fact that alongside this obvious struggle is an internal struggle that is of the range of a civil war, which when waged is more destructive than the former. Example can be found in the Hindu-Muslim hostility in India when the nation was fighting the British. Secondly, he counters the assumption that nationalism and patriotism are the same and therefore interchangeable. This is common among the perrenialists, trying to establish the age-oldness of nations and nationalism. Though patriotism existed in the distant past in the form of love for the Terra Patria, nationalism is a modern

phenomenon. He writes, "The patriot loves his country as it is, his people as they are. The nationalist loves them as he dreams that they might become" (339). Thirdly, he counters the assumption that nationalism is the strongest force in the world. Minogue is of the opinion that this assumption was derived from the fact that nationalism successfully crumbled mighty European empires, cartographically altering the world. People's attachment to the nation weakens over time, or during times of unrest (335-340). Minogue thus finds nationalism a miscellaneous, ambivalent concept, wide and narrow at the same time and his observations are pertinent in widening the horizons of nationalism studies.

Scottish Left political theorist Tom Nairn (1932-2023) was a staunch advocate of industrial, economic, social, political, cultural integration of European nations. Nairn collaborated with Perry Anderson to analyze the British crisis that made it subordinate to the United States. With explicit Republican leaning, Nairn was a vehement advocate of Scottish and Welsh self-governance. Neo-Marxian in thought, he considered traditional Marxism inept to cater to the challenges of nationalism and wrote that "the theory of nationalism represented Marxism's great historical failure" (Break-up 329). He claimed that his Scottish nationality without nationalism was the chief driving factor for his pursuit of nationalism studies. Nairn is a modernist to the extent that he viewed nationalism as an outcome of the 18th and 19th centuries. However, contrary to Gellner, Nairn proposed that nationalism stemmed not from industrialized European societies but from colonial societies. For Nairn, nationalism was an inevitability in the modern society and its roots can be traced to the political economy from the times of the French Revolution that necessitated nationalism. In the 18th century, European capitalism created a fallacy of even development and promised a steady diffusion across the world, which did not materialize. Capitalism on the other hand, diffused unevenly, creating a disparity

among the European capitalist core and an Asian/African periphery, resulting in colonization. Nationalism emerged as a reaction to the doom capitalism imposed on the third world. He stated that only by reviewing the after effects of capitalism and the uneven development inherent to capitalism can nationalism be studied. A.D. Smith called Nairn's theory "an economistic model of nationalism" (*Theories* xvi). Nationalism carries within its folds both progress and lapses so much so that Nairn is against the classification of nationalism into the good/bad binary. Due to this ambiguous, ambivalent nature inherent to nationalism, he compared it to the Roman bi-faced God Janus whose heads look forward and backward alike. "Modernizing ambition and novel cults of a particular past and tradition notoriously co-exist within most varieties of nationalism: the backward- and forward-looking faces of any discrete population or area struggling for tolerable survival and prosperity (*Faces* 71).

With the waxing and waning of the Communist regimes of Europe in the second half of the 20th century and its crucial role in shaping the nationalisms of the time, the third phase of Ozkirmli's classification necessitates a pondering on the Marxian and anarchist perspective on nation and nationalism. Anarchist ideology doesn't believe in the necessity of the state while the Marxist ideology views the state as a necessary evil and believes that the state is not inevitable. In Marxism, state is an intermediate socio-economic construct facilitating the transition from feudal capitalism to socialism. The presence of the state is necessary until the establishment of a socialist society, after which it will wither away. "The working men have no country", wrote Marx and Engels in their *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 (28). However at a practical level, the reign of the proletariat is merely a refashioning of the state itself and an establishment of state capitalism. Though communism envisages egalitarianism and internationalism, when practiced, it

largely dwindles to extreme nationalism and violence. According to Tom Nairn, "the theory of nationalism is Marxism's greatest historical failure" (*Break-up* 329). Benedict Anderson observed that "nationalism proved to be an uncomfortable anomaly for Marxist theory and, precisely for that reason has been largely elided rather than confronted" (*Imagined* 13).

Traditionally, Marxism dismissed nationalism as a bourgeois phenomenon that demands racial, ethnic, territorial solidarity over class consciousness. However, nationalist movements for self-determination were mostly sites of class struggle against the hegemonic class forces determining the prevalent social order that Marxism could not forever distance itself from nationalism. Bourgeoisie nationalism can establish a Capitalist State and anti-imperialist, Proletariat nationalism can lead to a Socialist state.

Class forces mobilized by the petty bourgeoisie and other intermediate sectors of the society...have seized power by rallying people around a nationalist ideology directed against imperialism and its internal reactionary allies, the landlords and the compradors...Revolutions led by worker-peasant coalitions against imperialism and local reaction have resulted in the establishment of socialist states. (Berberoglu 110)

Nationalism and nationalist movements cannot be studied in isolation from the social class structure of the society. Marxism views nation and nationalism in an optimistic light as they implicate a destruction of feudalism but is at the same time skeptical about it as nationalism, which is largely a uniting ideology, will silence or delay the class struggles within the nation, hindering the reign of the proletariat. Marxism chooses internationalism over nationalism, exhorting the proletariat of the world to unite in the class struggle against the global bourgeoisie. However, the

typology of left wing nationalism upholds pro-left principles and ideologies alongside the common will of the people, people's sovereignty and other factors that bind the nation.

The fourth phase in the four-phased classification of the spread of nationalism by Umut Ozkirmli spans from 1990 to the present, a phase that marks the growing academic interest in Nationalism Studies. Many theorists of the previous phase continue their discourse on nationalism in this phase as well. Benedict Anderson, Miroslav Hroch, Anthony Smith, Kenneth Minogue, John Breuilly etc. published some of their significant works in this phase. A major change Nationalism Studies underwent in this phase was its intermixing with other disciplines, thus rendering it interdisciplinary. Nationalism had previously collocated with disciplines like economics, sociology, anthropology etc. but now found newer disciplines like gender studies and race studies to collocate with. The Third Wave Feminism that gained momentum in the mid-1990s necessitated the interdisciplinarity between nationalism and gender. Sylvia Walby, George Moss, Nira Yuval Davis, Floya Anthias etc. explored the aspect of nationalism and gender which will be studied under a separate head. Other major contributing theorists of this phase include Michael Mann, Carolyn Marvin, David Ingle etc.

British sociologist Michael Mann (1942 -), the author of the popular essay *The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results* (1984) and a modernist in perspective, gives a political interpretation of the origin and evolution of nations and nationalism. He views nation as an 18th century European phenomenon which later spread to different parts of the world. He however traces two phases that were the precursors of modern nation – the religious and the commercial/statist phases. The former phase existed in the 16th century Europe when the Reformation, Renaissance and the vernacularization that followed from it opened

the doors of religious enlightenment and literacy to the middle class. The latter phase prevailed in the 17th century when the responsibility to spread literacy was taken up by the state and capitalism. The consolidation of sentiments in these precursors anticipated modern nationalism according to Mann. Spanning from the 18th to the 20th centuries, their growth into mature nations is again divided by Mann into three phases namely, the militarist, industrial and modern phases. In the militaristic phase, constant wars generated a collective sentiment. Also the conscription and maintenance of a standing army was met through taxation, making the state indispensable. In the industrial phase, with the advent of industrial capitalism, state became more important and popular sovereignty became current. State-sponsored transportation and communication systems came into being, adding to the national cohesion making the nation palpable. Wars and the ensuing belligerency added to the aggressiveness of the nation. Mann marks the beginning of the modern phase in the immediate post- First World War period with the radical cartographic modifications. Authoritarianism largely subsided and was replaced by parliamentary democracies, marking a fresh beginning (Ozkirimli 138-139).

In *The Autonomous Power of the State* (1984), Mann introduced the concept of Infrastructural power, which is the "capacity of the state to actually penetrate the civil society, and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm" (190). Infrastructural power, as opposed to despotic power, necessitates a rapport with the state and citizens, while the despotic power is all about forceful imposition of state policies. However, both infrastructural and despotic powers co-occur in a state. Dominance of infrastructural power result in a bureaucratic state while the dominance of despotic power result in an authoritarian state. Mann defines the "messy concept" of state as containing "a differentiated set of institutions and personnel, embodying centrality, in the sense that political relations radiate outwards

from a center, to cover a territorially demarcated area, over which it exercises a monopoly of authoritative, binding rule-making, backed up by a monopoly of the means of physical violence" (188). Mann opines that the infrastructural power is derived from "multiplicity of the functions of the state and its territorialized centrality" (194). He discusses four means by which the state gathers infrastructural power – by providing centrally organized services, carried out through a division of labor, by ensuring the literacy of the population so as to make the people sensitized about the state and its powers, by devising a uniform system of weights, measures, currency etc. to facilitate smooth commerce and by establishing effective channels of communication and transportation (192). Infrastructural power in a state can keep authoritarianism in check. The modern state exercises enormous infrastructural powers that it today regulates civil life in ways historical states never did.

In his essay *Nation States in Europe and Other Continents: Diversifying, Developing, not Dying* in the collection *Mapping the Nation*, Mann defends the nation state against the claim that the concept of nation-state is a senile one, nearing its expiry and observes that "the nation-state is not in any general decline, anywhere. In some ways, it is still maturing. However, even if it were declining in the face of the supranational forces, it is still gaining at the expense of the local, the regional, and especially the private forces. The modern nation-state remains a uniquely intense conception of sovereignty" (298). Nations will survive as long as they are the repositories of political democracy, hold the power for military combat and waging wars, provide infrastructural facilities to the citizens etc. Mann conclusively states that "the nation-state is not hegemonic, nor is it obsolete, either as a reality or as an ideal" (316).

In their 1999 book *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag*, Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle state that the idea of 'the nation'

thrives upon blood; unified by the sacrosanct totemic icons, every nation sacrifices its own children and this blood sacrifice preserves the nation. Marvin and Ingle explains the disparity between the recentness of the concept of nation and the primitiveness of the notion of blood sacrifice upon which it thrives. Referring to the American nation, they reason that every society is at its core, primitive. The nation assumes the role of the primitive totemic deity which has no existence in the absence of its worshippers and vice versa. The nation, like the omnipotent deity, has the authority to possess, own, kill and consume its people. The totemic ritual of blood sacrifice was employed in ancient days to generate solidarity within the totem and in modern days to generate nationalism. Marvin observes that the most explicit expression of blood sacrifice to please the deity in primitive yore and to please the nation in modern times is war. Modern day war is the powerful re-enactment of the totemic ritual of blood sacrifice to please the deity, which is the modern day Deshmata/motherland/fatherland. "Though nationalism does not qualify as religion in the familiar sense, it shares with sectarian religions the worship of killing authority, which we claim is central to religious practice and belief" (Marvin and Ingle 9). One's willingness to offer his life for the nation is the ultimate expression of his patriotic belonging to the nation.

Following Emile Durkhiem's theory that totem taboo serves as an organizational principle, Marvin and Ingle argue in their precursor essay "Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Revisiting Civil Religion" that the ritualistic aspect of the totem/nation is categorized as a taboo; it forms the sacred core of the totem/nation that is unknowable to the totem/nation dwellers. "Our deepest secret, the collective group taboo, is the knowledge that society depends on the death of this sacrificial group at the hands of the group itself. According to Durkheim, the group becomes a group by agreeing not to disagree about the group-making principle" (*Elementary*

771). Marvin and Ingle clearly state that "by explicitly denying that our national symbols and duties are sacred, we shield them from competition with sectarian symbols. In so doing, we embrace the ancient command not to speak the sacred, ineffable name of god that god is inexpressible, unsayable, unknowable, beyond language but that god may not be refused when it calls for sacrifice" (770).

Nationalism and Gender: The Feminist Critique of Nationalism

The interdisciplinary academic field of Nationalism Studies has attracted a lot of academic attention since the last decades of the 20th century. The major theoretical engagements with nationalism discussed in the above pages clearly reveal the lack of gender-oriented discussions in the nationalist discourse. Among all the theorists discussed above who theoretically contributed to the four phases of the growth of nationalism, the absence of women theorists is very conspicuous. This absence of women, in theories on nationalism, in the conception and construction of nations and in the exercise of nationalism and the shortage of academic interest in this obvious absence is identified by this dissertation as a lacuna. The nation is an inherently masculine concept, imagined, formulated and theorized upon by men and is aggressive in its expression. Nations get ranked in terms of their masculine virility, which is expressed through their belligerent, militaristic nature. In his introductory essay in Mapping the Nation, Benedict Anderson observes that it is possible in the present world to ask, among other questions, a prominent question of "how masculine the nation is, without there being any obvious best answer (1). He further notes that "up until recently, theoretical writing on nationalism ignored, overlooked or marginalized the issue of gender" (12). Like Virginia Woolf finding women substantially absent from the British library, Elizabethan literature and history, discussions on women, gender and sexuality are lacking from discourses on nation and nationalism. Women were absent from Elizabethan history and literature

not because they did not write poems or literally engage with their times; Shakespeare established himself while Judith Shakespeare failed not because of lack of talent but an absence of opportunities. In other words, Shakespeare flourished at the expense of Judith Shakespeare, says Woolf. Discussions on gender are absent from nationalist discourses not because they are insubstantial but because the patriarchal institution of nation does not sanction it.

Feminist critics view nationalism as an assertion of masculinity with aggression and violence ensuing from it. Nation, for them, is a masculine institution that justifies and legitimizes sexual dominance and oppression. Gender acts as a vital marker of who belongs to the nation and who gets left out of it. Gendering of nations matters not just in the means by which a nation treats its masculine and feminine members but also in ways in which a nation was initially conceived. Nations are gendered right since their inception and is imagined as masculine. Orientalism evidently embodies gendering in its core principle whereby it views the West as civilized, modern, intelligent and masculine and the East as primitive, pagan, exotic, sensual and feminine. Citizenship was a male privilege in many nations, even in developed European nations; exceptions to this gender bias on citizenship are nations like India, where women gained political rights before civil rights. In ancient Greece of Plato's time, women were denied citizenship, voting rights, inheritance and were not deemed fit for any political activity. Women formed the Proletariat of the nation, with nothing to offer to the nation, but their body's labour in the form of able-bodied sons who can contribute to nation building; the Latin word Proletarius means 'citizen of the lowest class' and its root lies in prole meaning 'offspring'.

The gendering of the physical territory is embodied in the division between motherlands and fatherlands. Denmark, Germany, Iran and Nigeria are embodied as Fatherlands while India, France, Russia, Britain etc. are embodied as Motherlands. The embodiment as mother gives nation a sense of immediacy, and the female body serves as a kind of lure, making it easily possible for the nation to command service and allegiance. National embodiments in the form of female allegory helps to reaffirm nationhood with greater immediacy, observes Beth Baron (57). Most nations are therefore embodied as female, culturally represented as motherlands and iconographically represented by female allegories. The nation's borders are constantly at threat of violation from foreign men. The men of the nation are bound by their masculine duty to uphold the nation's feminine dignity by protecting and safeguarding their motherland. The men of the nation are physically trained and mentally equipped through years of cultural internalization to kill and die for their motherland. The national imagination expressed through iconography reflects the social regulations and customs that establish men's ownership, control and authority over the woman's body. Moreover, when the nation is represented as a woman, it would give men a right to command and control her. Not all men directly govern and control the nation. But by owning and controlling their women, all men indirectly control the nation in effect. Embodying the nation as feminine may apparently be an act of reverence but is in effect, the objectification of women, denying her autonomy and subjectivity. The female body, being the instrument of biological reproduction, can serve as an embodiment of national values which are to be transferred down the generations, thereby ensuring a cultural continuum. By being exalted and celebrated as a symbol of the nation, a woman is at the same time, being reduced from being a complete individual to a desire-less, torture-bearing symbol. The male nation exalts the metaphorical woman that the nation is embodied as and denigrates the 'real' women within the nation biologically, sexually, politically and culturally; both deification and demonization of women are essentially acts of dehumanization.

Nation and feminine gender are metonymically entwined as a patriarchal strategy to maintain the nation virile, to ensure that its men are always duty-bound and its women are tamed and disciplined. Psychologically, the embodiment of the nation as a woman generates the Freudian Oedipal desire in her sons to reclaim the mother as their own, even if that involves violence and murder of the patriarch (colonizer). This psychological perception persisted even after independence, making the sons duty-bound to perennially protect the mother. The feminine construction of the nation semiotically and psychologically shaped its children/citizens; the male citizens eagerly fulfill their desire of reclaiming the maternal body, the female citizens get trapped in the unreal expectations of womanhood and engage themselves in being an imitation of the mother in the life of their sons and fathers and husbands. The iconography/semiotic sign that represent the nation should also satisfy the male gaze, coaxing them into their duty towards the nation. The Indian icon of Bharat Mata was a patriarchally perfected embodiment of Indian traditional womanhood that is simultaneously harmonious with the Victorian notions of beauty and Indian womanhood; the icon personified Indian tradition and Victorian sophistry. The concept of nation and mother tensed the relationship between the genders and constructed new ideals and defined the margins of masculinity and femininity.

The empowering of one gender is always at the expense of the other, leading feminist critics to view nationalism as a muscular ideology that is instrumental in the perpetration of heteronormative power structures. Muscular nationalism, a terminology innovated by political theorist Sikata Banarjee to refer to a typology of nationalism which involves a serious gender tension, necessitates protest from feminist critics. She draws the contrast between the martial man versus the chaste woman involved in muscular nationalism (Banerjee 20). She suggests a possibility

of female bodies taking on masculine positions and questioning this binary but inside a typical male nation, politicized femininity is a transgression of the gender norm. Any harm to the female chastity questions the male martial prowess. If men and women benefit differently from the nation and the male gender gets preferential treatment over the female, then the nation, nationalism and the very processes of nation making are clearly gendered. Since this holds true universally, the nation primarily and ultimately is a male concept and belongs to men. Joane Nagel observes that "terms like honor, patriotism, bravery and duty are hard to distinguish as either nationalistic or masculinist, since they seem so thoroughly tied both to the nation and manliness" (252).

Nationalism not only involves gender but sexuality; not all men wield power in a nation. 'Woman' and 'man' are not monolithic terms. Hegemonic masculinity is a concept that proposes to explain the dominant social roles of alpha men and cisgender men over other masculine positions and the gradation of masculine subject positions, subordinating certain male sexualities that are culturally deemed unmanly or effeminate. This concept is developed further in the third chapter on gender. Men in inferior masculine positions are subordinated for their attributed/imposed femininity and are subsequently considered effeminate because of this subordination. This circle is applicable to nations as well - less aggressive nations deemed as feminine for their lack of military prowess and muscular display are attacked or annexed by hyper-aggressive masculine nations and they are subsequently deemed feminine because they were conquered. Over a period of time, it has become a norm that for a nation to be deemed 'ideal' and not to be stereotyped as weak and compliant, it has to assert its masculine traits. The concept of a hyperaggressive male nation thrusts forth the binary images of a virile, militaristic man

and a docile, peaceful woman, clearly embodying cultural duality. The male empowerment in the nation happens at the sake of the female disempowerment.

George Mosse is of the opinion that stereotypes of modern masculinities exist in a mutual relation to modern nationalism (7). Nationalist movements generally glorify traits such as physical virility, aggression, individualism, rationality, readiness, bravery etc. which are all traits traditionally associated to masculinity. On the other hand, female bodies symbolically represent the national body. Society attributes women with traits of procreation, child rearing, patience, nurture, kindness etc. and national identities get linked to these stereotypes women's bodies become the embodiment of national virtues and women gain relevance in the nationalist discourse through their procreative capacity. Nira Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias identify five stereotypical roles women play in nationalism which are as mothers who give birth to patriotic sons, passively symbolic embodiments of the nation, carriers and perpetrators of cultural narratives, agents enforcing the boundaries of the nation and as active participants in nationalist struggles (Women 7-8). These roles are non-distinctive and often overlapping. Not all women are encouraged by the nation to reproduce. Fascist Germany insisted the perpetuation of the Nordic Aryan race alone; Jews, Slavs, Poles and other inferior ethnicities were subjected to forced sterilization or creepy biological experiments. Nationalism pre-assumes heteronormativity and supports and reinforces only heterosexual relationships within the patriarchal family structure and is exclusionist in its approach to those who do not belong to the gender binary. The homosexuals' allegiance to the nation is ambiguous to determine as they transgress the preset gender roles and sexual norms. The binaries of homonationalism and heteronationalism exist with regard to the nation's sexually inclusive and exclusive approaches respectively. Prescribed, proper gender and sexual conduct is of utmost

importance to the nation and deviating from it is met with penalty, which need not necessarily be legal but can range from ridicule to denigration to prohibition to complete social ostracization.

Sylvia Walby observes that the "differential integration of men and women into the nationalist project" seldom finds space in the academic interactions about nationalism (235). She is of the opinion that the national project differently affects men and women and is a matter of graded concern for various men and women, according to their social and sexual standing. Kumari Jayawardena observes that feminism seriously contributed to third world/postcolonial nationalism, particularly in nations where women were pivotal to the anti-colonial struggles. She acknowledges the influence of western Feminism in shaping the third world nationalism. Struggle for women's emancipation and rights served as an integral aspect of the anti-imperialist, anti-totalitarian struggles in the West and the anticolonial struggles in the East. She traces the entry of women into public domain and their incessant demand for emancipation to the expansion of capitalism, which indirectly facilitated the growth of feminism. Third World women's political independence differs from that of the First World; classical philosophers and political theorists believed citizenship to be dependent on masculine virility and thus in the First World nations, women gained political independence years after their male counterparts (black men gained suffrage much after the white men in many Western nations) while in most of the Third World, political independence and suffrage were granted to men and women simultaneously. It is noteworthy that both in the First and the Third Worlds, women gained political rights before civil rights; equal opportunities, equal pay, equal access to public spaces, religious centers and educational institutions were still a distant goal. In the present scenario with the modern nations asserting their masculinity in the most aggressive fashion, the battles

fought for equality becomes ineffective as women's civil and political liberty gets jeopardized.

Men and women differently engage with nationalism or do not share the same nationalist project. Women are more likely to join, favor and support a nationalist movement that is inclusive, egalitarian and championing the female anxieties. Women, at times are coerced to be part of the nationalist project, primarily because they are breeders of the future champions of nationalism. Sylvia Walby is of the opinion that "the relation between gender and nationalism may be mediated through the differential relations of women and men to militarism" (247). When nationalism gets primarily associated with militarism and women are stereotyped as less aggressive and pacifist, it is deduced by default that women are less nationalistic than men, which is a fallacy. Walby posits that women's political activities are more local and less nationalist when compared to that of men; women may constitute the local bodies, but their representation is scanty at the national level. The male nation does not permit women's political imaginary to grow beyond the local; they are granted freedom for mediocre/minimal political engagements but handling serious political power is forbidden for them. Women who want to join the nationalist cause or engage in active politics and venture outside the barriers of her home will have to meet stiff resistance from her own family and the society, both of which are patriarchal institutions that are the microcosm of the male nation. Women become the poster girls for local elections where they are allowed to contest only because of gender reservation. In most such cases, they act as proxies for men who will in turn exercise power undercover. If a woman tops the political echelon at national level, she gets accused of power-hunger, mismanagement, inefficiency, perpetrating tyranny etc. and is compared and contrasted on a daily basis to her male predecessors. Once out of term, she gets cited as an example for how women don't

make good rulers in order to ensure that this trend of women exercising political power do not establish a continuum.

Nation is an explicitly gendered entity. The most basic division between the public and the private spheres embody the gender dichotomy. The public domain is where the economic and the political happen and is predominantly male while the private domain constitutes the confines of the home and the family which is largely female. Parallels can be seen in the 'ghar-bahir' (home-world) binary proposed by Partha Chatterjee in his *The Nation and its Fragments* (1993), which is discussed in detail in the second chapter. "The world is a treacherous terrain of the pursuit of material interests, where practical considerations reign supreme. It is also typically the domain of the male. The home, in its essence must remain unaffected by the profane activities of the material world - and woman as its representation" (120). The existence and endurance of the public sphere is enormously dependent on the private sphere, which the women should maintain with sanctity for the sake of the public and national good. The binary emphasizes the gender roles of men as protectors and women as reproducers of the nation. While women fulfill their assigned duties to the sovereign state through reproduction and Spartan childrearing, enabling the children to prioritize the nation over themselves, these same roles exclude women from the public sphere.

Until the early 18th century, the notion of 'Republican motherhood' prevailed, though the terminology was not coined until late 20th century, where women had indirect citizenship, as mothers and wives of the citizens, acting as the guardian of the civic virtues and holding the family morally together, making her husband and children cherish Republican values. The public-private binary is evident in the concept of domestic 'Republican Motherhood' as well. Women's bodies serve as the chalice that holds the national values, embody national purity

and are the symbolic sites of national honor. They become signifiers and symbolic markers of territory and cultural differences that they are easily the primary targets for cultural corruption and maligning, that is carried out through soiling acts of defilements, violations, mutilations and most importantly, rape, thus enabling the metaphorical conquest of the men of the nation these female bodies belong to. The attempt of the nation is to portray its women as chaste virgins or devout mothers, superior to the whores of the other nation and its men as virile and macho over the effeminate, cowardly men of the other nation. Acts of physical violation targets to soil the purity of the women, thereby reducing the men of the nation to an effeminate, gutless status because of their inability to protect their women and thereby their nation. In times of inter-state war, cross border abductions and marriages would further problematize the citizenship of the women as well as the children born to her, because a woman's citizenship is dependent on that of her male partner. Sexual codes are strictly imposed upon women than men by the male nation; a woman developing relationship with a man belonging to another nation will bring in alien blood, thus corrupting the nation's purity. The wife's and the child's citizenship gets defined according to the man's nationality. The nation exercises control over the woman's right to her body, by insisting on maximizing the procreative output and restricting access to contraception and abortion, thus ensuring a workforce of 'ethnically clean' men to protect the nation. Lora Knight in her essay "Nationalism and Gender" discusses the systematic Serbian war rapes in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1990 and 1995 in which women were violently raped, forcefully impregnated and held in Serbian custody until they were late to abort the babies (np). Wendy Harcourt summarizes that "bodies are not external to political processes but firmly enmeshed in them" (23).

Sexed bodies have always been important for nationalist movements – a muscular male body prepared to go to war and a female body prepared for child bearing. Cynthia Enloe in her 1989 work *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* stated that understanding nationalism apart from women's experiences is impossible in spite of the fact that "nationalism typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation, and masculinized hope" (93). She further lists five perspectives about women, all of them concerning her sexualized body, that make her attire and sexual conduct a matter of concern for the patriarchal nation and therefore further the oppression of women inside the male nation.

Men in many communities appear to assign ideological weight to the outward attire and sexual purity of women in the community because they see women as (1) the community's or the nation's most valuable possessions, (2) the principal vehicles for transmitting the whole nation's values from one generation to the next, (3) bearers of the community's future generations or, crudely, nationalist wombs, (4) the members of the community most vulnerable to defilement and exploitation by oppressive alien rulers, and (5) those most susceptible to assimilation and cooption by insidious outsiders. (108)

With the nationalist trend of treasuring anything indigenous, Kumari Jayawardena observes that it is easy for male nations to embrace female subordination and to spurn the feminist ideologies as foreign. The feminist cause always gets subordinated and postponed to a mythical 'later' in comparison to the national cause which is perennial as the nation is always at threat from an external other.

Through the association of masculinity with virility and militancy and its subsequent integration with nationalism, men are generally entrusted with the security of the nation, as seen in the predominantly male national security forces.

Anything that might dissipate the nation's masculine virility is objectionable in the national security force. Men thus get licensed to perpetrate violence for the sake of national security, with women of the same/ opponent nation at the receiving end mostly. Feminist critics have keenly analyzed how the nation selects virile men, trains them to perpetrate violence for national defense, makes them and the rest of the society internalize the fact that violence is necessary to maintain the nation, enacts violent actions that keep the sensibility of the nation alive, reinforces the same through subsequent actions and glorifies these acts of violence and praises the perpetrators, thus blindfolding the people of the nation into believing that the nation is noble, venerable and unchallengeable.

With the carrying forward of the old world values and systems, even after the origin and evolution of modern nation, women's subordination was seen as natural and normal and got invisiblized in the pleats of the national fabric, privileging the public sphere over the private, establishing patriarchy as the norm in the nation. A woman is granted an inferior status in the nation and her religious as well as national identity gets redefined with respect to the religion and nationality of the man she marries; a woman's identity is derivative and incessantly linked to the man who 'owns' her. However, in spite of the constant shunning of women into the private sphere of home and kitchen, the public sphere becomes accessible for her during the nationalist movements, when nationalism and feminism become compatible. Nationalist movements become not only struggles for national self-determination but also for women's civil rights as well. Women, particularly from the middle class and the working class joined the national movement in large numbers. They became part of the movement by offering their sons for the national cause, feeding and nurturing and sometimes hiding the nationalists, organizing women's militia for local actions and even by physically engaging in the combat. But sadly, with the success of the

nationalist movement and national independence, women's liberation gets subordinated to national independence and the environment reverts to the status quo for the women of the nation, where they are relegated to the private sphere again to dutifully execute their prescribed gender roles.

However, Jill Vickers and a few other feminist scholars are of the opinion that though feminism and nationalism are largely incompatible, they are not necessarily in opposition; feminism and nationalism can act as mutual resources. Women's participation in national movements has brought about positive changes in the civil and political rights of women, over a long -drawn span of time. Feminism needs "to identify situations in which women can organize to take advantage of restructurings in national projects to insert feminist values and goals, making the nation-state more women-friendly" (Vickers 95). To summarize the dispute over the compatibility between nationalism and feminism, Cynthia Cockburn states that "it depends of course on what kind of nationalism and what kind of feminism you are talking about – for both of them are plural movements" (41). There is no universal pattern for feminism, like there is no universal pattern for nationalism; they can be liberating or shackling, top-down or bottom-up, exclusionist or inclusive. Just like various subnational positions within nationalism, there can be diverse gender positions within feminism too.

We need to address the ways in which nationalist projects are historically and culturally embedded. While it may be true that all nations are gendered, we must be alert to the specific gender meanings invoked at particular times and places and the ways in which these meanings change over time. In other words, we must resist theorizing the gender dimensions of national identities in terms of concepts that are static or artificially universal: there is no single

"woman's view" of the nation; there is no unambiguous "woman's side" in nationalist conflicts. (Ranchod-Nilsson and Tetreault 7)

Thus, different women within the nation experience, engage and respond to nations and nationalisms differently. A major part of their response is dependent entirely upon the nation's approach to women in terms of citizenship, civil rights, security etc. When the nation states fail in these attempts or delay their execution, the odds for feminist goals to succeed within that nation are truncated. "The key to productive feminist research is to identify factors that empower women to self-organize, open up space in national projects and insert women friendly values" (Vickers 103). The coming chapters will explore the exclusivist function of gender in nationalist discourses and the myriad female existences within the nation that is assumed primarily as male.

CHAPTER 2

INDIAN NATIONALISM: EVOLUTION, THEORIES, POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES AND POLITICAL PRACTICES

"No one is more arrogant towards women, more aggressive or scornful, than the man who is anxious about his virility"

- Simon de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*

Origin and evolution of Indian Nation and nationalism

Nationalism can be defined in the simplest terms as the collective emotion of the people – a feel of co-belonging and solidarity. Nationalism strives to preserve a nation's culture and inculcates a sense of pride about the nation in its people. The sense of belonging to one's family, tribe, totem or province and taking pride in it has been part of human civilization. Though the sense of belonging to the collective is as old as human civilization, the concept of nationalism, as discussed in the previous chapter, is not older than 18th century. Modern nationalism can be seen as an offspring of the American and French revolutions. The "horizontal comradeship" among the members of the "Imagined Communities" as Benedict Anderson calls it has resulted in the formation, unification, reorganization and disintegration of nations (*Imagined* 6, 7).

Indian nationalism took shape in the 19th century, organically as a response to the oppressive English rule. India, a rich land comprising of large territories of land belonging to the royal houses and constantly warring princely states was always desirable in the eyes of the West. The royal houses of kakatiya, Yadava, Hoysala,

Maurya, Vijayanagara, Maratha, the different sultanates and other warring territories rose and fell in power, some getting annexed by the mighty and the others disappearing forever. The rise and fall of empires made and unmade territories and borders and filled and emptied the land's coffers. The alluring treasures and vast resources of India resulted in many foreign invasions, causing the plundering of the riches. Then the invaders settled in India, colonizing it. The foundation for the concept of India as a modern nation, quite unlike the landmass comprising of warring territories that India was, was laid by colonialism.

After the fall of great empires, India was a huge geographical expanse, with a heterogeneous population. The weak princely states fought in vain among themselves, struggling to attain the grandeur of an empire. The Indian situation was very conducive for colonial expansion. The lack of political unity among the warring states eased the process of colonization. The sprawling landmass named India did not envision itself in terms of a unified nation prior to colonization. Absence of a common spoken language and a common shared culture, ethnographic and religious diversities etc. prevented India from existing as a unified nation. Though the land had its fixed boundaries, the diverse population living in it did not harbour a sense of belonging to each other. It lacked in those elements that can consolidate and solidify a sensibility that can be called 'Indian'. But the subordination under the foreign yoke resulted in their collective identification as the 'exploited'. A sense of belongingness was created among the fellow sufferers of oppression. With the establishment of colonialism, the whites became the 'others' against which the Indian 'self' took shape.

All the feuds and diversities that hindered the consolidation of national sentiments were dwarfed by the common political aspirations of Indians, which have always been the cornerstone of a nation. Emile Durkheim observes:

A nationality is a group of human beings, who for ethnical or perhaps merely for historical reasons, desire to live under the same laws, and to form a single state; and it is now a recognized principle among civilized peoples that when this common desire has been persistently affirmed, it commands respect and is indeed the only solid basis of a state. (*Germany* 40)

The political unification materialized with India's resolve to fight foreign dominance. The organic solidarity generated by this resolve was a trait that Durkheim identified as crucial to the evolution of a nation (*Division 344*). He ranked the nation as the most powerful socio-political unit, far superior to the individuals who constitute it, and other smaller socio-political units. Ernest Renan in *What is a Nation?* lists the two principles that constitute a nation – first, the nation's past in the form of a common heritage and shared memory, secondly, the present where the people of the land are bound by their will to live together (10). A common geographical land, common political aspirations and a shared will to live together under a single unified nation (though not shared by everyone alike, but by a large majority) constituted the modern Indian nation.

An analysis of the evolution of Indian nation and nationalism can be attempted only against the historical backdrop of British colonization of India and the Indian independence struggle that ensued. Therefore, a rough tracing of its historical timeline is inevitable. Post the European Enlightenment and Renaissance, the geographical explorations and voyages of discovery resulted in European nations like Portugal and France amassing huge wealth, triggering fellow nations like England to embark on their trans-oceanic trade adventures. England had already established itself as a mighty naval force in the Spanish Armada in 1588. The British East India Company was formed in 1600, specifically for spice trade from the 'East

Indies', reversing the old tradition of eastward trading. In about a century's time, the Company accounted for half of the global trade. The Company found India prosperous yet linguistically diverse, territorially divided, politically weak, plural in religion and altogether unstable. Warring provinces, waning dynasties and political discord in India created a situation conducive for the expansion of the company's political aspirations. The trade authority the Company had over India gave way to military and administrative authority after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 in which the British East India Company led by Robert Clive, defeated Siraj-ud-Daula, the last Nawab of Bengal. With the defeat of Tipu Sultan in the Siege of Seringapatam in 1799, most of South India also fell to the British. The Company gained control over Bengal and soon spread its powers across large parts of the Indian subcontinent. The Company also traded with the Americas and Africa and managed to establish overseas possessions in various parts of the world, transforming the British Empire into a 'land on which the sun never sets'.

Britain emerged as the mightiest imperial power in the 19th century. With the American colonies gaining independence after the American Revolution, India became the foci of the British Empire. From 1757, the British East India Company ruled India for the Sovereign Crown until the First War of Indian Independence in 1857, derided and trivialized by the British historians as Sepoy Mutiny. From 1858, the British Crown assumed direct power over India through the Government of India Act, establishing the British Raj. Alongside the tyranny that the British Raj imposed upon Indians, it also brought about developments in terms of transportation, communication, education, technology etc. and culturally uplifted India by discouraging primitive rituals and casteist practices. As part of the White man's burden to civilize the colonized land, the British carried out civilizing missions, converted the natives to Christian faith, established schools and colleges, offered

English education, started printing presses and publication, altogether resulting in an Indian Renaissance. The situation was conducive for the awakening of the Indian national consciousness; the Indian 'self' gradually took shape against the British 'other'.

Alongside the common political will that united the people with a passionate nationalist zeal, other factors also aided India's evolution into a modern nation. The aftermaths of colonialism, such as the introduction of railway and English education opened new vistas to envision the nation. English education made knowledge accessible to all Indians, enabling them to read about the sweeping socio-political changes happening in the West, exhaustively discussed in chapter 1. India's fight against the colonial yoke was considerably influenced by the Revolutions in America and France. The American Revolution of 1765 that lasted for two decades culminated in the defeat of Britain and the subsequent establishment of the United States of America. It acted as the first spark of revolution which in turn stirred a number of uprisings, in different parts of the world. The French Revolution that began in 1989 and lasted for a decade resulted in the worldwide spread of the idea of liberal democracy. Slogans such as "No taxation without Representation" and "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" became catchphrases for the modern democracies that were to emerge later. French revolution brought about an end to aristocracy, reassigning power to the middle class, thereby initiating a new order, with equality as its central principle. The revolution diminished the prominence of religion, and revealed to the world that alternate governing systems are possible. It also inspired many more uprisings, resulting in a global waning of authoritarianism and tyranny. With evangelical schools and British-run colleges being opened in different parts of India as part of the English civilizing mission, the lessons learned from these revolutions enabled Indians to conceive themselves as a nation, modeled on the

Western prototypes. English education produced a number of educated Indians, who were used by the British government to enhance their administrative efficiency. The economic self-reliance of the educated Indians marked the birth of the Indian middle class. With the growth of the industrial sector in India, the industrial bourgeoisie class emerged. These classes became the voice of India's struggle against the British.

English served as the bridge language that facilitated the communication between the native speakers of the diverse Indian languages. With the increase in the number of educated Indians, the growth of the Indian Press was also instrumental in mobilizing the nationalist sentiments. The political consciousness of the Indian middle class was substantially shaped by the publications from the English and vernacular press. They garnered public support for the political movements and moulded public opinion. The intellectual revolution brought about by the exposure of the Indian readers to the political literature of the European thinkers like Thomas Paine, Edmund Burke, John Locke, Rousseau and Voltaire and Indian nationalist literature of Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Aurobindo and others considerably contributed to the rise of Indian nationalism (Khare 537,538). The spread of education played a massive role in effecting the Indian renaissance and the consequent progress of Indian nationalism.

Colonialism marked the commencement of unified governance in India, under a single authority. In the pre-colonial times, the country was not socially and economically integrated. With British rule, India became a politically unified state with a uniform administration, legislation, common currency and a unified national economy. This hitherto unexperienced unity aided in fashioning the spirit of patriotism and nationalist fervor. Edwin Bewan remarked that "the British Raj was like a steel frame which held the injured body of India together till the gradual

process of internal growth had joined the dislocated bones, knit up the torn fibers and enabled the patient to regain inner coherence and unity" (Karim 202). The exploited Indians identified with their fellow sufferers and united against colonialism with a nationalist feeling, stronger than ever before, that the newly emerged nation was far well-founded, stronger and durable than the India made up of warring kingdoms.

Amongst the factors that contributed to the consolidation of nationalist sentiments, the allegorical embodiments of the nation were of paramount importance. "The state is invisible: it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived", said Walzer (194). Emile Durkheim analyzed the importance of public gatherings, national celebrations, icons and allegories in unifying the nationalist sentiments, thus integrating the nation. "It is only by uttering the same cry, pronouncing the same word or performing the same gesture that people feel themselves in unison" (Elementary 232). In India, the image of the 'Deshmata' acted as a large unifying force, uniting the sons of nation in their struggle to liberate their motherland. This image of the nation was meant "to re-affirm the unity of the collective and give the concept of nationhood greater immediacy" (Baron 57). The representation of India in the form of a desirable female body simultaneously exalted the nation as mother and eroticized the discourse of patriotism, binding the men of the land to defend her honor. Tanika Sarkar observes in her essay Nationalist Iconography: The Image of women in 19th Century that the image of the 'Deshmata' "sacralised and feminized" India. She observes that this feminization and the glorification of the female were natural reactions against the aggressively masculine representations of the British Empire and the Empire's contempt towards the submissive and therefore feminine Indian men (2011).

Alongside national allegories, political symbols also aided in the consolidation of nationalist sentiments. The emotional reactions aroused by the national flag, national anthem and national song, army demonstrations and national celebrations aided the people to identify themselves as 'Indian'. Such emotionally persuasive symbols transcended regional, religious and cultural heterogeneity and facilitated an extensive political communication that was impossible by means of speech or writing. They also communicated to the unlettered population, thus facilitating an emotional integration of multitudes, thereby ensuring a mass national mobilization and the growth of Indian territorial nationalism.

The irredentist demand to redeem the Akhand Bharat raised by Hindu nationalist forces was shared by many Indian nationalists since the idea of reviving the unified India could serve as a potent counter to the 'divide and rule' policy of Britain. Common cultural heritage being the chief factor behind nation formation, the cry for redeeming the nation's former glory mobilized the masses. There was a deliberate glorification of the military prowess of the great Indian rulers of the past as part of the exercise of revivalist nationalism. Indian nationalism blended itself with religious revivalism. During the freedom struggle, Bal Gangadhar Tilak started the Shivaji festival to rouse the decadent India. "The Shivaji festival deified the father of the Maratha nation, thereby sanctifying its political history, thus providing Indian nationalism with a precept from its own past" (Wolpert 80). Stories of Shivaji, the Rani of Jhansi, Tippu Sultan and the like were used to incite nationalist fervor in the people, convincing them that they stemmed from a virile stock. Their heroic resistance against the British became a template for the national struggle against the British. Primordializing the nation by inventing traditions was always part of nationalism, observed Eric Hobsbawm in his *The Invention of Tradition* (14).

Prior to the organized nationalist struggles, numerous indigenous rebellions against the British yoke were staged, most of them unrecorded and the rest of them obliterated from the history of India's struggle for independence. Worth mentioning are the Munda uprising, Santhal rebellion, the Kol mutiny etc. In the far south, Pazhassi Raja waged guerilla warfare against the Company and Veerapandiya Kattabomman actively resisted the British advances. These resistances were partially or completely quashed by the British, but they succeeded in adding to the flame of nationalist spirit, and effectively led to the First War of Indian Independence in 1857. Among the various factors collectively contributing to the dissent, the immediate cause was the cattle fat used in the rifle cartridge which the sepoys had to bite in order to activate, which was an act of defilement for either religions. Mangal Pandey's role in rousing the sepoys to rebellion was remarkable. As an extension to the 1857 uprising, many more revolts followed in which Rani Lakshmibai, Tantya Tope etc. were part of, following which the British Government began to directly rule India and the English Monarch Victoria became the Empress of India.

In the years that followed, national consciousness grew and the longing for national self-determination heightened as an outcome of political campaigns and mobilizations led by nationalist leaders. The socio-cultural movements played a great role in modernizing India and consolidating nationalist sentiments. Reformist movements which were timely and progressive and revivalist movements that were anti-West and endeavored to revive India's traditional glory worked together to effect the Indian renaissance. The gradual changes ushered in by these movements transformed the outlooks towards society, rituals and customs, self and spirituality and the nation itself. The rational visions of the English educated, young Indian men transformed India from a medieval mindset to the modern. The period of reforms can be regarded as the formative age of Indian nationalism. With Raja Ram Mohan

Roy's efforts to reform religion and abolish Sati, many such movements which were in their infantile stage flourished. The reforms initiated by Ram Mohan Roy can be considered as the first organized social reform movement in India. He formed the Brahmo Samaj in 1828, paving way for more reforms. His unceasing efforts culminated in the abolition of Sati in 1829 by General William Bentinck. He also raised his voice against caste and untouchability which were the major causes of schisms in the society. The leadership of Brahmo Samaj was later taken up by Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen. They influenced the youth of the time to associate with the movement. Sen championed the abolition of veil, child marriage etc. and promoted widow remarriage. The Brahmo Samaj, after many political and ideological splits, leaned towards spirituality under the influence of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa.

The Young Bengal movement initiated by Henry Vivian Derozio radically advocated modernizing the outdated Hindu customs. With most of its members being young college students, the movement encouraged female education. Under the leadership of Bhanderkar and Ranade, Prarthana Samaj actively voiced against caste and called for universal fraternity. The movement believed that timely reforms are mandatory and actively campaigned for widow remarriage and inter-caste dining. Ranade established the Widow Remarriage Association in 1861. Established in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the Arya Samaj raised the call to go back to Vedas and strongly stood against caste-restricted access to Vedas. It established Gurukuls and Colleges and played a considerable role in arousing national consciousness. Many national leaders were influenced by the philosophy and practice of the Arya Samaj (Bakshi and Mahajan 247-270).

The Theosophical Society revived the Indian religious beliefs and generated self-respect in the Indian youth, rooting them firmly in the Indian faith. With

consistent efforts from Iswar Chandra Vidya Sagar in favor of widow remarriage, the Hindu widow remarriage act of 1856 was passed, sanctioning widow remarriage. Vidya Sagar's battle against archaic nuptial practices within the Hindu community revolutionized the social fabric of the time. Jyotiba Phule's Satya Shodhak Samaj questioned the Brahmanical hegemony and the practice of untouchability. Reform cries raised by Phule's Depressed Class movement later inspired Gandhi's Harijan movement. His wife Savitribai Phule and Pandita Ramabai created awareness among women, rousing them for better. Swami Vivekananda attempted to redefine 'reform' and believed that the need for reform springs organically from the society. He founded the RamaKrishna mission in 1892 to spread the teachings of his Guru Sri Rama Krishna Paramahamsa and raised his voice against gender inequality, child marriage, caste system etc. In his speech My Plan of Campaign, he called for a "root and branch reform" which was a comprehensive reformation of the society (Lectures 123). Vivekananda was driven by the zeal to revive the glorious Indian culture. His preaching fused social reform and spiritual awakening and his reforms aimed to reestablish spiritual purity and encourage freethinking. Most of the 19th century reformers were from the elite section of the society, privileged to receive English education and were learned in Indian philosophies too. Together and in isolation, their reform movements have considerably enhanced the quality of the lives of the Dalits and women in India.

Reforms in the Muslim community succeeded in providing the Muslims access to English education and reducing communal divisions in the society. The Faraizi movement in Bengal campaigned against caste within Islam. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan encouraged a rational study of Koran, encouraged western education and promoted communal tolerance. He established the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1875 which grew to become the Aligarh Muslim University.

Wahabi movement, Ahmadiya movement and the Deoband movement were pivotal in the reformation of the Muslim population. All these reform movements targeted to make India rational and progressive, with a scientific temper and a tolerant spirit. They promoted equality and liberty, which created a social environment conducive for democratic awakening. The people were enlightened to think beyond personal, familial, religious and communal terms and prioritize national wellbeing over their own. The changes that were brought about by them created in Indians a sense of pride about their country, awakening the sense of national consciousness in them. They found themselves progressive enough to battle the English, who were regarded as culturally superior. Alongside these social movements were a number of other political factors that considerably contributed to the making of the modern Indian nation. A linear association of social reforms of the 19th century and social and gender equity is, therefore, a fallacy.

With the epochal formation of Indian National Congress in 1885, modeled on the Irish Home Rule League, Indian nationalism and anti-colonial struggle gained momentum. The formation of the INC can be regarded as a watershed moment since it marked the coming together of the entire nation, articulating the Indian idea of 'unity in diversity' for the first time. In spite of its humble beginning, moderate and radical voices were raised from within the Congress party against the British rule and it gradually emerged as a mass movement during the Bengal partition in 1905, especially under the extremist leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose. It was the partition of Bengal in 1905 that hastened the Indian Nationalist movement which was still in its nascent phase. With Gandhi's return to India in 1915, the ant-imperialist struggle took a democratic turn and the Congress became instrumental in mobilizing public sentiments against the British. The initial radicalism in the Congress got toned down to Gandhian modus.

English education and social reform movements had already transformed the sociopolitical scenario to be conducive for Congress activities. With the failure of the
moderates in their pleas and petitions for independence, the extremists resorted to
boycott of foreign goods, thus opening the market to Swadeshi goods. They
galvanized the masses to demand 'Poorna Swaraj'. Swadeshi movement gave a
boost to the Indian textile industry and workers joined the national movement in
large numbers. Galvanization was also carried out through volatile speeches,
patriotic songs, literature, painting etc.

The Indian National Congress spearheaded the political agitation, giving it direction and momentum and succeeded in politically enlightening the Indians, so that the political atmosphere was very conducive for Gandhi's leadership and his theory of accommodative nationalism. His strategies of Ahimsa, Satyagraha and civil disobedience garnered masses, particularly women and the rustic population into the freedom struggle. He sturdily repudiated the English claim that India was politically configured as a nation under the colonial rule, thus primordializing the Indian nation, lending it more credibility. The Indian National congress with Gandhi as its spiritual icon, succeeded in unifying the Indian population across gender, region, religion and language. The fraternal sentiment that the Congress roused throughout the nation was largely instrumental in the growth of nationalism. However, separatist demands were common from Muslims since the early 1900s with the Muslim League insisting on parting ways from the Hindu majority Indian National Congress. The All India Muslim League was formed in 1906 to uphold the Muslim interests in the Hindu-dominant India. The British policy of 'Divide and Rule' took advantage of this already existing communal tension.

The social reform movements of the 19th century set the stage for B.R. Ambedkar's crusade against caste. He opposed the mainstream nationalism

promoted by the Congress and his attempts for Dalit liberation and empowerment sought for more reforms in Hinduism. He believed that the dominant Hindu discourse of Indian nationalism would only encourage Brahmanic hegemony and worsen casteism. Ambedkar facilitated the consolidation of Dalit-Bahujan nationalist sentiments and the target of Indian nationalism, for him, was not just liberation from the British but also from Brahmanical hegemony - independence from both external and internal oppressions. His tirade against caste urged the Congress for more reforms, thus firming the social ground of Indian nationalism. Parallel to the activities of the Congress, the spread of Communist and Socialist ideologies in the first half of the twentieth century and the consequent growth of trade unions added vigor to the nationalist movement. The Communist Party of India as well as the Rashtriya Sayamsevak Sangh were established in 1925. While the Communist party mobilized masses to national consciousness, the RSS cleaved the Indian society on communal terms. Politically awakened workers were an active force during the Swadeshi movement and the Quit India movement. The rapid growth of the Communist party ensured the participation of students, working class and peasants in the nationalist movement.

Protests against the inhuman Rowlatt act that sanctioned indefinite detention without proper trial mobilized the people, resulting in agitations, culminating in the firing at JallianWalla Bagh, slaughtering a large number of innocent lives. This incident added momentum to the nationalist struggle. The non-cooperation movement launched soon after was called back by Gandhi after the Chauri Chaura violence. This halt was not appreciated by many leaders of the Congress and created differences of opinions within the Congress. In the late 1930s, the demand for immediate self-rule rose and reached its peak with the Quit India movement in 1942. With the Government of India Act of 1935, a rudimentary federal power structure

was envisioned, Crown suzerainty was minimized and provincial autonomy was granted; however, the British paramountcy was all-pervasive. Though the Civil Disobedience Movement was met with violence from the British, it became increasingly challenging for Britain to retain its colonies post the Second World War that plans were being made for Britain's exit. India started anticipatory preparations to declare itself independent – designing the national flag, drafting the Constitution etc.

In 1940, Muhemmad Ali Jinnah put forward, not for the first time, the Two Nation Theory, proposing the division of India into two separate, religion-exclusive, sovereign nations. This move was opposed by majority Muslims in India, who passed motion against the Two Nation Theory. The political scenario became communally tense with the prospect of an impending partition. With the British Government taking military aid from the Indian army in exchange for independence, the Second World War quickened India's independence. In June 1947, Lord Mountbatten declared the partition of India into India and Pakistan. Sir Cyril Radcliffe hurriedly drew the Radcliffe line, dividing the two nations, tearing apart lives, and occasioning mass migrations of unprecedented magnitude. It was not just the territory and people that were divided, but the natural resources, railways, defense forces and bureaucrats as well, that too chaotically and impractically. Nehru became the first Prime Minister of independent India. Unlike previously anticipated, the much awaited independence did not solidify the nation; violent communal riots followed the partition. The promise of independence was fulfilled thorough a forceful eviction and marginalization of a diverse population who were very much part of the nationalist movement and rightfully deserved to share the fruits of liberation, such as the Muslims, the women, Harijans etc. The Constituent Assembly led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar finalized and drafted the Indian constitution, which was

adopted on 26th January 1950, making India a Republic. Rajendra Prasad was elected as the first President of India. With the Portuguese leaving India in 1961, ceding its territories, India liberated itself from the vestiges of colonization. Territorial decolonization was thus complete; however, decolonizing the Indian minds was a cumbersome task and is a continuous, ongoing process. Salman Rushdie writes in his Magnum Opus *Midnight's Children*, "a nation which had never previously existed was about to win its freedom...it was a mass fantasy shared in varying degrees by Bengali and Punjabi, Madrasi and Jat and would periodically need the satisfaction and renewal which can only be provided by rituals of blood" (112). The element of blood sacrifice that the nation necessitates has been briefly discussed in the previous chapter. This aspect will be shortly discussed with particular regard to the Indian nation.

Postcolonial Indian nation and its women

Indian nationalism and the modern idea of an 'Indian nation' emerged with the British colonization so much so that these are deeply intertwined. "Empires have fallen on evil days and nations have risen to take their place", observed Rupert Emerson in his work *From Empire to Nation* (3). Indian nationalism, with its colonial past, is categorized in Nationalism Studies under Third World Nationalism. The term 'third world' did not embody its current sense in the past. It was used to refer to the nations that did not align with the 'First World' led by the USA and the 'Second World' led by the Soviet Union. Later, the term got associated with the economic status and the growth ratio of the nation as well as its pre-independence status. Today, Asian, African and Latin American nations with colonial pasts are generally referred to as the 'third world'. The growth of postcolonial nations and their evolution of nationalism did not perfectly fit in the western templates or typologies. Unlike western nationalism that took its own course, postcolonial

nationalism modeled itself on western nationalism and developed side by side with the nations' liberation struggles against the colonial yoke. Unlike European nationalism that grew largely on the basis of a singular homogenizing principle, Indian nationalism embraced the religious, cultural and linguistic pluralisms within the nation. Indian nationalism developed as a direct response to English colonialism and was aided by a number of other factors in its evolution. All the previously discussed factors conjointly created a political scenario conducive for the Indian disgust for the British to grow, culminating in the freedom struggle, climaxing in the Indian independence. To quote A. R. Desai,

Indian nationalism was the outcome of the new material conditions created in India and the new social forces which emerged as a result of the British conquest. It was the outcome of the objective conflict of interests, the interest of Britain to keep India politically, economically subjected to her and the interest of the Indian people for a free political economic and cultural evolution of the Indian society, which was intruded by the British rule. (236)

Indian historian Romila Thapar with her core focus on ancient India, Indian epics, Aryanism etc. defined the nation as "the people that inhabited a territory who saw themselves as an evolved community created by drawing upon the range of communities that existed prior to the nation. It was based on a shared history, interests and aspirations frequently expressed in a common culture that in turn drew from multiple cultures" (*Reflections* 11). She opined that history always marked a territory by the characteristics of its elites; colonial historiographers convinced the readers that India was a Hindu land with Sanskrit as their language and it got widely appropriated. Historiography, she believed, gave rise to divisions and schisms among the people alongside creating cohesiveness. "Concepts of nations based on a

single exclusive identity- religious, linguistic, ethnic and similar single identitiesare actually pseudo-nationalisms and should be precluded from being called a
nationalism, without the accompanying qualifier of their identity" (13). For her,
nationalism is a modern phenomenon, coinciding with the Enlightenment and
Industrial capitalism in Europe and emerged as a reaction to British colonialism in
India. It is a positive force when it coheres but is to be despised when it excludes
and cleaves. She drew a model for Indian nationalism from African nationalism
which was based on the essence of Negritude, an inclusive anti-colonial nationalism
that unified African national consciousness in the entirety of Africa, the Caribbean
and even the America and assumed the shape of a literary, artistic and philosophical
movement.

Thapar challenged the western historical conception of dividing Indian history into Hindu, Muslim and British phases respectively as well as the theory of oriental despotism that froze the Indian political economy prior to colonization (*Ideology* 405). Irfan Habib also actively countered the theory of oriental despotism by Karl Wittfogel. However, the colonial version of Indian history gave rise to religious/communal nationalisms (Hindu and Muslim) in India, aiming to establish national states of their own and were less anti-colonial in their essence. The palingenetic, ultra-national attempts aimed at the transformation of the essentially secular India into a Hindu nation can be regarded as an effort for what is claimed as a "legitimate return to a rightful inheritance" (*Reflections* 24). Thapar historically, archeologically and linguistically repudiated the claims of the Indian origin of Aryans (which she believed was created to ensure that the Caste Hindus who claim Aryan descent can keep claiming an uncorrupt, linear lineage of superiority) as well as the existence of two nations in the past. She clearly stated that neither the word 'Hindu' nor 'Muslim' had the present day connotations in ancient times. In ancient

Arabic texts, the word 'Al Hind' referred to the geographical entity that spanned across the Sindhu River and 'Hindu' referred to the inhabitants of this area, who were the 'others' for these new comers. "It was only gradually and over time that it was used not only for those who were inhabitants of India but also for those who professed a religion other than Islam or Christianity. In this sense, Hindu included both the Brahmanas and the lower castes, an inclusion which was contrary to the precepts of Brahmanism" (Imagined 223). Thapar observed that the glorification of past was a strategy resorted to by Indian historians to compensate for the foreign humiliation at the British hands and is extremely critical of the revisionist communalization of Indian history. The ongoing attempt to homogenize Hinduism, creating a single Hindu community is a negation of history that the advocates of Hindu Rashtra are forced to resort to a particular construction of history, i.e., Hindutva historiography which seeks to claim "historicity for the incarnations of its deities, encourages the idea of a centrally sacred book, claims monotheism as significant to the worship of deity, acknowledges the authority of the ecclesiastical organization of certain sects as prevailing over all and has supported large-scale missionary work and conversion" (Imagined 228).

Indian political theorist and anthropologist Partha Chatterjee (1947 -), the author of *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (1986), *Nation and its Fragments* (1993), *Politics of the Governed* (2004) etc. is a pioneering theorist in the study of postcolonial nationalism. Anti-colonial nationalism amply borrows from the principles of western nationalism but simultaneously remains distinctive by using the language and theories of the western colonizer to resist the colonizer. Chatterjee observes that mainstream theories about nationalism failed to analyze the distinctiveness of nation-making/building in postcolonial discourses. In his essay "Whose Imagined Community?" in *Nation and its Fragments*, Chatterjee observes

that nationalism was the byproduct of the European political history and in the 1950s and 60s, nationalism was a feature of anti-colonial struggles but in the 1970s, nationalism became a part of ethnic politics, leading to the third world men killing each other in civil wars or acts of terrorism (Nation 3). Benedict Anderson characterized Third World nationalism using the adjective 'modular'. "Twentiethcentury nationalisms have...a profoundly modular character. They can, and do, draw on more than a century and a half of human experience and the earlier models of nationalism...to deploy civil and military educational systems modelled on the popular nationalisms of nineteenth-century Europe" (Imagined 135). Chatterjee opposes this position by raising a question central to the postcolonial discourse – if postcolonial nationalisms have to choose their imagined community from a set of already imagined communities in Europe, what is left for the 20th century nations to imagine and how are the postcolonial nations then different from the European nations? If that is the case, postcolonial nations shall forever remain mere consumers of modernity. "Europe and the Americas, the only true subjects of history, have thought out on our behalf not only the script of colonial enlightenment and exploitation, but also that of our anti-colonial resistance and postcolonial misery. Even our imaginations must remain forever colonized" (Nation 5). Chatterjee counters Anderson's attribute of 'modularity' claiming that anti-colonial nationalisms of the 20th century thrived not upon its similarity but obvious differences from the European national imaginations. All Eastern nationalisms were aware of the alien standards by which they were evaluated as regressive, and strived to surpass it by equipping themselves to be progressive. This process of equipping involved partial imitation of the western model as well as partial resistance to the western model, so as to retain the nation's distinctiveness. Imitation and hostility, observes Chatterjee in Nationalist Thought and Colonial World, are both integral to Third World nationalisms (2). Partha Chatterjee has explicit terms of difference with

Benedict Anderson and disagrees with Anderson's notion of "horizontal comradeship", arguing that nations do not simply promote solidarity but disparities and unfairness as well (*Imagined* 7). Chatterjee detects a blend of spiritual-cultural nationalism in India prior to its political resistance against colonization from which political nationalism evolved.

However, Partha Chatterjee converges with Anderson in the fact that anticolonial nationalism borrowed and, to an extent, modeled itself on Western templates, but in a fashion different from what Anderson envisaged. According to Chatterjee, the sovereign domain of the colonial society is divided into two subdomains – the material and the spiritual. He draws parallels with Immanuel Kant's Public-Private binary for employment of reason. The outer, material domain consists of statecraft, administration, technology etc. and is modeled on the western template. The inner, spiritual domain is composed of uniquely retained native culture, untainted by the West. This inner domain is responsible for fashioning the modern nation as different from the Western nation. The inner domain keeps invasive foreign forces at bay even when the outer domain is under colonial regulations. So, unlike the popular historical assumption that anti-colonial nationalism begins at the point when demands are made for political autonomy and independence, Chatterjee proposes that the inner circle is already in a phase of nationalism since it is sovereign and self-determining, even when the outer domain is under imperial control. (Nation 7).

In *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, Partha Chatterjee identifies three ideological 'moments' necessary for nationalist thought to attain its paradigmatic form during its evolution in the postcolonial nations – the 'moment of departure' when nationalism encounters the rational thoughts generated by Enlightenment, creating a self-realization about the Orient's cultural differences

from the Occident, the 'moment of manoeuvre', when political nationalism gets stronger and designs a modern national culture, different from that of the West, mostly through revolutions, and the 'moment of arrival' when the nationalist thoughts are fully developed and rises above all confusions and contradictions that existed (50-52). With time, the outer domain starts establishing itself differently from the colonizer and with the strengthening of the nationalist agitation, the stronger becomes the differentiation, culminating in the formation of the postcolonial, national state, quite different from its European counterparts in terms of conception, manner of imagination, growth and evolution. However, autonomous imaginations about the postcolonial state are forced to partially surrender to the existing forms of modern state, which Chatterjee identifies as "postcolonial misery" (Nation 5).

In his Lecture titled *Our Modernity*, delivered in Africa in 1996 and later included in his essay collection *Empire and Nation*, Partha Chatterjee's titular revelation that there are modernities different from 'ours' is indicative of the distinctive features that characterize each modernity. Chatterjee challenges the notion of a universal modernity and observes that universal modernity enables one to formulate modernities particular to each community/nation (*Empire* 144-145). Since Indian modernity has been inextricably intertwined with colonialism, it is Indian nationalism's cultural project to fashion a modernity different from the European models. Chatterjee is of the opinion that efforts to produce a distinctly national modernity can not only be seen in arts or literature alone, but even in science which is categorically universal. He writes, "the burden of reason, dreams of freedom, the desire for power, resistance to power: all of these are elements of modernity. There is no promised land of modernity outside the network of power. Hence one cannot be for or against modernity; one can only devise strategies for

coping with it" (151). Since India's modernity is that of the once-colonized, Indians are subject to/victims of western modernity and have an ambiguous take on modernity. The postcolonial nations cope with modernity in ways distinct from the First World. It is expected from the Third World to be mere consumers of modernity rather than producers. Chatterjee urges the postcolonial nations to give up their subjection, reject the imposed modernities and fashion 'our modernity', distinct and unique. Such efforts were amply made during the periods of nationalist struggle and are needed in the post-independent, globalization period as well.

The colonial education exposed Indian elites to European modernity, models of social progress and theoretical advancements. The English phrases denoting the elites such as the 'middle class', 'literati', 'intelligentsia' etc. get swapped by the Bengali 'Bhadralok' in the Indian discourses, observes Partha Chatterjee. English education was pivotal in birthing the Indian Renaissance, with its origin in Bengal, endeavoring to fashion an Indian modernity, distinct from the colonial modernity. During the Indian Renaissance in the late 19th century, women's question was central to all reform movements; widow remarriage, abolition of sati, raising the age of sexual consent etc. were hotly discussed by reformers. The institution of family and the women's question in Indian nationalism are chief concerns to later day scholars like Partha Chatterjee. Contradicting the common assumption that women gained the centre-stage of socio-political life with the passage of time, through reforms and revolutions, Kalpana Dasgupta in her Women on the Indian Scene, observes that women of ancient Vedic ages enjoyed more freedom than modern women. The deterioration set in only after the widespread permeation of regressive practices like Purdah, Sati, denial of education, restrictions on dissolving marriages, prohibition of widow remarriage etc., observes Dasgupta (6,7). It was into this

wretched social existence of women that colonialism shed rays of the light of education and the Indian reformists ushered in new hopes.

In spite of the social progress, the mass mobilization and participation of women in the Indian national movement, Partha Chatterjee noticed a surprising silence on the women's issues in India in the last decade of 19th century and afterwards when the attention was diverted to more pressing political issues. This retrogression in the women's social condition during India's nationalist phase can be interpreted as an outcome of the aversion to everything English, including the colonial modernity and the love for everything Indian, including its regressive traditions, making women positioned ambivalently within the national fabric. All efforts to improve social conditions were viewed disdainfully as mimicking the colonizer, thus ushering in a wave of social conservatism, drowning women's progress. Bengali historian Sumit Sarkar, on the other hand, holds a different position that the social retrogression that set in during the nationalist phase was present even in the previous radical reformist phase as well. The renaissance reformers exhibited progressiveness in seemingly minor social issues such as the women's question, but remained rigorously conservative in grave social issues such as caste, religious authority, scriptural autonomy etc. (Critique 71-76). In other words, Indian social reforms were products of a process of selection, largely by an elite class of Indian men. Partha Chatterjee, however, is of the opinion that women's question was relegated in the nationalist phase not because of other pressing political concerns but because nationalism successfully pushed it into 'an inner domain of sovereignty far removed from the arena of political contest with the colonial state" (Nation 117). Either ways, women's question can be approached only through a critique of Indian nationalism.

In this context, Indian political theorist and social critic Ashis Nandy's observation about the gendering and sexualizing of the Indian nation becomes quite relevant. Nandy is of the opinion that western colonialism eventually homologized sexual and political dominance, legitimizing exploitation, oppression and violence as natural and normal. Colonialism resulted in generating an approval from the colonized, for the western patriarchal sexual norms. "It produced a cultural consensus in which political and socio-economic dominance symbolized the dominance of men and masculinity over women and femininity" (Intimate 4). Over the period of British Imperialism, the colonizer and the colonized internalized the equation of colonial rule as a "manly or husbandly or lordly prerogative" (5). Nandy wrote that "once the British rulers and the exposed sections of Indians internalized the colonial role definitions and began to speak...the language of homology between sexual and political stratarchies, the battle for the minds of men was to a great extent won by the Raj" (6,7). This identification and mirroring with the colonizer accentuated the already existing gender binary within the Indian nation and marked a resurrection of martiality and gave the notion of masculinity a central value.

The change in consciousness that took place can be briefly stated in terms of three concepts which became central to colonial India: *Purusatva* (the essence of masculinity), *Naritva* (the essence of femininity) and *Klibatva* (the essence of hermaphroditism). The polarity defined by the antonymous *Purusatva* and *Naritva* was gradually supplanted, in the colonial culture of politics, by the antonyms of *Purusatva* and *Klibatva*; femininity-in-masculinity was now perceived as the final negation of a man's political identity, a pathology more dangerous than femininity itself. (*Intimate* 7, 8)

The fight against the British was structured as a fight to regain India's masculinity, by defeating a masculine power that effeminized it. For the colonized, the British domination was a product of their emasculation. The emasculated Indian nation attempted to assert its masculine virility in the most explicit terms, relegating the women's question. Following the European paradigm, the adult male came to be regarded in India as the perfect human being. Also, the virile Kshatriya man came to be regarded as the perfect Indian human embodiment. Nandy argued that colonialism facilitated the ideological gendering and sexualizing of the colonized Indian nation, which was later furthered by the nationalist struggle, nationalist iconography and the post-independent age. He observed in *Woman and Womanliness* that Indian society creates in women a self-doubt and lack of confidence while in men, it creates an ambivalence towards womanhood, all contributing eventually to the relegation of women and the assertion of masculinity (37).

Who constitutes the nation's elites is very revealing about the nation – it is indirectly indicative of the outcastes and the unwelcomed in the nation. The nation's elite class is usually composed of privileged males; able bodied, spartan and aggressive enough to engage in nationalist activities. Women, on the other hand, were deemed coy, homely and sensual, holding their men from discharging duties towards the nation. Partha Chatterjee notes that the representation of women as 'Kamini' and her association with Kancan (gold) was deemed potent to hold men in bondage. The female essence of 'prakrti' is capable of bringing about 'pravrtti'/desire in men, resulting in a metaphorical death and degeneration of men, according to Indian spirituality (*Nation* 68). The archaic gender stereotypes and conventions in India with scriptural sanction were a major reason for the West to deem India as pagan and needy of civilization. Colonialism gained an upper hand

through its sympathies for the suffering women and attempts to assuage gender and sexual atrocities upon women that they deemed 'barbaric'. Women thus became for the British, the symbol of oppressive Indian traditions, necessitating a Christian power to tame the heathens. Indian nationalism, in its early phase, took up the women's question as a political reaction to this circumstance that necessitated colonial intervention.

Partha Chatterjee in *Nation and its Fragments*, developed the Ghar-Bahir binary as an extension to the above discussed Material-Spiritual binary, to account for the women's inferior position as well as the relative trivialization of the women's question.

The discourse of nationalism shows that the material-spiritual distinction was condensed into an analogous but ideologically far more powerful dichotomy: that between the outer and the inner... applying (this) to the day-to-day life separates the social space into ghar and bahir, the home and the world. The world is external, the domain of the material; the home represents one's inner spiritual self, one's true identity. The world is a treacherous terrain of the pursuit of material interests, where practical considerations reign supreme. It is also typically the domain of the male. The home in its essence, must remain unaffected by the profane activities of the material world – and women is its representation. (120)

Nationalism, being essentially a male ideology based on virility and aggression, relegates women to the inner circle of sovereignty, far from any political participation. Parallels can be seen in the customary Apollonian-Dionysian binary - the Apollonian 'world' belonging to men and the Dionysian 'home', consisting of the women, particularly the women's bodies. The 'home' is the chaste, untainted,

protected refuge for women and the outer, material, male world, teeming with political activity is usually forbidden for her. In essence, women became the embodiment of spirituality and purity, uncorrupted by westernization (*Nation* 120). The socio-cultural, political roles of the genders were predetermined and deviations were not entertained.

Men and women were allowed varying degrees of westernization – women's bodies were markers of cultural purity and were expected to be culturally chaste. The world (bahir) necessitated aping the western manners and systems but at home (ghar), this can endanger the native identity itself. An Indian man imitating the manners of an Englishman earned him respect and the salutation 'sahib' while a woman imitating an English lady in manners (neatly draped sari with blouse and petticoat, cosmetics, reading, frivolous pastimes like needlework, polished accent and confidence) was ridiculed as a 'Memsahib'. This trend has continued over the years, permeating the Indian silver screens, ridiculing and condemning the women who ape western culture.

Along with social reformations and advancements, colonialism brought about a 'new patriarchy', resulting in a 'new womanhood' in India, quite different from the European concept of 'New Womanhood' (*Nation* 127). The attempt to fashion a distinctive national identity through imitation and rejection of the western standards can also be seen in the case of women. Education became formally accessible to the womenfolk with the opening of girls' schools and women's colleges; University of Calcutta enrolled women years before colleges in England did. However, the niche of the educated *bhadramahila* (lesser than the *memsahib*) was still her home. An educated woman was expected to run the household thoughtfully and systematically than uneducated ones; proficiency in household

chores and child rearing were still the most required talent in women. Education strengthened Sanskritization, which in turn strengthened patriarchy and hierarchy.

The new challenge women faced was to retain the attributed feminine virtues in spite of their education, in other words, to fashion a hybrid female self that is western in discipline yet Indian in thought and performance. Mimicry and hybridity are paramount postcolonial characteristics according to Homi.K.Bhaba (Location 58-60). Thus, the new womanhood initiated by colonial modernity was midway between the Indian past and the European Present; progressive than the absolute patriarchy of India's pre-colonial past and regressive than the European 'new womanhood', observes Chatterjee (Nation 9). Coercion and persuasion were equally employed to design the Indian image of the 'new woman', with unconscious internalization from the side of the women adding to the process. The concept of 'new womanhood' contributed largely to the female gender hegemony – western lady, westernized yet traditional Indian Bhadramahila, westernized Memsahib, a low class woman and so on, in the descending order of social privilege. What the men of the nation reckoned as women's transition from bondage to emancipation was in reality, a transition from one kind of bondage to another, which largely went unnoticed. Freedom came with a new set of regulatory don'ts that the image of nationalist emancipation was for the women, a mere facade.

With time, the spiritual aspects of a woman's life such as her modest attire, humble manners, religious life, responsibility to family etc. as well as her roles in the 'ghar' were clearly laid, from which sprung women's access to the outer, material domain, provided that does not challenge her femininity. This was the means by which women entered the nationalist struggle. The mass joining of women and the peasant folk to the nationalist movement gave it a fresh momentum. "The new patriarchy advocated by nationalism conferred upon women the honor of a new

social responsibility, and by associating the task of female emancipation with the historical goal of sovereign nationhood, bound them to a new, and yet entirely legitimate, subordination", observes Chatterjee (*Nation* 130). The anti-colonial Indian state could not but suffer imperial interventions in its material domain but was determined to retain sovereignty in its spiritual domain to which its women belonged. The Indian nationalism therefore refused to surrender its sovereignty by negotiating the women's question with the colonizer. This, Chatterjee identifies as the cause for the women's question taking a back seat with nationalist struggle gaining momentum in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The colonial period and the Indian nationalist struggle brought about huge social progress for women that the national independence sounded extremely promising to the women of the nation, but like most revolutions in different parts of the world, failed in delivering them. India's independence that came along with the partition steeped the women of the nation into further misery, reverting the social progress. Post Indian independence, the nation's sovereignty and self-determination brought back women's question to political discussions. India being a nation where women gained suffrage alongside men and gained political rights before civil rights, women's autonomous struggles for liberation during the nationalist phase and the years that immediately followed independence are absent in the mainstream history; such battles were waged in the inner domain of the home and are recorded not in chronicles but in poems, journals, autobiographies etc.

The hegemonic colonial and nationalist discourses against which the female literary productions took shape were essentially male discourses. There are perceptible distinguishing features these women's writings possess apart from the fact that they are more concerned with the domestic domain than the public, which is a general feature of women's self-writings of the period. In these women's writings,

the core theme of unravelling the self is carried out under the cover of the historical narrative of the changing times. Contrast between 'those days' and 'these days' became a common trope in the women's writings. While men's writings teemed with questions of social advancements and political anxieties, women's writings abounded with the joys, miseries and struggles of the inner domain that revealed the domestic side of the transpiring political events. "The home was not complementary but rather the original site on which the hegemonic project of nationalism was launched" (Nation 147). Chatterjee observes the gender prejudice embodied in their very nomenclature: men's self-writings were popularized as Atmacarit, associating it with the classical genre of Carit, chronicling the religious as well as secular hagiographies. Women's self-writings were never of great esteem to be called Carit but were categorized as a distinct literary genre of Smrtikatha, roughly translated as 'memoirs' (Nation 138-139). Patriarchy conventionally established Smrtikatha as an artless literary form which could be attempted by anyone, even without a flair for language or literature, making it a perfect genre for women who were doubly subordinated – to colonialism and to the nationalist patriarchy. The Avarna women were triply subordinated – to colonialism, to nationalist patriarchy and to Caste-Hindu women.

Parallel to the disciplining of women was the exaltation and adulation of the 'sacred feminine', deifying femininity. With scriptural and popular approval, literature was produced and rituals were created for the cult of the Mother Goddess, earning public acceptance. Deification was a subterranean political strategy of setting certain elevated standards of conduct from which womenfolk could never step down. Deification and demonization are both essentially processes of dehumanization. This deification has also played a major role in the gendering of the Indian nation as female, embodied by the icon of Bharat Mata. The traditional

Mother Goddess and the new Mother India icon were curiously integrated that soon, the Bharat Mata image became appealing to non-Hindu nationalists as well and came to be used as a mighty icon for nationalist mobilization. "The image of woman as Goddess or mother served to erase her sexuality in the world outside the home" (*Nation* 131).

In spite of all the above discussed limitations and imposed regulations, women's social and political roles in the nationalist struggle are indisputable. Mainstream history is hesitant to appreciate the contributions of women; when they do, it is mostly that of elite women. However, peasant women, working class women, Avarna women, prostitutes etc. joined hands with the Bhadramahilas for the national cause. Women's contributions to the national cause not just included civil disobedience, long marches, picketing and sloganeering but also inducing nationalist fervor within the families, raising patriotic children, shouldering the additional family responsibilities to make up for the absence of the man who has offered himself for the nation, offering refuge to covert nationalists, giving up their treasured little gold or hard-saved money, sensitizing the fellow beings and facilitating a nationalist awakening, rehabilitating the traumatized etc. "While spinning and weaving, distributing literature, cleaning toilets and drains, selling salt, picketing foreign shops, serving the wounded, teaching the uneducated and volunteering in ashrams and party offices, women also learned to overcome age-old inhibitions and discard the purdah, postpone marriage, educate themselves and overcome caste" (Gupta 40-41). In a lecture at the Indian Social Science Conference in Calcutta, Sarojini Naidu said: "It is well for us to remember that the success of the whole nationalist movement lies centered in what is known as the women's question. It is not you but we who are the true nation-builders" (Speeches 15). It is obvious that national Swaraj was not the only stimulus that drove women to join the

nationalist struggle. The changes in women's social status as well as the female selves ushered in by women's participation in the national movement, the communities and economic backgrounds from which the women nationalists hailed and the regional pattern of women's participation (passive empathy to active participation to armed revolt and forming guerilla groups), the changes within the families of the participants, the perception of the male nationalist leaders regarding female participation, society's reaction to and reception of the female freedom fighters and empathizers of nationalist movement, ways in which women's participation shaped the independent Indian nation etc. are some of the concerns demanding the attention of this dissertation.

Bengal being the cradle of Indian Renaissance, the role of the Bhadralok in diffusing the nationalist spirit across the nation was huge. The Indian literati, with their access to colonial education, learned that the history of India composed by alien nationalities lack veracity. Thus stemmed the need for orientalist historiography, which, in turn, aided in the creation of nationalist sentiments in India. A common feature of most postcolonial nationalisms is revivalism, which considerably shaped orientalist historiography. Postcolonial nationalisms viewed the colonial period as a corrupt age of alien infiltration and attempts were made to reinstate the pre-colonial status quo, resulting in revivalism. Cultural revival inducing a national awakening generally predates or accompanies most postcolonial nationalist movement; most often, the revival is not just factual, but to an extent fictional. Most reform movements of the 19th century such as the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj had revivalist inclinations. India, once known as Baratavarsha, Aryavarta (central and Northern India) or the Hindustan (none of these are the perfect geographical equivalents of modern India), estimated its colonial age to begin not simply with the English East India Company but with the Islamic

invasions and the many Sultanates of Delhi. The Indian revivalist trend therefore cannot but dress in communal colors and become coterminous with Hindu revival.

The narrative of the freedom struggle came to be expressed in terms of a Dharamyuddh between virtue and vice, as in the Kurukshetra war. Gandhi often resorted to Indian mythological images of Sita and Draupadi to exhort women to join the nationalist struggle. Sarojini Naidu, in her 1918 address on the emancipation of women, compares Indian women to the mythological Savithri, because Indian women have to beg to the British Yama for Mother India's life. Examples for cultural revival can be found in Arya Samaj's Shuddhi Movement that summon a return to Hinduism (its politicized extension can be seen in the Ghar Wapsi movement which is currently gaining momentum, conducted by the Hindu Right wing ever since their gradual ascension to power) or in Dayanada Saraswati's call to return to the Vedas. Nonetheless, the trend of equating Indian nationalism with Hindu nationalism was not a pre-modern trend but very modern, a product of rationalism and historicity propagated by the colonial education and later furthered by the Hindutva historiography and its political brigade; the roots of the trend, however, can be traced to the pre-modern times. Buddhism and Jainism were deemed Hindu, due to their Indian origin while Islam and Christianity are of foreign origin and are potentially corruptive. This view of majoritarianism presently propagated vehemently by the advocates of Hindu ultra-nationalism is actually as old as Indian nationalism itself. The veracity of a singular Indian history is highly questionable. So is the idea of a monolithic Indian nation. It is actually a motley grouping of diverse religions, languages, cultures, each with its own historical, communal ritual nuances, making the idea of Indian nation extremely convoluted.

Any exploration of the Indian nation and nationalism can be attempted only by dissecting the various political thoughts that shaped it in its formative phase. Some major figures of Indian nationalism and their political thoughts and visions about the Indian nation as well as their perspectives on the women's question are to be analyzed.

Gandhi, the Nation and its women

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), the designer of India's nonviolent resistance against the British was conferred with the honorific sobriquet 'Mahatma' for his magnitude of thought and action. He was called the 'Half-naked Fakir' by Winston Churchill and revered by the entirety of India as 'The Father of the Nation'. His return to India in 1915 marked a milestone in India's Independence struggle. He led nation-wide campaigns for home-rule; the Indian villages became his base camps and peasants and women, his allies. Alongside the primary goal of national self-determination and home rule, Gandhi also made the alleviation of poverty, women's emancipation and civic rights, religious harmony, terminating untouchability etc. as his parallel goals. Self-reliance, non-violence (Ahimsa), minimalism etc. were a way of life for Gandhi. He devised non-cooperation, nonviolent civil disobedience and Satyagraha as modus of political resistance and resorted to extended fasting as means of political protest and self-reform. His presence was pivotal in mobilizing the masses for the independence struggle. The Lal-Bal-Pal triumvirate's radical approach to India's home-rule was gradually replaced by Gandhi's methodology, which was adopted and popularized by the Indian National Congress.

The social focus of the early Indian nationalism shifted to political causes after the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, to which Gandhi's entry and his politics gave the much needed spur. Gandhi quickly became the unifying force in India's political struggle. He rejected the notion that India became a nation under the British rule and dismissed the claim that the attributes of Indian nation are

modern. He attempted to trace Indian nation into the distant past, establishing that the idea of Indian nation predated the Western concepts of nation. In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi wrote, "We were one nation before they came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that we were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently, they divided us" (46). He rejected Macaulay's postulation regarding the imposition of English and stressed the dominance of the mother tongue Hindustani as the Lingua Franca of India over English and the multiple prevalent regional languages. In spite of being an English speaker himself, Gandhi viewed the English-speaking Indians who derived cultural superiority from their linguistic mastery as enslaving the nation further but he did not negate the role of English as a pidgin language, facilitating intercultural communication and as the language of science. Gandhi endorsed the formation of states organized linguistically to bring about coherence and effective catering to the demand of the masses. Religious pluralism was another major tenet of Gandhian politics. Gandhi's role in maintaining communal harmony in India is remarkable. He was convinced that even if the peripheral organization of the religions differs from one another, their ethical cores were similarly constituted that "India cannot cease to be one nation simply because people belonging to different religion live in it" (Hind Swaraj 42-43).

Gandhi trusted the Indian National Congress for its leadership, but dismissed its extremists for lacking responsibility and being regressive. According to him, if independence was achieved through extremist means, it can only oust the English men but not the Englishness that had gripped the nation, which would simply be a revival of the violent nationalism that prevailed previously in India. He feared that the extremists who want to model India upon England, will distort the envisioned Indian nation. "When India becomes England, it will be called not Hindustan,

but Englistan. This is not the swaraj that I want", Gandhi wrote (Hind Swaraj 26). Dismissal of the extremists who drew inspiration from the Western models, particularly the Italian nationalist models was Gandhi's rejection of western nationalism. He embraced an Indian mode of nationalism, inclusive and accommodative, rooted in spirituality and traditions. He also advocated commemorating the nation's ancestors, stating that "a nation that is desirous of securing Home Rule cannot afford to despise its ancestors" (Hind Swaraj 18). Gandhi trusted in man's ability to endure suffering and had faith in the soul force than brute force; hence he devised means of resistance like Satyagraha, hunger strike, long marches etc. Swaraj, for him bore manifold meanings, both political and personal: it meant the political independence from the dominant British power so as to exercise self-determination, liberation from the power and its temptations generated by modern civilization, liberation from hatred towards the British, love for Indian land and its people and a lifelong commitment towards the national wellbeing. Gandhi in his article "My Mission" published in Young India, stated that "my national service is part of my training for freeing my soul from the bondage of flesh" (Collected Vol. XXVII 156). For Gandhi, Swaraj had its meaning first in the individual realm, before the political. It not simply meant a transfer of power to the Indian hands but a political vision that can enable the Indian masses to be happy and content (Hind Swaraj 87). He viewed Hindu-Muslim unity, the abolition of untouchability and the upliftment of India's villages/Sarvodaya to be the three essential constituents of Swaraj.

Tagore regarded many of Gandhi's principles to be medieval and was critical of them. He was of the opinion that Gandhi's stress on Swadeshi minimalism would hinder economic progress. Tagore did not endorse Gandhi's call to the middle class to resort to spinning. He feared that Gandhi's strategy would primitivize India

further. In his address to Tagore titled "The Great Sentinel" in Young India, Gandhi defended his strategy, stating that Indian nationalism is inclusive, less aggressive and non-destructive, health-giving, religious and therefore humanitarian (Collected Vol.XXIV 412). In his address to the Past and Present readers of Young India, Gandhi stated that "India's freedom, as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world" (Collected Vol.XXVII 147). Gandhian brand of nationalism endorsed sacrifice as a core tenet and universal love and non-violence were for him the display of civilization. "The individual has to die for the family, the family has to die for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province, and the province for the country, even so a country has to die, if necessary, for the benefit of the world" (Desai 171). "My love of nationalism is that my country may become free, and if needed be, the whole of the country die, so that the human race may live", Gandhi said (quoted in Gandhi in Indian Villages 170). Gandhi's idea of the sense of community-belonging among the nation dwellers resonated with Benedict Anderson's notion of 'Imagined Communities' that was to take shape nearly seventy years later.

According to the pioneering Indian feminist economist Devaki Jain, Gandhi was "methodologically" a feminist, because for him "the means were as important as the ends" and he prioritized women's economic independence from which springs social and political independence (*Gandhian* 267-268). Gandhi played a pivotal role in mobilizing the womenfolk into the national movement. "By directly linking women's aspirations with national aspirations, he gave the national movement a wider perspective, and a greater legitimacy", observes Madhu Kishwar (1694). Gandhi considerably deviated from the social reformers of 19th century regarding his views on women and the women's question. While they saw women as passive, helpless objects, needy of reform, Gandhi saw women as active, independent

individuals, self-conscious and with an agency of their own. He saw in women a mighty force, hitherto unrecognized and unexplored, capable of ushering in nationwide changes and initiating a new social order based on equality. However, Gandhi could not liberate himself completely from the clutches of colonial modernity when it came to women; he endorsed that ultimately, women belonged to the 'home'. In spite of this, he contributed largely to the de-domestication of women. Women like Sarladevi Chaudhrani, Oliver Schriner, Millie Graham Polak, Sucheta Kripalani, Anasuyaben Sarabhai, Aruna Asaf Ali, Durgabai Deshmukh, Begum Hasrat Mohani, Avantikabai Gokhale, the Faizi sisters etc. pioneered new vistas for Indian women. The groundwork for the emancipation of women was being earnestly carried out, setting the stage for Gandhi. In 1917, Annie Besant assumed the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress, opening before the Indians a possibility of active political career for women. Gandhi had prior experience of how women's political participation through passive resistance accelerated the collective cause in South Africa. The time was socially and politically ripe for him to put his plans for Indian independence to action.

Gandhi did not consider women as mere instruments for marriage and childbearing; he prized women who chose celibacy for the greater national cause. Though he did not see marriage as an inevitability, he did not dismiss the institution altogether, since marriage was a social regulation on unrestrained sexuality, which can otherwise be detrimental to the society. In his message to the All India Women's Conference, published in *The Hindu* dated 24th December 1936, Gandhi stated that "When woman, whom we call *abala* become *sabala*, all those who are helpless will become powerful" (*Collected* Vol.LXX 206). Gandhi was pivotal in redirecting women's aims and aspirations from the family to the nation, thus liberating women indirectly, gifting them with greater mobility and more time to dedicate themselves

to the national cause. "He helped women find a new dignity in public life, a new place in the national mainstream, a new confidence, a new self- view and a consciousness that they could themselves act against oppression" (Kishwar 1694). In his *An Autobiography or The Story of my Experiments with Truth*, Gandhi wrote, "It has always been a mystery to me how men can feel themselves honored by the humiliation of their fellow beings" (182).

Gandhi was a religious and traditional person, but never to the extent that traditions eclipsed his reason. In his "Ganga-Swarup Basanti Devi" published in *The Navjivan*, he wrote that "It is good to swim in the waters of tradition, but to sink in them is suicide" (*Collected* Vol. XXXII 64). This semi-modern outlook enabled him to look at women as subjects rather than objects. Madhu Kishwar notes that Gandhi invoked the non-traditional images of Sita, Draupadi and Damyanti as ideals of Indian Womanhood (1691). In his versions, these women were not the hapless mythical figures but strong women with voices, before whom men yield and malice fails. These were the images upon which Gandhi wanted Indian womenfolk to model themselves upon. Gandhi exhorted the women to rise from confined wifehood to universal sisterhood and be fearless, from which sprang freedom. Years of cultural oppression and stereotyping had transformed women into psychologically weak creatures, who had internalized their inferiority which Gandhi exhorted them to abandon. Indian historian Bipan Chandra observed that,

The Civil Disobedience Movement marked massive participation by women in prabhat pheries, public demonstrations, picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops...But the active movement came to an end with the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in March 1931. Gandhiji then called Mridula Sarabhai and other women political activists and told them:

"I have brought women out of the kitchen. It is your task now to see to it that they do not get confined there again. (*Essays* 75)

To challenge male violence, women should be empowered. However, Gandhi's notion of women empowerment was never to arm them. His ideal women were never, therefore, modeled on Jhansi Rani or the likes of her; for him, an ideal woman's strength was not physical, but spiritual and moral. In his "Criminal Assaults" published in *Harijan*, Gandhi wrote that "the real strength of a woman was her consciousness of her purity and chastity. This dazzling purity could disarm even the most beastly of men... A woman should choose to give up her life rather than her virtue" (*Collected* Vol. LXXXII 41-42). This emphasis on virtue is a product of the historical time and Gandhi's internalized patriarchy. In his autobiography *The Story of my Experiments with Truth*, he openly acknowledges his internalized patriarchy and how Kasturba Gandhi's "matchless power of endurance" and her passive resistance within the household reshaped his perspective on women (312).

In the *Ramarajya* that Gandhi envisioned, the purity of its Sitas was of paramount importance. Accompanying Gandhi's emphasis on women's pureness and chastity was a repudiation of women's sexuality. The universal sisterhood that he entertained was possible only for celibate women, negating the female sexuality (*Role* 65-66). Behind all suggestions Gandhi made to restore women's freedom was his supposition of ideal women as sexless existences; legitimate sexual activity was meant only for reproduction, and all sexual relations outside the monogamous marriage were deemed sinful according to Gandhi. However, his views associated with child marriage, widow remarriage, divorce and immolation of women were quite progressive. In "To B Agra", published in *Young India*, Gandhi opined that "it is better for a widow to marry openly than sin secretly" and believed it was better to

remain unmarried than to be given in to a marriage involving dowry and that it was better for a woman to seek moral progress alone, if partnership with her husband hindered her in the process (*Collected* Vol.XXXVI 346). In the article "Curse of Child Marriage" published in *Young India*, he opined that by sanctioning inhuman customs, "we recede from God as well as Swaraj" (*Collected* Vol.XXXVI 230). He, nevertheless, prized voluntary, enlightened widows as national treasures, observes Madhu Kishwar (1693). A real Hindu widow who has accepted her suffering and trained herself to derive happiness from her suffering is a treasure according to Gandhi. He exhorted chaste young women to embrace their suffering, transforming it for the benefit of the nation.

Gandhi exhorted the men to shoulder sufferings and offer themselves for the national cause, like the women. He repudiated the claim of female weakness and held her stronger than men in terms of her moral tenacity. He deemed female frailty to be a strength and attempted to strengthen himself by rendering him frailer than before with each hunger strike, effectively feminizing himself with each passing day. Dressing himself plainly in a Khadi loincloth, Gandhi embodied effeminacy, spurning the gender taboos of the time. The aspect of androgyny in Gandhi – how he combined the masculine and feminine, both in his appearance and action – has been analyzed by Ashis Nandy, G.N. Devy etc. His methodologies of non-violent resistance and non-cooperation were both feminine in nature, yet masculine in its purpose, thus blending the gender dualities. Devy is of the opinion that androgyny made perfect sense to the Indian imagination familiar to the concept through mythological characters like Brihnnala and Shikhandi, that Gandhi's androgyny did not seem odd to them. Gandhi renounced the nationalist demand for masculinizing the nation through his methodical critique of masculinity and his deliberate

aspiration for bisexuality. He deemed androgyny above masculinity and femininity and his version of androgyny prioritized maternity over conjugality.

Gandhi vehemently criticized the profession of prostitution and held men equally accountable for the moral degeneration. Redeeming and rehabilitating fallen women was an important aspect of Gandhi's national re-building. In his article "Fallen Sisters" in *Young India*, he pressed on the repentance and reformation of the prostitutes before they are integrated into the national movement because "none could officiate at the altar of Swaraj who did not approach it with pure hands and a pure heart". He strongly criticized the recruitment of prostitutes into the Congress Party in Barisal, describing it as "putting the cart before the horse". He regarded their association's "obscene manifesto" as disgraceful and the Congress' recruitment of those women as an act of "incorporating an association of known thieves" for nationalist cause (*Collected* vol. XXXII 46-47). Many prostitutes abandoned their profession and found a refuge and livelihood in the Gandhian solutions of Khadi and charkha. He urged women to leave cities and move to villages for work, where their virtue would be safe.

Gandhi was vociferous against the use of contraceptives for birth-control as it licensed unceasing lustful indulgences, resulting in moral decay. In his article titled "Birth Control" published in *Harijan*, he endorsed the safe period method of birth-control that allowed exercising self-regulation for most part of the month. Under the light of his re-reading of the *Smritis*, he regarded all sexual activities unintentional of reproduction to be sinful; gratification of lust is a worldly practice which he urged Indians to denounce (*Collected* vol. LXVIII, 296-298). This undue emphasis on morality, virtue and purity makes Gandhi's take on women altogether ambivalent: on the one hand, though religious to the core, Gandhi did not allow the Scriptures to validate immoral or inhuman practices that could possibly jeopardize

the nation. On the other, it cannot be denied that behind his progressive approach to women was an unconscious, internalized patriarchy that had its roots deep in conservative morality. Women as belonging to the home ran as a leitmotif in his entire ideology about women. Gandhi endorsed the stereotyped gender roles and saw men and women as active-passive genders, complementing each other; man knows the world better and woman knows the household better and each is unchallengeable in their own domains. Women being urged to take up men's responsibilities was seen as a relapse to primitivism according to Gandhi. In his article "What is Woman's role?" in *Harijan*, he wrote "in trying to ride the horse that man rides, she brings herself and him down" (*Collected* Vol.LXXVII 321-322). In the new social circumstances of freedom struggle, women were expected to be part time workers, discharging their duties to the home and to the nation, prioritizing the former over the latter.

Gandhi's emphasis was not on women reciprocating the aggression but in their endurance of suffering and self-sacrifice for the national cause. With the manframed legislations, women's issues have been relegated, foregrounded by the pressing national cause, which Gandhi believed could not be achieved without women at the front. In "Woman in the Smritis" published in *Harijan*, he observed that "scriptures needed to be revised and all religious texts biased against the rights and dignity of women should be expurgated" (*Collected* Vol. LXX126). When Gandhi assigned the Congress to immediately redress the tyranny and oppression of women, he was criticized for slowing down the attainment of national independence. In "The Doom of Purdah" published in *Young India*, he retorted that "to postpone social reform, till after the attainment of Swaraj, is not to know the meaning of Swaraj" (*Collected* vol. XXXXII 182). The Congress gradually resorted to popularizing the trend of simple, gold-less, ritual-free weddings that came to be

called *Gandhi Lagan* in the Indian villages as well as making education equally accessible to women.

Madhu Kishwar notes that the primary contribution of Gandhi towards the women's question was his "absolute and unequivocal insistence on their personal dignity and autonomy in their family and society" (1692). In the initial phase of the Swadeshi movement, the boycott of foreign fabric and women's assigned role within their homes complimented quite well - women could contribute to the national movement by staying in their homes through the typical feminine occupation of spinning. Gandhi initially incorporated women into the national movement without radically questioning the social norms; for the impoverished women, spinning became their livelihood while for the privileged women, spinning became their dharma, a responsibility towards the national cause. In "Swaraj through Women" published in Harijan, Gandhi opined that "spinning is essentially a slow and comparatively silent process. Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice and therefore, non-violence. Her occupations must therefore be, as they are, more conducive to peace than war" (Collected Vol. LXXVII131). Even the women who did not take to spinning chose to garb themselves in home-spun Khadi, which was rugged and short-lived. They readily brought the Swadeshi fabric that required frequent buying and endure the discomfort it produced, and encouraged others to do the same, which were their indirect contributions to the nationalist cause.

Gandhi believed a woman's greatest embellishment to be her virtue; gold and silver were for him, means by which a woman was chained to the patriarchal family. The noble act of donating their jewelry for the nationalist cause was another remarkable way in which women indirectly became part of the movement. Peaceful demonstrations, circulating nationalist literature and orally spreading the word about the imminent freedom were other means by which women contribute to the national

cause. However, the nation did not get to know most of these contributions, unless they were indispensable. Gandhi trusted women for their inherent trait of non-violence and encouraged them to employ in their households *satyagraha* and non-cooperation, which were successfully employed for political resistance. When the British government monopolized salt production and imposed heavy taxes on the everyday household necessity, Gandhi's Salt Satyagraha and Dandi March galvanized women in masses. The act of defying the British government and manufacturing salt on their own at home was for the women, a means of declaring independence. The personal became the political when the need of the kitchen was linked to the need of the nation, observes Madhu Kishwar (1696).

Over time, women gave up the initial inhibition for public political interventions and sought opportunities for active political participation, leaving behind the confinements of 'ghar'. They actively took part in non-provocative picketing of liquor shops and foreign textile shops, in which men were merely subordinate role-players to the women's leadership. Women's picketing was not met with much resistance or quelling and eventually succeeded more than that of the men. Women determinedly served prison sentences and rejoined the movement with increased enthusiasm. In the process of mobilization and resistance, most women shed the religious and caste privileges and prejudices. "The cause of Swaraj swept all taboos and old customs before it" (Cousins 63). Gandhi demanded women's political representation and encouraged women to be leaders and chose Sarojini Naidu to be the Congress President in 1925. Naidu became the second woman to preside over the Indian National Congress after Annie Besant. This commendable transition of women from contributing to the national cause by spinning the charkha in their 'ghar' to venturing into the 'bahir' and actively engaging in political struggle was Gandhi's brilliant strategy, facilitated by the conducive socio-political scenario

of the time. Still, women's participation in the national movement was largely in auxiliary roles, while men led the movement. However, it should not be forgotten that to take part in the nationalist movement, actively or passively, took a lot of courage from the women. Many women joined the movement because the men of their family were associated with it; women derived sanction for political activity from the fact that their men are with them on the political front. For the other women, nationalist service was an additional responsibility alongside the household obligations, that most of them were discouraged and even forbidden from active politics. To respond to Gandhi's call required immense courage that not all women of the time could muster.

In the Gandhian address of the women's question, economic independence of women did not receive the required attention except for spinning, which was recommended by Gandhi for alleviating women's unemployment. Even when Gandhi believed that capitalism can be kept at bay through economic decentralization, it could not be effectively employed with the women. For their multiple differences with the Gandhian strategies, particularly those like the end and means of political actions, theism, non-violent mode of resistance, mode of governance (democracy v/s dictatorship of the proletariat), ownership of property etc., the Marxists criticized Gandhi as the Apostle of Bourgeoisie. Mere spinning of Khadi did not prove to be a viable means for women's livelihood and sustenance of their families. The expense of the khadi fabric combined with its minimal durability adversely affected the spinning business. Gandhian reforms and political changes merely reinstated the age-old labor binary of 'Adam delved and Eve span'. Partially changing the traditional outlook towards women's economic independence, Gandhian progressive principles saw woman as supplementing the family income while man remained the real bread winner. Gandhi opposed the extreme

subordination to patriarchy and the tyrannical treatment of women but did not question the gender roles; he rather affirmed them. He himself had internalized patriarchy and upheld the institution of family.

The social revolution he brought about was to humanize male authority, partly relieving women's suffering and partly affirming women's dignity through his stress on women's education and public participation. Gandhi's ambivalence in addressing the women's question by shape-shifting patriarchy into benevolent patriarchy, reinforcing the natural division of labor between the sexes parallel to galvanizing the Indian women to shoulder additional responsibility towards the nation is quite explicit. Though he celebrated women who chose celibacy and self-conscious widows whose lack of familial ties can contribute better to the national cause, he simultaneously glorified the role of women as ideal wives devoted to the selfless service of her family. It is also worth noting that Gandhi's reformist impulse and the social revolution was largely limited to Hindu women; reforms in Islam took a different course.

However, there is no denial of the central role played by Gandhi in facilitating women's entry into the public domain and motivating them to find a voice to raise their demands. Also, Gandhi's call served as a clarion call for the women, irrespective of religion, caste and class to unite in enthusiasm for the nationalist cause. The spirit of sisterhood he generated among the Indian women was a large bonus for the Indian feminist movement. He played a pivotal role in women's political participation that India became one among those nations where women won political rights alongside men, without struggling particularly for it. Gandhi was against gender-based reservations and believed women to be equally meritorious as men. In spite of all this, the underlying assumption in Gandhi's approach to women – that women are the embodiment of sacrifice and suffering –

was a backlash to the real progress of women. While women suffered in real lives, deprived of equal political participation and civic rights, their bodies were employed as symbolic markers of territory, virtues, national purity and the very embodiment of the nation as the Mother Goddess Bharat Mata. This contrast between the ideal womanhood, the real womanhood and the symbolic womanhood is central to any discourse on women and Indian nationalism.

Tagore, the nation and its women

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), the Bengali poet, philosopher, humanist, nationalist and social reformer was a chief exponent of Indian renaissance with Bengal as its epicenter. He made multifarious contributions to literature, art, music and was against the teaching practices of the time that he devised a methodology of his own, aiming at the vitalization of knowledge and implemented it in *Santiniketan* and *Viswabharati*, founded by himself. Tagore's verse offerings to the divine in the form of *Gitanjali* won India its first Nobel Prize in 1913. He was known by the sobriquet 'the Bard of Bengal'. He authored the national anthems of both India and Bangladesh and was a zealous advocate of India's independence from the British.

All throughout his life, Tagore attempted to reconcile his Bengali self and Brahmo traditions with the European modernity that he was exposed to. The nationalist and humanist in Tagore renounced the Knighthood that was conferred on him in 1915 following the Jallian Walla Bagh massacre in 1919, declaring unconditionally that "I wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of my countrymen" (*Letter to Lord Chelmsford* np). Tagore's dislike for nationalism and communalism grew over years and his feminist leanings were evident in his novels. In poetry, he resorted to a mystic, humanistic, lyrical style with an influence of the rural ballads and folk culture while he resorted to a social realistic narrative style in his novels.

He was a champion of anti-imperialism and saw the British rule as a "political symptom of our social disease" (Dutta and Robinson 240). Although he was part of the Swadeshi movement in the early 1900s, Tagore's perspectives evolved over time and were critical of Gandhi in many aspects and he chided the Swadeshi movement in The Cult of Charkha. "The charka does not require anyone to think; one simply turns the wheel of the antiquated invention endlessly, using the minimum of judgment and stamina" (Sen 101). The daily act of engaging in the nonreflective act of spinning sounded ridiculous to Tagore. He found the burning of foreign goods by Indians to be a self-defeating act which is a mere imitation of Western nationalism. Swadeshi movement, he believed can further deprive the people since homespun clothes and other goods were more expensive than the factory-made foreign ones. He trusted education to liberate India. He was against the limited perspective on nationalism and believed that the essence of nationalism was in humanism. His perspective drew largely from ancient Indian philosophy that viewed the world as a unified entity. He was against the Eurocentric notion that prioritized political liberty over everything else; Tagore prized the freedom of mind that springs from love for humanity as the ultimate goal. His essay Nationalism in *India* opens with the observation "our real problem in India is not political. It is social" (117). He was against the belligerence involved in nationalism and criticized nationalism as a philosophy of greed, targeting profit, smothering human spirit and nature. He opposed those nationalist leaders of India, who as part of their protest against the colonial government, practised nothing short of xenophobia and marked himself apart from them. For Tagore, nation is "the political and economic union of a people, that aspect which a whole population assumes when organized for a mechanical purpose" (Nationalism 19). He did not appreciate the concept of nation, viewing it as the political side of profit maximization and did not endorse nation to be the highest end of humanity. Tagore believed the rampant existence of nations to

be a hindrance to the free development of humanity. He was concerned about Indians resorting to a blind mimicry of the West and unconsciously succumbing to the western ideology of nationalism. Tagore deemed nationalism to be non-Indian and a product of the occident. "The history has come to a stage when the moral man, the complete man, is more and more giving way, almost without knowing it, to make room for the political and the commercial man, the man of the limited purpose" (*Nationalism* 27).

Tagore was opposed to the notion that modernization was equivalent to westernization; he chose to prove otherwise through the teaching-learning method he devised and the literature he produced. "True modernism is freedom of mind, not slavery of taste. It is independence of thought, of action, not tutelage under European schoolmasters. It is science, but not its wrong application in life, – a mere imitation of our science teachers who reduce it into a superstition, absurdly invoking its aid for all impossible purposes" (Nationalism 94). Tagore necessitated the primary tackling of the inner enemies like unreasonable customs, casteism and untouchability, the solution to all of which he found in the imparting of proper education. He refrained from endorsing the baser emotion of nationalism but heartily entertained internationalism. He found the popular concepts of nation and nationalism incapable of realizing his ideal of liberty and universal love, that he did not endorse them; on the other hand, he found these concepts causing schisms and cleavages and hindering his ideal world, that he rejected them. "When this organization of politics and commerce, whose other name is the Nation, becomes all-powerful at the cost of the harmony of the higher social life, then it is an evil day for humanity" (Nationalism 23). Tagore's distrust is evident in his words "Patriotism can't be our final spiritual shelter. I will not buy glass for the price of diamonds and I will never allow patriotism to triumph over humanity as long as I live" (Letter to

Aurobindo Mohan Bose np). He described nationalism as "carnivorous and cannibalistic" (*Nationalism* 76). His critique of nation and nationalism was so sharp that Sugata Bose remarked in the Indian parliament that "I sometimes fear that those who are defining nationalism so narrowly will end up one day describing Rabindranath Tagore as anti-national if they read some of the sentences in his book on nationalism" (Quayum np). Many a time, Tagore's ideology and literary compositions were posthumously employed to generate nationalist fervor, which is an irony in itself.

It was not that Tagore repudiated nationalism outright; he acknowledged the virtues it brings but was completely against the chauvinistic western nationalism that created a mindless hunger for material possessions and commercial profits as well as India's blind imitation of this Eurocentric model of nationalism. For him, the nation was an "organization of politics and commerce" (Nationalism 23). Therefore, he believed that this conception of nationalism was essentially against India's hallmarks of self-autonomy, heterogeneity and religious tolerance. He called nationalism "the worst form of bondage – the bondage of dejection, which keeps men hopelessly chained in loss of faith in themselves" (Nationalism 65). Tagore did not define love for one's nation in obligatory or xenophobic terms and never believed in elevating the nation to the status of a God. He preferred differences of opinion for an effective functioning of the system and cautioned against any efforts to curb the freedom of mind. Efforts to forge uniform opinion out of all citizens were a feature of fascism according to him and would make the world mechanical. The aspect of power that is decisive in nationalism is for Tagore, "a scientific product made in the political laboratory of the nation, through the dissolution of personal humanity" (Nationalism 22). Tagore had warned Gandhi of that thin line that separated nationalism from xenophobia and he aimed at dismantling nationalism

to achieve universal unity. "It is my conviction that my countrymen will gain truly their India by fighting against that education which teaches them that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity", he said (Nationalism 127). Tagore's efforts to reform the educational system sprang from his own experiences as a dropout. At Santiniketan, he envisaged a co-educational system targeting on "self-motivation rather than self-disciplining", fostering rational, scientific spirit and "intellectual curiosity", observed Amartya Sen in his essay "Tagore and his India" (Argumentative 114). Tagore preferred society in place of nationality and humanism in place of narrow nationalism. His skepticism in the path Indian nationalism was taking was evident in his political literary productions like Gora, Ghare Bhaire, Chokher Bali etc.

Amartya Sen in his essay "Tagore and his India" observed that "For Tagore it was of the highest importance that people be able to live, and reason, in freedom. His attitudes toward politics and culture, nationalism and internationalism, tradition and modernity, can all be seen in the light of this belief" (*Argumentative* 98). Tagore's political vision is lyrically embodied in these lines from *Gitanjali*:

Where the mind is without fear

And the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been

Broken up into fragments

By narrow domestic walls;

Where the clear stream of reason

has not lost its way into the

Dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Into that heaven of freedom,

My father, let my country awake. (The English 53)

Tagore was sworn against anything that could limit and divide the people into "narrow domestic walls" and unreasonable traditions and customs making people prisoners of "dead habit", including popular ideologies of patriotism and nationalism. "Tagore was not an antinationalist or anti-patriot in the actual sense of the term, as some critics have erroneously pointed out... Rather, what becomes clear is his disapproval of blind nationalism in the amoral, narrowly political sense of the term, shorn of human sensibilities into a mad play of fanaticism" (Chakraborty 1005). Tagore preferred synthesis over nationalism, advocating Indians to expose themselves to the events and ideologies in the rest of the world while remaining rooted in their culture and heritage. He condemned the "romantic over-attachment to the past" that was in vogue and encouraged by nationalists of the time, observes Amartya Sen in "Tagore and his India" (*Argumentative* 105).

In his lecture *Nationalism in India*, Tagore observes that with the progress of time and geographical boundaries disappearing, man's moral nature to establish superiority over the other or to perish became all the more prominent, "churning up man's baser passions of greed and cruel hatred" (122). As an alternative to the destructive nationalism, Tagore proposed the "dawn of a new era when man shall discover his soul in the spiritual unity of all human beings" (122). He held America which is a recent nation, not entangled in the maze of past and traditions, fit to hold the banner of civilization of future. In India that is diverse in terms of religions, caste, language, race etc., and centuries of historical past choked by traditions, Tagore finds a common unifying link absent, unlike in America. India therefore, never had a real sense of nationalism, according to Tagore. What gets deemed as Indian nationalism is an imitation of the same in the West. "And therefore I believe

that it does India no good to compete with Western civilization in its own field. But we shall be more than compensated if, in spite of the insults heaped upon us, we follow our own destiny" (128). He called nationalism a menace and deemed it as the root cause of India's troubles.

"Neither the colourless vagueness of cosmopolitanism, nor the fierce selfidolatry of nation-worship, is the goal of human history", opined Tagore (Nationalism 15). The ultimate goal according to him was a human coexistence based on love and cooperation. Tagore's version of cosmopolitanism entitled each individual to equality, irrespective of his identity, including his national identity. Cooperation, coexistence, humanity, universal spirituality etc. were the hallmarks of Tagore's cosmopolitanism that, even while denouncing nationalism, he did not negate humanist values ushered in by the European Enlightenment. He criticized only the debasement of these values in the 19th and 20th centuries in the form of nationalist imperialism. He was very vocal against India's blind imitation of the debased values promoted by selfish, materialistic nationalism. He believed in an international commonwealth based on disinterested and self-sacrificing nationalism. Ashis Nandy identified Tagore as a patriot and never a nationalist and pointed out paradoxically that Tagore, in spite of waging war all his life against nationalism, got unofficially, yet unanimously accepted as the national poet of India for penning the National Anthem.

Tagore's general progressiveness and his love for humanity reflected in his take on women as well. He considered women and children to be the most vulnerable to the menace of nationalism. The belligerence involved in nationalism remove men from peace, thus jeopardizing the peaceful existence of women.

...A war has been declared between man and woman, because the natural thread is snapping which holds them together in harmony;

because man is driven to professionalism, producing wealth for himself and others, continually turning the wheel of power for his own sake or for the sake of the universal officialdom, leaving woman alone to wither and to die or to fight her own battle unaided. (*Nationalism* 20, 21)

Tagore harboured extreme respect for women and held them in good esteem in the humanitarian nation that he envisaged. His perceptions found their clear expression in his literature, giving women voices, which were denied within the nation. His writings challenged social evils like child marriage, dowry system, untouchability, Sati, forbidding of widow remarriage etc. perpetrated against women. Tagore also challenged the sexual norms of the time, even confronting the Gandhian principles that appeared regressive to him. While Gandhi advocated safe period as a means of contraception, the modern, scientific Tagore encouraged women to resort to contraception and planning. Tagore, in his vision and policies, was far ahead of his time.

Tagore's perception of women is embodied in the line "for we women are not only the deities of the household fire, but the flames of the soul itself" (*Home* 15). From the tomboyish Mrinmoyee in *Sampati* who cut her hair to evade marriage and refused to sleep with her husband Amulya to Mrinal in *A Wife's Letter* who walked out on her husband and in-laws and wrote a letter to him, accusing him of killing her from within to Charulata in *A Broken Nest* who lived an emotionally-choked life and eventually discovered herself through her comradeship with her brother-in-law, Tagore's 'New Women' challenged the conventions of the rigid Indian society. His women have identities of their own, fleshly desires, voice their dissent (sometimes subtly, sometimes symbolically), prioritize themselves over their husbands and children, choose to pursue their ambitions and take the reins of their

lives into their own hands. Over the course of the plot, Tagore's heroines evolve from subservience to self-assertion. The gradual gaining of strength and the climactic act of female defiance marked most stories of Tagore.

Among the 'New Women' that Tagore created, Bimala in Ghare Bhaire (1916) is probably the most notable. In the background of the early 20th century when India burned in the heat of the Swadeshi movement, Bimala and Nikhilesh led the conventional Indian life where Bimala remained within the home. Her internalized patriarchy is evident when she says, "I would cautiously and silently get up and take the dust off my husband's feet without waking him, how at such moments I could feel the vermilion mark upon my forehead shining like the morning star" (2). Nikhil was a progressive husband who wanted his wife to explore the world outside the women's quarter. Bimala is drawn into the nationalist ideals and the Swadeshi movement by Sandip's speech and developed a platonic relation with him. Her perspective of the world changed thereafter and she got politicized. "I was no longer the lady of the Rajah's house, but the sole representative of Bengal's womanhood", she asserted (15). Over the course of the novel, Bimala's political consciousness is at its crescendo when she refuses to differentiate her house and her country. After her act of thieving from Nikhil, she is guilty and lamented that "I had robbed my house, I had robbed my country. For this sin, my house has ceased to be mine, my country also was estranged from me" (126). This political awakening is a turning point for Bimala and in the course of the novel, she realizes the feminine power she wields over the men in her life. Tagore attempted to present the political awakening of a woman from a 'Bhadramahila' to a self-conscious, confident woman, in the backdrop of active national movement, thus highlighting and problematizing the women's question Indian nationalism tried to relegate.

In his 1922 essay "Women and Home", Tagore celebrated the distinctiveness of women and noted that "if women's nature were identical with man's, if Eve were a mere tautology of Adam, it would only give rise to a monotonous superfluity" (np). He criticized the unequal freedom experienced by men and women and condemned the degradation of the idea of 'home' with western values permeating Indian culture. True womanliness is praised and worshipped in India, observed Tagore. While exalting women on one side, Tagore also wrote that "woman has to be ready to suffer...her suffering radiates through the world, like sunlight" ("Women" np). The concept of the 'home' as an eternal, moral idea was central to Tagore's perspective on women. He attributed it to be women's duty to make their life a reflection of life eternal, modeling themselves upon Sita and Savitri. He believed women's lives were

Not for money-making, or organizing power, or intellectually probing the mystery of existence, but for establishing and maintaining human relationships requiring the highest moral qualities. It is the consciousness of the spiritual character of their life's work, which lifts them above the utilitarian standard of the immediate and the passing, surrounds them with the dignity of the eternal, and transmutes their suffering and sorrow into a crown of light. ("Women" np)

Tagore championed female education and entertained healthy coeducation, with the same curriculum for both boys and girls. He idealized women's financial independence and aimed education to bring about an international awareness. His curriculum included intellectual, aesthetic, technical and religious learning for a wholesome growth. Like Gandhi, Tagore included domestic science and handicrafts in the curriculum to prepare girls for their future. He educated girls of their equal

rights and aimed to foster self-sufficiency among women. With his humanitarian take on nationalism, widening the limited horizons of nation and his progressive vision for women, though not without the limitations of the historical moment and the influence of convention, Tagore played a crucial role in Indian national thought and its take on its women.

Nehru, the nation and its women

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), a great humanist, an exemplary statesman and an ardent advocate of democracy was the major strength of India's resistance against the colonial yoke and served as the first Prime Minister of the Dominion of India from 1947-1950 and of the independent India from 1950 to 1964. Nehru's zeal for democracy and secularism and his enthusiasm for science were characteristic of him and was partly a product of his Western education. Nehru's progressive vision about the Congress and the Indian nation made Gandhi title Nehru as his political heir. Being a sworn agnostic, Nehru's secular and rational approach towards society and its plurality was quite pertinent to the young nation that India was then. Secularism was an inevitable choice for the religiously-plural India without a common civilizational basis, even though apparently embedded in 'Hindu' civilization. Nehru valued only the spiritual aspect of religions and annulled its ideological and institutional aspects. The journey of social, economic and political evolution that India under the leadership of Nehru embarked determined the shape and status the nation later assumed. He is therefore, hailed as the 'Architect of modern India'. Honored by the greatest civilian honor of Bharat Ratna, Nehru is respected and commemorated as a great idealist and statesman.

Hailing from a wealthy Kashmiri Pandit family, Nehru was born into teeming political bustle with his father Motilal Nehru being an active member of the Indian National Congress, serving two terms as its President. His sister Vijayalakshmi Pandit was active in Indian politics and later served as the first woman President of the United Nations General Assembly. Nehru was initiated into the Theosophical Society by Annie Besant in 1902, and during his youth, he became a devout nationalist. He joined the Congress to find it an elitist organization; he found himself to be more radical than the existing Congress members whose political strategies were moderate. He was against the support India offered to the British in the First World War and got gradually associated with the radical campaigns for home rule. Nehru sided with Gandhi in the Non-Cooperation movement, and stood steadfast with Gandhi's decision to call back the movement following the Chauri-Chaura violence, even though majority of the Congress members were against its halting. In 1929, when Nehru drafted the policies for the Congress as well as the Indian nation, he prioritized individual liberties like freedom of religion, freedom of expression, equality before law, safeguarding regional languages and indigenous cultures and abolishing social injustices like the caste system and untouchability. Nehru said in one of his speeches that "No tradition which makes one a prisoner of one's mind or body is ever good" (Inaugural 7). He dreamed of a secular, socialist India and insisted that the Congress cease all its relations with the British. Nehru and Gandhi had frequent differences of opinions on the pace of the freedom movement; while Gandhi chose a slow pace, Nehru pressed the urgency of the goal of Independence.

In 1929, when Nehru became the President of the Congress, he moved the motion of immediate independence and hoisted Indian tricolor in Lahore, followed by widespread public flag hoisting across India. Following the initial ambivalence, Nehru enthusiastically participated in Gandhi's Civil Disobedience and was imprisoned for the violation of the salt law. His arrest added to the pulse of the movement and Nehru considered the Salt Satyagraha as a watershed moment in

India's freedom struggle that enthused hundred thousand of Indians to join the movement. His interest in Marxism largely shaped his economic policies, although he disapproved the means Marx endorsed. In his letter to Durant, Nehru wrote, "In my general outlook on life I am a socialist and it is a socialist order that I should like to see established in India and the world" (*Selected* 321). In 1941, when Jinnah proposed the two nations theory, Nehru found all other pressing issues pale before the imminent partitioning of India. In 1942, Gandhi, Nehru and the Congress launched the Quit India movement, followed by rampant arrests of Congress leaders. With the British consenting to the transfer of power, the Congress swept the assembly elections and formed a provisional government under Nehru. With the transfer of power at the midnight hour, he delivered the epochal speech *A Tryst with Destiny*, endorsing a "pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity" on 15th of August 1947 and served as the Indian Prime Minister for 18 years, until his death (Nehru).

Nehru upheld Republican ideals and relegated the power of the princely states, negating the divine rights of kings and depriving the states of standing armies, merging them in the Federation of India. Not a year into independence, Gandhi was assassinated by Nathuram Godse and Nehru in his address of the nation over the Akashavani announced that "the light has gone out of Indian lives" (Nehru). Gandhi's death strengthened Nehru and the Congress party through the consolidation of public sympathy. Nehru was a self-critical leader who "urged his party to think of itself in national terms, encouraged vigorous internal debates and even welcomed dissent. On many occasions he internalized the opposition and himself acted as the leader of opposition, publicly criticizing his colleagues and even himself and acknowledging his mistake" (Parekh 36). He encouraged the freedom of press and regarded the fourth estate indispensable for the nation. He cherished Pan-

Indianism, resisted the tendencies for ethnic states and sanctioned organizing states upon the linguistic principle. He feared that linguistic organization of states would bring about eventual disintegration of the Indian federation and gave in to the linguistic division only with great reluctance. But he later realized that the division only strengthened the idea of India by enhancing its cohesion. However, he was resolved against the formation of ethnic states in the North East and Punjab. Nehru's charisma and administrative potential attracted the world attention that in 1955, Winston Churchill called Nehru "the light of Asia, and a greater light than Gautama Buddha" (Sahgal 59).

Nehru had great visions to modernize India economically and socially. The rationalist in him made it constitutionally binding upon every Indian citizen to cultivate a scientific spirit and rational outlook. Nehru believed that every nation needs a national philosophy to give sense, direction and cohesion to the entity called nation; he envisioned an enterprising, industrial, cosmopolitan nation out of India. Five year plans were devised to facilitate India's modernization. Nehru's economic policy recommended a mixed economy with the coexistence of both public and private sectors, promoted nationalization of banks and insurances, encouraged largescale industries by subsidizing them, sanctioned the building of dams and took financial and technical help from the developed nations to materialize progress. Industrialization, for Nehru, was not just to alleviate poverty and create more employment opportunities but also to catch up with the pace in which the rest of the world advanced when India slogged under the colonial yolk. Unlike Gandhi, Nehru believed villages caused India's degeneration by holding on to antiquated beliefs; he believed agriculture to spread fatalism and superstition in an India he wanted to be rational and scientific. He also held industry-led development to be more productive for India than agriculture-led development. Industrialization also revolutionized

agriculture: agrarian reforms followed the mechanization of agriculture and the commissioning of dams. Agricultural universities were established, giving the primary sector the much needed incentive. With his immense love for children, Chacha Nehru keenly emphasized the importance of education for all, irrespective of gender and caste to design India's future and ensured free and compulsory education for all. His government commissioned the establishment of higher education institutes like IITs, NITs, IIMs, AIIMS etc.

Instead of the modernist impulse to spurn all traditions, Nehru retained those that were rational and constructive and combated only the regressive dogmas enforced by religion and custom; he unabashedly borrowed progressive notions from Indian history and philosophy and from various parts of the world. His western education and exposure to the advancements in different parts of the world made him well aware of the fact that India stands far behind in the global race towards modernization. He envisaged India as a palimpsest of diverse coexistences (Salam 3). His vision was that of a modern nation that is Indian at its core. Nehru believed that religion and its taboos were hindering India's modernization. Sarveppalli Gopal notes in the first volume of Nehru's Biography that Nehru once said that "No country or people who are slaves to dogma and dogmatic mentality can progress, and unhappily our country and people have become extraordinarily dogmatic and little-minded" (Jawaharlal 327). The Nehru government legally proscribed caste discrimination, instituted educational and employment reservations for the underprivileged people, endorsed a uniform civil code, extended marriage rights, made polygamy illegal, brought divorce and inheritance under the secular court and civil law, thus ushering in a new wave of progress. The implementation was slow and the Nehru government was criticized for its biases, particularly in enforcing the universal civil code, but the legislation towards these progressive changes was

indeed a commendable feat. Nehru feared that the immediate interference of the state into the Muslim personal law and enforcement of the universal civil code upon the Muslims soon after the partition can produce adverse effects, triggering communalism. He was a pacifist and chose to delay certain policy implementations for the collective good. He was an advocate of denuclearization and peace and entrusted Homi Bhaba with the safe conduct of the nation's nuclear programs. Nehru almost single-handedly designed India's foreign policy, integrated India into the Third World and chose non-alignment in the Cold War, maintaining the diplomatic relations with both blocs.

For Nehru, the curious phenomenon called nationalism was a life force on one side, unifying and strengthening the country while on the other hand, when nationalism became exclusive or reductive and exhibits traits ranging from aggression to Xenophobia, it was detrimental to internationalism, which he prized greatly. Nehru merged his doctrine of socialism with the Indian version of nationalism and gave shape to an internationalism, deeply rooted in the Indian national culture and embracing the cultural plurality of India. He always viewed nationalism with skepticism and recommended keeping it in check. "India is a myth and an idea, a dream and a vision", he said (*Discovery* 563). Nehru stated that he viewed India through the eyes of a friendly westerner, eager and anxious to change her outlook and appearance by clothing her in the garb of modernity (50). He trusted that history of a nation shapes its present; his love for history is evident in the two books of history he wrote – *Glimpses of World History* and *The Discovery of India*. The critical objectivity towards the past is a Nehruvian inheritance, observes Professor Irfan Habib (*Nehru* np).

The Nehruvian vision of the Indian nation can be regarded as an example of Homi Bhabha's concept of 'hybridity', in the retention of Indian culture coupled with the adaptation of the Western notion of progress (*Location* 58-60). This spirit of intermingling or *Samanvaya* was a marked feature of Indian civilization. Nehru did not encourage blind imitation of the Western notion of progress but only its essential appropriation. According to Partha Chatterjee, the central ideology of Nehruvian nationalism was the autonomy of the state and its legitimizing principle was the concept of social justice. In Chatterjee's analysis of the evolution of nationalism, Nehruvian nationalism constitutes its third moment – the 'moment of arrival'. With the old system incapable of delivering social justice equally, it became necessary to adapt a modern system that can embody progress and cater to everyone's interests, alike. The Nehruvian emphasis on the economy is a marked feature of the 'moment of arrival'. The 'moment of arrival' necessitated a social, economic and political restructuring which was carried out in India under the Premiership of Nehru.

In his Azad Memorial Lecture of 1959, Nehru acknowledged India's varied past; India synthesized all the diverse cultures to produce a unique blend. Nehru said after gaining independence that "in the tumult and confusion of our time, we stand facing both ways, forward to the future and backwards to the past, being pulled in both directions...Change is essential but continuity is also necessary. The future has to be built on the foundations laid in the past and in the present. To deny the past and break with it completely is to uproot ourselves and, sapless, dry up" ("Synthesis" np). Upholding a liberal past, an anti-colonial nationalism took shape in India and an urge for social change and social justice juxtaposed socialism with nationalism. For the socialist in Nehru who evolved over time to reconcile socialism with the limitations of democracy,

Socialism was not just an economic doctrine, nor just a form of social organization, but a 'new civilization' based on a radically transformed

'humanity'. It was classless, democratic, provided the material and moral conditions necessary for the fullest development of the human potential, and encouraged co-operative and non- acquisitive impulses... Unlike Marx and other socialists, Nehru did not emphasize on popular participation, egalitarianism, gradual withering away of the state etc... His socialism was basically aesthetic and liberal, concentrating on the individual rather than the community and stressing self-expression, individuality, social justice and human creativity. (Parekh 37, 38)

Nehru's effort in maintaining peace and harmony in the post-independent India is commendable. His vision for the future is holistic – growth in both material and spiritual terms.

Nehru was quite aware of the extreme communal sentiments gripping the nation and was critical of them. He forewarned that Hindu majoritarianism veiling itself under the guise of nationalism would disrupt the national peace (which happened multiple times in his lifetime) and harm the idea of India's secularism. Secularism was the vital principle that unified the Indian nation.

... Since religious morality varied, the state had no choice but to follow its own autonomous and secular morality based on a shared conception of material interests. For these and other reasons religion had to be scrupulously kept out of political life. The state should neither patronize nor associate itself with any of them. For Nehru then the state had to be secular in the sense of transcending and being indifferent to religion. The state was a 'public' institution, religion an entirely 'private matter. Secularism in this sense informed his policies and attitudes... He did not allow religious symbols and images to be

associated with official functions, and insisted on debating such religious or religiously mediated issues as the Hindu personal law and ban on cow-slaughter in secular terms. (Parekh 41)

Nehru so valued secularism over all religious, communal interests that when the idols of Ram and Sita 'appeared' (were placed) at the Babri Masjid in December 1949, realizing the dangerous communal polarization the appearance can trigger, he ordered the removal of the idols. In his periodical letter to the Chief Ministers on 18th May 1959, he wrote, "what is very distressing is the realization that below the surface, there are these deep passions which can be roused so easily. If those fears continue, our foundations are weak. For this reason, probably there is nothing more dangerous for the future of India than a communal approach" (Letters 243). He clearly stated that even if communalism dons nationalist appearance, they are mutual antithesis. The Hindu Right Wing's ongoing attempts to taint Nehru's image, accusing him of the shortcomings of the present Indian nation and presenting him as a womanizer and their recurrent efforts to vandalize the secular, socialist idea of the nation he championed springs from the insecurity of RSS about their role in the freedom struggle. Professor Irfan Habib observes in his article that the legacy of the democratic nation Nehru left to posterity is highly vulnerable in the present times in which diversities are bulldozed in order to create a homogenized India (*Nehru* np).

Nehru was critical of India's complacency with the existing minority policies and the double standard with which it approached communalism; communalism perpetrated by the minority get met with force while the communalism perpetrated by the majority get praised as nationalism and democracy. He exhorted the legislative and the executive to be vigilant and sensitive to the grievances of the minority and insisted on a fair play to recruit

the minorities to government services. Nehru resisted the popular division of the Indian past into Hindu, Muslim and British ages and highlighted the Indian tradition of synthesis. S.Gopal observes that the farsighted Nehru defined Indian secularism in a quite unconventional, custom-made way, to serve the Indian plurality, in such a way that the Indian state maintains equidistance from all religions alike and never endorse a state religion (*Nehru* 2466).

Women also formed the nation's minority, under-addressed, under-represented and taken for granted inside the male nation. Nehru's modern approach to women was a major reason for their upliftment in the 1950s and 60s. He believed that "To awaken the people, it is the women who must be awakened. Once she is on the move, the family moves, the village moves, the nation moves" (quoted in Sharma *constitutional* 548). Assisting Gandhi, Nehru played a huge role in steering the national movement in such a way that women can shatter their age-old patriarchal fetters. Sarveppalli Gopal, in his third volume of the Biography of Nehru writes,

Nehru himself would have wanted to be judged by what he had secured for the women in India. Way back in 1928 he asserted that a test of a civilization is the way it treats its women. And in 1964, a few months before his death, he acknowledged that, looking back on his life, what gave him the greatest satisfaction was not, as one would have thought, the opportunity he had provided for the Indian people to govern themselves, but what he had been able to do to better the status of Indian women. (79)

Nehru believed that women empowerment is incomplete without ample political representation of women. He found the health minister for his first cabinet in Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, at a point in history where women's suffrage was still a

distant goal for many countries. Nehru's government interfered with the religious codes of conduct to bring women's lives under the purview of law, for which he was vehemently criticized by religious fundamentalists. The passing of the Hindu Marriage Act and Hindu Succession Act in 1955 caused ripples within the Congress and even resulted in resignations from the cabinet. Nehru's hesitation to amend the Islamic law was seen as a failure, but was also celebrated as the socio-political caution he exercised not to communally polarize India further.

The largest tool Nehru employed to bring about gender parity was the Indian Constitution. He gave Ambedkar, the law minister of his government all possible liberty to frame women-friendly laws, in spite of the lack of support from majority of the legislative. His government ratified many policies that were bound to improve the status of women in India. Article 15(3) of the Indian Constitution empowered the State to make special provisions for women and children even in violation of fundamental rights of non-discrimination. The Maternity Benefit Act passed in 1961 ensured the job security of pregnant and lactating mothers. Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (1956), and the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act (1956) together bettered women's life standard altogether. With the legal ratification, women gained an authority upon their lives and the nation started treating them as individuals with agency of their own. Unlike Gandhi who was unwilling to incorporate the prostitutes into the national movement unless they repent, Nehru had a modern, humanitarian outlook towards them and trusted education to liberate them. Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act of 1961 and the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 were further legislations brought about during the tenure of the Nehru Government. Vina Mazumdar notes that the emphasis on women's rights as an individual and not as a member of some collective - family, community caste etc. came from Nehru (Unfulfilled 5). Nehru wrote in his Foreword to Tara Ali Baig's Women of India that,

I am partial to the women of India, and the more I have wondered about this great country the more I have felt a certain pride in our womenfolk. Women in India have played an important part in our social life and in our history. They have played this part in every branch of national activity, from high learning to valour on the battlefield. But it is their unobtrusive work in the village or in the larger community, that has molded the nation. (v, vi)

Nehru was criticized of selective empowerment as his policies catered largely to the interest of the Hindu women. Religious minorities and economically and socially backward Hindu women also benefitted less from the legislations he brought about. He was also criticized for using women as vote banks since the legislations for women empowerment ensured that Nehru and the Congress secured huge margins in the elections. Vina Mazumdar in her attempts to analyze the complex relationship between nation building and changes in women's status observed "Jawaharlal, along with most other Indian nationalists - of the right, centre or left, men or women, - never understood the political significance of gender equality in India's nation building process" (*Unfulfilled* 1). She accuses Nehru for not seeing the "parallels between the Nazi theories of the master race and their insistence on confining women's roles, with Indian theories of maintaining the purity of the blood line through marital restrictions on women" (6).

Another serious criticism directed against the Nehru government was the limiting of equal pay and maternity benefits to the women in public service alone; the large majority of women who worked in the informal sector, largely in the agricultural sector were denied their rights. Mazumdar criticizes that "the Nehruvian principle, articulated in 1928, that there can be no gender equality without economic independence had to wait for incorporation in the Government of India's 6th Five

Year Plan - 16 years after Jawaharlal's death" (*Unfulfilled* 10). She criticized Nehru for his hypocrisy and double standards in not implementing his previously held positions about women during his premiership. She criticizes Nehru for holding the majoritarian opinion that 'women need to be protected' while the women in the post-Independence India needed equality and the government's assistance to achieve it.

Though incomplete and lacking, Nehru's approach towards the women's question was pertinent and produced progressive results, spearheading the Indian nation towards modernism. There is no denial to the exceptional role Nehru played in shaping India into a secular, socialist, democratic nation, all its shortcomings included. If Nehru's democratic legacy is tested, the yardstick is not the extent to which his successors fell from Nehruvian grace as ministers or parliamentarians, but the extent to which civil society has engendered and found its capacity for sustained pressure and critique (Dhawan and Paul 18).

Aurobindo, the nation and its women

Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950), the Bengali philosopher, poet, yogi and nationalist took part in the nationalist movement actively in the initial part of his life, after which his thoughts took a spiritual turn. He thereafter gave the movement spiritual guidance. He had a revolutionary nationalist spirit and associated himself with the Indian National Congress in his youth. He was arrested for his anti-British writings and was said to have divine visions in the jail, following which he took to spirituality and moved to Pondicherry, setting up an ashram and experimenting with Yoga, eventually devising a practice called Integral Yoga, facilitating the transformation of baser life into life divine. He was joined by the French lady Mirra Alfassa, thereafter known as the Mother who became his spiritual collaborator and together, they set up the Aurobindo Ashram in Pondicherry.

Aurobindo Ghose's elite family had early ties with the Brahmo Samaj and his father believed in British superiority. Aurobindo was sent to England for education and came back with his heart full of nationalist zeal from his experience in Europe during its heydays of nationalism. Although he qualified for the Indian Civil Service, he did not have his heart in that profession. He served in the Baroda state service, personally assisting the Maharaja of Gaekwad and later as a teacher and principal at National College, Calcutta. His anti-colonial sentiment grew over years and he developed an interest in nationalist politics. He quit his full-time job when the nationalist call in him became irrepressible. While publicly endorsing the Gandhian means of passive resistance, Aurobindo secretly resorted to revolutionary activity. He ideologically aligned himself with the extremist nationalists like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and mobilized support for the extremist cause. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was a serious influence on Aurobindo. His later day identification of India with the Mother Goddess followed from Chatterjee. "A cult of revolutionary politics mixed with a virulent religiosity" marked Aurobindo's initial political phase, observes Jyotirmaya Sharma (Hindutva 66). He was arrested in the Alipore Bomb Case and was released later for lack of evidence and the case was dissolved. In the jail, he used to have frequent visions of Vivekananda and once out of jail, Aurobindo's mindset underwent a spiritual shift. His revolutionary writings in Karmayogin and Dharma infuriated the British who were constantly monitoring Aurobindo. He hence shifted to the French Pondicherry in 1910 to evade arrest and persecution.

In Pondicherry, Aurobindo dedicated his life to spiritual quest and wrote mystical books. With the growing followers, he set up the Ashram and began addressing himself as Sri Aurobindo. He made his greatest contribution to literature – *Savitri: A Legend and a Symbol*, his blank verse Epic, perfecting it in the 1930s.

The poem was published as a whole only posthumously. Aurobindo was a major influence on Subash Chandra Bose to actively engage in the nationalist pursuit. The scope of Aurobindo's spiritual preaching and practice crossed the Indian borders and he had disciples all over the world flocking to his ashram. American President Woodrow Wilson's daughter Margaret visited the ashram and was so impressed by Sri Aurobindo and the Mother that she adopted the name Nistha and stayed in the ashram till her death.

While the Hindu philosophy principally professed life as Maya, Aurobindo instead talked about the possible transformation of human life into a better, spiritual plane. The Integral Yoga he devised aimed not merely liberation from worldly misery but to make the Divine descend into mundane lives, spiritually transforming them. His spiritual theory blended Western scientific theories with it: Aurobindo believed life to pre-exist, upon which he applied Darwin's theory of Evolution. Equating life with the essence of *Brahman*, he posited that the purpose of evolution was to attain the 'Supermind' which is a vital concept in Aurobindo's metaphysics. It is the intermediate power between the unmanifested, absolute world and the manifested, finite world. He aimed to awaken the Supermind through Integral Yoga, leading people to self-realization, which is also the realization of the *Brahman*. With the Supermind descending on humans, humans will transform into a supramental race, he believed. Aurobindo's spiritual position was considerably influenced by the Western thoughts. The Indian national tradition of synthesizing the East and the West is evident in Aurobindo's spiritual position as well. R. Puligandla describes Sri Aurobindo's philosophy as "an original synthesis of the Indian and Western traditions" (Fundamentals 267–268).

The spiritual nationalist in Aurobindo deemed the emergence of the independent Indian nation to be a divine mission that can be accomplished only

through armed struggle. "The next great stage of human progress...is not a material but a spiritual, moral and psychical advance", he wrote in his article in Bande Mataram on 3rd July 1907 (The Complete vol.6 and 7, 572). He had faith in India's emergence as an independent nation because of his trust in the universal spirit guiding India. Aurobindo realized the shortcomings of constitutional methods of resistance against the British and deviated from his initial faith in passive, nonviolent resistance endorsed by Gandhi. He believed that a despotic government neither understands nor deserves the language of peace; it needs to be met with force. He therefore endorsed armed resistance against the British. In Aurobindo's theory of spiritual/cultural nationalism, nation was not simply a political entity but also a divine entity, embodied as Mother India to whose service, the Indians should dedicate their lives to. Aurobindo made a religion out of nationalism, anchored in the Hindu Shakti cult, observes M.K.Haldar (Political 60, 64). The embodiment of Indian nation as a living Goddess added fervor to Aurobindo's brand of nationalism, channelizing more youth into the national movement. With Aurobindo, Nationalism gained deeper spiritual connotations and was not simply a dedicated political activity, but a vainva, a ritual that necessitated the Indians to offer themselves at the altar of independence. All deeds towards the nationalist cause were offerings to the Mother Goddess, whom Tanika Sarkar identified as the "most recent and the most sacred deity in the Hindu Pantheon" (Nationalist 2011).

Aurobindo stressed the importance of mobilizing the proletariat of the nation to add virility to the national movement. Involvement of the working class (before Gandhi's nation-wide call) was a feature that marked his brand of nationalism as distinct, particularly in the late 19th century elitist Bengali scenario which limited political participation to the *Bhadralok* alone. Aurobindo, in a sense, set the stage for Gandhi, insisting on participation of all classes in the national movement. His

blending of religion and politics anticipated Gandhi's practice of raising politics to the status of a spiritual adventure (Haldar 61). However, the primary difference between Aurobindo and Gandhi is that Gandhi insisted on virtuous means while Aurobindo was resolute on meeting the end which will eventually justify the means. "Among the radical nationalists, Aurobindo was the first person to take the movement out of the drawing room and onto the streets, minds and hearts of the Indian people. As a radical, Aurobindo was the exponent of the ideological concept of 'Poorna Swaraj'", observed Adhrish Chakraborty (*What* np).

Almost a decade before Gandhi's return to India, Aurobindo exhorted Indians to boycott the British, both economically and judicially by resorting to Swadeshi goods and by setting up national courts for settlement, respectively. The philosophical wideness of Aurobindo's thought did not deem India's independence as a need of Indians alone; he instead saw it in the grand milieu of the destiny of human race. He saw India as the living embodiment of the highest spiritual knowledge, and the repository of the sublime spiritual achievements of the human race. He believed that only a free India can fulfill its duties towards humanity, of being the spiritual beacon for the entirety of human race, showing the world a deeper way of being, through harmony with nature, fellow individuals and with the world within and without. His spiritual nationalism had its roots in the philosophy of Sanatan Dharma and politics for Aurobindo was a means of spiritual growth; to not partake in the national movement meant spiritual torpor. "It is for the Sanatan Dharma and by the Dharma that India exists", said Aurobindo in his speech at Uttarpara on 30th May 1909, following his release from the Alipore prison (The Complete vol 8, 10). His cultural nationalism was the product of his yogi self's deep knowledge about the essence and soul of India and his revolutionary self's desire for

India to lead the human race spiritually. Aurobindo's concept of the nation can be summarized in his own words as follows:

What is a nation? ... To the West, the nation is the country, so much land containing so many millions of men who speak one speech and live one political life, owing allegiance to a single governing power of its own choosing... The Indian idea of nationality ought to be truer and deeper... The land is only the outward body of the nation, its *Annamaya kosh*, or gross physical body; the mass of people, the life of millions who occupy and vivify the body of the nation with their presence, is the *Pranamaya kosh*, the life-body of the nation. These two are the gross body, the physical manifestation of the Mother. Within the gross body is a subtler body, the thoughts, the literature, the philosophy, the mental and emotional activities, the sum of hopes, pleasures, aspirations, fulfillments, the civilization and culture, which make up the *sukshma sharir* of the nation. (*The Complete* vol 6 and 7, 1115-1116)

Aurobindo envisioned the independent Indian nation to be radically different from its Western counterparts- an evolving, yet eternal India of diversity, yet united in spirit, rooted in its history and tradition, conscious of its spiritual superiority and mindful of its duty to the world. Indian nationalism's spiritual aim alongside the political was to recover and redeem the Indian thought, Indian roots, Indian glory etc. that were surrendered before the British. He was vehemently against India's partition, which he feared would jeopardize the unity that is central to his metaphysics. He exhorted Indians to "return to the fountainheads of our ancient religion, philosophy, art and literature and pour the revivifying influences of our

immemorial Aryan spirit and ideals into our political and economic development" (*The Complete* vol.8, 245).

With colonialism imposing itself as a masculine ideology over the sluggish, sensuous, primitive India attributed as feminine, the Indian nation resorted to the revival of its traditional conceptions of masculinity, resulting in a revitalization of three types of masculinity – Brahmanic masculinity insisting on strict asceticism and renunciation of the body and the world, Kshatriya masculinity insisting on aggression, virility and pleasurable living and androgyny, a perfect blend of the masculine and the feminine, which was celebrated as a spiritual ideal (Krishnaswamy 42). Among these, Aurobindo encouraged the Kshatriya masculinity because, according to the *Chathurvarnya* which he endorsed, the Kshatriya stood for virility and physical agility; the Kshatriya alone had access to political activity and could accomplish the impossible. This resurgence of masculinity necessitated the embodiment of nation as a woman. "The figure of the woman was important in the construction of identities as a distinguishing element between the nationalists and colonizers" (Goswami np). With the image of the Deshmata taking its proper shape, the idea of India as a nation got sacralized and feminized. The nationalist struggle gained vigor because the call to free the Mother India was a vitalizing call for Aurobindo found in the image of the Bharat Mata a semblance of Adishakti; his perspective and visions were products of the curious blend of the cultural revivalist, the blazing revolutionary and the mystic yogi that he was.

Aurobindo regarded women as the manifestation of the divine and treated them with admiration and reverence. He treated Mira Alfassa with love and respect and considered her a spiritual equal and an accomplished yogi, and revered her as 'the Mother'. She was a skilled French occultist who used to have visions about a dark skinned figure since her early teenage whom she identified as Krishna, whose

semblance she found in Aurobindo on meeting him in Pondicherry in 1914. She was deeply impressed by his teachings and activities that she returned in 1920 and settled in Pondicherry. As the popularity of the duo grew, she founded the Ashram and later established the utopian commune called Auroville, an experimental secular township, meaning 'City of Dawn'. With Aurobindo's death, she took up the leadership of the Ashram and continued teaching French and Integral Yoga. She made a large impact on Indira Gandhi who visited the Ashram in 1955. The Mother's philosophical discussions were compiled into a seven volume collection called *Questions and Answers*. Her conversations with the disciple Satprem were recorded in thirteen volumes titled Mother's Agenda. The Mother is viewed as an embodiment of pure consciousness and her spiritual communion with Aurobindo was intended to devise new paths to Sacchidananda. He called her 'Mother', the nurturer and nourisher and she called him 'Ishwara' or the Lord. She described their relation thus: "without him, I exist not; without me, he is unmanifest" (Collected vol. 13, 32). By the very nature of his philosophy and his yogic practices, Aurobindo glorified the element of divinity in the feminine self and endorsed surrendering oneself to it.

Aurobindo trusted in the inexhaustibility of the feminine power, which he deemed divine and revered. He was critical of the Indian approach to women and embodied his perception of ideal womanhood in his Magnum Opus Savitri: A Legend and a Symbol. Through her feminine power and divine grace, Savitri grew to question even the God of death; Savitri was the embodiment of invincible femininity for Aurobindo. Yama, much like the hegemonic colonizer, employed wiles, linguistic and philosophical arguments to convince Savitri, the representation of Mother India, that she does not need independence and self-determination. She retorted to Yama in a voice full of anger and asserted thus: "World spirit, I was thy

equal spirit born. My will too is a law, my strength a God. I am immortal in my mortality. I tremble not before the immobile gaze of the unchanging marble hierarchies that look with the stone eyes of law and fate. My soul can meet them with its living fire" (*The Complete* vol.34, 589). In her argument with Yama, she further insisted her divine power and constantly reminded him and the world that she was an equal. "For I the woman am the force of God, he the eternal delegate soul in man. My will is greater than thy law, O death; my love is stronger than the bonds of faith...I trample on thy law with living feet, for to arise in freedom I was born" (*The Complete* vol.34, 633, 652). Aurobindo crafted Savitri as a symbol of the evolutionary transcendence of the Bharat Mata icon.

The Mother was very vocal about social issues and when she envisaged the Auroville commune, she designed it in a way that can keep social evils at bay. She was very vocal about gender equality and justice, which she found to be deficient in India in comparison to the places she previously lived. Aurobindo and the Mother together advocated equality in all aspects, particularly gender. It can even be argued that Aurobindo held the feminine gender to be superior, believing it to be the incarnation of the divine. But in the initial phase of his career, alongside glorifying the female, he urged for a revitalization of aggressive masculinity. Political Hindutva drew largely from the 19th century efforts to redefine Hinduism, particularly those of Aurobindo. Justification of violent resistance by the nobility of its objective has been employed by political Hindutva in quelling the voices of its religious other from the early 20th century itself. Aurobindo called his national ideology as 'political vedantism' and taught that the *nigraha* of the *asuras* will win immortality. Any action done for the divine or for the Mother Goddess *Bharat Mata* should be accomplished without guilt or remorse, he taught.

Aurobindo perceived that his project of vitalizing the Indians and making them 'manly' was impossible without the recovery of Aryan thought, discipline and character. It was from the Aryan origin that Hindutva gained its entitlement; it was the virtues of manliness and vitality that Hindutva capitalized upon. Aurobindo's ascetic philosophy with hints of masculine aggression assumed ferocity with Hindutva. The rediscovery of Kshatriyahood and re-Aryanization that he endorsed was extended into a belligerent ideology rooted in hatred. The only qualifications necessitated by this new creed of spiritual nationalism of Aurobindo were "a body made in the womb of an Indian mother, a heart that felt for India, a brain that thought ideas to bring about her greatness and a tongue that adored her name and hands that could quarrel on her behalf", as observed by him in his "The Bourgeoisie and the Samurai" (Complete Vol. 6 and 7, 1106). These were precisely the requirements of political Hindutva.

However, Aurobindo did not harbour the kind of communalist sentiments Savarkar and Hindutva endorsed. Aurobindo welcomed Pan-Islamism and the rise of a separate Muslim consciousness, and saw it as a necessary part of nation-making. He was against separate electorates for Hindus and Muslims and strongly opposed the Indo-Pak partition. He did not see Hindu nationalism as a solution to the Hindu-Muslim conflicts in India as the proponents of political Hindutva did. He aimed to fashion an Indian nationalism, predominantly Hindu in nature but wide enough to accommodate Muslims too. Aurobindo had simultaneously expressed assimilative and exclusive takes on the Muslim question. Jyotirmaya Sharma observes that by 1939, Aurobindo's positions had clear parallels with those advocated by Savarkar.

Aurobindo's contribution to the rise of political Hindutva is second to none. His notion of Kshatriyahood has slided into asuratva, his ideals of Sanatana Dharma and re-Aryanization have been turned into political slogans. Religion, indeed, has become politics, perhaps the only politics we know of today. The Maharshi has turned into a pamphleteer of the Hindu Rashtra concept without being conscious of it. (*Hindutva* 83)

Aurobindo's spiritual nationalism contributed to shaping the Indian nation into an independent, modern entity. In the short span of his political career, Aurobindo succeeded in imprinting national independence as a strive-worthy goal in the minds of the Congress men and the rest of the Indians. Parallel to this, his ideology formed the foundation of another vicious ideology that was to grip the nation in a few years' time.

Savarkar, the nation and its women

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966), popularly known by the self-coined sobriquet 'Veer Savarkar', the perfector of the Hindutva ideology, played a substantial role in shaping the Indian nation. The effect of the ideology perpetrated by Savarkar strongly lingers, inducing ripples and cleavages in the modern day Indian nation. His role in conferring, rather imposing upon India an essence of 'Hinduness', locating it back in history, is undeniable. His dynamic political career was foreshadowed by the formation of the Abhinav Bharat Society under the leadership of his twenty year old self. The Society aimed at ousting the British and vitalizing Hindu superiority. His books were banned during the British Raj for its extremist contents and his associations with the revolutionary groups abroad earned him long term imprisonments in the Yerwada prison and the *Kala Pani* Cellular Jail in Andaman, from which he was released pre-term with the clemency petitions he submitted to the British Government, pledging subservience to the British. He served as the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha from 1937 to 1943, professing the notion of India as a *Hindu Rashtra*, rigorously backing the Two-Nations Theory

proposed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah. However, when Jinnah suggested two nations that are geographically divided, Savarkar, prior to Jinnah, proposed the concept of two nations, both within India's territory, with the Hindus dominant over the Muslims. He also pressed for the establishment of an independent Sikh state or Sikhistan.

Being a close acquaintance of Nathuram Godse, an ardent member of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and the editor of the Marathi daily *Hindu Rashtra*, Savarkar was co-accused of assassinating Gandhi, but was legally cleared of the charge, in spite of the explicit testimonies unearthed by the Kapur Commission of Savarkar's role in the conspiracy and of him blessing Godse for success. Manohar Malgonkar in his book The Men who Killed Gandhi observed that the cause that drove Godse and Apte to the heinous act of assassination was the *Hindu Sanghatan*; they aimed to reinvigorate the Hindus to stand up to the Muslims, a cause that already was a lost one, with India on the threshold of partition (47). Godse's meeting with Savarkar at Ratnagiri changed his mindset which until then adored Gandhi's non-violent non-cooperation towards the British. Gandhi's acceptance of the inevitability of partition triggered the Hindu Maha Sabha to retaliate blood with blood, and resort to violence against the Muslims. On 30th January, Godse shot Gandhi on his bare chest. Relief flooded among the Indian political leadership and Lord Mountbatten that the assassin was a Hindu, which could lessen the communal after effects of the assassination. It was reported in the newspapers that Godse declared his age to be twenty five; the journalists refused to buy that lie and reported that he seemed considerably older. Dhirendra Jha in his Gandhi's Assassins, observed that this urge to portray himself as young springs from the political philosophy of masculine virulence Godse embraced (9). Sufficient material evidences could not be produced on Savarkar's role in the assassination except for the verbal testimonials. Post the hair-splitting enquiry, the Kapur commission concluded that "all these facts taken together were destructive of any theory other than the conspiracy to murder by Savarkar and his group" (*Report* 303, 25.106).

Born to a Chitpavan Brahmin family and exposed to communalist environs, Savarkar grew internalizing Hindu hegemony. At twelve, he directed a gang of young boys to vandalize a mosque in the vicinity which was his first recorded expression of communal sentiment (this is debated to be an extrapolation by Savarkar himself to demonstrate that the 'Hindu' sentiment was vigorous in him since his childhood). He was inspired by the principles of the radical extremists of the Indian National Congress, particularly that of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. As a student of law in London, Savarkar was drawn to the teachings of the Italian Risorgimento nationalist Mazzini, grew in revolutionary spirit, and became resolute about India's complete freedom from the British. He had severe disagreements with the Gandhian modus of *Ahimsa* and Non-cooperation and insisted on resorting to revolutionary means. He was arrested in London and brought back to India for possessing banned books, undercover revolutionary activities and smuggling arms to India.

It was in the prison that he composed *Essentials of Hindutva* (1923), later retitled as *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?*, laying the foundation to the Hindutva ideology and extensively contributing to the Hindu nationalism. Regarding Hinduism not simply as a religion but as a cultural, ethnic and political identity that defines an individual, differentiating the Hindu from the 'other', Savarkar's concept of Hindutva summarized the virtue of being a Hindu. India, he claimed, was where the Hindu religion originated and is therefore the fatherland and the holy land of the Hindus (*Hindutva* 42). His concept of Hindu religion encompassed all religions of Indian origin but excluded those with fatherlands elsewhere and his concept of the *Hindu Rashtra* comprised of the *Akhandbharat*, stretching across the Indian

subcontinent. He was of the belief that Muslims and Christians with their fatherlands outside the Indian boundaries lack the unwavering loyalty to the nation possessed by Hindus.

Savarkar's political activities primarily constituted the awakening of the Hindu collective sentiment and its consolidation. He devised the slogan "Hinduize all politics and militarize Hindudom" in his collective message to the Hindu public on his 59th birthday in 1941 and sought from the British martial training for Hindus as part of the mission to militarize Hindudom (Joshi np). Savarkar and the Hindu Maha Sabha were against Gandhi's Quit India movement; Savarkar in his letter titled *Stick to Your Posts*, endorsed Hindus not to join the national movement (Kulkarni np). Many times during his active political career was Savarkar put behind the bars for communal speeches intended to rouse Hindu nationalism. An adulatory biography of Savarkar written by Chitragupta was published in 1926, which over time, was proved to be authored by Savarkar himself. Repeated requests were raised by the Hindu Right Wing in the 2000s to posthumously honor Savarkar with Bharat Ratna.

Unlike most previous social reformers who sought reforms among the Hindu community and attempted to revive Hindu religious practices, the atheist in Savarkar resorted to a curious blend of Hindu religion and its cultural politics, resorting to an extreme Hindu nationalism. While the former called for a religious revival, Savarkar urged a political revival. He was critical of the regressive practices in the Hindu religion such as casteism and ritual impurity and entertained interdining and intermarriage (*Seven* np). He dined at the homes of people from different castes, enjoyed non-vegetarian food and even cooked it. He sought to dismantle cow worship, was critical of the *Manusmriti*, and called for an elimination of dysfunctional practices inside the Hindu religion. Savarkar envisioned Hindus to

attain the virulence of *Narasimha* or *Hanuman* and not the meekness of the cow. His vision of a casteless India was however aimed towards the *Hindu Rashtra*. He was impressed by the success of totalitarian ideologies like Fascism and Nazism and endorsed them since they were capable of inducing national solidarity. He opined that a common descent, religion, language, culture etc. were necessary to constitute a nation. Ethnic purity was a major concern for Savarkar and he was impressed by the Final Solution devised by the Third Reich and suggested adopting it as a resolution to the question of Muslims in India whom he accused of harboring extranational feelings. He projected Hitler's Nazism as an alternative to Nehruvian democracy and prioritized the independence of Hindus from the corrupting influence of Christianity and Islam over India's independence from the British. His desire to establish the *Hindu Rashtra* superseded his desire for India's political independence from the British. For Savarkar, the Aryan conquest of India was a "civilizational triumph" and Saka, Huna invasions were harmless, while Islamic invasions were annihilative (*Hindutva* 12).

Savarkar maligned the Muslim rulers, accused them of forced conversions and destruction of temples and glorified Hindu kings, particularly Shivaji as the defender of Indian nation against the Muslim desecration. He deployed history, manipulating and extrapolating it to facilitate the creation of the *Hindu Rashtra* he envisaged. He recommended to maintain the Indian army predominantly Hindu since the Muslims and Christians waver in their loyalty to the nation and stands a chance of betraying India to their Fatherlands. He was critical of Gandhi and the Congress for catering to the welfare of Muslims. His extreme intolerance towards the Muslims is found missing in his early works where he praised Hindu-Muslim unity during the First War of Indian Independence; his communal hatred grew and crystallized over time, especially with his solitary musings in the prisons. The

Congress led by Gandhi insisted on resorting to virtuous means to achieve virtuous ends, which the likes of Savarkar, Aurobindo Ghosh etc. who advocated resort to violence, detested. Savarkar and the Hindu Maha Sabha could not uphold the undivided nationalism Gandhi endorsed and soon fell for the British policy of 'Divide and Rule', breeding communal spirit in the society. Savarkar prioritized Hindu unity over national unity and aimed to replace British Raj with Hindu Raj. Rudolf Heredia opines that though both Gandhi and Savarkar mixed the political and the religious, Gandhi and Savarkar are political antithesis; while the former mixed religious ethics to politics, the latter brought political militancy into religion (62).

Amidst the struggle for national independence and the repercussions and dissatisfactions it effected, the situation was very conducive for communal hatred to spread and the seeds of extremism to sprout. The time was ripe for Savarkar's ideology of Hindutva to radically reconfigure Indian nation as a Hindu majoritarian state by projecting the Hindu identity as inextricable from the Indian identity. Savarkar did not coin the term 'Hindutva' but popularized the term which was already in use, especially used by his idol Tilak. The categorical distinction between Hinduism as a religious practice and Hindutva as a political ideology is obvious in Savarkar. The question of 'who is a Hindu?' that gets repeated in the Hindutva discourse is defined in the simplest terms by Sumit Sarkar in his statement "whoever calls himself a Hindu is a Hindu" (Beyond 84). But Hindutva had its strict set of criteria for being a Hindu. Three inevitable cohesions stressed by Hindutva include a common nation, common race and common culture (Hindutva 15). Savarkar proposed that Muslims and Christians simply reside in India but their loyalties are to their Fatherlands, which are also their Holy lands. Even the Hindus who converted to other faiths incurred a change of nationality. Ghar Wapsi campaigns were intended to reintegrate such "long lost kith and kin, so cruelly snatched away at the

point of sword" back to the folds of Hinduism (*Hindutva* 43). Christophe Jaffrelot is of the opinion that Savarkar's catchphrase "Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan" is a clear statement of what constitutes India for the Right wing (*Hindu* 2). Hindutva attempted to homogenize the plural Hindu religion in its effort to carve out a singular, monolithic Hindu identity, which is non-existent. "Hindutva is not a word but a history; not only the spiritual or religious history of our people as at times it is mistaken to be by being confounded with the other cognate term Hinduism, but a history in full", observes Chetan Bhatt (*Liberation* 186).

The concept of Hindutva has evolved over time, its framework and subtexts consequently changing after Savarkar's time. The ideology radically influenced Hedgewar who read savarkar's *Hindutva*, culminating in the founding of the RSS in 1925, which grew to become the largest Hindu national organization with a large Paramilitary force of its own. In that sense, Hindutva: Who is a Hindu is the founding document of RSS. With the RSS shakhas meticulously carrying out the mission of reconfiguring India into a Hindu nation, the ideology of Hindutva is not an idealistic concept but is being put to practice at the elementary levels of the Indian society. Hindutva endeavors to create a version of the past which equates India and Hindu; the Hindu, in this context, serves as a monolith, in spite of all the caste diversities. An attempt to primordialize the Indian Hindu identity has been actively carried out at the grassroot level by the Sanghparivar. The Hindu right wing has been tampering with the written history, disseminating fabricated history for about a century, inciting the learners to blind adherence, observes Tanika Sarkar (How 152). "Revisionist historiography aims to deeply permeate and proselytize human minds to arouse a sense of unchallengeable pride in the past glory of their nation" (Abraham 95).

Hindutva culturally justifies and validates the historically inaccurate version of the past that India belonged to Hindus since its origin. This version of history is rapidly disseminated and it triggers in its endorsers a desire to revive the glorious past that Hindustan once had, whetting the longing for the past, facilitating a palingenetic awakening of the nation, culminating in a Hindu political-cultural revival. Savarkar believed the Hinduness in most Indians to be dormant, through years of suppression and the spread of pacifist religions like Buddhism; he aimed its revival, waking the Hindus from the metaphoric slumber and imparting to them the valour of their ancestors; his emphasis on resorting to violence to redeem the freedom from foreign forces like Islam and Christianity is thus reasoned. Later in his political career, he becomes quite critical of Buddhism for feminizing the nation, putting its martial skills to sleep, eventually resulting in its defeat to Islam, which Savarkar had already declared as India's 'internal enemy'. Savarkar's Hindutva ideology endorsed and profusely put to practice has proved extremely detrimental to the secular fabric of the Indian nation.

In his introduction to *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?*, Savarkar states that "Hindutva is not a word but history...Hinduism is only a derivative, a fraction, a part of Hindutva" (3). He traces the word 'Hindu' back to the Aryans who settled on the banks of the Sindhu River. He credits King Ram for bringing the entire landmass ranging from Himalaya to Ceylon (what is deemed as the *Akhand Bharat*) under a singular sovereign rule. Savarkar insists the unity of all Hindus, irrespective of the Varna system and writes, "We, Hindus, are all one and a nation, because chiefly of our common blood – 'Bharati Santati'" (18). The most important aspect that binds a population, according to Savarkar is the possession of "an internally well-connected and externally well-demarcated 'local habitation' and a 'name' that could by its very mention, rouse the cherished image of their motherland as well as the loved

memories of their past" (29). Hindustan, for him, fulfills all necessary conditions for a sound nation.

In his book *Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History*, Savarkar credits the Indian nation for its resistance against most foreign invasions. The word 'Hindu' is not coterminous to 'Indian' because 'Hindu' condenses the sense not just of a common motherland but also of common blood, "descended from the Vedic fathers, the Sindhus" (30). The Sikhs, the Jains and the Buddhists are accepted by Savarkar as Hindus, racially and culturally. He is of the opinion that if there is another group of people in the world who can claim to be a singular racial unit as the Hindus, it is the Jews. The caste differences are no objection to the blood ties and Savarkar justifies this by citing the examples of intermarriages in the *Puranas*. A Hindu marrying into another caste can tarnish his caste privilege, but his Hindutva remains untarnished and intact.

...We are all Hindus and own a common blood. We are not only a nation but a Jati, a born brotherhood. Nothing else counts, it is after all a question of heart. We feel that the same ancient blood that coursed through the veins of Ram and Krishna, Buddha and Mahavir, Nanak and Chaitanya, Basava and Madhava, of Rohidas and Tiruvelluvar courses throughout Hindudom from vein to vein, pulsates from heart to heart. We feel we are a JATI, a race bound together by the dearest ties of blood and therefore it must be so. (*Hindutva* 32)

The love and loyalty towards the fatherland and the Holy land can act as a talisman, holding the nation together in times of trials, enthusing it to aspire for feats greater than those accomplished by their forefathers. Savarkar looks forward to a day when

all Hindu ties to the motherland are strengthened, the Hindu race is consolidated indivisibly, the Hindu blood reigns supreme and the Hindutva becomes "strong sharp as steel" (*Hindutva* 53). The concept of Hindutva formulated by Savarkar and the Hindu nationalism that ensued from it attempted to obliterate the nuances of Indian history, visualize India as a religious monolith and establish it as a *Hindu Rashtra* since its conception, thus negating the Congress' view of India as a palimpsest, upon which new inscriptions can be made without erasing the old (Salam 3). His efforts were to give the nation a pseudo-religious quality and to ensure that the people valued the interests of the nation above their own. The mighty success of ideology happened years after him, with Hindutva gradually taking its toll on the Indian nation.

Savarkar endorsed the Ghar-Bahir dichotomy, asserting that women belonged to the home and her duties were raising children and running the household. However, unlike the Hindu nationalists before him, Savarkar was liberal and progressive in aspects like women's education. He spoke for women's education, but believed in limiting it to aspects that can help her in her roles as wife and mother. The primary responsibility of any woman, irrespective of her social standing and education, is towards her children, home and nation, the dereliction of which will make her a sinner, he believed. In his *Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History*, Savarkar moots the use of rape as a political tool on 'other' women; this encouragement is not insignificant, given the violence perpetrated on Muslim women during riots and otherwise in India by the Hindu Right Wing (*Six 180-181*). Savarkar strongly believed that Gandhi's non-violent mode of resistance was feminine and slowly effeminized India. The belligerent nationalism he endorsed aimed to revive the nation's virility, thus redeeming the dormant Indian nation of the yore.

Savarkar's notion on gender and sexuality largely derived from the British communal stereotypical binary of lusty, sexually aggressive, wild Muslims versus submissive, impotent Hindu. He believed this sexual dichotomy to hinder the consolidation of the Hindu nation. Women and their sexuality was for Savarkar a means to the actualization of the Hindu Nation he strived for. He professed that Muslim men, with the sanction from the Muslim rulers, carried out forced conversions, and sexual violations, thus obligatorily taking Hindu women into their religion, exhibiting their scary wildness and increasing their demographic strength. Savarkar suggests violating the Muslim women and then adopting them into the Hindu folds or killing them, so as to ensure the dwindling of the Muslim population. In his rigorous attempt to demonize the Muslim male, he wrote:

One side-issue of the Muslim religious aggression, which caused a continuous drain of the numerical superiority of the Hindus was the diabolic Muslim faith that it was a religious duty of every Muslim to kidnap and force into their own religion non-Muslim women. This incited their sensuality and lust for carnage and while it enormously increased their number, it affected the Hindu population in an inverse proportion. (*Six* 174-175)

The Muslim women, who were the instigators and silent endorsers of the violence of their men towards Hindu women, deserved to be met with more intense violence as retribution for their men's deeds, Savarkar held. In order to establish that the Islamic violence is not the product of a few individual Muslims but of the systemic makeup of Islam itself, he universalized Islamic violence and essentialized Islam in his teachings, stating it was the Islamic *Dharma* to violate Hindu women, plunder Hindu cities, massacre Hindu men, desecrate their holy places and demolish Hinduism (Kumar 11). Fortifying his communal argument with this universalization

and essentialization, Savarkar exhorted Hindu men to give up their apathy and inertia, forgo their undue religious virtues and fight the Muslims in all possible means, even if that involves raping Muslim women. He exhorted the Hindu men to activate their physical competence and sexual potency to avenge the injustices towards Hindus in the past.

In Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History, Savarkar recommends capturing Muslim women, converting them to Hindu faith and presenting them to Maratha soldiers as sex slaves in reward for their valour (245). The molestation of Muslim women will regulate the conduct of the Muslim men, he believed. He resorted to the scriptures to substantiate his positions on gender and sexuality. These teachings of Savarkar were extremely triggering to the 'awakened' Hindu, prompting him to serve the cause of Hindu nation by violating Muslim women. Purushottam Agarwal in his essay "Surat, Savarkar and Draupadi: Rape as a Political Weapon", opined that Savarkar's call to retain India as Hindu Rashtra through massacres and rapes of the Muslim women inculcated in the latter day rioting Hindus a sense that they were not merely rioting but "were fighting a battle in a millennium old war. Their acts had less to do with religious ritualism and more with a ferociously authoritarian nationalism" (60).

Alongside exhorting the Hindu men to violate Muslim women, Savarkar also insisted that the Hindu women should safeguard her purity and choose death over rape and religious conversion. Throughout Savarkar's take on the Hindu-Muslim confrontation, women get portrayed as sexual objects that embody the community's honor in their bodies. They are properties of the men who 'own' them and the loss of their women to the 'other' signifies the lack of masculinity. Women are denied individual agency in his oeuvre; decisions for women and for the nation are made by men on their behalf. Megha Kumar observes that the benevolent Motherland concept

Savarkar embraced slowly transitioned in the 1920s into the masculine fatherland, potent and virile, unto which one's allegiance was fixed (16). The concept of Hindu nation that Savarkar endeavored for and India is in its process of becoming, is essentially a gendered concept. Sexual binaries, gender roles and communal dichotomies are clearly laid in the Hindu nation and "any deviation from the RSS type normative sexuality is construed as threatening and morally corrupting for the Hindu nation" (16). A.G. Noorani is of the opinion that the revival and honoring of Savarkar in the late 1900s and early 2000s by unveiling his photo in the parliament, renaming airports and institutions in his name, cries demanding posthumous *Bharat Ratna* for Savarkar etc. spring from the RSS's insecurity regarding his and their role in the freedom struggle; their ceaseless tarnishing of Nehru springs from the same insecurity. Savarkar is the obvious first choice for the *Sanghparivar* who is in a terrible need for a "national hero, one who reflects its communal credo in opposition to the nationalist credo" (Noorani n.p).

Ambedkar, the nation and its women

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956), popularly known by the sobriquet 'Babasaheb' was India's first law minister and the brain behind the Indian constitution. He was a jurist and an economist who headed the drafting committee of the constitution. Born into the Mahar community, Ambedkar endured severe caste discrimination and violence as he grew up, which eventually made him a champion of the Dalit cause. He relentlessly attempted social reform among the Dalits. He was the pillar of the Dalit-Bahujan movement. His ceremonial burning of the *Manusmriti* in 1927 and his conversion to Buddhism in 1956 were major shaping factors of the Dalit-Bahujan movement. His renouncing of Hinduism and embracing of Buddhism initiated a mass trend of conversion to Buddhism among the Dalits. Ambedkarites annually commemorate 25th of December as Manusmriti Dahan Divas. Ambedkar

was an exceptional scholar and Bharat Ratna was conferred on him posthumously in 1990. His popularity among the Dalits was enormous when he was alive and after his death, he was revered and loved immensely, from which originated the salutation 'Jai Bhim'.

Ambedkar's early exposure to caste discrimination at school where he had to go waterless when the school peon was absent, for the fear of polluting the container by touching it, or when he was banned from sitting on the bench with the upper caste students, shaped his politics, transforming him into a combatant of caste. Even after qualifying as a lawyer, he lost clients when they realized that he was an untouchable. Even when he was a successful teacher, fellow teachers refused to share space with him or drink water from the same pot. A lifetime of discrimination drove Ambedkar to his demand for separate electorates and caste based reservation. He started journals like *Mook Nayak*, *Bahishkrit Bharat* and *Equality Janta* to create awareness amongst the marginalized communities about the way out of the age old stigma of caste. He mobilized public support for the early demands such as equal access to drinking water and public spaces and later, the right for temple entry. Gandhi vehemently opposed the separate electorates, fearing further dissection of the Hindu population. Through the Poona Pact of 1932, Ambedkar won reserved seats for the Dalits in the local legislatures.

In 1936, Ambedkar founded the Independent Labour Party and published his epochal work *The Annihilation of Caste*. He accused many nationalist leaders including Gandhi and Nehru for their pro-caste sentiments. He accused Gandhi of hypocrisy and double standard, campaigning against caste in English newspapers while endorsing it in the Indian ones. For a major share of his political career, Ambedkar harbored an antagonism to Gandhi, Nehru and the Congress. He was at unease with the preferential consideration shown towards Indian Muslims while the

depressed class in India suffered manifold times than the Muslims. Ambedkar seconded the Lahore Resolution of 1940 demanding a separate Pakistan for Muslims. His work *Thoughts on Pakistan* was later used by Jinnah to validate his cause. Ambedkar carried out an exceptional analysis of the evolution of the lowest rungs of the society and their marginalization in his work *Who were the Shudras?* He exposed the casteist sentiments lurking within the monotheist religions of Islam and Christianity. Not only was Ambedkar a champion of anti-caste movement, he vehemently opposed social evils like child marriage, ban on widow remarriage, polygamy, sexual promiscuity and concubinage etc.

Although Ambedkar lost elections to the legislature twice, nothing could prevent his word from spreading among the depressed classes. He became part of the Nehru ministry through the recommendation of Gandhi. Nehru invited him to be the Law Minister in the dominion government and appointed him as the chairman of the constitution drafting committee. Ambedkar presented the final draft of the Indian constitution to Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly on 25th November 1949. The constitution ensured huge, yet finite civil liberties; Ambedkar drafted the constitution with utmost care to prevent any discrimination, particularly caste discrimination in the independent India. The constitution ensured gender and caste based reservations through protective discrimination. Ambedkar was keen on women's social and economic rights and secured them constitutionally. Some four years later, in 1953, Ambedkar openly spoke of his dissatisfaction in the Indian constitution, not deeming it to be of any worth to the Indian nation. "What I was asked to do, I did much against my will...I am quite prepared to say that I shall be the first person to burn it out. I do not want it. It does not suit anybody", he said (quoted in Dhamija np).

The economist in Ambedkar stressed on the importance of the primary sector

in the economy, for food security as well as economic stability. In 1951, Ambedkar established the Finance Commission of India and opposed imposing income tax on the underprivileged, low-income groups. He deemed caste as an obstruction to the movement of labour and capital. His principle of state socialism endorsed stateownership of land, state-maintenance of resources and a just distribution of these resources. Ambedkar was pivotal in the land reforms carried out in independent India. He found the population explosion in India a great challenge to economy and therefore advocated birth control, which acted as the formative principle of India's national policy of family-planning. Even the formative idea of the Reserve Bank of India was proposed by Ambedkar. He recommended the use of a singular common language to facilitate national unity. His conversion to Buddhism was a determinate moment for the depressed classes of India; he stated that he was born a Hindu, but would not die a Hindu. He had been pondering on the conversion for so long and formed Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha in 1955, prior to his conversion. His act of burning the Manusmriti was an expression of revolt against the conventions that choked the untouchables. His cynicism and disdain for Hindu Epics and other sacred texts is evident in his work Riddles in Hinduism. Ambedkar said that "the only lasting way a true casteless society could be achieved is through destroying the belief of the sanctity of the Shastras and denying their authority", records Gopal Guru (Appropriating 1697).

In *Who were the Shudras*?, Ambedkar repudiated the Aryan invasion theory and posited that Aryans were of Indian origin. He spurned the notions of ethnic purity and Aryan supremacy and theorized that the Shudras were of Aryan origin (56-78). Ambedkar was a partial Marxist, concurring with the Marxian position that the exploitation of the masses (have nots) by the bourgeoisie perpetrated social inequality and widened the social gap. However, unlike Marx, he not merely saw the

exploitation to be economical in origin but also social and cultural. He also differed from the communist means of achieving the socialist end; Ambedkar preferred peace over violence. He believed in the existence of a perpetually classless society rather than the eventual withering away of the state as prophesied by Communism. Ambedkar necessitated the presence of the state for the smooth functioning of the society.

Ambedkar did not deem India to be a nation, but largely a nation in the making. He presumed that the annihilation of caste system should be carried out in the process of nation-making so that the final product of the independent Indian nation will be free of that social evil. "First of all there is no nation of Indians in real sense of the word. The nation does not exist, it is to be created, and I think it will be admitted that the suppression of a distinct and a separate community is not the method of creating a nation" Ambedkar said (What Congress 412). He believed caste system to hinder the concept of a unified Indian nation and said, "How can people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation? The castes are antinational in the first place, because they bring about separation in social life. They are anti-national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste" (Adoption 1217). Hindu religion, in spite of being the dominant religion in the Indian territory, lacked the cohesion that can constitute a nation, believed Ambedkar. He said that "there is an utter lack among the Hindus of what the sociologists call 'consciousness of kind'. In every Hindu, the consciousness that exists is the consciousness of his caste. That is the reason why the Hindus cannot be said to form a society or a nation" (Annihilation 50-51). He also believed that India lacked the communal unity between Hindus and Muslims which is necessary to constitute a nation. In spite of the diverse factors that hindered India from being a unified nation, Ambedkar thought India's transition into an independent nation

essential, because fraternity is possible only with the formation of a nation. Fraternity for Ambedkar, was different from the majoritarian, elitist definition of the term. He theorized that:

Nationality is a social feeling. It is feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness which makes those who are charged with it feel that they are kith and kin. This national feeling is a double-edged feeling. It is at once a feeling of fellowship for one's own kith and kin and an antifeeling for those who are not one's own kith and kin. It is a feeling of "Consciousness of kind" which on the one hand binds together those who have it, so strongly that it overrides all differences arising out of economic conflict or social gradation and, on the other, severs them from those who are not of their kind. It is a longing not to belong to any other group. This is the essence of what is called a nationality and national feeling. (*Pakistan* 31)

For nationality to grow into full-fledged nationalism, Ambedkar posited two conditions – an extreme will and consent to live together as a nation and a common territory that could be occupied.

Ambedkar emphasized three elements that formed his scheme of nation-making: first is the realization that India was not yet a nation but is in the process towards it. Second is the fact that the process of nation-making necessitated the concerned cohesive population to forget certain memories and third is the constitutional empowerment of the underprivileged. He insisted that the Dalits, untouchables, Muslims and women should have adequate political representation in local legislatures and the cabinet and should be appointed in the executive positions of the nation, exempting them from open completion in the civil service examinations. He sadly observed that this demand for inclusivity got objected even

by those who clamoured for Indianization of public services, which was why Ambedkar necessitated reservation and protective discrimination.

The Indian nationalist movement which was largely elitist did not attract Ambedkar. For him, 'independence' did not merely stand for independence from the British but also liberation from the casteist clutches binding the depressed classes. Even though the nationalist leaders attempted to resolve the issue of casteism, Ambedkar found their efforts to be lacking and incomplete; caste was an external reality for them while for him, it was his everyday reality. Ambedkar wrote in 1927 that "If Tilak had been brought into the world among the untouchables, he would not have raised the motto 'Swaraj is my inheritance', yet he would raise the trademark 'destruction of untouchability is my inheritance'" (Editorial, vol.17, xviii). Ambedkar therefore, envisaged a nation where all its citizens get equal civil and political rights, irrespective of their identity markers like gender, caste, class, race etc. A nation can be strong only if its foundation, constituted by the women, Dalits, untouchables etc. is strengthened. Thus, for Ambedkar, nationalism was a protest against external domination and internal oppression. Indian nation will remain a mere concept until the national brotherhood became a reality for the untouchables, believed Ambedkar. He realized that the British government will never sincerely work towards eradicating untouchability; he recognized the necessity of a government constituted by the Indians, with adequate representation from the Dalits and untouchables in order to alleviate the social evil of caste and untouchability. The nationalist struggle was a means to this goal of his. "It is entirely wrong to concentrate all our attention on the political independence of our country and to forget the foremost significant issue of social and economic independence", he said (Hindu 220).

I shall strive for a Constitution which will release India from all thralldom and patronage.... I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high and low class of people, an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability Women will enjoy the same rights as men... I shall be satisfied with nothing else.

Justice K. Ramaswamy, while probing into the legal aspects of nationalism called Ambedkar a true democrat, a nationalist to the core and a patriot of the highest order on various grounds (Subhash 12879). Gandhi remarked to Ambedkar that "I know you are a patriot of sterling worth" (Keer 166). Though he did not physically volunteer in nationalist movement and was not put behind bars like other nationalist leaders, Ambedkar's contributions to the Indian nation were largely cerebral; he was the active force behind the policy formations and planning. He strengthened the entity called the Indian nation through the constitution he drafted. He did not trust in non-cooperation, Satyagraha or violent retribution, which he considered as anarchy; he insisted that protest should employ only constitutional methods. He advocated the peaceful formation of a strong nation, whose rulings are binding to everyone alike. In his work *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, Ambedkar defined nationality as a "consciousness of kind, awareness of the existence of that tie of kinship" and nationalism as the "the desire for a separate national existence for those who are bound by this tie of kinship" (39).

Ambedkar stood for the nationalist cause but differed considerably from the notion of 'liberty' envisioned by the Congress, which was merely freedom from the British and not freedom from Brahmanic hegemony and patriarchy. It was only by

acknowledging the alternative subaltern nationalism and by complying with Ambedkar's creative suggestions to bridge the social gap that the Congress succeeded in widening its social base. His antagonism was not directed against nationalism in general but only against the Congress' brand of nationalism. S. M. Gaikwad said that "Ambedkar's battle was a piece of the inside battle in the creation of a nation" (515).

"Dalits require a nation for self-realization", observed Gopal Guru (Nationalism 248). The dalits can rear nationalist sentiments towards their nation only when the state ensures social justice for them; this is where Ambedkarite nationalism becomes relevant. Ambedkar's strategy for the alternative subaltern nationalism was to convincingly establish the link between social questions of caste and untouchability and the political questions of democracy and nationalism. A trace of this effort was seen in Gandhi, but not as organized and modern as that of Ambedkar. He said that "without social union, political unity is difficult to be achieved. If achieved, it would be as precarious as a summer sapling, liable to be uprooted by the gust of a hostile wind. With mere political unity, India may be a State. But to be a State is not to be a nation and a State, which is not a nation, has small prospects of survival in the struggle for existence" (Pakistan 193).

Ambedkar was not against religions in India but only their ritualistic aspect; he only aimed at annihilating the evil of caste and not religion altogether. In *Riddles in Hinduism*, he declared that Hinduism has the prospect of becoming the spiritual basis of social democracy. Rising above the religious, communal, linguistic barriers, Ambedkar devised a democratic nationalism with its stress on Uniform Civil Code. He criticized the Hindu and Islamic scriptural rulings that were deemed superior to the secular law of the nation. He believed in strengthening the centre for the efficient functioning of the nation, for which he drafted the Emergency provisions in the

constitution, which paradoxically, was later employed by the centre to disrupt democracy in India. History also saw Ambedkar being posthumously appropriated and glorified by political currents that he fought fiercely against. The RSS and BJP have been earnestly trying to claim Ambedkar's legacy, painting him as an endorser of Hindutva, ideologically subscribing to and sharing its cultural and political views. A deliberate incorporation of Ambedkarite symbols into the Hindutva discourse has been subterraneously, yet actively carried out to establish Ambedkar as a Hindu social reformer who was impressed by the equality of castes advocated by Hindutva. Ambedkar was, however, highly critical of how Hindu organizations were elitist and sanctioned and practiced casteist discrimination.

The inclusive policies of Ambedkar that aimed to secure a dignified life to all the underprivileged in the nation, was considerate towards the women's question and sought to resolve the graded inequality women experienced. "I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved", he once said addressing the All-India Depressed Classes Women's Conference held in Nagpur in July 1942 (Address 282). Most progressive policies for women welfare were either legalized by Ambedkar or were the long term fruits of his cerebral activity. In his The Rise and Fall of Hindu Woman, he posited that women had access to education and right to the Vedas prior to Manusmriti. He sought to undo Manusmriti and bring both Hindu and Muslim women under the secular law of the land. He recommended the inclusion of women in local governing bodies, the central cabinet, constitutional assembly etc. as well as in civil services. Protective discrimination on the basis of gender enshrined in the Indian constitution facilitated large-scale upliftment of Indian women. The jurist in Ambedkar ensured that women enjoyed the same rights as that of men and that woman have the agency to make

decisions in matters like marriage, sex, divorce, child-bearing, abortion, guardianship etc.

The Hindu Code Bill he sought to introduce was a revolution at that time, shocking the conservative men. Ambedkar deemed the Bill to be as relevant as the constitution itself. "To leave inequality between class and class, between sex and sex, which is the soul of Hindu society untouched and to go on passing legislation relating to economic problems is to make a farce of our constitution and to build a palace on a dung heap. This is the significance I attached to the Hindu Code", he stated (Significance 3). At a time when marriage was deemed as an unbreakable vow, he sought to dismantle the hallowed nature of the institution of marriage by legally sanctioning the dissolution of marriage under lawfully listed conditions. Ambedkar ensured women's right to succession and inheritance of property and a married woman's sole right upon her dowry and its management. He also ensured women's right to maintenance after divorce and specifically laid down the conditions under which she can claim maintenance. His introduction of the idea of civil marriage was revolutionary at the time that "marriage under this Bill will be valid irrespective of the caste or sub-caste of the parties entering into marriage" (Dr. Ambedkar 9). The first Nehru government, largely composed of elitist men, who had internalized patriarchy found the Hindu Code Bill too progressive to be accepted. The Cabinet's opposition to the Hindu code bill culminated in Ambedkar's resignation as the Law Minister of the Indian nation. The Hindu code Bill was Congress' trump card in the 1951 elections and the bill was passed in the Indian parliament, under Nehru's insistence, after being split into four separate bills.

Ambedkar formulated gender-friendly labour laws and ensured that women have the right to equal pay for equal work and paid maternity leave which is to be partially born by the employer and partially by the government. He argued for women's reproductive rights and consensual choice over matters concerning with her body. He recommended contraceptive options to be made available for women. Ambedkar's contributions to women's welfare did not cease with his death. The womenfolk enjoyed the long term benefits of Ambedkarite thoughts, and politics with many of his brainchildren coming to fruition after years. Thus to view Ambedkar as a Dalit icon alone is limiting and unfair.

Gendering the Nation: Mother India Iconography

The gender inequality prevalent in society was traced by Freud to man's deepest fear of castration, resulting in an oppressive, exploitative relationship with the feminine gender, which got institutionalized over centuries, effecting a naturalization of gender inequality. Ashis Nandy posited that "it is an indicator of how far man has succeeded in these efforts that in many societies the evolutionary and biological primacy of woman has given way to an institutionally entrenched discrimination" (Woman 33). Restriction of women is an acquired trait in Indian civilization which was an outcome of a particular social consciousness that gradually took shape. As an agricultural society with a close connection to nature, women always took the centre stage because of her biological and cultural association with the fertile land and the benevolent nature. "It was she who was primarily involved in gentling and nurturing and feeding; it was in her capacity for tenderness and love which gave the earliest agricultural settlements of man their touch of security, receptivity, enclosure, nurture: and it was she who made fully possible the growth of civilization" (35). Indian farmers resorted to prayers and rituals to propitiate the unpredictable and sometimes malevolent Mother Nature. The adoration of femininity in the Vedic age, the pre-Aryan Mother Goddess cults, female deities and Temple Prostitute system etc. were indications of the feted status women enjoyed in India in comparison to the position women commanded in parallel civilizations of the time. The early Indian society was largely egalitarian and relationship between the male and female sexes were based on reciprocity and not subordination. The polygamous society of the yore did not necessarily indicate that it was violent towards women. It is anachronistic to approach the pre-Aryan times with the sexual canon of the present. The projection of ancient society as barbaric was a latter-day phenomenon.

The pre-Aryan Harappan matriarchal system slowly transformed into a social system that endorsed the subordination of women. A.S. Altekar in his *Position of Women in Hindu Civilization* attributes this transformation to the system of Aryan conquerors taking non-Aryan wives and imposing restrictions upon them. He assumed that the polygamous Aryan male imposed restrictions (either to help or to oppress) his non-Aryan wife who could not join him in performing rites and rituals, effecting a general deterioration of the status of women, that prolonged over centuries. The birth of daughters got established as undesirable and women's subordination to men became customary. Altekar writes:

The importance of ancestor- worship increased and sons alone were regarded as eligible for offering oblations...daughters could not perform this very important religious duty. Child marriages came into vogue from about the beginning of the Christian era, and soon thereafter both levirate and widow remarriage were prohibited. Intercaste marriages began to be disapproved by society; and there came into existence hundreds of sub-castes all insisting upon mutual exogamy...The growing prevalence of the Sati custom from about the 5th century AD added to the gender oppression. (*Position* 5,6)

The socio-cultural subordination of women became established as a victory of the patriarchal Aryans over the matriarchal Harappans and Dravidians. With the

withdrawal of women from public spaces to the households and the growth of private property, women came to be regarded as property themselves, furthering the subordination. It is noteworthy that parallel to this subordination of women was the growth and establishment of a class society based upon *Chaturvarnya*, relegating women to the status of *Shudra*. The foreign invasions and cultural conquests that followed only added to the regulations and perpetuated the gender inequality further. This subordination of women got gradually institutionalized socially, culturally, politically and to an extent, legally, until reform movements began to voice for the rights of women in the second half 19th century.

However, Indian culture perpetually resorted to a female-centric religious symbolism, retaining in its symbolic realm, the feminine upper hand that the pre-Aryan society cherished. India remained according to Ashis Nandy, an

Undeniably matrifocal culture in which femininity is inextricably linked with *Prakriti* or nature and *Prakriti* with *Leela* or activity. Similarly, the concept of *Adya Shakti*, primal or original power, is entirely feminine in India. It is the male principle in the Godhead, *Purusha* that is reliable, but relatively passive, weak, distant and secondary. That is why the deities that preside over those critical sectors of life which one cannot control – such as the success of crops and the occurrence of famines, protection against Cholera and small pox, and child birth and child health- are all motherly figures. ... The ultimate authority in the Indian mind has always been feminine. (*Woman* 36)

The British who were acquainted only with the binaries of sex and gender mistook the Indian spiritual passivity to be a feminine trait, branding India as effeminate. When the British found it unable to establish themselves in the Indian soil, they created a narrative of effeminate Indian men, which was a product of cultural mistranslation, necessitating the presence of the virile British masculinity in India to lead the nation to progress. These narratives simultaneously justified the British rule and established the political implications of gender identity.

Catering to this colonial gender construction was Katherine Mayo's Indophobic Mother India written in 1927. Being a Native American, Mayo reared a strong racial sentiment and treated the black and brown races with contempt, which clearly reflected in her attack on Indian religion and culture in *Mother India*. Written in the Post-Malabar rebellion era when the national sentiment was spreading all across India, Mayo despised Indian masculinity and identified the lack-vigor masculinity to be the fundamental reason for the degradation of the nation. The book was effectively employed by the Colonial administration to hamper the spread of nationalist sentiments in India as well as to obstruct the sympathies the freedom struggle gathered from the rest of the world. Her shallow knowledge about India, derived from her brief stay, led her to the conclusion that India wants modernization, which can be accessed through the British. She categorically stated that "inertia, helplessness, lack of initiative and originality, lack of staying power and of sustained loyalties, sterility of enthusiasm, weakness of life-vigor itself – all are traits that truly characterize the Indian not only of today, but of long-past history" (Mother 16). The book received criticisms from various parts of the world, including Gandhi and other Indian nationalists, for its distorted presentation of Indian society.

Mehboob Khan's 1957 directorial *Mother India* starring Nargees rebuked Mayo's book, using the same title to portray an Indian woman who is the epitome of sacrifice and endurance, yet with an indomitable will not to yield and surrender her chastity. Radha, the heroine has shades of mythological Radha, Savitri, Sita, Draupadi, Durgadevi and the Bharat Mata herself. Radha's transformation from a

coy girl to a docile wife to an assertive mother who shoots her son to deter him from injustice is metonymical of the transformation of the Bharat Mata herself, from that of a silent mother to an assertive, demanding mother. The time of the production of Mother India – "in the Nehruvian decade, immediately after independence was crucial to its particular ethos and its representation of the nation as a woman from a village", observed Geeti Sen (158). The latent power, capable of transforming a woman into an assertive, self-determining individual hinted in *Mother India* gave way to many more films and advertisements about women's *Shakti*.

Though the cultural slandering of India initially worked in favor of the British by indoctrinating the Indian minds with inferiority and lack, over time, with the efforts of nationalist leaders, a self-pride developed among the Indians, driving them to the independence struggle. In the 19th century, reformers like Ram Mohan Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar attempted to refashion the traditional notions about womanhood and female identity by introducing certain elements imbibed from the West. The likes of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee linked the conventional image of sacred, benevolent motherhood to the modern image of the motherland to lend legitimacy to the concept of the Indian nation. Gandhi spurned violence, which was deemed as a masculine trait and conferred upon the nation the trait of non-violence, which is essentially a process of feminizing the nation. Gandhi found in women a mighty force to guide the nation towards independence. Women thus began to be employed for symbolic purposes.

With concepts like dignity and honor of the nation being upheld by the national movement, the symbolic role of women became all the more relevant to the Indian nation. With the Swadeshi movement gaining momentum, representation of India as the female deity named Bharat Mata became popular and the image became a new addition to the Hindu pantheon. The Indian nation personified as the Mother

Goddess is not older than the late 19th century. The first popular appearance of the image is in *Anandmath*, the 1882 Bengali novel by Bankim Chandra as an alter image of Ma Durga. However, the first recorded appearance of the image was in Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay's *Unabimsa Purana* in 1866, where the image is that of *Adhi Bharati*, who was the wife of Arya Swami and the image embodied all essential Aryan qualities. In Chatterjee, the image took a three-fold course – the mother of the past who was content and satiated, the mother of the present who is homeless and haunts cremation grounds and the mother Durga, the ten-armed mother Goddess in all her fierceness.

The popular image of Bharat Mata was that of a fair skinned woman, clad in a red silk sari and holding the national flag; the image closely resembled a patriotic Bengali Bhadralok woman. The image generated a patriotic sentiment that awakened the people to immediate, dire action. The image was reproduced multiple times and the shift from exquisite oil painting to mass produced copies of the Bharat Mata brought about various transmutations to the image, yet gave the image a fixity in Indian minds. Through the different versions of the Mother Goddess in Anand Coomaraswamy's story Bharat Mata and Sumitra Nandan Pant's poem of the same title, the iconography assumed even sharper political overtones. In no time, Bharat Mata image gained widespread popularity and the hymn 'Vande Mataram' frequently accompanied the image as a chant. The image underwent various transitions and different versions of the image - clad in saffron, clad in tricolor, accompanied by a fierce lion, standing on a lotus flower, the four-armed saffron-clad Goddess image by Abanindranath Tagore etc. - gained popularity and the image found a place in magazines, posters, newspapers, calendars etc. With the initiation of Bharat Mata into The Hindu pantheon, temples were built for her, the trend of which was initiated in Benares in 1936 by Gandhi. The image of Bharat Mata was a great

unifier for the Indian nationalist movement, uniting the sons of the nation in the defense of their mother.

In her analysis of cartographic representations of India which she characterizes as 'Bodyscapes', Sumathi Ramaswamy posits that cartography plays a huge role in producing and reproducing the nation as a gendered space (Maps 98). Maps facilitate a newer understanding of the nation; it is an inevitable tool with which citizens perceive national territory as real and not abstract. The image of Mother India with her sari and tresses marking the contours of the nation became quite popular in the 1920s and 30s, clearly establishing a close association between the map and the mother. In the temple dedicated to the Mother Goddess at Benares, the deity is replaced by the map of undivided India, etched on marble. In almost all images of the Bharat Mata, she is foregrounded to the Indian map, creating a wholesome spectacle; the foregrounding also served the purpose of distinguishing Bharat Mata from her visual aliases of Lakshmi or Durga. Cartographic representations elicit patriotic responses, transforming a neutral observer to a devout patriot (Maps 105). "In addition to enlivening the nation-space, corporealizing it and archaizing it, these bodyscapes gender it, frequently as female... The bodyscapes of Mother India erupt within the interstices of a nationalist discourse where the erotic, the patriotic and the cartographical converge in imagining the nation as an entity worth living, and dying, for", observes Sumathi Ramaswami (109).

The Bharat Mata image which was introduced as a political icon started gaining religious colors in the 1930s with temples being built for her. Abanindranath Tagore's portrayal of Bharat Mata as Goddess Lakshmi, the provider of prosperity, clad in saffron robes of a Vaishnava nun, feet on green ground with four scattered lotus flowers, divine halo around her head and holding in her four hands manuscripts, sprigs of rice, a beaded garland and a white cloth, symbolizing

education, food, religion and clothing respectively, came to represent the Indian essence. The depiction of Bharat Mata as a Hindu Goddess imposed upon every Hindu the religious obligation to be part of the nationalist struggle. The patriotic cry 'Bharat Mata ki Jai' began to echo from different corners of Indian nation and has over the years, assumed a hyper-national nature, where those who refuse to reiterate the chant are met with violence. The popularity gained by the Mother Goddess image of Bharat Mata can be regarded as an early spark of Hindu nationalism in India. However, Indian Muslims did not entirely reciprocate the fervor as the Hindus since the monotheist Islam forbids idolatry.

In spite of the reform and progress the womenfolk attained, women were designated their specialized roles in the nationalist project - as guardians of age-old customs and rituals, as personifications of religiosity and virtue, as defenders of domestic order and stability, re-directors of wayward men towards the nationalist cause, and as the embodiment of national virtues. All of these are collectively attributed to a female allegory which embodies the quintessence of the nation. Allegorizing the nation as anthropomorphic figures had been a popular cultural practice in the world as seen in France in the image of Marianne, Germany in the image of Germania, Mexico in the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe or Catalonia in the image of Virgin of Montserrat. Like the allegorization of Mother Mary as national icon, Bharat Mata is also a fusion of the religious and the political. The iconographic representation lends the nation a tangible form; the cultural signifiers involved in the image communicate differently with different individuals and generate reverence and passion in some while detestation and fear in others. The fair, feminine, sensualized image of Bharat Mata helped in eroticizing Indian nationalism. The nation's female body stimulates certain male gazes, resulting in a voyeuristic pleasure.

Alongside the politicization of gender and the gendering of the nation, languages also assumed a gender connotation in the late 19th century. While the prominent Indian languages of Hindi and Urdu were both represented as female, Hindi was equated to an honorable, virtuous, patient Hindu wife while Urdu was equated to a ruthless elite prostitute. Charu Gupta observed that they assumed the binary roles of Queen Devanagari and Begum Urdu (The Icon 4293). Hindu women of repute were banned from learning Urdu, the language of treachery and corruption that belonged to the invaders who besmirched Indian virtues. Gupta observed that while the boys' schools offered Urdu as an option, girls' schools insisted that girls, who are emblematic of the nation's purity, learn only Hindi and remain untainted by Urdu. In a discussion to finalize the standard Hindi among the diverse dialects available, dialects with explicit feminine overtones were discouraged. The consensus was to choose a dialect which has not excessively resorted to melody and erotic poetry, which would lull to sleep the Indian masculine virility, making a eunuch out of an Indian man. The obvious choice was Khari Boli, popularly known as Mardon Ki Boli/ the language of men (Gupta 4295). Knowledge of linguistic gender was made mandatory and it was advised to use masculine gender in places generating confusions; while Hindi was deemed to be a feminine tongue, its masculine practice was insisted in the society. These linguistic choices marked the formation of a new, virile India, quite distinct from the dormant, feminine nation that it was. The formation of the concept of Matribhasha/ mother tongue was effectively employed as a tool for 'othering' those who don't share the tongue and perpetrate violence upon them.

The theocratic image of Bharat Mata cleaved the Indian nation religiously even as it unified it patriotically. In the RSS versions of the image, Bharat Mata is usually foregrounded to the map of undivided *Akhand Bharat*, the irredentist

landmass that they seek to redeem. With the RSS adopting Bharat Mata as its poster image, it came to clearly symbolize the characteristics desired from its people and is a clear indicator to who are excluded from the Indian nation. All those who refuse to chant victory to the Bharat Mata, the Muslims and Christians who have their fatherlands exterior to the Indian boundaries, the non-elite and tribal women are all semiotically excluded from the national fabric through the elite, Hindu icon of Bharat Mata. By representing the nation as mother, the Bharat Mata image also semiotically exclude all non-reproductively oriented sexualities from the nation.

The close association of the nation's body with that of the female body produced perceptible consequences immediately after Indian Independence during the Indo-Pak partition and the communal riots that followed. With womanhood getting politicized and women being iconographically established as the bearers and nurturers of national virtues, they became specific targets of communal and sexual violence, degradation and humiliation. Violence perpetrated upon the women of a nation were indirectly targeted at the men who 'own' them, ridiculing their inability to protect the honor of their women and ultimately, their nation, altogether deriding the inefficiency of the men of the nation, establishing them to be effeminate. Women's bodies are symbolic markers of the nation's purity that the acts of violence upon women were symbolic acts of violence, aiming the disfigurement of the nation itself.

In times of national unrest, women endured two-fold suffering – they were subjected to physical harassment and violence, dismemberment, mutilation, genital brandings, or even murder by the men of the opponent community and were further subjected to victim-blaming, dishonoring, disowning or even killing at the hands of their own men. Many at times, women who suffered physical violence killed themselves because the honor-obsessed Indian society indoctrinated the womenfolk

to kill themselves rather than surrendering to the men of the 'other' community. Women's honor metonymically represented the nation's honor and necessitated protection from men, which in turn, established their masculine virility to safeguard their nation and their women. Gandhi wrote: "I urge every sister to pray thus on arising every morning: 'O God, keep me pure, give me the strength to preserve my chastity, strength to preserve it even at the cost of my life" (*Gandhi in India* 20, 21). As an outcome of India's obsession on women's honor, mass suicides followed communal riots, the most notorious of them happening in Thoa Khalsa, a village in Rawalpindi on 3rd June, 1947 where ninety women jumped into a well to save themselves from abduction, rape or even forced religious conversion. Times of political unrest narrowed and blurred the line of distinction between choice and coercion.

So sitting at the well, Mata Lajjawanti, who was also called Sardarni Gulab Kaur, she said two words, she jumped into the well and some eighty women followed her . . . they also jumped in. The well filled up completely; one woman whose name is Basant Kaur survived. She jumped in four times, but the well had filled up . . . she would jump in, then come out, then jump in again . . . she would look at her children, at herself. . . till today, she is alive. (*Other* 164)

Urvashi Bhutalia's *The Other Side of Silence* holds many such heart-wrenching instances, one of which is the story of Mangal Singh and his family, who on their journey to Amritsar, were forced to kill their own women and children.

After leaving home we had to cross the surrounding boundary of water. And we were many family members, several women and children who would not have been able to cross the water, to survive the flight. So we killed - they became martyrs - seventeen of our

family members, seventeen lives... It's a question of one's honor... if you have pride you do not fear. (154)

Also, violence on women necessitated retaliation, further fuelling the communal discord, and the victims will again be women, this time, the women of the opposite community. When raping the women of a nation becomes a metaphorical victory over that nation, disfigurement and mutilation after rape become a metaphor of the ultimate conquest of the nation.

The women who were branded by slogans such as 'Pakistan Zindabad, Jaihind, or the extreme Hindutva icon of the Trishool or the Islamic icon of the lunar crescent had to live with shame all their lives. Chopping off the women's breasts was symbolic of a nation losing its procreative ability. Asexualizing the woman has always been the first step in the creation of symbols and iconography. In a sociocultural scenario that views women merely as bodies to produce children, the acts of genital mutilation and amputation of breasts are activities of utmost symbolic relevance that nullifies her presence by erasing the possibility of fulfilling her only assigned responsibility. The caricatures that followed partition represented unified India as a whole woman and the newly formed India as a woman whose limbs were amputated. Both India and Pakistan made attempts after the great divide of 1947 to recover the abducted women. Once the lost women were traced and recovered, their families on the other side of 'the line' refused to take them back as they were unchaste and would defile the family honor. Those who were unaccepted or whose relatives could not be traced became the responsibility of the state and were branded as 'unattached'. The recovery mission was not carried out of genuine human concern or with the intention to reunite fragmented families, but to retain the ethnic purity of both nations. Hindu women trapped in Pakistan and Muslim women forcefully retained in India also problematized the newly fixed boundaries which were

partitioned on a strict religious basis. The blood purity of the children born out of rapes or the inter-religious families post partition loomed as a crisis. These children were the impure seeds that polluted the women of the nation and were therefore treated with contempt by both sides and often abandoned (Abraham *Fragmented* 30).

All the above-discussed traumas returned with the Anti-Sikh riots following the assassination of Indira Gandhi that Urvashi Bhutalia says, "It was like second partition again" (Other 4). Similar patterns of violence were perpetrated against women in the Gujarat riots and other moments of religio-political unrest. The Godhra train burning in 2002 produced the early sparks of communal violence, triggering a series of communal riots in Gujarat, the most brutal among them being the Naroda Patiya massacre. Sexual violence of the worst kind was unleashed upon the Muslim women of Naroda; public gang rapes, mass burning of raped women, insertion of sharp objects into the genitalia, branding women with hyper-Hindu symbols etc. were carried out with communal zest. In many cases, the sexual violence was carried out in the village mosques, aiming the desecration of its holiness or in front of fathers, brothers, husbands or sons who were held in captivity and forced to witness the violence. The helplessness of the men became the trope for the assertion of dominance over them, who were symbolically emasculated. The psychological frustration that gripped the Muslim community springing from the sense of the defeat of their men in protecting the honor of their women was an emotion potential of generating communal inferiority and surrender.

With the stigma around sexual violence and the social ostracization that would follow, many women and their families swore silence for the rest of their lives. The historic legal battle waged by Bilkis Bano, who was then a pregnant woman subjected to gang rape met its success in 2017, nearly fifteen years after the

brutality. Affirmative allegations were made regarding the involvement of the Gujarat government led by Narendra Modi and the police force allying with the rioters. Instances of state-sponsored violence are a reflection of the nation's hypocrisy in glorifying women as the embodiments of the nation in the form of the national deity while simultaneously exploiting their bodies as sites of honor and shame.

Sexual atrocities perpetrated by the Indian army in North East India and Kashmir, sanctioned by the extra-judicial legislation of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act of 1958 (AFSPA) fall under the category of state-sponsored violence targeting women. The act was introduced to curb uprisings of the Nagas who were unwilling to be part of the Indian union. AFSPA was imposed to ensure peace at a point in history when the North East was under the threat of militant uprising and insurgency. Even after the law and order situations were under control and repeated complaints were raised regarding the act interfering with the everyday civilian life, Indian state refused to repeal the act, retaining it as a sign of Indian militarism. Subnationalist, secessionist demands get quelled through excessive military deployment, bringing glory to the nation while the institutionalized violence perpetrated on civilians jeopardize the existence of citizens, particularly, women. With the act blurring the frontiers between public domain of sub-nationalism and insurgency and the private domain of family and homely joys, the Indian army gained unlimited powers over civilians, granting the army permission for warrantless searches and arrests and even armed confrontation upon suspicion, regardless of the casualty. Frequent confiscation of agricultural and residential lands for military deployment posed a huge risk to the peaceful lives of people. The 'security of home' faded to being a myth with the home subjected to vigilant surveillance, frequent searches and violent invasions. Deploying sexual violence as a disciplinary tool upon the civilian

women who are suspected of anti-national activities or are wives or daughters of the male suspects was a strategy regularly resorted to by the Indian army. Non-compliance to the interrogation gets usually met with sexual torture. The AFSPA ensures insulation of the soldiers from court proceedings against their violence.

In the infamous three month-long Operation Bluebird of 1987 which was the Assam Rifles' retaliation to the insurgent attack on an Assam Rifles post in Manipur, civilian lives were threatened for suspected aiding of the insurgent group. Excruciating interrogations, illegal detainment and primitive torture were mercilessly carried out. All types of excessive militarization in various pockets of the nation are vindictive towards humans in general and women in particular. In 2011, Soni Sori was arrested from Chhattisgarh for allegedly aiding Maoist activity and was sexually assaulted in custody by the Chhattisgarh state police. She was reported to be subjected to stripping, verbal abuse, body shaming, rape, and had to be offered medical aid to get stones removed from her genitalia. It is observed by human rights activists that since the 1988 insurgency in Jammu Kashmir, rape has been employed as a weapon of warfare by the militants, terrorists, Indian Army, Border Security Force etc. It is common in the 'disturbed' regions to abduct and hold the women hostages in exchange for their male 'owners'. It is also observed that there is a tendency to refrain from matrimonial alliances with girls of the 'disturbed' areas notorious for rapes. In the villages of Kunan and Poshpura in Kashmir, the Indian army was accused of carrying out mass rapes in 1991 in the guise of search for the militants. With the AFSPA in effect in the valley, the Kashmiri women who get victimized to sexual abuse by security personnels should first seek permission from the Indian state to file a complaint, which hinders the woman's right to approach the court for legal reprisal. The Indian state expresses tolerance, if not offer consent to the perpetrators of sexual violence, making them

legally immune to carry out further sexual crimes. Human Rights Watch had reported that raped women and women living in fear of sexual violence relocate from Indian-administered Kashmir to Azad Kashmir, in search of dignity of life. The extreme militarization of the Kashmir valley to quell the separatist insurgency in the valley led to rape being an "essential element of the Indian military strategy in Kashmir" (Mathur 60). Excessive militarization infringes the basic human rights guaranteed by the Constitution of India.

Women are the most vulnerable in times of threats and unrest since their bodies suddenly assume a metaphorical purpose. Therefore, women were at the forefront of the protests demanding the repeal of AFSPA. Women of the AFSPAregulated states suffer three-fold violence according to Gill – from the state through the enforcement of AFSPA, from the militants of the warring factions and the domestic violence in their own homes (Peripheral 8). Oppressed women organized themselves around organizations like the Naga Mothers' Association (NMA) or Meira Paibi in Manipur, a group of mothers, upholding their identity of Ima/mother as a means of resistance. In July 2004, the protest led by twelve *Imas* who stripped themselves in front of the Assam Rifles Headquarter, holding a banner reading 'Indian Army Rape us' was a prominent resistance against gendered violence legitimized by the AFSPA that caught international attention. While women's bodies are vulnerable repositories of their own chastity, family honor as well as national honor and is always at the threat of violation, the saggy, naked bodies of the twelve mothers became mighty tools of political resistance against the statesponsored/sanctioned violence upon Manipuri women. Like Mahasweta Devi's Santal woman character Dopdi Mejhen whose bloody, unarmed, naked body terrified the unyielding Senanayak when she asked him "How can you clothe me? Are you a man? There isn't a man here that I should be ashamed", these women's

naked bodies conveyed a political message so powerful to scare the state that AFSPA was withdrawn from the city of Imphal (*Breast* 36). However, the act remained implemented, unhindered in the rest of the region which Irom Sharmila resisted with a sixteen year-long Hunger Strike from 2000 to 2016.

The Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) of 2019 roused huge nationwide protests in the initial months of 2020 until the nation was gripped by the global pandemic. The law amended the Citizenship Act of 1955 and was open to accommodating Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsis from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan who were living in India since 2014, because they constituted the religious minorities in these countries, but denied Muslims the equal chance to claim citizenship. Religion became the marker of citizenship in a constitutionally secular nation and was essentially discriminatory towards Muslims. Combined with the databases like the National Population Register (NPR) and the National Register of Citizens (NRC), the CAA can be potentially employed to render many Indian citizens, particularly Muslims, stateless and disenfranchised to be deported or rehabilitated. Those without ample documental evidence to prove his/her Indian citizenship can no longer be an Indian. The future of Muslims, Dalits, ethnic minorities, Bahujans, women and transgenders appeared grim in the Indian nation. Protests raged against CAA and NRC in the universities and streets with women at the forefront. At the protests in the Jantar Mantar, an obvious gender role reversal could be seen with the women raising slogans and protesting, holding their children and placards while men cooked, served and cleaned.

Any socio-economic, political change implemented in the country will have direct and direct consequence upon lives of women primarily before it starts to concern men. With citizenship at stake, women's vulnerability gets increased manifold, driving them to the streets. Women are conventionally denied claim to

their paternal property, making them property-less and therefore document-less to assert their citizenship. Women stood a greater chance than men to get disowned by homes and disenfranchised by the nation. Historically and systematically denied education, paternal inheritance and economic independence, women in general and disadvantaged women in particular, need not necessarily possess any of the required documents to prove their citizenship and stood a high chance of disenfranchisement. Failure to produce required certificates derives from the fact that the women did not own them in the first place. Any legacy once submitted to the authority will be deemed final, with no provisions for revision; a minor mistake can declare one as an illegal immigrant. If a woman fails to produce the documents and is declared stateless, she has the right to appeal and appear for the hearing if she is a Hindu, Sikh, Jain, Buddhist or Parsi or Christian but Muslims were denied such an option. Pragya Roy observes that,

The Citizenship Amendment Act has the potential to incite a war-like situation, which will be manifested through competing male-egos and absolute disregard for humanity. Such masculinities of the state will only lead to the strengthening of an exclusivist and patriarchal society, that will curb the rights of the minorities, be it women, Muslim people, non-binary people, Dalit people or people with disabilities. (*Why* np)

The Transgender Act of 2019 insisted that a transgender can claim citizenship only by producing the medical documents certifying his/her gender change. When it is obvious that one's sexuality is what one asserts it to be, to insist on medical documents to certify that a transgender is reinstated into the stereotypical, hetero-normative gender binary is quite regressive. Producing necessary documents to prove their identity itself is a cumbersome task for the

transgenders since most of them would be either abandoned at birth or disowned by their families and written off from inheriting ancestral property or have fled their homes in shame, or lived under aliases to evade transphobia. Re-establishing familial ties which were snapped once and forever would be a difficult task, physically and emotionally. Transgenders and women belonging to religious minorities would find their citizenship in double jeopardy. Persons with physical and mental disability might also be lacking adequate documents to prove their identity as they might also be disowned by their families due to the stigma around disability. Adivasis who enjoy traditional land rites also might not be able to produce the required tenancy and ownership documents. If Adivasis are declared stateless and are disenfranchised, they might not even be able to appeal to higher authority for hearing since their religious proclivity do not fall into those advocated by the Indian nation through the CAA. This aspect of intersectionality of the underprivileged is the reason for the raging of the anti CAA protests, with women at the forefront.

Sexual violence had been employed over years in various parts of the world to tame the dissenting populace, to quell deviant, recalcitrant voices and to discipline the wayward citizens by employing women as bait, driving their men to shame. In most times of national unrest, women are the worst affected – physically, sexually, emotionally, socially and politically. The politics of sexual violence also aims to drive home the message of women's place of belonging, the transgression of which will be met with violence. The act of rape and accompanying sexual violence carries additional message when they are perpetrated by the state itself or during times of communal unrest. Women's bodies are not simply physical entities but 'bodyscapes' and political markers.

CHAPTER 3

NATION AND GENDER

"And yet we are told that femininity is in danger; we are exhorted to be women, remain women, become women. It would appear, then, that every female human being is not necessarily a woman; to be so considered she must share in that mysterious and threatened reality known as femininity. Is this attribute something secreted by the ovaries? Or is it Platonic essence, a product of the philosophic imagination? Is a rustling petticoat enough to bring it down to earth?"

— Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex

Gender

Oxford English Dictionary defines gender as the state of being male or female with reference to social or cultural differences ("Gender" 233). Masculinity and femininity are conventionally assumed to be the only gender binaries and are assigned certain characteristic traits which are deemed to be fixed. Deviations from these gender fixities are met with scorn, detestation, ostracization, penalty or even death depending on the gender rigidity of various societies. The discrepancies between assigned sex and performed gender also get met with similar responses from the society. While sex is biological, gender constructions are social and cultural in origin; social construction of gender includes the gender binaries, gender norms, traits specific to each gender as well as the permissible relationships both within and among the genders. Gender and sexuality, unlike common societal assumptions, are not necessarily essentialist categories. Gender, being a construct, can vary from society to society and change with time. Judith Butler theorized that

gender is performance and stated that "gender proves to be performance – that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to pre-exist the deed" (*Gender Trouble* 33). For her, gender is an ongoing involuntary performance, largely complying with societal norms about gender, but may also deviate from it. She is of the position that rather than an individual producing his/her gender performance, it is the gender performance that produces an individual. She legitimizes the incongruence between assigned and performed genders. Butler observes in the Preface to Bodies that Matter that "the misapprehension about gender performativity is this: that gender is a choice, or that gender is a role, or that gender is a construction that one puts on, as one puts on clothes in the morning, that there is a 'one' who is prior to this gender, a one who goes to the wardrobe of gender and decides with deliberation which gender it will be today" (x). Gender discrimination intersects with other discriminations on the ground of ethnicity, economic status, religion, caste, physical ability etc.

The sex medically assigned to a new-born is conventionally the determiner of its gender since parents and the society effectively employ the assigned sex as a reference to grooming the child in accordance with established stereotypes. Gender binary and gender norms get socially and culturally internalized by infants who learn to perform accordingly. Dresses and toys get color-coded to cater to the gender norms, which get reinforced all throughout the life of an individual through constant social tutelage and prolonged cultural indoctrination. Individuals are subconsciously trained to be the ideal embodiments of the gender binary, made obligatory through compulsory heterosexuality. "The terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' point beyond categorical sex difference to the ways men differ among themselves, and women differ among themselves, in matters of gender" (Masculinities 69). While the

conventional association of masculinity is to virility, dominance and aggression, that of femininity is to docility and submission; and while the conventionally assigned function of masculinity is breadwinning and protection, that of femininity is nurture. Socially expected masculine and feminine traits may vary depending on race or ethnicity as in the gradation of masculine traits among the Apollonian white male and the Dionysian black male. Such graded inequalities within each gender are common, resulting in a gender hierarchy. Since the definition of masculinity and femininity had evolved over time and has historical and cultural variations, the dissertation approaches the terms in their plurality – as masculinities and femininities.

Virility, aggression, martial prowess, facial hair etc. are regarded to be the traits of machismo, which is an extreme sense of pride about masculinity. The gradation of masculinity depends on the circumstances - expression of one's masculinity in a sports arena and in a family scenario will considerably vary from each other. Class also plays a role in the gradation of masculinity – working class expression of masculinity and middle class expression of masculinity will vary in their forms and intensity. Gay sexualities are deemed to be gentler and less aggressive in terms of their expression of masculinity and effeminacy gets attributed to homosexual men, making them an object of ridicule while hyper-masculinity gets celebrated as the quintessence of masculinity. Thus exists a hierarchy of masculinity, giving rise to the Gender Order Theory and the Hegemonic Masculinity theory by the Australian sociologist R.W. Connell. She is a pioneer in the study of the social construction of masculinity and foregrounded the heterogeneous nature of masculinity. "Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the

subordination of women" (*Masculinities* 77). She posited that every society has an idealized gender position for both masculinity and femininity, the masculine version of which is hegemonic masculinity which legitimizes the normative male behavior and subordinates femininity and all other expressions of masculinity. The theory of hegemonic masculinity explains how men derive social superiority over feminine and other masculine gender positions.

Deriving from Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, hegemonic masculinity lies at the background of the definition of a 'real' man, whose marked traits include violence, stoicism, physical strength and agility, adventurous and risk taking, sexual prowess, protective instinct etc. The two key postulates of hegemonic masculinity include dominance over women and a hierarchy of inter-male dominance. The stigmatization of homosexuality is also an accompanying element to it. Multiple masculine positions and the power hierarchy existing among them result in the subordination of gay men, trans-men, less aggressive men, men who lack facial hair etc., through a graded inclusion-exclusion pattern, attributing effeminacy to all these categories alike. Effeminizing men, thus deeming them inefficient or even impotent, had always been employed as a powerful tool to demoralize them. Rape is not always a mere male tool of power over women. Men get raped too, almost at an alarming rate, especially inside the army. Domination and rape of a male immediately reduces him to an inferior female position inside an aggressively masculine space and this is the easiest strategy to subordinate him. In Nathaniel Penn's essay on military sexual trauma titled Son, Men don't get Raped, he notes that a man's chances of being sexually assaulted increases by a factor of ten the moment he enlists in the United States Armed Forces. In the essay, Psychologist James Asbrand who is a specialist in post-traumatic stress disorder observes that male rape is extremely traumatic and is also symbolically the worst thing that can be

perpetrated upon a man - to forcefully reduce him to what culture and society perceives as feminine. Military sexual trauma causes a particularly toxic form of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The betrayal by a comrade-in-arms, a brother in whom you place unconditional trust, can be unbearable. Warrior culture values stoicism, which encourages a victim to keep his troubles to himself and stigmatizes him if he doesn't. An implacable chain of command sometimes compels a victim to work or sleep alongside an attacker, which can make him feel captive to his suffering and deserving of it, observes Penn (np). Connell is of the position that "to recognize diversity in masculinities is not enough. We must also recognize the relations between the different kinds of masculinity: relations of alliance, dominance and subordination. These relationships are constructed through practices that exclude and include, that intimidate, exploit, and so on. There is a gender politics within masculinity" (Masculinities 37). A perfectly hegemonic masculinity is a concept; if a man is hegemonic in one aspect of his life, he need not necessarily exercise the same hegemony in all other aspects of his life. Although to be deemed masculine, a man need not engage in all possible masculine behaviors, engaging in maximum masculine behaviors will add to his 'masculine capital', increasing his likelihood of being deemed the most masculine among all his peers. "The number of men rigorously practicing the hegemonic pattern in its entirety may be quite small. Yet the majority of men gain from its hegemony, since they benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women" (Masculinities 79).

Hegemonic masculinity also acts as the basis for the militarization of nationalism, leading to the construction of nations as more and more masculine. The belief that violence and militarism are the fullest expressions of masculinity and the portrayals of mass murder and violence as generating *josh* and invigorating men for

further heinous action are facets of hegemonic masculinity. Nationalism and militarism share a symbiotic relationship with masculinity; nationalism employs the military, largely composed of men with aggression as their trademark, in times of conflicts, in turn, reproducing masculinity. This might be the reason why many nations insist compulsory military service as a 'coming of age' rite so as to hypermasculinize their young men, thereby rendering the nation masculine and therefore stronger. Men are constantly gender-policed to maintain the required grade of masculinity. The gender pressure sometimes gets so unbearable, causing immense emotional and mental trauma to heterosexual men themselves, that studies have shown that sometimes men try to detach themselves from masculinity. In Japan, the term 'Herbivore men' became popular to denote the men striving to break free from masculinity and embrace pain, tears, gentleness, non-aggressiveness, equality of sexes etc. Embedded within the herbivore-carnivore binary is the element of violence born by masculinity. Misogyny, violence, homophobia, stoicism etc. are not necessarily inherent masculine traits but cultural and social expectations from the gender, reproduced by popular culture. In India, the standards of masculinity get raised gradually from being the breadwinner of the family to being an aggressive alpha male, modeled on the angry young men on screen like Arjun Reddy and Kabir Singh. Men find aggressive, macho counterparts on the screen quite relatable in their day-to-day lives. In her essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" included in the book Visual and Other Pleasures, British Film theorist Laura Mulvey is of the opinion that the human unconscious takes pleasure in looking. She identifies scopophilia and voyeurism as pleasurable derivatives of the visual medium. The male gaze derives an erotic pleasure from the female body on the screen and generates jealousy towards the hero on the screen, which when combined with the darkness inside the theatre, result in equating masculinity with aggression, sexual violence and stoicism, more than ever (Visual 16-19). Indian Masculinity models so

much upon the onscreen heroes that Bollywood heroes had to warn their fans not to idealize the hegemonic male roles they played.

Applying Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity to the concept of the nation, the thesis proposes that nations in general, lack a concordance between the assigned gender and the performed gender. India's lack of this concordance is evident in the conflict between its assigned feminine gender, embodied iconographically as the Mother Goddess Bharat Mata, and the nation's daily performance of masculinity. Connell observed that "many find it difficult to accept that institutions are substantively, not just metaphorically, gendered. This is nevertheless, a key point. The state, for instance, is a masculine institution" (Masculinities 73). The strict gendering of the public/private domains (the gharbahir binary) discussed previously in the thesis is a clear indication of the gendered existence of the nation. Nira Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias are of the position that in a Welfare State, the very conception of the notion of a 'state subject' is a gendered one, conceived as "essentially male in its capacities and needs" (Woman 6). The duo cautions against treating 'woman' as a monolith and observes that "it is important to remember that there is no unitary category of women which can be unproblematically conceived as the focus of ethnic, national or state policies and discourses. Women are divided along class, ethnic and life-cycle lines and in most societies, different strategies are directed at different groups of women (7). In spite of the progressive evolution that nations in general and the Indian nation in particular underwent, it still remains a masculine space, asserting its masculinity through war, violence, militarism, sexual crimes, regulations on female bodies and reproductive rights, social and cultural bans, inviolable decrees, censorship, insistence on compulsory heterosexuality, dehistoricization historiography, unlawful arrests and detainments, disregard for public outrage etc.

Personal laws, which regulate each religious community by its own laws or customs regarding 'personal' matters (those relating to inheritance, marriage, divorce, maintenance, custody of children etc.) are negatively discriminatory towards women, observes Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (*Scandal* 25).

Even though women have always existed in the private sphere of the nation which is not deemed as politically substantial, but yet played a crucial role in the construction and reproduction of the nation, the inclusion of women in the analytical discourse around nations and nationalism is a recent and partial endeavour. Davis and Anthias details the five major, yet non-exclusive roles women play in the national process which are as biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities, as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups, as participants in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture, as signifiers of ethnic/national differences and as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles (Women 7). As biological reproducers, the state exercises control over women's bodies, their wombs to be precise, to regulate the population and control the undesired stock for which the state may resort to compulsory sterilization or mass campaigns about contraceptives. Rajeswari Sunder Rajan discusses the mass hysterectomies performed by the state of Maharashtra upon the mentally retarded women inmates of a state-run care home in 1994 because the state deemed those uteruses incapable of producing healthy stock as dispensable, in spite of protests from various women's collectives (Scandal 72). In association can be analyzed the hysterectomy of Phoolan Devi, which is discussed later in this chapter. The other side of this control is encouraging the right stock as in Germany where Aryan women were encouraged to bear as many Aryan children as possible through the *Lebensborn* programme. Israel resorted to a pro-natalist policy following the annihilation of Jews in Germany. Women can make and unmake "demographic

holocausts", observes Davis and Anthias (8). The nation therefore recourses to eugenic discourses in order to maintain demographic proportion and homogeneity as well as the ethnic/racial quality of the nation, with women at the centre of all such policies. In the process of bearing children, women should be wary of the ethnic and national boundaries beyond which their choice of male partners should not trudge, thereby ensuring ethnic/national purity. Being bearers of their ethnic/national culture, women are bound to transfer it to her children. It is mostly older women who are assigned the roles of cultural reproducers of the nation and are endowed with the duty of inculcating appropriacy and propriety, tame deviant women etc. Since this is probably the only political duty that the nation assigns upon women, they might as well get fully committed to the cause, perpetrating masculinity as they carry out their assignment, observes Nira Yuval Davis in her work *Gender and Nation* (49).

As signifiers of the nation, women are attributed various meanings (signifieds), all of which bolster the male heirs to fight for her honor and dignity. Davis observes that a figure of a woman, mostly a mother is chosen to represent a national collective. Man's primordial closeness with the fertility of the Mother Earth is identified by her as the logic behind the nation's affinity towards mother figures (*Gender 57*). The propriety of its women becomes the signifier of the nation's boundaries. Being signifiers of communal, ethnic and national purity, women are also at the receiving end of violence which indirectly targets the men of their religious community, ethnic group or nation. Though women have armed themselves and fought along with the men in times of national, political or military struggles, the ideally expected role from her during times of unrest is merely supportive and nurturing in nature. At times, being on an equal footing with men as in discharging the military duty towards the nation imposes additional pressure upon

women by having to part from their babies, the pain of pre-term weaning etc. Although it is assumed that by granting women access to the military forces and enabling her to fulfill the ultimate duty of the citizen which is to die for the nation, the nation gives her full access to citizenship. But Davis in her Gender and Nation posits that the recruitment of women into the military was aimed at transforming military service from a citizenship duty to a job and that America began recruiting women into their army to prevent it from being flooded by Blacks (112). Killing, getting killed, being rendered a refugee are all gendered experiences in war. Additionally, differential power relation between genders exists within the military forces and thus it can't be concluded that the fifth role is empowering for women. It is evident that in all the five roles women play in the national process, they are directed, regulated and censured by the state and the state sets conditions that women should meet, expectations that they should fulfill and boundaries beyond which they should not trod. This gets internalized in the course of time that women unconsciously conform to them and impose them on fellow women and the following generations. The might of the male nation always looms over the women. The regulation of women's conduct and the preservation of the patriarchal family apparatus are deemed central to the maintenance of national order.

In spite of the multiple roles of women in a nation, gender roles are fixed and the transgression of gender roles is largely unacceptable, problematizing queer existences within the nation. However, the socio-political changes brought about by scientific progress and rational thinking in diluting gender binaries cannot be neglected. The phenomenon of women exhibiting masculine traits is often overlooked and is never discussed with the same earnestness as that of effeminate masculinity in the common discussions on gender. Discussed as part of queer theory in association to lesbianism, female masculinity is often derided in everyday

discourse with terms like 'tomboy' or 'butch' and is mostly a matter of social stigma. However, feminist discourse values female masculinity as a challenge to the traditional gender roles and conventional masculinity. Regularly gym-going women, female body builders and female athletes with toned, muscular bodies get body shamed and are expected to be feminine in behavior, though not in physical appeal. They are at some point in their career, expected to guit sports and start families, relegating themselves to the stereotype. Many Indian sports dramas like Chak De India, Dangal, Shabaash Mithu, Mary Kom, Bigil etc. portray this 'female athlete paradox'. It is not just the physique that constitutes female masculinity; mental and emotional stability, stoicism, assertiveness, professionalism, prioritizing career over family etc. attract the 'masculine' tag over women, who do not typically fit into the conventional feminine stereotype. Transvestite women had always been a source of humour, since early days of theatre. Also, women who chose unconventional, mostly masculine, professions get attributed with the masculine tag. However, it is most often seen that women who choose to exhibit masculine traits, whether physical, emotional or professional, are largely successful than stereotypical women, though heavily criticized and even hated for smashing gender roles.

History displays an array of female dictators, prison sentinels, rulers, Nazi camp guards etc. who violated the stereotype of femininity and wielded power, mostly unlimited power inconceivable by the traditional notions of gender. Political under-representation of women was a major issue faced by the female population, who were stereotyped to belong to the home than the world, which was deemed masculine; women wielding political power were looked down upon as an anomaly. However history abounds with stories of women who exercised power, sometimes directly and sometimes in disguise. There is no denial to the fact that women have climbed the echelons of power in spite of the prevailing misogyny and sexism.

Stereotyped over the ages to be benevolent, compassionate and caring, women's capability to perpetrate cruelty and violence easily appeared an improbability.

The female prison guards of the Nazi concentration camps called the Aufseherin were notorious in history for their countless acts of violence. It is estimated that one tenth of the Nazi guards were women. Though women guards were initially employed only in exclusively female camps like Ravensbruck, they were deployed soon to male camps as well because of their proclivity towards heinous punishments. The League of German Girls, which is almost the German equivalent of the Indian Durgavahini indoctrinated young German girls of lower and middle classes to pledge themselves to national service and motivated them to join the German SS, and when a shortage of Camp guards was felt, large number of women responded to the conscription calls, attracted by the power and money the job offered. Notorious names include the twenty two year old Irma Grese, the guard of Auschwitz, Ravensbruck and Berger-Belsen, who was accused of perpetrating sexual violence on the inmates and shortlisting women to be gassed on the basis of their beauty, Ilse Koch, who was infamously called the 'Witch of Buchenwald' for skinning the tattooed female prisoners, Maria Mandl, the Auschwitz guard who killed about 50000 women and was infamously called 'the Beast' and Herta Bothe who was notoriously called 'the sadist of Stutthof'. The female guards experienced the same status as that of the male SS and many of them doubled their power by developing relationships with the male guards. Irma Grese had an affair with Doctor Josef Mengele, who was notoriously called the 'Angel of death' and Ilse Koch married Karl Koch, thus amassing more power. The female guards exercised immense power, were offered good food and spacious accommodation where they could even live with their kids. Power intoxicated most of the women recruited as camp guards that there were only a few dropouts when they faced the reality of their jobs. Also the indoctrination of the Nazi ideology convinced them of the nobility of their jobs and the service that they offer to the mighty German nation in the making.

While the names that immediately strike common minds at the mention of the word 'dictator' are largely male, female rulers displaying dictatorial inclinations usually attributed to men are a historical reality. Examples include Mary I of England, notoriously known as 'Bloody Mary' for her cruel persecution of the Protestants, Catherine Medici of Italy who ruled France with an iron fist or Jiang Qing of China who employed the Chinese media and literature only for political propaganda and avenged her personal enemies under the facade of the Chinese Cultural Revolution etc. Quite like the male dictators, female dictators perpetrated gross human rights violations alongside their contributions to their country's welfare, and are often portrayed in history as Femme Fatales. Like most male dictators, the female dictators also largely assume power through their blood ties with the previous ruler (mostly in monarchies) or through their associations with the army. Mary I assumed power by being born into the Royal Tudor dynasty as the daughter of the English King Henry VIII. She became the first English Queen Regnant and was succeeded by her co-sister Elizabeth I. Catherine Medici was born into the Florentine House of Medici and assumed absolute power through her marriage with the French King Henry II. She mothered Francis II, Charles IX and Henry III, under whose reigns she wielded unlimited power. Jiang Qing assumed power, drawing political legitimacy from her marriage with Mao Zedong.

Female dictators, however, are not a phenomenon of the past. There are a number of democratically elected female rulers, as recent as in 20th and 21st centuries who displayed dictatorial inclinations, the obvious example being that of Indira Gandhi who entered Indian politics with the legitimacy of being the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru. During her prime ministership that lasted for nearly sixteen

years, she resorted to various authoritarian actions that aimed at supposedly collective national good, defying the opposition and sometimes without the cabinet's consent, the direct of them being the proclamation of the national Emergency. Indira Gandhi declared national Emergency in 1975, employing the Article 352 and 356 of the Indian constitution, assuming dictatorial powers for nearly two years from 25th June 1975 to 27th March 1977. The rise of Indira to power was quick and her transition from Gungi Gudiya as Ram Manohar Lohiya referred her to the Iron lady of Indian politics was remarkable (Dutta np). Her policies like the nationalization of banks, oil companies and industries, formation of new North Eastern states and the incorporation of Sikkim to India, slogans like Garibi Hatao, victory in the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971 against Pakistan, India's growth as a nuclear power etc. positioned Indira Gandhi as an irreplaceable, dominant figure in the nation and in the Indian national Congress that Congress President D.K.Barooah once observed that "India is India and India is India" (Auerbach np). However, her premiership was not without opposition; the oil crisis caused by the Arab-Israel War resulted in inflation, poverty and unemployment, largely unsettling the Indian population, particularly the Indian youth. Student movements centered around colleges and universities were consolidated under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan and came to be later called in history as the Bihar movement. With the opposition lining with the Bihar movement, an anti-Indira trend blew over the country, bothering her alongside the Allahabad high court's verdict charging her guilty of election malpractice.

All of these factors together led Indira Gandhi and Sidhartha Shankar Ray to choose to declare a national Emergency due to internal disturbances, suspending the fundamental rights of individuals and the freedom of the press overnight. The executive was granted unlimited power, all voices of dissent were quelled and Sanjay Gandhi rose in power as the political advisor and close confidente of the Prime Minister. From being the executor of the central government's decisions, he quickly assumed the role of the policy-framer, who many at times, bypassed his mother in making decisions for the nation, earning the opposition's criticism that the nation is ruled by a 'Kitchen Cabinet'. The 42nd amendment of the Indian constitution passed on 2nd November 1976 that came to be called as mini constitution or Indira's constitution curbed the powers of the Judiciary, empowered the executive and enabled the centre to meddle with the internal affairs of the states. The press was censored with an iron hand and both public and private media were employed for governmental propaganda. The Maintenance of Internal Security Act of 1971 (MISA) was reinforced, resulting in a spree of arrests and detainment of major national figures like Jayaprakash Narayan, Morarji Desai, George Fernandez, L.K. Advani, A.B. Vajpayee, Ashok Mehta, Lalu Prasad Yadav, H.D. Devagowda, Arun Jaitley, Raj Narain, V.S Achuthanandan, Pinarayi Vijayan etc. outmaneuvering them for threatening national security. MISA was employed to quell the rising Maoist and Naxalbari movements across the country. Political organizations like RSS and Jamaat-e-Islami were banned.

Sanjay Gandhi launched compulsory sterilization campaigns that forcibly sterilized Indian men and carried out forced, invasive implantation of IUDs in women's wombs, the gruesomeness of which reminded the world of the Nazi sterilization drive and eugenic experiments. Sanjay was aided in his vasectomy drives and slum eviction by his friend Ruksana Sultana, who herself served as an anomaly to the feminine stereotype. In Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, Salim Sinai, born on the night of India's Independence was forcefully sterilized during the Indian Emergency declared by 'the Widow' and his dwelling in Magician's Ghetto demolished by the slum beautification programme. His son

Adam Sinai was born exactly on the midnight of the declaration of the Indian Emergency (414-427). The repercussions of the Emergency and the suppressed dissent found its voice in the 1977 General Elections, which was literally a battle between democracy and dictatorship for the Indian population. Indira Gandhi lost the election and the Janata Party had a sweeping victory with Morarji Desai becoming India's first non-Congress Prime Minister.

In their book *India's First Dictatorship: The Emergency 1975-77*, Christophe Jaffrelot and Pratinav Anil observe that,

When one speaks of the Emergency, large numbers are in order: over its brief duration, eleven million Indians were sterilised and 110,000 locked up. In Delhi alone, of the city's five million citizens, 700,000 were displaced by the gentrification drive and 161,000 sterilised in programmes masterminded by Sanjay. The sheer institutional violence made possible by a declaration that remained...within the confines of constitutional and democratic practice (gave near imperial powers to the then Prime Minister)... Even so, the Emergency cannot be characterized as a uniformly authoritarian regime. For its policies and implementation varied in the course of time, were not imposed in the same manner in every state, and left the institutional pillars of democracy – the judiciary, parliament, and the media – with some room for manoeuvre. (35, 36)

Although the Indian Emergency evades a clear categorization as an authoritarian regime, there is no denial to the authoritarian inclinations it harbored and the dictatorial trends it exhibited. No political or racial purge was involved, ideological purity was not demanded and the death toll was far less in comparison to other totalitarian regimes. "The Emergency is best characterized as an authoritarian

regime which encouraged the depoliticisation of society, tolerated opposition so long as it operated in a highly circumscribed space, and faced dissident elements within the establishment itself', observed Jaffrelot and Anil (40).

There are many more examples of female rulers in the 20th and 21st centuries exhibiting dictatorial lenience. Sri Lankan Prime Minister Sirimao Bandaranaike who assumed the premiership of Sri Lanka in 1960 was the world's first woman Prime Minister. She gained political access by being the wife of the ex-Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who was assassinated in 1959. She rose in power to be hailed as 'the iron lady of Sri Lanka'. She maintained close ties with Indira Gandhi and resorted to nationalization of banks, education, media etc. and attempted to decolonize Ceylon from the colonial influences by replacing English with Sinhala as the administrative language and Buddhism as the predominant religion. Her bias against the Tamil population in Sri Lanka resulted in dissent from the Tamil population on the verge of disenfranchisement. The Tamil population responded to the anti-Tamil legislations with Civil Disobedience, prompting Bandaranaike to declare a national Emergency. Her masculine traits were so obvious that she was hailed as the 'only man in her cabinet'. Her mode of governance was that of an authoritarian democratic socialism that aimed at enforcing complete state control over the national economy, resulting in an economic crash. Her daughter Chandrika Kumaratunga who served as the fifth President of Sri Lanka repudiated her mother's brand of Sinhalese nationalism which roused the ethnic tensions between the Sinhalese and the Tamils and religious tension between the Buddhists and the Hindu, Christian population. Inflation, heavy taxes, unemployment and dissent from the Tamil population created a national tension that kept mounting, resulting in her losing the 1965 elections.

Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

had her own authoritarian style that later came to be called Thatcherism with clear dictatorial traits. It is interesting to note that Thatcher was a vociferous defender of the Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet who overthrew the democratically elected Chilean President Salvador Allende in 1973. She was also called 'the Iron Lady' like Indira Gandhi and Bandaranaike and was often referred to as the most powerful woman in the world when she was in office from 1979 to 1990. The phrase 'elective dictatorship' became prominent in the UK during Thatcher's term. She dominated the cabinet and consolidated power to the centre, resulting in centralization as opposite to the ideal decentralization of power, thus weakening the local governments. She resorted to rapid privatization of resources and engaged in constant clash with the European Union. Thatcherism, marked by privatization, competition, thrift, and an economic policy that drove people, particularly the miners out of work, roused serious protests from Northern Ireland and parts of England, which she squashed with an iron fist. The popular capitalism she initiated and the privatization of the state-owned resources resulted in her unpopularity that an opinion poll in 1981 rated Thatcher as Britain's most disliked prime minister of all time. The masculine traits in her were at times celebrated and at times derided; in 1983, Ronald Regan referred to her as the "best man in England" (Flock np). The late French President Francois Mitterrand once said she had "the eyes of Caligula and the lips of Marilyn Monroe" (Kenny np).

The Conservative British Prime Minister Theresa May was accused of autocratic inclinations like quelling protests, prolonging the Brexit in spite of the majority favoring it in the referendum, her conservative approach towards the queer community and her vicious verbal attack of the opposition. Israel's first and only woman Prime Minister Golda Meir (1969-1974) was hailed as 'the iron lady' of Israeli politics. Her comment "there was no such thing as the Palestinians", which

was later reiterated by the likes of Benjamin Netanyahu and Bezalel Smotrich, negating the existence of a fellow nation, defined her politics (Assi and Foster np). Meir was fervently criticized for her 'unfeminine' employment of the Mossad to eliminate enemies. Her stubbornness, derision of feminism, pro-Zionist elitism, lack of interest in public opinion etc. were all masculine traits that marked her. In the "Prologue" to her political Biography, Meron Medzini writes,

She believed fervently in democracy and in the best tradition of democratic socialism, yet at heart she was an authoritarian who did not trust the instincts of the masses and did not think they could properly judge what was best for them. Like many of her peers, she had "Bolshevik" characteristics. The party and the Labor Movement were synonymous with the country. What was good for the party was good for the country, and vice versa. She was a child of the party; it became her second home, making up for the private one she lacked. (xvii)

It is noteworthy that most of these female leaders presented themselves as 'mother' to their people, the benevolent provider who meets their requirements. On the other side of reality, they were stubborn, power-wielding women, unrelenting and adamant and mostly deaf to the people's cries around. There is no denial of the great contributions these women made towards the national wellbeing, but the attempt here is to demarcate the non-stereotypical, masculine elements in these women, which at times got celebrated for their might and at times serve as a reminder for how those in power should never conduct themselves. It won't be entirely wrong to suspect whether these women were simultaneously celebrated as benchmarks and vilified as femme fatales by the male nation in order to ensure they don't result in a continuum, so that there can't be anymore Gandhis, Badaranaikes or

Thatchers. Interesting to note is the concomitant absence of the concept of a 'male fatale', just as there is no real male equivalent to the witch.

Political representation of women is one of the major criteria in evaluating gender equality and the progress made globally. To enter the public domain reserved conventionally for men is indeed challenging for women. To combat the gendered nature of the political domain, reservations have been instituted for women in the positions of power. The larger the number of women in power, the greater the attention that can be offered to the issues faced by women. Political accountability of the government and the nation towards women does not end with ensuring women's political participation but also in ensuring gender-sensitive governance and inclusive and participatory policy making. As of 1st January 2023, the UN Women's map of women in politics revealed progress towards gender parity in politics but simultaneously indicated large regional gaps in the progress. 11.3 per cent of countries have women Heads of State (17 out of 151 countries, excluding monarchy-based systems), and 9.8 per cent have women Heads of Government (19 out of 193). This is an increase compared to a decade ago when figures stood at 5.3 per cent and 7.3 per cent, respectively. Of all the regions, Europe continues to have the highest number of countries led by women. Women represent 22.8 per cent of Cabinet Ministers as of 1st January 2023. However, representation of women is quite low in central and southern Asia in comparison to Europe. Notably, the data also shows that, although underrepresented, women are at the helm of other important policy portfolios, including environment, public administration, and education. However, men continue to dominate policy areas such as economy, defence, justice, and home affairs portfolios, which enable a larger exercise of power (Women in Politics: 2023 np).

In India, political participation of women still largely denotes the right to vote alone. Decision making, policy framing, developing a political consciousness etc. are largely a male prerogative, although the political scenario has changed drastically for the good of women. Though the gaps in the numbers of male and female voters is getting narrow and though female voters outnumber the male voters sometimes, women are still held back from complete political engagement by various reasons. Gender has always served and continues to serve as a vital marker of belonging to the nation and exercising power in a nation. On a closer investigation, it is obvious that the qualities that are sought from an ideal leader which include readiness, individualism, daring and mettle, vociferousness, access to and availability of the leader etc. are clearly masculine traits, indicating that power was traditionally vested in and is supposed to be vested in men alone. However, with the progress of time, women today contest in elections, run public offices and lead political parties, though in far lesser percentage than the male leaders. A phenomenon observed generally across the globe and particularly in India is the increased representation of women in local bodies rather than national and central bodies. An interesting question that rises here is whether the patriarchal nation by default, hinders women's representation at the upper echelons or whether women themselves have been patriarchally conditioned to internalize that their political imaginary should not venture beyond the local. Those women who seek beyond the permissible limit of power get verbally maligned, get portrayed as powerhungry femme fatales, misandrists etc. and get witch hunted for their desecration of the gender stereotype, as previously analyzed in the cases of vilifying those female rulers who exercised unlimited power.

Often, choosing a female candidate to contest in elections is a cynical strategy to win votes. Many women elected to the local bodies serve as proxies, allowed to contest only because the seats are reserved for women, facilitating a patriarchal exercise of power. India ranks 20th from the bottom in terms of representation of women in parliament. The available statistical data reveals that

democracy is, by no means, a guarantee to gender equality. Beyond being underrepresented, the seats reserved for women are divided on the basis of class and caste
among Dalit women, tribal women and the like proportionally. The bill demanding
33% reservation of seats for women was prevented thrice from being introduced in
the Indian Loksabha and lacked majority to be made a law before it was passed in
the Rajyasabha in 2008. In the September of 2023, in the eve of approaching general
election, the Indian government passed the motion in the Loksabha for the 128th
constitution amendment to ensure 33 percent reservation to women in both Houses
of the Parliament and the new bill has been named 'Nari Shakti Vandan Abhinandan
Karyakram'. However, its implementation is withheld until the next election which
is due only in 2029. The protective discrimination for women enshrined in the
constitution is thus yet to produce the desired results. The much advertised slogan
'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas' remains a facade that most women of the nation are
largely still women outside the nation.

It is also a commonly observed political phenomenon that women usually gain access to the political sphere through their relation with the men wielding political power; they are daughters or wives of men in power. They may be engaged in social work or even minor political activities like electioneering and propaganda or even local political activism but their entry into the active politics per se happens mostly through their blood relation or partnership with their men. Though a generalization of this kind can sound like a negation of women's merit to establish themselves politically, there is no denial to the fact that women benefit from the political bonus of their status as daughters or wives of men who wielded power.

The male nation has for ages, conditioned its women to believe, practise and thus legitimize the female gender's inferiority, convincing its women that it is natural and normal to be treated secondary, to be neglected, to be physically violated, to be disowned by their family and disenfranchised by their nation and to be erased, leaving no trace behind of her convoluted female existence within the nation. A woman who speaks for herself and for her fellow women, stands up for her rights, questions the norms, challenges gender roles and demands changes is seen as an anomaly. History abounds with tales of maltreatments and witch hunts of women who chose to deviate from the dictated trajectory. Witch hunting practices were common in the middle age and the early modern age Europe and colonial America. The violence involved in the persecution of those branded as witches and accused of witchcraft has been, over the years, extended to the modern meaning of 'witch hunting' which denotes a targeted attack, intended to malign the opponent, usually a female political opponent. While witch hunting was a medieval practice to regulate malevolent magic, it later became a political tool for persecuting women who did not fit into the gender boundaries. Women were accused of hysteria, an outcome of wandering uterus (hysteros), and were exorcised to ward off the evil; uncured hysteria was associated with witchery. A modern day equivalent of medieval witch hunting is the cancel culture, whereby a person voicing an unpopular opinion stands the risk of being cancelled from the group or society; demands for personal space, political rights, equality of gender etc. are still unpopular in many societies. At a time when transgressing fixed gender roles constituted heresy in France, the nineteen year old French belle Joan of Arc was burned at stake in 1431 accused of witchcraft. The seventy charges raised against her included transvestism, arming herself and fighting in the Hundred Years' War. When efforts to prove her guilty of misconduct and poor virtue failed, the impropriety of her clothing topped the list, culminating in her murder.

In India, the witch hunting tradition and practice is deeply intertwined with the caste system and the hunted women usually belong to the caste fringes of the society. In Mahasweta Devi's *Bayen*, the motherly instincts of Chandidasi towards the dead baby

Tukni make it easy for the superstitious society to brand her as 'Bayen', an evil woman who raises deceased children from their grave and breastfeeds them and can ominously curse the villagers. Chandi is forced to carry a rattling canister with her so as to warn the villagers of her approaching. Chandi grows to internalize her own vilification and exile that she herself insists her husband Malindar to tie knots on their son Bhagirath's hair and clothes to ward off her evil eye (Bayen 76). In rural India, women have been falsely accused of witchcraft to evict them out of their lands which are coveted by rich men, to divorce unyielding women, or to teach opinionated or rebel women who fail to behave in a circumspectly feminine manner a lesson. In the US Presidential election campaign of 2016, Hilary Clinton was likened in memes to a witch, the easiest way by which Trump-sympathizers could bring her down. Witch hunting traditions of yore and of the present are therefore political tools for the reinforcement of male authority. In the modern times, when a nation legitimizes political witch hunting of opinionated women, women of low social standing, women with deviant sexuality etc., it is a clear indication as to who really belongs in the nation and who doesn't and an explicit indicator that the perpetrating nation is performatively a male nation, irrespective of its assigned feminine gender.

Over the years, the male nation and the patriarchal family system has indoctrinated women to internalize patriarchy to such an extent that women themselves have become the most powerful carriers/agents of patriarchy to continue gender bias and sexism, even when the male perpetrator group is absent. They do not recognize the patriarchal conditioning they are subjected to and therefore continue the patriarchal conventions over generations of women in their families. The inevitability of belonging to the traditions, insistence on the inviolability of gender roles and sexual purity, stipulations and regulations on the female body, the necessity of social validation, detestation of homosexuality, obligation to police other women's choices etc. get

unconsciously passed down through generations of women and are reinforced by the society on a daily basis, sometimes directly and sometimes subterraneously. Girls are subjected to the inculturation of patriarchy from a young age in families and then exposed to the society and media which continue the proselytization, thus perpetuating the continuum, resulting in women internalizing their powerlessness, sexual objectification and subordination to the male gender. Internalization of patriarchy can generate misogyny of varied extents, ranging from preferential treatment of men over women to shaming of career-oriented women to female foeticide, and women can turn into potential agents in all such misogynist circumstances.

Internalized patriarchy can lead to toxic femininity that rigidly defines womanhood, pressurizing women to limit themselves to the stereotypical gender role, leaving little or no space for deviation. Kindness, compassion, beauty, maternal love and care, nurture, subservience, sexual ignorance and submission etc. are the virtues expected out of women and variations from these can bring about queer brandings, which are a matter of shame in a patriarchal family and a male nation. femininity posits that women are without agency and exist to be defined and judged for their value by a male in their life such as a father or a husband. When toxic masculinity upholds male supremacy, justifying gender violence and unequal power dynamic among genders, and insists on men exhibiting only stereotypical male traits, toxic femininity endorses it through silent acceptance and insists that women do not to deviate from stereotypical feminine traits. Both put men and women respectively under gender pressure. Both toxic masculinity and toxic femininity have internalized heterosexism and sexual deviance is anathema for both. An extreme of toxic femininity can be regarded as hyper-femininity which demands stringent adherence to the gender stereotype and any kind of gender based violence

gets met with victim-blaming and slut shaming for having the womanly virtue compromised.

As a counterbalance to 'Machismo' which is a notion of exaggerated maleness and a sense of masculine pride, Evelyn Stevens developed the term 'Marianismo' in her 1973 work Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo, defining it as the set of feminine traits that mark women as semi-divine and spiritually and morally superior to men. Venerating Mother Mary as the epitome of femininity, Marianismo derives the defining traits of idealized femininity from her, which include spiritual purity, mental strength derived from spirituality, chastity until marriage, silent endurance, preservation of the institution of family etc. While machismo celebrates male sexuality, Marianismo entertains the repression of female sexuality (90-92). Internalized patriarchy and toxic femininity can coerce women into submission, convince them of their victimhood by making them believe they deserve suffering, drive them to accept sexual violations and unwanted pregnancies, grieving in silence. In India, gender proselytization through which patriarchy gets internalized is an everyday reality to which girls and women are exposed to, transforming them into agents of patriarchy, enabling them to think like a man, thus perpetrating gender-based violence on fellow women without regret. Combating internalized patriarchy would require a shift of perspective in the way society comprehends gender roles, necessitating lot of unlearning, which doesn't come easy, particularly to the women who have been indoctrinated for ages to internalize their inferiority.

Gender, Sports and Nationalism

For women who have internalized the notion that they are, by default, physically weak and inferior to men, sports stayed a forbidden discipline. R.W. Connell observes that "the institutional organization of sport embeds definite social relations:

competition and hierarchy among men, exclusion or domination of women" (Masculinities 54). Sports is a site where gender is performed and socialized. Physical agility and athletic potential elevates the degree of masculinity for a growing boy while for a girl, being physically active would invite shame and mar her feminine grace, branding her as a tomboy, disgracing her among the fellow girls. Efforts will be actively carried out by the family and the society to tame her wildness and discipline the 'man' in her. Culturally, sports had therefore, for a long time, remained a men's arena and the aggression involved in sports like football and wrestling affirm the equation between sports, aggression and masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity gets largely employed in sports, where men exhibit aggression that borders on violence, suffer injuries, endure pain stoically, silently recover or perish from the injuries, thus facilitating a naturalization of the inherent notion that physical prowess, stoicism, endurance, competition etc. are masculine traits. If a player refuses to play through minor concussions or bearable sprains, he is held responsible for the defeat and can even get branded effeminate for his inability to stoic endurance. A player playing through pain elevates himself and establishes himself to be noble; he is nobler if he plays through misery and noblest if he displays a stoic resignation to pain and emotions. Hegemonic masculinity is definitely at work on the ground.

Conventionally, masculinity is always deliberated to ensue from men's bodies as is often represented by the concept of the 'Dionysian male'; the male body directs most actions of a man, particularly in the testosterone-driven circumstances that make men aggressive or sexually violent, or the male body restricts certain other actions like uncontrollable display of emotions or tending to a baby. "Masculine gender is (among other things) a certain feel to the skin, certain muscular shapes and tensions, certain postures and ways of moving, certain possibilities in sex", observes Connell (*Masculinities* 52-53). The predominance of the Dionysian element over the

Apollonian element in the male body as far as sports is concerned is evident in the historical fact that men resorted to using jockstraps (groin guards) long before they used helmets (head guards) in physically threatening sports. Sports has been, for ages, the leading definer of masculinity in popular culture. It is a commonly observed phenomenon on the media that sports stars are hired to advertise products that by themselves carry a macho aura, such as shaving razors, cements, energy drinks and snacks, racing bikes or sports cars. When a female body starts directing or restricting a woman's actions, which is socially and culturally expected to be driven or limited only by social conventions, the woman's body, her identity and her existence in the strictly gendered society becomes an anomaly, thus problematizing women's passion for sports. The kind of strength, toughness, endurance, discipline, competitiveness and commitment sports demands is conventionally unanticipated from women. Usually, the construction and maintenance of masculinity necessitates women's participation, which is not necessary in sports; the closest women get to the actual action are the roles of cheer girls or glamorous girlfriends who enthuse the male players.

Women's active participation in sports has regional differences; developed nations in which serious efforts are being made to bridge the gender gap have a greater involvement of women in sports than underdeveloped nations. There are also nations with strict religious codes of conduct governing women, prohibiting its female adherents from being sportspersons. This is particularly so in the Arab world and Iran where Islamic modesty and Scriptural protocols hinder women from sports. It is not that Islamic rules forbid women from sports but that its insistence on modest dressing and isolating women from a male environment obstruct women from engaging in sports. Nevertheless, there is no single 'female Muslim' experience that is universal and the conditions have improved with the low rates of Islamic women's

participation in sports picking momentum with time. A woman with affinity to sports, in spite of the initial identity crisis and societal taunts, grows into reconciliation between her female self, her religious self and her athletic self. Usually women accommodate themselves to pre-existing sports with their rules already designed by men and popularize its female variant which is sometimes known in a different name or sometimes devise an exclusively female sport. However, in the former case, the men's sport variant garners universal attention, while the women's variant often gets sidelined and get represented much less on national media. Women's sporting events do not earn popularity and money as their male variant does. Also, female sportspersons face comparatively larger degree of gender-oriented risks of workplace abuse, a recent example of which was seen in the protest led by the female wrestlers of India against the Wrestling Federation chief and BJP MP Brij Bhushan Singh, accusing him of sexually harassing female wrestlers, including minor girls.

Though ancient civilizations appreciated physically active women and offered them martial training, it took time for women to be included in athletic competitions like the Olympics. The organizers of sporting events with ingrained gender prejudice expressed serious concerns over women's stamina and will power. However, over time, women's participation in sporting events increased manifold but their participation in violent combat-based contact sports still remains minimal. When women entered the forbidden space of sports, the 'female athlete's paradox' previously discussed in this chapter looms large and real. In a society where transcending gender roles were a taboo, women get shamed for daring to venture beyond the gender roles, choosing to tone their body, opting to wear exposing clothes to facilitate physical agility and get disgraced for chasing fame and money. Female wrestlers and boxers sometimes take the public by surprise with their mettle and stamina that their sexuality gets immediately questioned,

because deeply ingrained in the collective unconscious is the gender prejudice, marking women as the physically weaker sex. Sania Mirza was policed by extremist Islam adherents for her choice of miniskirts on the Tennis court, calling it 'un-Islamic' and later in her career for her marriage to Pakistani cricketer Shoaib Malik, accusing her of betraying India. Serena Williams was racially abused multiple times in her career and also body shamed for not fitting into the conventional feminine body requirements. Racism and sexism converged in shaming her body for its lack of 'supermodel curviness', "labeling her 'savage', saying her arms are 'manly', and maintaining that her physique is 'too strong'" (Smith np). The American wrestler Ronda Rousey, the only woman to champion in UFC and WWE got body shamed for her muscular arms and her strength and resilience. She was accused of being masculine and was called 'miss-man' and 'beast' that in order to exhibit the feminine side in her, she had to resort to sexualizing her body in Photo-shoots and Magazine covers. Sportswomen have been "overtly trivialized, infantilized and sexualized", observes Michael Messner et al. (Separating 123).

Sports, gender no bar, is a major stimulant of nationalism that sporting events act as political signifiers of the nation's coherence, its relations with fellow nations, its outlook towards universal fraternity etc. Sporting events generate fervor of co-belonging and solidarity, thus cohering the nation further. Sometimes, it is the xenophobia harbored against the opponent nation that holds the diverse nation in solidarity, as often seen during India-Pakistan cricket matches. In his essay *The Sporting Spirit*, included in the collection *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays*, George Orwell writes,

Nearly all the sports practiced nowadays are competitive. You play to win, and the game has little meaning unless you do your utmost to win... the most savage combative instincts are aroused...At the international level sport frankly mimics warfare. But the significant thing is not the behavior of the players but the attitude of the spectators: and, behind the spectators, of the nations who work themselves into furies over these absurd contests, and seriously believe, at any rate for short periods, that running, jumping and kicking a ball are tests of national virtue...Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting. (164-165)

The everyday, commonplace nationalism generated by sports through what Orwell calls the "savage passions" it rouses is one of the primary expressions of banal nationalism, discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation (166). This mundane expression of nationalism is largely unconscious, operates invisibly undercover and is a bottom-up model of nation building. One can see sportspeople resorting to employing their uniforms, bodies, ground/pitch, and even the boycott of the game as response to the pressing political needs of their nation or to express solidarity with a political cause they identify with.

Though the phrase 'national sports' primarily brings to attention only internationally accepted nations, sports act as a means of revitalizing and consolidating the nationalist spirit of submerged nations like Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Quebec, Catalonia, Basque etc. National sports, for these submerged nations is a means of cultural resistance against the political entity that encompass them and serve as an occasion to celebrate a nationality that their people cherish in their hearts but cannot be politically manifested since it contradicts their ascribed nationality. The growth and spread of sports, generating nationalist zeal in both participants and partisans, can also be evaluated as a representation of the phenomena of

globalization. The initial trend of the spread of sports from West to the rest of the world later gave way to a multidirectional spread, resulting in the mingling of various cultures and sporting traditions, making sports a global cultural amalgam. The multidirectional spread of sporting cultures is referred to by the portmanteau word 'sportization'. Sociologist Joseph Maguire identified five phases of sportization - the first when the traditional martial pursuits got converted to modern sports in the 17th and 18th centuries, the second marked by the emergence of the new sports of the 19th century, the third marked by the late colonial age when European (specifically British) sports spread across the empire and beyond, the fourth spanning from the 1920s to the 1960s when there was an ongoing struggle for hegemony between the European, American and the traditional sports variants of Asia and Africa and the fifth spanning from 1960s onwards, discerned by the increased global presence of non-Western sports with them gaining power in the international sports associations (Sport 408-409). The kind of cultural nationalism generated by sports simultaneously provides an insight into the nation's resistance against globalization, although sporting tradition largely gave into the flow of globalization. There are cases when the most popular sport need not necessarily be regarded as the national sport or vice versa. The nation might sometimes, project a sport as exclusive to that nation, as embodying the national essence by even predating that modern nation in its origin, and declare it the national sport of the nation or entertain it greatly, regardless of its lack of popularity. An example can be seen in the ethnic nationalism entwined around bullfight in Spain, which is granted a heritage status and regarded as an integral part of Spanish national culture, in spite of its lack of admiration among Spaniards who prefer their national sport of Football over the taurine games. Similarly, Gaelic sports are promoted in Ireland for their ethnic value, in spite of the Irish Football fervor, which is English in origin.

Nation and the growth of nationalism necessitate the involvement of a collective identity, derived from shared language, culture, common history, ancestry etc. People who express particular nationalist sentiments consider it their commitment to support their fellows who share the same sentiments; in other words, members of a nation feel obliged to support and cheer their sportspersons. This moral obligation is partially a reflex and partially a product of the nation's insistent demand for loyalty, which is characteristic of nationalism. Though the multicultural, plural societies make complete loyalty and coherence challenging, nationalism has its ways of sidestepping the challenges by occasionally entailing an indifference to the interests of 'others' within the nation. Additionally, sports has its own means of bypassing these challenges as well. Organized sports is very much like religion; it has rituals and practices that can unconsciously bind minds together. There is a lineup prior to the event, the officials, players, field assistants and fans stand for the national anthem, followed by a display of the national flag; players exhibit extreme patriotism towards the nation, holding arms to their chest or bowing their heads, all contributing to a series of overtly political ritualistic enactments, contributing to national solidarity. The shared experience involved in sports develops a collective consciousness, creating an "imagined community" comprised of mutually unfamiliar faces who cherish in their minds a "sense of communion", derived from their passion for the game, the players and the nation (Anderson 6).

The first chapter of this dissertation discussed in detail Eric Hobsbawm's observations about nations and nationalism. The two vital factors Hobsbawm delineated as contributing considerably to the proliferation of national sentiments post the World War I were the growth and spread of modern mass media and the transition of sports into a national spectacle (*Nations and* 141-142). He observed that,

What has made sport uniquely effective as a medium for inculcating national feelings, at all events for males, is the ease with which even the least political or public individual can identify with the nation as symbolized by young persons excelling at something practically every man wants to be good at. The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people. (143)

To identify with the few recognizable faces of the team makes it easy for a common man than to identify with a faceless abstract community. This identification furthers a larger collective of all those who identify with the same faces, creating an imagined community. Sports engenders nationalism and nationalism invigorates sporting events.

The politicization of sport and specifically the establishment of competition between nations, in the emblematic manner of the Olympic Games, lead states to consolidate their national identity or improve their national prestige in the concert of countries. In effect, the great international sporting events are the occasion for governments of most countries to take action in order to increase nationalist fervor. (Trivino and Candalija 34-35)

Xenophobic nationalism invigorates sports to the extent that it can instill a violent competition among sportsmen and among fans, unfitting to the noble spirit of sports. This need not be limited to physical violence alone but can include racial and ethnic abuse of rival players or similar inappropriate conducts dispiriting the rival players and the rival nations. It has also been observed that sports and the xenophobic expression of nationalism on and off the ground serve the primitive purpose of acting as a vent to extreme nationalistic sentiments. Sports, in that sense, acts as an escape valve for the otherwise malevolent bellicose passions, which need

to be manifested in one way or the other so as to prevent a violent eruption of these sentiments. It is preferred by the nation that the display of belligerence happens in controlled situations like that of a sports stadium than in an unexpected public eruption. "In this way, during a match or a competition, fans have the 'freedom' or even the 'right' to unleash prejudices and hostility on athletes and fans from other countries and to then return to everyday routines after letting go of these bellicose passions" (Trivino and Candalija 35). It is also arguable that with the popularization of the trend of sporting clubs, club Football and League Cricket spinning more business than their national counterparts, sports is undergoing a shift, with its principle of solidarity mutating from nationalism to tribalism. The identification with the sportsmen of one's own nation gets furthered by the media. Michael Billig observes that the sports pages in the daily newspapers are fashioned in such a way to persuade the readers to support the national cause. The targeted readers of the sports pages are generally men since sports has been always a predominantly masculine domain. The sports pages echo the language of warfare by employing metaphors of weapons and attack and "can be seen as banal rehearsals for the extraordinary times of crisis, when the state calls upon its citizenry, and especially its male citizenry, to make ultimate sacrifices in the cause of nationhood" (Banal 11).

As discussed in the introduction to the dissertation, the modern Nation is not older than the French and American Revolutions and is largely a 19th century phenomena. In the 19th century, European sports had already departed from being Eurocentric and permeated into the nooks of the Empire, soon to be challenged by the Asian, African and native American variants, according to Maguire. Therefore, the one-to-one connection between sports and nationalism is not an induced one but is inherent to them, given their parallel evolution. Striking here is the fact that both nation and modern sports were ideologically male in their origins.

Nation states and modern sports are the late 19th century's conjoined twins. It is not a coincidence that in the period when the balance of power between empires and nations begins to shift, when Germany, Italy and Japan reorganize themselves as nation states between 1870 and 1914, that it is at this moment that modern sports formalize their rules, set up regulatory associations and establish international competitions. This is the historical moment when athletes and sportspersons are redefined as representatives of their nations. (Kesavan np)

In their essay titled The Thermometer of Sporting Nationalism, Spanish scholars José Luis Pérez Triviño and Rafael Valencia Candalija employ a thermometer to assess the degree of intensity of sporting nationalism and categorize it accordingly into three. Assertive sporting nationalism ensures a positive take towards sports and vindicates the collective identity of the participant nations. Assertion of the self does not warrant an antagonizing of the rival nations. Aggressive sporting nationalism encompasses certain behaviors that involve force and vigor and is targeted at offending and maligning the rival teams and nations. The aggression need not be manifested physically, but can be verbal or even psychological, to demoralize the opponent players. This often happens in cases of sporting competitions among nations that have a deep-running historical hostility such as seen in the cricket matches between India and Pakistan. Most expressions of aggressive sporting nationalism necessitate censure. Violent sporting nationalism involves the deliberate intention of physically harming the rival nation and its players. This can range from physical ambush on the ground to destruction of a nation's infrastructure, either premeditated or instinctive (36-37).

Each of these sporting nationalisms creates an 'imagined community' of their own. The 'imagined community' created by sports may largely concur with the 'imagined community' of the nation but need not necessarily be coterminous, in which case it can problematize personal and national identities. The line between fostering nationalism and catering to stereotypes and denigrating the other is really thin that while effectively fostering nationalism, sports simultaneously complicates national identities. This is evident in the fact that players who get inducted into national teams different from their birth nations and score against their birth nations or nations of their ethnic origins experience the 'players' dilemma', a combination of ambivalence and identity crisis. West Indian cricketers of Indian ethnic origin and Sri Lankan cricketers of Tamil ethnic origin have been vocal about this 'players' dilemma' and players of black and brown ethnic origins in a predominantly white national team have been vocal about the racial bias they endure. French National Footballer of Algerian origin Karim Benzema expressed his internal dilemma in 2006 when he said that his national loyalty to Algeria remains intact in spite of him playing for France. He was criticized vehemently for his reluctance to sing the French Anthem before the matches. He summed up his identity crisis saying "If I score, I'm French, if I don't I'm Arab" (Tharoor np). Belgian player Romelu Lukaku expresses his immigrant identity crisis stating that "when things were going well, I was Lukaku the Belgian striker. When they weren't going well, I was the Belgian striker of Congolese descent" (Lukaku np). After the much celebrated Black Power Salute during the American national anthem by Tommie Smith and John Carlos in the medal ceremony of the 1968 Olympics, Smith responded, "If I win, I am American, not a Black American. But if I did something bad, then they would say I am a Negro. We are black and we are proud of being black. Black America will understand what we did tonight" (Congelio np). Even the audience experiences a similar identity crisis; they waver between their homeland and their land of residence/citizenship, between personal loyalty and national allegiance, in a sporting event between the two. Poor performance can immediately earn the player/athlete the brand of a 'traitor' towards his nation and on a spur of hyper-nationalism, can even culminate in his death as it did with the Columbian player Andre Escobar for his self-goal against USA in the FIFA World Cup of 1994. Complete loyalty towards one's nation is essentially the litmus test of patriotism and loyalty for both sportspersons and the audience, serving as the touchstone to discern patriots from traitors.

A hyper-national nation may take this touchstone too seriously, leaving no option to its people but to identify with the national faces in sports. Norman Tebbit, the British Conservative Member of Parliament during Thatcherism proposed the controversial Cricket Test in 1990 in his interview with the Los Angeles Times, which became popular as the Tebbit test. The test expressed his concerns regarding loyalty of the immigrants in Britain and the changing national character of Britain. He remarked in the interview that "I'll be sorry to see the United Kingdom becoming a less Anglo-Saxon country" (Fisher np). The test recommends the use of the ethnic minority's identification with the English cricket team as a parameter to evaluate their Britishness. The test is basically an analysis of the previously discussed players' dilemma and the audience's dilemma, the identity crisis experienced by the immigrant population, in spite of years of acculturation. For Tebbit, an erasure of one's ancestry and complete assimilation into the British identity alone can enable true identification with the British team, resulting in the clearing of the test. "Which side do they cheer for? It's an interesting test. Are you still harking back to where you came from, or where you are? And I think we've got real problems in that regard", he said in the interview (Fisher np). Many British citizens of Asian origin, particularly Muslims, failed the test. Tebbit resisted the

accusations of racism, claiming that his views on immigration were formulated with legitimate national interest. He however, did not suggest the test to be a conclusive marker of Britishness, but as a possible gauge of nationalism.

India had a huge following for the colonial game of Cricket, with the nationalist movement being led by leaders with a proclivity towards cricket. Many of them, including Nehru were products of English education; Nehru was a great cricket-enthusiast himself. The game gained huge popularity in the urban, elite hubs around the independence. Arjun Appadurai observes that vernacular radio commentary and sports magazines popularized cricket among the masses and introduced them to the "subtleties of the sport" (Modernity 100). Fahad Mustafa in his Masters' dissertation titled Cricket and Globalization argues that the relay of cricket over the national television transformed nationalism into a lived experience, gradually associating a spirit of jingoism with Indian cricket. He notes that "cable television often promotes series involving India and Pakistan as Badla (revenge), Oayamat (Judgement) and Sarfarosh (martyrdom)" (50-51). A military metaphor always shrouded Indian Cricket; playing a cricket match as equivalent to fighting a war, Jung or Ladai as the Indian media called it. Mustafa also notes that most Indian viewers recollect past matches not in terms of their quality of play or their statistics but in political terms of the triumph of 'us' over 'them' (52). In a few years' time, cricket came to be established as the signifier for Indian manhood as well as nationhood. Identifying with the Indian cricket team became a major yardstick of an Indian's patriotism.

Ramachandra Guha's comprehensive history of Indian Cricket named A Corner of the Foreign Field: The Indian History of a Foreign Sport, designed initially as the biography of Palwankar Baloo, a Dalit and the first great Indian cricketer who overcame caste restrictions through cricket, discusses in detail how

India's national struggle and its early cricketing history fused into a curious blend. Many players selected for the Indian team's English tour withdrew from the trials to express their support to the raging Civil Disobedience movement of the time and express solidarity with Gandhi who was then in prison (278). Indian Parsees of Bombay were the first to take to cricket, making the city the epicenter of the sport. They were later joined by the team of Hindus and then the Muslims who played against the English teams, forming the Quadrangular, which Guha casually equates to the IPL of today. Indian cricket got a leap in 1933-34 when the hitherto unified freedom movement diffused and the minority communities distanced themselves from the Congress. Gandhi had his attention fixed on temple entry of the untouchables. "Into this welcoming vacuum stepped the cause of cricket", observed Guha (289). With the princes of varying allied and warring provinces owning cricket teams and even captaining a few, and Ranjitsinhji, the Maharaja of Nawanagar, his nephew Duleepsinhji and the Nawab of Pataudi playing for England, the Indian geography, demography and India's relationship with the colonizer and the rest of the empire were considerably shaped by cricket. Every great victory of India was paralleled to far-reaching global events like war victories. Over time, cricket turned out to be a greater money-spinner which is more glamorous than Bollywood in the post-independence India that politicians tend to associate more with it than with films, particularly interfere with the BCCI, to partake in its glamour and benefit out of its market.

However, the popularity of cricket in India was not sans disapproval. The RSS, particularly under its Sarsanghchalak M.S.Golwalkar, detested cricket for its foreignness. Articles in *Bombay Chronicle* deplored India's passion for cricket, which is "an imported game rather than an intrinsic one", branded it as an aristocratic game meant for the nobles and not for a poor country like India. It also

expressed the suspicion that the cricket fervor gripping India was a "subtle colonial ploy to tame the otherwise rebellious public". Cricket was represented as a "rapidly advancing cancer" that redirected Indian youth and their sensibility away from the nationalist cause that they knew where Bradman was on a given day but not where Jawaharlal was (Guha 363). But none of these succeeded in dampening the Indian zeal for cricket. The communal principles on which the Indian teams organized themselves and recruited its players were derided by many nationalists including Gandhi for furthering communalism within the yet-to-be nation and he endorsed forbidding the Quadrangular. The Hindu-Muslim teams in Indian cricket and the jubilance for each Hindu victory foreshadowed the impending partition.

A much more virulent, hyper-national version of the Tebbit test has been active in India after independence, long before Norman Tebbit even proposed it. The Indo-Pak partition did not necessarily bring about the politically intended shift of loyalties. In nations like India and Pakistan where "cricket makes nationhood a consumable entity", the loyalty of Indian Muslims to the Indian Cricket team serves as a large determiner of where they really belonged and as a gauge of their patriotism (Mustafa 70). This is less so in Pakistan, designed exclusively as a Muslim nation. The fetishisation of nationalism is so intrinsic to modern sports, particularly in India. Not only does sports aid the nation, but the nation can own and take control of the influential power of sports and sportspersons as India did to resist the Farmers' uprising in early 2023. When international figures like Greta Thunberg and Rihanna stood in solidarity with the Farmers' cause on social media, the Indian cricket which then appeared to be in a curious political union with the Indian state, was hired by the Indian government, which at the time was so insecure that it got unsettled by the slightest trigger and saw conspiracy everywhere, to speak in favor of the nation's hostile agricultural policies and condemn the suspected global

anarchist conspiracy about India. A chorus of tweets ensued from cricketers like Sachin Tendulkar, Anil Kumble, Virat Kohli, Rohit Sharma, Hardik Pandya and more, filled with copy-pasted hash tags issued by the state, celebrating India's solidarity when the nation in reality, was enduring schisms.

With rampant Islamophobia and violence against Muslims, the current trend of anti-national brandings, bans and prohibitions, state-sponsored carnages, censorship of press, food and clothing, Indian democracy is on the verge of being reduced to a mere facade for totalitarianism. Democracy is on the retreat in various other pockets of the world as well with ethnic cleansing through state-backed genocides, absence of fair elections, imprisonment of journalists, social media bans, internet blackouts and quashing voices of dissent. With Indian nationalism growing equivalent to Hindu nationalism, it is necessary to analyze the roots and characteristics of Hindu nationalism in India and study how it renders the nation more masculine.

Hindu Nationalism and Masculinity

With the palingenetic ultranationalist trend reigning in India, there is an ongoing Hindu nationalist attempt to locate India in the primitive past, establishing a historical falsehood that India as a nation existed since the immemorial past. This attempt is easily discernible as an effort to primordialize the Indian nation, thereby bringing upon it a legitimacy conferred by primitiveness. This can also be seen as an effort of the male, Hindu Indian nation to establish the legitimacy of Hinduism as the original and therefore legitimate religion of India and institute Brahmanism and its hegemony as the core of the Indian nation. As Hobsbawm and Ranger posits at the onset of their book *The Invention of Tradition*, most of which gets celebrated for their antiquity are modern and most often, recent inventions (1). The aim of Indian nationalism today is to take India back to what is popularly celebrated in the hyper-

national circles as the golden age of Indian nationalism, i.e. to establish Indian nationalism as equivalent to Hindu nationalism.

Hindu nationalism, collectively defined as the socio-political totality of the spiritual, cultural and political traditions endemic to the Indian subcontinent, was once a distinctive feature of the then Indian nation and served as a powerful tool of resistance against colonialism. Hindu nationalism was a considerable driving factor during Indian Independence movement as well, although majority of the freedom fighters were drawn to the ideologies of democracy and religious secularism. A close scrutiny of the national movement will reveal that those freedom fighters driven by the Hindu nationalist cause were mostly in favour of armed protest in spite of the Congress endorsing the Gandhian means of non-violent resistance. Christophe Jaffrelot is of the position that "Hindu nationalism crystallized as an ideology and as a movement exactly at the time when the Congress became imbued with Gandhi's principles and grew into a mass movement. It then developed as an alternative political culture to the dominant idiom in Indian politics" through its rejection of the Gandhian notion of the nation, its stress on Hindu culture and its resort to violence (Hindu Nationalism 4). Its communal notion of 'Hindu, Hindi, Hindustan' resembled the rallying cries of many European nationalisms based on race, ethnicity and religion. Hindu nationalism can be easily discerned by its affinity for aggression and militancy, its stress on masculine virility and national resurgence, its intolerance to 'others', its Fascist inclinations, its disapproval of the Congress' compliance and its dread of effeminacy. Thomas Blom Hansen posits that,

Hindu nationalism has emerged and taken shape neither in the political system as such nor in the religious field, but in the broader realm of what we may call public culture - the public space in which a society and its constituent individuals and communities imagine,

represent, and recognize themselves through political discourse, commercial and cultural expressions, and representations of state and civic organizations. The Hindu nationalists desire to transform Indian public culture into a sovereign, disciplined national culture rooted in what is claimed to be a superior ancient Hindu past, and to impose a corporatist and disciplined social and political organization upon society. (*Saffron* 4)

Hindu nationalism is ideologically closer to German Nazism than Italian Fascism; both Nazism and Hindu nationalism share their strong emphasis on ethnic homogeneity. However, Christophe Jaffrelot in his essay "The RSS: A Hindu Nationalist Sect" identifies three prominent differences between them – Nazism prioritizes race while Hindu nationalism prioritizes individual and society; in place of the Nazi obsession with politics and the formation of an organic German nation, Hindu nationalism did not believe in putschism and was ideologically aloof from politics, although it is extremely political in practice; while German Nazism and European nationalisms in general were obsessed with national heroes, Hindu nationalism lacked such idols (78).

Hindu nationalism grew and condensed over the years, all its marking features intensifying in the course to produce Hindutva, the succinct and dominant form of Hindu nationalism, which has been previously addressed concisely in chapter 2, with reference to Savarkar and his brand of nationalism. In his own words, "Hindutva is not a word but a history. Not only the spiritual or religious history of our people as at times it is mistaken to be by being confounded with the other cognate term, Hinduism. Hinduism is only a derivative, a fraction, a part of Hindutva... Hindutva embraces all the departments of thought and activity of the whole being of our Hindu race" (*Hindutva* 3-4). Hindutva nationalism is an extreme

variant of right wing nationalism, involving an ethnic absolutism, bordering on fascism, targeting a homogenized population and Hindu cultural upper hand and political hegemony, clearly demarcating itself ideologically and functionally from the secular, democratic Indian political system. It seeks to establish a Hindu Rashtra (Hindu nation) as opposed to the concept of Hindu Rajya (Hindu state) which is spurned by Hindutva. Hindu Rashtra is neither a completely religious nor a completely political concept but is a cultural and emotional concept in its totality; a perennial concept unlike the transitory Rajya. Hindutva locates the Hindu Rashtra in a Satyuga (good period) in Anadi (before the beginning of everything). The downfall from the Satyuga happened through intermarriage, rendering the Hindu family dysfunctional and corrupting the Hindu virility. At present, the Hindu population is slumbering, effecting the notorious *Kaliyug*; a revitalization of Hindus will redeem the Satyug, initiating Hindu Rashtra, whose component parts include geography, race, religion, culture and language (Bacchetta 19-20). The parallels between this Hindutva view and the Nazi view about national degeneration that attributed the downfall of the Aryans to their racial miscegenation with Jews, corrupting the Aryan blood, are explicit. The majoritarian ideology of Hindutva combines with it patriarchy and xenophobia to produce the current trend of Indian nationalism which Thomas Blom Hansen calls "Conservative Revolution" (Saffron 4).

Hindutva ideology is championed by various right wing groups like the paramilitary wing called the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), the religious faction called the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), the political wing called the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the student union called the Akhila Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), the militant wing called the Bajrang Dal, the farmers' union called the Bharatiya Kisan Sangh, the workers' union called the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), the service bloc named Seva Bharati, the mouthpiece magazine called

the *Organizer*, the history reform wing called the Akhila Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana (ABISY) etc., all falling under the parent umbrella nomenclature - the Sangh Parivar. Other politically allied organizations like the Shiv Sena also share the Hindutva ideology. The most prominent and decisive among them is the RSS, which was founded in 1925, initially targeting the disciplining and unification of the Hindus but later on extending its political goals to upholding the Hindu culture, elevating it as the pinnacle of civilization and the establishment of the Hindu Rashtra. Although there is a glorification of everything Indian accompanied by a blatant rejection of the West in Hindutva, it still finds certain Western concepts like the nation, Western ideologies like fascism, hegemony etc. and Western scientific innovations like eugenics impressive and worth adopting. Thomas Blom Hansen notes that a "crucial dimension of ritualization in the RSS is physical self-discipline and worship of strength. The sublimation of sexual energy is one aspect of the cult of masculinity and strength, through which the RSS tries to 'semitize' itself and to overcome the 'effeminate' Hindu man" (*Saffron* 112).

The RSS has the Bhagwa Dhwaj as its official emblem, which is the saffron flag that once marked the strength and triumph of the Maratha Empire which rose with the downfall of the Islamic dynasties and sprang to its glory during the reign of Chhatrapati Shivaji. Representing the virile masculinity of the nation, the Bhagwa Dhwaj upon a long pole serves as a phallic image marking the male, Hindu nation. A widespread consolidation of Hindu national sentiments happened in 17th century India, during the reign of Shivaji. During the heydays of the Maratha Empire, Shivaji neither intended to create a secular state nor a theocratic Hindu-exclusive state but rather targeted the creation of a large Hindu polity, which was inclusive, yet deeply rooted in the Hindu civilization. Shivaji exhibited great religious tolerance but a reversal of socio-political scenario happened in his period by which

the privileges enjoyed by the Muslims under the reign of Aurangzeb were revoked, resulting in a resurgence of Hindu religion, Sanskrit language and Hindu polity. Shivaji's deliberate choice of the title 'Chhatrapati' instead of the customary 'Sultan' which got adopted by many Hindu rulers of the time was indicative of this shift. A great consolidation of the Hindu national sentiments happened during his time. Nehru, in his Discovery of India, acknowledged Shivaji as a "symbol of resurgent Hindu nationalism, drawing inspiration from the old classics, courageous, and ... he built up the Marathas as a strong unified fighting group, gave them a nationalist background, and made them a formidable power which broke up the Mughal Empire. He died in 1680, but the Maratha power continued to grow till it dominated India" (273). During the Indian freedom struggle, Shivaji was elevated to the status of a proto-nationalist, who valued the motherland above everything and a revival of Hindu nationalism happened during this phase with the Shivaji Festival being celebrated across the nation and India being envisioned as a Hindu nation, extending the legacy of the great Maratha Empire. Hindutva strategically drew renowned figures like Shivaji and Tantia Tope from the Indian history, reinterpreted their deeds and contributions under the saffron light, portrayed them as Hindu nationalist heroes and politically essentialised them.

In the colonial phase, the RSS largely allied with the British and remained passive in the national freedom struggle. This phase of passivity continues to have a huge negative impact on their political expansion in the present and hence there are serious and earnest ongoing attempts for revisionist Hindutva historiography, concocting Sangh Parivar interventions in crucial roles in the freedom struggle. The Hindu right wing has been tampering with written history, disseminating fabricated history for about a century, inciting the learners to blind adherence, observes Tanika Sarkar in her essay "How the Sangh Parivar Writes and Teaches History" (152).

From teaching a tampered and revised history at temple gatherings and satsangs to invading the academic syllabi of colleges and universities to infiltrating the Indian Council for Historical Research (ICHR), Hindutva meddles with history blatantly as well as subterraneously. Deliberate attempts are being made to locate the sources of modern scientific innovations such as planetary motion, airplane, plastic surgery etc. in the Hindu past. Establishing ancient science as loftier becomes the Hindu nationalist means of establishing the grandeur of Hindu culture. Myths, and puranas merge with science and history and mythological characters become historical figures. Both UGC and NCERT follow the Vidya Bharati, which is the educational wing of RSS, in order to "impart historical legitimacy to communal politics" and "foster cultural nationalism" to "Indianize, nationalize and spiritualize education" (Panikkar np). It meddles with the history of India's independence struggle to include the role of RSS in the fight against colonialism, while in reality, the RSS was merely a spectator to the fight. It endeavors to successfully locate RSS ideologues in history, where they were mostly absent, or silent. "The antipathy and the effort to diminish the achievements of Jawaharlal Nehru also stem from the R.S.S. not being part of India's anti-colonial struggle", observes Romila Thapar in her article "They Peddle Myths and Call it History" (np). All anti-colonial struggles become elite Hindu resistances and all subaltern and women resistances get obliterated from the history constructed alternatively. Political moderates do not find space in the text books while the extremists get glorified for meeting blood with blood. The text books are wiped clean of female revolutionaries, tribal uprisings, secular reformers, Ambedkar etc. (Abraham *Hindutva* 98).

The curious blend of fact, science and myth that the Hindu right wing concocts cleaves the society into the binaries of the 'Hindu' and the 'other', facilitating a palingenetic ultra nationalist spirit among the people. The historically

inaccurate sense of the past, identically shared by all those who conform to the revised history propagated by the RSS trigger in them a desire to revive the glorious past that Hindustan once had. This pseudo-historical narrative creates a binary: the excessively virtuous Hindu and the born-vicious, monstrous Muslim, gradually paving the way towards a Hindu nation. In "How the Sangh Parivar Writes and Teaches History", Tanika Sarkar observes that "for Hindutva, past is but present continuous and Muslims of today represent invaders of yester year" (158). This history gets quickly disseminated, whetting the longing for a revival of the glorious Hindu past. History classes thus become a means of making and unmaking heroes and enemies. Hindutva historiography endeavors to create a version of the past which equates India and Hindu; the Hindu, in this context, serves as a monolith, in spite of all the caste diversities (Abraham *Hindutva* 100). Though the history Hindutva creates is petty and factually slim, it can influence masses because of its lack of academic complexities. With the BJP assuming power, the State has gained direct control over history and narratives, as in any fascist regime. The trend of renaming places to legitimize the revised history accompany Hindutva historiography, resulting in Allahabad becoming Prayagraj, Ahmedabad proposed to be Karnavati, Patna proposed to be Pataliputra, Shimla proposed to be Shyamala, Islampur proposed to be Ishwarpur, Muzaffarnagar proposed to be Laxmi Nagar etc. The RSS always "prioritizes 'man making' as the first step to 'nation making'" (Firstpost np). The Hindu 'self' gets shaped with reference to the 'other' because, "it is the external foe who creates the nation, the anti-national always predates the national" as Tanika Sarkar observes in her essay "How the Sangh Parivar Writes and Teaches History" (159).

Through repeated tampering of history and years of political groundwork coupled with the wearying of the Indian National Congress, particularly after the Emergency, the Hindu nationalist forces gained a political upper hand in the Indian nation, which the Congress thereafter failed to counter. With the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) ruling India since 2014 and re-elected in 2019, the ideology of Hindutva has gripped India firmly, in spite of resistances from various pockets of the nation. The dissertation contends that Hindu nationalism has rendered the already male Indian nation more masculine and the past decade of the BJP rule has facilitated a shift from masculinity to hyper-masculinity. In order to reunify the Hindu community as a cohesive national entity, it is necessary to define the nation not just territorially but culturally as well. Hence, Hindu nationalism resorts to its revivalist attempt by primordializing the Indian nation to locate modern India in the distant past. This palingentic agenda is an effort to revive the virile masculinity of the nation, thus rendering it even more masculine. This escalating masculinity finds vent in various forms and expresses itself in the banal aspects of life in the nation such as culture, art, cinema, literature etc.

The RSS has its roots extended overseas among the diasporic Hindus. The Arya Samaj had a strong hold among the Hindu diaspora. Christophe Jaffrelot observes that the *Upadeshaks* travelled as far as the Americas, Trinidad and South Africa and Lala Lajpat Rai met the fellow Punjabis in America during the First World War Hindu hyper-nationalists like Raj Behari Bose were persecuted by the British government and took refuge abroad, particularly in Japan, setting up branches of the Hindu Maha Sabha in their respective sanctuaries (*Hindu Nationalism* 361-362). However, with the ethnonationalist ideology that prioritized the Motherland, the RSS failed to see the might of a global Hindu consolidate and ignored the overseas Hindus for a long time. But by mid-20th century, RSS spread its roots abroad, rechristened itself in the alien soil as Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS) and started *shakhas* abroad. Senior *Pracharaks* were sent on missions abroad

and by the end of the 20th century, the organization mustered a large number of followers outside the Motherland. The popularity of other Sanghparivar factions also rose on foreign soil and they ensured the unlimited funding for the RSS in India.

In spite of the fact that a large number of Hindu women are politically mobilized through women's organizations, Geetha classes, satsangs, communal speeches and actual martial training and act as active agents of the Hindutva agenda, there is a deliberate invisiblizing of the female from the public, political domain. This springs from the anti-feminine, hyper-masculine ideological basis of Hindutva. It is evidently noticeable that women are missing from the party billboards, nationalist hoardings and national functions. Most noticeable was the conspicuous and disgraceful absence of the Indian President Draupadi Murmu from the inauguration of the new Indian Parliament building on 28th May 2023. With the throng of Hindu ascetics chanting Vedic mantras and accompanying the Prime Minister who held a sceptre, the inauguration that seemed like a medieval coronation was a substantial indicator of India's transition into the Hindu Rashtra. The absence of the President was a violation of the constitutional protocol and was simultaneously driven by the gender and caste prejudices of Hindutva, represented by Narendra Modi. The Santal Woman President of India was previously denied the opportunity to commission INS Vikrant in September 2022, in spite of being the Supreme Commander of the Indian Armed Forces and to inaugurate the 28-foot tall statue of Netaji Bose in Delhi, in spite of being the First Person of the Indian State; in both cases, the Prime Minister inaugurated and presided over the gathering. This is clearly telling of the fact that the constitutional headship of the state by the President is merely a facade for the unquestioned exercise of power by the legislative. It is also indicative of the largely acknowledged fact that nominating a tribal woman as Indian President was a cover-up to Hindutva's antipathy towards

women and tribes. The notion that female candidates are most often proxies for the male exercise of power has been previously addressed in this chapter, which holds true in the case of the current Indian President who is doubly marginalized and thereby rendered doubly voiceless over the belligerent, hyper-national men who rule over her and the nation. Simultaneous to the inauguration, a parallel drama was being enacted outside the new Parliament where women wrestlers protesting against the sexual harassment by the Wrestling Federation president and BJP MP Brij Bhushan Singh were manhandled and evicted by the police force, acting as a clear indicator of who belongs to the nation and to whom the nation belongs to.

The visual culture of Hindutva excludes women, just the same way it ideologically others women. If at all represented, women get portrayed as the trident-holding Maa Durga or mythological characters like Kannaki who took to aggression and violence. The commonly seen benevolent feminine image in the Hindu pantheon is that of the Bharat Mata. Associating the territorial component of the nation with a chaste female body, mostly a virgin or a mother is common in many nationalisms across the world. "The Hindu nationalist construction of the nation as mother, subtly structured by Victorian ideology, sought to elevate the woman to mother, and thus downplay and control the sexual and aggressive sides of womanliness", observes Thomas Blom Hansen (Saffron 112). The Muslim invasions are metaphorically equated to rape of the Indian Motherland, which can only be further prevented by the sons of the mother, the Hindu men who should militaristically consolidate their masculine energies to win what Hansen calls the "oedipal battle" (113).

The idealized mother, because of her staticity, her asexuality, her perfection, and her potential victimization, is a safe object of passion for her citizen/sons. In Irigarayan terms, such a construction reflects a

dominant form of gendered social relations in which the feminine is a space for males to realize their self-identity... Perhaps what is unique in the Sangh's case, in relation to other nationalisms, is its process of continually narrowing the scope and lessening the symbolic weight of the feminine, while expanding and reinforcing the masculine. (Bacchetta *Gender* 27)

The image of Bharat Mata has transitioned and evolved since the 19th century at the hands of Hindu nationalists into an image of a saffron clad woman, clearly radiating Hindutva politics or a red silk saree-clad fair skinned woman, adorned in rich gold jewelry, who is the iconographic representation of the elite Caste Hindu woman. With the Hindu identity engraved into the sacred cartography of the nation envisioned as the body of Bharat Mata, the Bharat Mata iconography is politically loaded with indications as to whom does the Indian nation belong and is evidently an icon marking the exclusion of the 'others' within the nation, whom the militant Hindutva seeks to oust. Also the iconography of the Mother disowns all the non-reproductively oriented sexualities from the nation.

In its zeal to homogenize Hinduism, Hindu nationalism has given birth to a Neo-Hinduism which is a weaponized form of Hindu culture. An obvious indicator of the escalating masculinity of the Indian nation is the palpable transition in imagery and iconography, especially that of the Hindu Gods over the past two decades or so. Compassionate faces of Gods have evolved into a fiery aggression as in the image of Hanuman which was once an epitome of loyalty and servitude, manifested in his folded hands and bending posture. This image has been gradually replaced at least in the past fifteen years by the image of the Rudra Hanuman, which resembles less a monkey, and more a lion. The Rudra image in saffron backdrop easily struck cords with the Hindutva agenda and easily found a place on vehicles, posters, T-shirts and flags. Hanuman Jayanti and Ram Navami have become national

festivals in India and have even permeated the deep South, which remained largely immune to Hindutva politics.

With the stress on the virility of the Hindu race, Hanuman, Ram and other similar male deities evolved into muscular, macho versions of their previous selves. The gentle, obedient prince of Ayodhya gradually became the face of Hindutva, symbolizing a resurgent Hindu identity with the escalation of the Ram Janmabhoomi movement. The first and obvious image that would spring into Indian minds at the thought of the growing masculinity and aggression would be that of the Karsevaks demolishing the Babri Masjid. While the Ramayana Epic intended gentleness, righteousness, dutifulness and obedience as the takeaways from the mythological plot, political Hindutva sought even more. Ram was employed by Hindutva to mark everything good and golden in the Indian culture and history, all of which were eventually said to be destroyed by invading Muslims, of which Babri Masjid acted as a memorial. The demolition of the Masjid is also figurative of the Sangh's hatred and intolerance towards Mosques, which symbolize the Muslim phallus, violating the nation's Hindu female body. These gender tensions underlie the communal friction that evoked the passions which demolished the Masjid, observes Paola Bacchetta (Gender 29-30).

In the essay "A Historical Overview" in *Anatomy of a Confrontation:* Ayodhya and the Rise of Communal Politics in India, K.N.Panikkar challenges the historicity of Ramayana, the capital city of Ayodhya and the alleged destruction of Ram Temple to construct the Babri Mosque; no historical references exist for the destruction of the temple in Indian or Persian chronicles (27-28). Ram became a pivotal figure in the Hindu pantheon only since the composition of Ramcharitmanas by Tulsidas in 1576 written in the Awadhi language, the layman's dialect of Hindi, thus resulting in a widespread reading and popularity; the devotion to Ram came

largely from the Hindu-Hindi belt that read *Ramcharitmanas*. The devotion rose to a frenzy in the last decades of the 20th century, resulting in unforeseen religio-political consequences. Its ban during the emergency lifted in 1977, the 1980s were a time when the Sanghparivar grew and flourished, spreading its roots inside and outside the country. In the wake of the recent reorganization of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh to form the Bharatiya Janata Party, acute communal mobilizations and polarizations were actively carried out. The Bajrang Dal was founded in 1984, martially training young men to defend the Hindu cause.

Seizing the opportunity for communal polarization, the Hindu Mahasabha took up the Ramjanmabhoomi dispute over the 'structure' of the Babri Masjid which was alleged to have been built on the ruins of a Ram temple, at which place Ram was believed to have been born. The Supreme Court verdict of 1985 in the Shah Bano case and the Congress' minority appeasement policies had considerable effect on the Ramjanmabhoomi campaign. The campaign instantly aided the pan-Indian Hindu consolidation by being a tangible, definable, immediate political goal unlike the abstract, long-term goal of the Hindu Rashtra. It was into this context of communal polarization that Ramanand Sagar's *Ramayan* tele-serial was broadcasted on Doordarshan between 25th January 1987 and 31st July 1988 and it played a huge role in mobilizing the Hindu sentiments across the nation. The serial was based on Tulsidas' highly interpolated version of *Ramayana* and was an instant success all over India and among the global Indian diaspora. Aravind Rajagopal observes that the success was a combined product of the relay medium of television and the epic genre of the soap.

Serialized epics portrayed on television allow the collective sharing of an idealized past, one that achieved a certain verisimilitude but whose veracity was open to question. The absence of this past was crucial to its collective enjoyment...Turning back to a past that showed the symptoms of modernity long before its time, the broadcast of religious epics compensated for this absence and offered it up as a viewing experience...It was against the perceived truth of a golden Hindu past, declared week after week, that the opportunity of religious nationalist mobilization was eventually seized... it was against this collective fantasy that the Birthplace of Ram movement gained its strength. (*Politics* 25-26)

BBC reported that when the serial was broadcasted on Sunday mornings, "streets would be deserted, shops would be closed and people would bathe and garland their T.V. before the serial began" (Biswas np). The serial revolutionized Indian national television and the very act of watching the television that the 'Ramayan Fever' as *India Today* called it brought the Indian nation to a stand still for 45 minutes every week (Jain np). "In the noisiest and most bustling cities, trains, buses and cars came to a sudden halt and a strange hush fell over the bazaars. In Delhi, government meetings had to be rescheduled after the entire cabinet failed to turn up for an urgent briefing" (Darlymple np). This mass response to the serial can be clearly seen as a mood setter for the Ramjanmabhoomi campaign. Ramayan made firm the Hindu belief in Ram, convincing even the skeptic Hindu minds that a God named Ram walked in flesh and blood on the soil of Ayodhya. To the question why the Ramjanmabhoomi movement was so important to the devotees in spite of it lacking historical veracity, Tanika Sarkar recalls a response from a spectator that "We are always asking God for so many things. When he come to us and asks for home, who can resist?" ("Aspects" 277). "The broadcast of Ramayan played a major role in solidifying the Hindus for the cause of the Ram Mandir. The serial, resulting in the novel coinage "spectator devotees", catalyzed the transformation of 'Jai shri

Ram' into a battle cry (Eck 50). Sagar's *Ramayan* had many more interpolations compared to the source text, all intended to cater to the politically mobilized audience, the prominent of them being that of the *Janmabhoomi Ki Mitti* in episode 19 where a handful of soil from Ayodhya is tied to the end of Ram's robe. This interpolation established Ram's affinity with his homeland and the reverence he harbored towards it, thus strengthening the common belief that Ram remains wronged until the disputed 'structure' is destroyed and Ram Mandir is rebuilt (Abraham *What the Epic* 292).

The Ramjanmabhoomi campaign called for a Hindu awakening, employing the principle of Palingenesis, in order to take India back to the golden age of Ramrajya, resulting in a national rebirth and the revival of the decadent Hindu, who is exhorted to aggression and violence. The then BJP president L.K.Advani set on a Rathyatra from Somnath to Ayodhya, in September 1990 for the cause of the Ram Mandir in which the present Prime Minister Narendra Modi earnestly participated. The yatra's commencement from Somnath was symbolically loaded because the ancient Somnath temple razed to ruins by Mahmoud of Ghazni was a 'chosen trauma' that made the Hindus feel extremely vulnerable; commencement from Somnath ensured a symmetrical culmination of the Yatra at Ayodhya, transforming the Babri Mosque into a 'chosen trauma' for Muslims. The Rath, a chariot-shaped Toyota car, was modeled on Ram's chariot in the serial. The Rath was accompanied by speeches of Advani, Uma Bharati and other Hindu nationalist leaders, calling for sacrifice and bloodshed, frequently punctuated with 'Jai Shri Ram'. Kar sevaks dressed as Ram, Lakshman and Sita were seated in the Rath, offering their blessings to the people who craved for Ram's Darshan. A large mass who were unhappy with the wind up of the broadcast of Ramayan responded enthusiastically to the Rathyatra, not knowing its ideological implications or its political aftermaths, but simply seeing it as an extension of the serial, observes Anindita Basu in the Article "Ramanand Sagar's Ramayana: A Tool for Propaganda" (3). Richard Davis, in his essay "The Iconography of Rama's Chariot" observes that

By the Indian ceremonial standards, the Rathyatra did not make an impressive spectacle...the well-educated and the well-off dismissed the whole show as Toyota Hinduism...this seeming oxymoron drew an ironic chuckle from many...but not everyone shared this mild and skeptical response. In other places I heard onlookers rushed from the crowd to touch the vehicle, throw flowers in its path, and present offerings to those on board. The processors themselves brandished swords, bows and tridents... these ardent displays, everyone was well aware, not innocent. (29)

Nationalist icons and icons in common parlance got weaponised in the Ram Mandir campaign and the Rathyatra. The procession was met with criticism for the misuse of the BJP'S election symbol of the lotus stamped on the Rath, but the iconographic indeterminacy proved strategically and rhetorically expedient to Hindutva. Sudhir Kakar in his psychoanalysis of violence titled *The Colors of Violence* states that religious celebrations or processions are a sure recipe of violence if they are preceded by a period of tension or punctuated by a precipitating event.

The success of the procession depends not only upon the number of people taking part but also on the route it takes. Routes are valued differently. To take a procession near or through an area inhabited by the adversary is more valued than taking a route which avoids potential confrontations. A procession which can pass through known trouble spots and major traffic arteries is considered more successful

than one which slinks through back alleys. The number of chaperoning policemen, protecting processions which are going to cause the very trouble the police are trying to prevent, is another indicator of success. (64)

The message of the Rathyathra was evident; it so terrorized the Muslims that those who lived by the side of the roads from Somnath to Ayodhya evacuated their homes, fleeing for their lives. "The press portrayed the procession as a civilized, Rama-like-Advani leading his motley troop of Bajrang Dal activists, his monkey-army into battle. Like Rama, Advani was apparently willing to turn a blind eye to some of their militant activities, so long as they did not get close to tarnish his reputation for upright conduct", observes Davis (*Iconography* 48). With the Rathyatra, the mythical, allegorical war that the VHP was waging against the Muslims in India and the real-time political war that the BJP was waging against the Indian government coincided, resulting in a fusion of religious vision and political agenda. Together, they aggrandized their Muslim antagonist Babar and his commander Mir Baqi and through them, the Mughals and the entire Islamic community (who were represented as *Babar ki Aulat*) as lustful, power-hungry vandalizers.

Tanika Sarkar in her essay "Pragmatics of the Hindu Right: Politics of Women's Organizations", observes that the RSS for the longest time in history remained a male bastion even though female organizations existed within the Parivar. But by the last decade of 20th century with the Ram Janmabhoomi Movement gaining momentum, the Sangh began to flaunt its women, employing them communally and challenged the idealization of women as inertly peaceful and forgiving, as unilaterally victimized by riots, and never communal subjects themselves.

The Sangh parivar threw up a large number of women's organizations and women leaders into dazzling prominence - the BJP Mahila Morcha, the VHP Maitri Mandal and Durga Vahini with their different regional versions. Thousands of karsevikas participated in the attacks on the Babri Masjid and in its demolition and their role was highlighted in the Sangh media products - the Jain Studio videofilms, the VHP fortnightly magazine *Hindu Chetna*, Hindi video news magazines like *Kalachakra*. (*Pragmatics* 2161)

A prominent feature of the Ram Mandir movement was the aggressive presence of the Hindu renouncers, particularly the female renouncers of the Sadhvi Shakti Parishad, inciting the public to violence. Kalyani Devaki Menon observes that,

The power of these women calling on men to avenge the honor of Hindu womanhood is central to the successful mobilization of men to engage in acts of violence against Muslims...the agency of Sadhvis is critical to constructing the affective power of Hindu nationalism in the minds of ordinary people. Their performative acts interlace religion and politics, imbuing Hindu nationalism with a sacred injunction and recruiting their audience as subjects of a Hindu nation under siege. (*Everyday* 83)

Women like Vijayaraje Scindia, Sadhvi Rithambara and Uma Bharati have all transgressed gender roles in both private and public domains. Their identities were not defined by their role as wives or mothers nor were they economically dependent on their families; the former was a widow while the latter two were celibate. Amrita Basu observes that all of these women possessed considerable political ambition which by itself is a negation of the gender stereotype and yet masked it under the aura of religious and nationalist commitment ("Feminism" 167). The prime male

campaigners like L.K.Advani and A.B.Vajpayee were also seen as harbingers of a second *Ramrajya*. Communal violence began to be accepted as customary, the perpetrators of savagery were deemed heroic and the consequent chaos was exploited, for political gains. The riots that followed the soap and the Rath Yathra were the re-enactment of the mythological battles in the serial.

Arvind Raigopal posits that part of the serial's mobilization came from the autonomy that the television seemed to provide to the viewer (Politics 4). The broadcast of the serial, combined with the strategic use of the media, strengthened the political Hindutva in many ways. Alongside the political changes, religious changes also happened, resulting in the formation of a new religious community, with its emphasis on blood, both in terms of sacrificial blood and blood purity. This newly organized religion driven by cultural productions were called hyper-real religion by Adam Possamai (26). Representations on the television creates new 'imagined communities', by creating a sense of close communion among the viewers of the same programme, though they don't know each other, generating a feeling of "horizontal comradeship" (Anderson Imagined 6). Such groups referred to by Arjun Appadurai as "communities of Sentiment", is capable of stirring people to violence (Modernity 8). The formation of this new 'imagined community' marks the beginning of a new nation, a virile, male, Hindu nation in this case. With the antigovernment sentiments simmering throughout the country, "BJP anointed itself as the heir-apparent of the Congress", observes Rajagopal (Politics 19). Gendered violence was an obvious aftermath of Ramayan and the Ram Janmabhoomi campaign. Many Muslim women were violated and men were killed, particularly in Agra, post the Masjid demolition. Ramayan marked a crucial juncture in the Indian television history as well as the historical evolution of the Hindu nation, dividing them into two, the second being more culturally and iconographically fierce and communally polarized.

Conceiving India as *Hindu Rashtra*, the Hindutva leaders harbor an explicitly religious and cultural Hindu affiliation that drive them to extremely fundamentalist, anti-feminist stances as far as women in and out of the Hindutva bastion are concerned. Martial training is a crucial aspect of Hindu nationalism. Young boys are offered martial training in the Shakhas as part of the political indoctrination of the Hindutva ideology, training them to take arms against their religious and political 'other', thus protecting the nation. Shakhas are compared by Christophe Jaffrelot to traditional Akharas where physical exercises are religiously practiced ("The RSS" 57). However, the Shakhas are more of an ideological concept than an Akhara. Girls however, are not entertained at the Shakhas because the ideology upheld by the RSS celebrates the passive and submissive role assigned to women by Manusmriti. Political participation of women in the Hindutva politics is however not limited to passive sympathies alone but is quite active and aggressive; women are actively recruited and offered martial training, though not in the male-exclusive shakhas. Prominent women exclusive organizations upholding Hindutva ideology include the likes of the Rashtra Sevika Samiti, which is the women's wing of the RSS and Durga Vahini, which is the women's wing of the Bajrang Dal. Others include the Matri Shakti, Sadhvi Shakti Parishad, Mahila Morcha etc. Tanika Sarkar observes in her essay "Pragmatics of the Hindu Right: Politics of Women's Organizations" that even parents who do not subscribe to the Sangh ideology would still send their daughters to the RSS women's Shakhas because they inculcate the feminine virtues of obedience, subservience, adherence to tradition etc. and encourage conservative values like arranged matches, good housekeeping skills, modesty in dress and behavior and respectful service to men and elders. Girls themselves enjoy the

physical training programmes which enable them to gain control over themselves, which the patriarchal society does not conventionally encourage.

Tanika Sarkar observes that behind the founding of the women's wings of the Hindutva male organizations was a fear about the boosted fertility of Muslim women. "The incarcerated and leisure-softened bodies of upper caste women were regarded as inadequate vessels to bear the soldiers of the imagined Hindu nation" ("Heroic" 153). This imposed upon elite Hindu women a responsibility to remain physically fit and possess fertile wombs. Additionally, the ideological indoctrination about the necessity of the Hindu Nation, the services that such a nation demand, demarcation of the 'self' against the demonic 'other', stories and legends about heroic resistances in the defense of the nation etc. generate in the young girls a desire to live a life above mere self-interests and familial obligations and pledge themselves to the service of the nation (Sarkar "Pragmatics" 2164). However, there is no denial to the fact that creating women-exclusive spaces is the obvious denial of the public space and is indeed gender discrimination. Tanika Sarkar observes that women joining these Hindutva organizations was not an act of helplessness or due to lack of options. She writes, "The women of the Hindu Right had a wide array of political alternatives, of models of activism to choose from. The decision to stick to the politics of the right was...an informed choice" ("Heroic" 150).

In spite of the RSS being founded in 1925, it took a decade more for its women's wing to start functioning because of the patriarchal ideology embraced by the Sangh that believe men to be the warranted members of the nation bound to arm himself and fight for the nation. This patriarchal ideology encourages masculine traits like virility, vengeance, aggression, stoicism etc. which are dispersed downwards into every rungs of the society through the *Shakhas* and is internalized by the common Indians. Distancing itself from women has always been a major

aspect of the RSS ideology which is essentially misogynistic; a major command of Hindutva being celibacy and unwavering patriotism and commitment to the mother nation, it feared the involvement of women to dilute its masculine virility. Women are ideologically distanced and othered in Hindu Nationalism.

The Rashtra Sevika Samiti valorizes celibacy and celebrates the women who opt to remain celibate in service to the nation. Interestingly, the two Pramukh Sanchalikas of the Samiti, Lakshmibhai Kelkar and Tai Apte were widows who took to active politics when they were physically ridden of the men in their lives; while widowhood is a taboo in the Hindutva discourse, Kelkar and Apte were saved from it by their Chitpavan Brahmin family status. Paola Bacchetta delineates the differences between the Sangh and the Samiti signifieds of the prominent festivals: the Vijaya Dasami day is the founding day of both organizations, which for the Sangh is the victory of Ram over evil while for the Samiti is the triumph of Durga over evil, the evil personified as masculine in either cases. Masculine and feminine elements coexist in the Samiti's signified (Gender14-15). Bacchetta also observes that there is an inherent difference in the genres of literature published by the Sangh and the Samiti; while it is easy for the men to disseminate their ideology and politics through political treatises and pamphlets, the Samiti's publication wing named Sevika Prakashan resorts to genres like biographies, enlightening essays, Geeta and Ramayana lectures, short narratives about their ideologues etc. (15). A retrospection at the origin of women's literature would reveal that women resorted to epistolary writings, autobiographies and short stories while men reveled in larger narratives like novels. The Samiti's literary output depends on the Sangh literature, Sanskrit Epics and Puranas as its main source and does not seek a large audience but is intended to be circulated among the current and the potential sevikas. The Samiti concurs with the Sangh's prioritization of the Hindu Rashtra over the Hindu Rajya.

While many women of BJP have a background of Samiti upbringing, the Rashtra Sevika Samiti remains away from electoral politics. Similar to the Fascist thought that an anti-Semitic nation is the solution to all problems, the Samiti believed that Hindu Rashtra is the solution to the degeneration of Indian nation in general and women in particular. The Sangh refers to the Hindu people in clear masculine terms as 'sons of the land', 'men born from the womb of Bharat Mata' etc., expunging femininity from the discourse.

The Durga Vahini was founded in 1991, with the heightening of the Ram Janmabhoomi movement, targeting the initiation of a cultural renaissance in the Hindu society and creating Hindu solidarity through the physical, mental and intellectual development of women. Militant training is a crucial aspect of the brigade. Mobilizing women to violence is an unstated goal of the organization, which has the trident-holding Maa Durga as its logo. The Durga Vahini was alleged to having partaken in the perpetration of the Gujarat riots in 2002. Member of Indian Parliament Pragya Singh Thakur, the accused in the 2008 Malegaon bombings and booked under multiple unlawful activities was an earnest member of the Durga Vahini. Maya Kodnani who was convicted, but later acquitted, for her role in the Naroda Patya massacre in the Gujarat Riots of 2002 was a staunch member of the Rashtra Sevika Samiti. Tanika Sarkar notes about the careful mobilization of the Hindu women that,

In the self-explanations and self-definitions produced by the Samiti, there is primary emphasis on physical courage and strength, on a trained, hardened, invincible female body. The Sangh, too, defines this—cultivation of Hindu woman's physical strength—as the first principle...The explicit purpose for which the empowered Hindu female body is trained is patriotic war against the Muslim combatant.

The large place that the myth of Muslim lust occupies within the general mythology of Hindu communalism would also explain the need for self-strengthening. (*Pragmatics* 2163)

The unstated, yet obvious agenda behind the masculinization of the Hindu women is to reduce the femininity of the nation and render it aggressively masculine, where even the women have internalized male traits like belligerence, militant combat, stoic resistance, zealous patriotism etc. Women remain deliberately blind or are ideologically blinded towards this obvious agenda since the trained, powerful body and attendant self-confidence gained from the Shakhas prove attractive to the women, mostly hailing from m elite classes who encounter various forms of discrimination on a daily basis. The trained female body and the mental attitude springing from it would be a vital shield against gender oppression (Sarkar Pragmatics 2160). Also the belligerent women were employed as a tool to awaken the effeminate men from cowardness, sloth and slumber. In spite of all the organizations to politically mobilize women and the active agency women exercise in the building of the Hindu nation, Hindutva does not promote at all the disentanglement of the woman from home/family/motherhood, which is her primary responsibility. For Hindutya, an ideal woman would resist feminism, uphold cultural values, nurture the family and take up arms when her culture, religion or nation is in danger. As daughters, wives and mothers inside the patriarchal system, women must submit themselves to the authority of men and as Hindu nationalist women, they must prioritize the need of the nation, while remaining under the male authority. All roles women perform in addition to that of wife and mother are ancillary to these roles. Family and nation are in a metonymical relation for Hindu nationalist women, observes Kalyani Devaki Menon (*Ethnography* 7).

Paola Bacchetta in her Gender in the Hindu Nation: RSS Women as Ideologues posits that quite unlike the popular belief that the Hindutva women internalized the male Hindutva ideology, the women have created a specifically feminine Hindu nationalist discourse, i.e. the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and the Rashtra Sevika Samiti differ in their perception of the Hindu nation. "The discursive unity is provided by a framework elaborated by the Sangh; the Samiti ideologues frame their own construction process within its context. They use some (but not all) of the same symbols and signifiers, and create some of their own. They are, indeed, profoundly related; yet, the two discourses simply cannot be reduced to one" (2). Their perspectives converge and diverge, the convergence being obvious and the prominent point of divergence being gender, extending to other ideological and practical aspects. The Sangh and the Samiti do not strive for the same Hindu Rashtra. Lakshmibhai Kelkar, with the permission of the RSS Sarsanghchalak Hedgevar started the Rashtra Sevika Samiti because her sons would not share their martial expertise mastered from the RSS Shakha with her and other women. Kelkar is the foremost ideologue of the Samiti. The internal structure of the Samiti is rigid and hierarchical like that of the Sangh but the Samiti is politically considered inferior to the Sangh, with its Pramukh Sanchalika positioned beneath the Sarsanghchalak.

The difference in the expansion of the names of the Sangh and the Samiti is bought to notice by Bacchetta: the 'Swayam' in the name of the Sangh is missing in that of the Samiti because beyond the man's self (swayam) constituted by his own individual self, a woman's self is constituted by her own individual self, the family and society she lives in and the religion and nation whose virtues she culturally carries and transmits (7). Tanika Sarkar observes the inherent difference in the signifieds of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Rashtra Sevika Samiti – the

former denotes nationalist volunteers while the latter denotes women who serve the nation. This very nomenclature relegates women's responsibilities within the political organization to the domestic sphere, which is specifically termed as 'service'. "The sense of autonomy and self-choice that are associated with the word 'volunteer' are notably missing" ("Heroic" 151).

Contrary to the common understanding about Hindutva's treatment of its women, Deepti Shenoy in her essay "Saffron Spice and Everything Nice?: A Question of Women in Hindutva", argues that women have over the years empowered themselves through their participation in the Hindu militant organizations, have managed to redefine womanhood and femininity within the right wing and that "saffron women come in different hues", expanding the traditional notions about gender and becoming active agents of the Hindutva movement (135-136). A gendered analysis of Hindu nationalism reveals that women play a central role in building support for the movement as they deploy strategies and networks that may be beyond the reach of men, making them visible and active in a hegemonically masculine political space. By catering to Hindutva's evolving requirements, women have established themselves as indispensible, thus finding a space and identity of their own within the male bastion, carving out unique niches for themselves. These women have, Shenoy observes, contributed to women empowerment by rejecting traditional gender roles and taking up newer, aggressive ones. But this argument is put forth without repudiating the fact that the masculinity that is ideologically underlying Hindutva always discerns a social and cultural position for women which is that of a nurturer and provider, staying within the confines of the home. The Hindutva ideology reinforces the Ghar-Bahir binary previously discussed in detail in chapter 2. In his Bunch of Thoughts, Golwalkar laments the challenge masculinity faces in the modern times: "In dress, in habits, in literature and in every aspect of our day-to-day life 'modernism' has come to mean effeminacy", against which he exhorted the Hindus to embrace tradition and culture. He exhorted Hindus to shake off slumber and revive the virility (230).

Let us shake off the present-day emasculating notions and become real living men, bubbling with national pride, living and breathing the grand ideas of service, self-reliance and dedication in the cause of our dear and sacred motherland. Today more than anything else, mother needs such men— young, intelligent, dedicated and more than all virile and masculine. And such are the men who make history—men with capital 'M'. (397)

The two roles Golwalkar sanctioned for women were that of the dutiful, self-sacrificing wife and mother, who gives her sons for the nation. "The RSS did not approve of any overt political role for women during the Golwalkar era. It could not swallow the fact that the highest political office in India was held by a woman. The RSS mouthpiece *Organiser* described Indira Gandhi's rule as disastrous and admirably quoted Napoleon: 'A statesman has his heart in his brain; a woman's brain is generally in her heart" (Qtd in Kanungo *RSS's Tryst* 160). The masculinist bias is inherent in Hindutva, since its conception.

However, these submissive roles of women advocated by Hindutva were politically challenged, particularly since the Ram Janmabhoomi movement, which the dissertation considers as a watershed moment in the history of women in Hindutva. With the Ram Janmabhoomi campaign, women come to the political forefront as campaigners, planners, organizers, activists and orchestrators with the likes of Sadhvi Rithambhara verbally rousing communal sentiments and Uma Bharati actively encouraging the men to bring the Masjid down with slogans like *ek dhakka aur do*, *Babri Masjid tod do*, supposedly raised for the first time by L.K.

Advani. Teesta Setalvad notes in her essay "The Woman Shiv Sainik and Her Sister Swayamsevika" that members of the Durga Vahini were given katars, sheathed knives, and adjured by Rithambara to defend themselves and to "ensure your katars taste blood" during the Ram Janmabhoomi movement (235).

In her crucial essay "Aspects of Contemporary Hindutva Theology", Tanika Sarkar noted that the rousing speeches exhorted the "devotees to transition themselves into demon-slayers, performing an act that the theory of divine incarnation reserved for the *Avatar* alone. By doing so, the devotee participates actively in the life of the divinity" (277). Crowds of Hindu nationalist women blocked the streets to prevent the police from the site of the Masjid; reversing the conventional pattern of Ram saving Sita, India witnessed women fighting for Ram, throwing gender stereotypes to the winds. "The woman had stepped out of a purely iconic status to take up an active position as a militant" observes Tanika Sarkar ("Heroic" 157). With her clarion call *Vir Bhaiyo jago*, Sadhvi Rithambara employed motifs of eunuchs and emasculation to rouse combative masculinity. She simultaneously exhorted women to awaken the *Matrishakthi* in them; however, many of her speeches reduced women to a mere womb capable of producing sons who can slay the demon-Muslims ("Aspects" 284).

Hindu women spurring men to violence for the sake of the honor of their nation resonated significantly with the Hindu men, adding considerable momentum to the movement. "The immediate project of reclaiming the country's honor by removing the stain they viewed the Masjid as being on its landscape, required women, as living symbols of the feminine nation, to become aggressive in their demands that Hindu men defend them", observes Deepti Shenoy (142). The fervent female participation in the Ram Janmabhoomi campaign made Hindutva realize the female potential and it tried to harness the power of female militancy thereafter.

Women were central to the expansionary strategy of Hindutva. Women leaders of Hindutva, unlike the times of Golwalkar, urged women to wake up and give up traditional values and passivity and bravely resist atrocities against women. Feminist scholars differ in opinions as to whether Hindutva women have contributed to the feminist cause or not. How much ever progress the women may bring about, the core Hindutva ideology remained essentially misogynistic and in spite of empowering women and mobilizing them to violence, Hindutva reinforces gender and sexist stereotypes. In spite of gathering a voice and exercising an agency of their own, the Hindutva women are compelled to ensure their own confinement within the Hindu nationalist, patriarchal gender order.

The normative constructions that contribute to Hindu nationalism such as conceiving and fashioning India as a Hindu nation, creating a pan-Indian Hindu identity that transcends the parameters of caste, region etc., constructing religious 'others' and locating them in the national history, reawakening the virulent Hindu masculinity, establishing the women as carriers of national culture etc. are all dutifully reproduced on a daily basis by women who have pro-Hindutva leanings and have internalized the patriarchy. These daily reproductions are necessary in the creation of the 'imagined community' of the Hindu nation in modern, plural India. In other words, women naturalize Hindu nationalism. Feminist ethnographer Kalyani Devaki Menon is of the opinion that women not only reproduce dominant ideological constructions but also variously inhabit, reshape, challenge and even transgress them on a daily basis, thus widening the scope of Hindu nationalism by bringing about changes and additions to it (Ethnography 17). She states that there are moments of dissonance in the everyday lives of Hindu nationalist women, where their identity of being a woman triumphs over their identity of being a Hindu nationalist.

The antipathy of the Right wing towards Indian historians like Ramachandra Guha and Romila Thapar has to be understood in collocation with their antipathy towards the actual Indian history that either obliterate them or vilify them, to counter which they create alternate histories, glorifying the Hindu and the Hindu nationalists. Alongside the Hindutva Historiography spawned in the RSS Shakhas and circulated in the textbooks, Hindu nationalist women create and redefine history in ways of their own. The activists of the Rashtra Sevika Samiti disseminate a gendered revision of history, centered on stories of the likes of Jijabhai, the mother of Shivaji and Rani Laxmi Bhai of Jhansi etc. in which women determined the national destinies. "Positioning motherhood as a site for female agency, Samiti women portray Jijabai as an 'enlightened mother', worthy of emulation, who fought for the Hindu nation through her son Shivaji...New recruits are taught that they must aspire to become like Jijabai, facilitating the cultural and political renaissance of the Hindu nation in India by molding the new generation", writes Kalyani Devaki Menon (Ethnography 27). By making Jijabhai centric to their story as the progenitor of Shivaji, Hindu nationalist women subvert the Hindutva narrative that the Hindu nation was founded by Shivaji.

Women's sexuality is indeed a matter of caution for the ideology of Hindutva. The married Hindutva-empathizing women have to limit their sexuality within their families and contain it to the purpose of reproduction alone. They must contribute to the nation, Hindu organizations and the Hindutva ideology in the capacity of wives and mothers. The Sadhvis and the pracharikas who have sworn celibacy should never give vent to their sexuality at all. The concept of family and sexual purity is necessary for the sanctity of the Hindu nation. A sexually active female body is an object worth abhorrence in a Hindu nation. The ruckus that ensued in Kerala after the Supreme Court's Sabarimala verdict in 2018, sanctioning the

temple entry of women, irrespective of their age, decreeing that the biological reasons or sexual status are not criteria for discrimination sprang from the notion that women of the age from 10 to 50 are sexually active and are therefore to be discriminated since the deity is the sworn celibate (*Naishtik Brahmachari*) Lord Ayyappa. Hindu religion proliferates itself by absorbing elements from various other cultures like the folk, tribal traditions, Buddhism, Jainism etc. Ayyappa was a tribal deity who got gradually absorbed into the Hindu Vedic pantheon and got brahmanized. Parvathi Menon observes,

Ayyappa traditions over the centuries have dovetailed into a religious order that in Kerala created one of the most rigid caste and untouchability structures in the subcontinent. The notions of patriarchy in modern-day Kerala heavily derive from the legacy of caste and exclusion laid down in the religious and cultural restrictions of the past. Sabarimala is but an example of the operation of these, with the modern ingredients of identity politics, consumerism, gender politics and communalism thrown into the mix. (*Sabarimala* 9)

The court observed that restricting women of fertile age from temple entry is not essentially a religious practice and equated the sexual discrimination in Sabarimala to untouchability, which is another to the Indian constitution.

In spite of the progressive left activism in the ideological, social and cultural spheres in Kerala, there remained certain nooks resilient to communism, social progress and gender equity, which came to the forefront with the Sabarimala issue. The women of the fertile age are considered impure due to their monthly menstrual cycles which hinder them from the penance of forty one days and are also deemed as sexually distracting presences in the pilgrimage. Through their ritualistic, sanctified practices at home and their absence at the shrine, the fertile women are expected to

facilitate the celibate pilgrimage of men and fuel the male energy through their selfabsenting in the bedrooms and the shrine. The verdict polarized Kerala society with the Communist ministry under the Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan welcoming the verdict while some sections of the Hindu society were distraught.

The Sangh Parivar and its various fronts, like the Hindu Munnani, the Akhila Bharatha Ayyappa Seva Sangham, the Kerala Brahmana Sabha and the Ayyappa Dharma Sena, opposed the Court order. The Nair Service Society was in the forefront of the agitation, as were members of the former Pandalam royal family and the family spokespersons of the Thazhamon family, who were the chief priests of Sabarimala. The popular refrain heard in the case of the Ayodhya ruling – that 'faith is above law' – found its echo in Kerala, except that Sabarimala replaced Ayodhya. (Menon 16)

This crisis was utilized by the Hindu Right to make significant inroads into the political and cultural realm of Kerala, which they were vainly striving for thereunto. Worth recalling is the number of women who had internalized patriarchy and acted as the greatest agents of patriarchy by participating in *Nama Japa Yatras* and associating themselves with the 'Ready to wait' campaign, branding themselves impure and lacking for the *Ayyapa Darshanam*; most of them were simply devotees and not Right wing empathizers with political agendas to meet. The Sanghparivar took the protest to the streets, causing physical harm to the women pilgrims and unleashing a saga of violence that impaired the law and order of the state. On 16th October 2018, the Kerala Chief Minister delivered a speech at the Putharikkandam ground, urging Kerala for a second Renaissance and on the 1st January 2019, the women of Kerala, under the left leadership, lined up for a *Vanitha Mathil* (women's wall) which served as a left alternative for the *Namajapa Ghosha Yatra* by the

traditionalist Hindu women, satirically referred to as *Kulasthreekal*. The temple entry of Bindu Ammini and Kanaka Durga created a furore and even jeopardized their personal and public lives later. The lack of acknowledgement and the derision towards these women and towards other aspirants for the shrine visit is a clear manifestation of Hindu nationalism's abhorrence towards female sexuality.

The Sangh detests not just female sexuality but the men who acknowledge, respect and emulate female sexuality. The Sangh's intolerance towards Gandhi springs from their disgust towards his toning down of masculinity and his adoption of several feminine traits. The aspect of androgyny in Gandhi was discussed previously in the second chapter of this dissertation. Jawaharlal Nehru is ridiculed by the Sangh troll groups for his English education, his unwavering commitment to secular politics, his sociability with women etc. In the present day political scenario of India, Narendra Modi serves as the perfect representation of the Hindu male virile, attitudinally rigid, celibate (his married life gets silenced every time it pops up), a perfect son of his mother at whose feet he performed poojas, sleeps only four hours a day and dedicates his life for the nation, practices yoga and is entrenched in the national tradition and culture, is a teetotaler, makes brave decisions like demonetization, avenges the Pulwama attack through the Balakot airstrike and revokes Article 370 for the nation's welfare – Modi is unabashedly masculine in his personal life and politics. The masculinization of Modi carried out by the media and the various Sangh factions is in fact, the institutionalization of hegemonic masculinity. His lack of urban sophistication coupled with the perfectly-tailored attires that cling to his mythical 56 inch chest only adds to his masculine appeal; his very body is a site of politics and exhales Hindu masculinity. Neither could Manmohan Singh, accused of being Sonia Gandhi's effeminate puppet resist Modi's masculine charisma, nor can Rahul Gandhi, ridiculed as 'Pappu', and 'Amul Baby'

overcome it. The prejudice towards Nehru extends over his progeny, with Rahul Gandhi currently at the receiving end of the taunts. His serene poise, calls for moderateness and pacifism, mysterious annual disappearances to exotic Western locations, curiosity-inducing bachelorhood, alleged relationships with foreign women and his partly Italian blood makes Rahul Gandhi less of an Indian and less of a man in comparison to the hyper-masculine Modi. Rahul Gandhi's speeches are punctuated with invocation of love and patriotism unlike that of the communalism-inducing speeches of the Right wingers; his casual T-shirts and jeans fail in replicating the Indianized image of Modi. The slight-voiced, ever coughing, muffler-shrouded Arvind Kejrival who gets often equated with effeminacy is far behind as an image to challenge the masculine charisma of Narendra Modi. Ruling out femininity and effeminate masculinity, thus establishing the nation as ideologically and practically masculine is the obvious Sangh agenda.

It is interesting to note that the Sangh even characterizes its sworn enemy, the Muslims in masculine terms, because for the Sangh, regardless of the religious community, men are the agents of society. Equally interesting is the fact that while the Sangh excludes sexuality in its discussion of Hindu women who are asexualized as motherly and sisterly bodies, it projects sexuality on to Muslim women, who are either bodies to be raped or redeemed into the Hindu fold. In the perspective of the Samiti, women do not just exist as mothers and sisters (the concept of a good wife is not well entertained in Sangh literature since an ideal Swayamsevak is a celibate) but in a myriad other roles like wives, daughters, caretakers, rulers, soldiers, leaders etc., all of whom play equally important roles in the building of the Hindu Rashtra. The Samiti instructs women to prioritize their loyalty towards the nation over loyalty to their husband (who is ideally a good man and a Hindu nationalist) in case a conflict arises between the two.

Paola Bacchetta is of the opinion that Hindutva literature plays a major role in communalizing the religious sentiments. In its effort to forge an ideal male Hindu identity, the Sangh finds the Muslim female body an indispensable part of this construction. She contends that "the RSS makes strategic use of genre, style and an array of rhetorical devices to represent Muslim women as objects of potential or realized communal and sexual appropriation" (Gender 98). This sexualization of the female Muslim body is reiterated to consolidate the Hindu males and to denigrate and render powerless the Muslim males. All Muslim men are considered antinational and a threat to Hindu femininity. "The counterpart to the chaste Hindu male is the Muslim male polygamist or rapist, and to the chaste motherly Hindu woman is the Muslim woman as prostitute or potential wife" (101). While the Hindu mother is a divine embodiment, the RSS reduces Muslim motherhood to a mere biological act, sees Muslim women's bodies as baby-making machines and repudiates the concept of Muslim motherliness altogether. This explains why the Hindu nation sees sexual violence upon Muslim women as appropriate and deserving; many a times, the Hindu state itself assumes the role of the perpetrator of sexual violence with the police and government officials offering institutional support, culminating in faceknown perpetrators walking away from law, scot-free. Babu Bajrangi, the accused in the Naroda Patya massacre, stated on record to the Tehelka reporter Ashish Khetan that,

In Naroda Gam and Naroda Patiya, we didn't spare a single Muslim shop, we set everything on fire...We believe in setting them on fire because these bastards say they don't want to be cremated, they're afraid of it...there was this pregnant woman, I slit her open... Showed them what's what... what kind of revenge we can take if our people are killed ... I am no feeble rice-eater. Didn't spare anyone ... they

shouldn't even be allowed to breed... I say that even today... Whoever they are, women, children, whoever. (Khetan np)

The Gujarat pogrom is particularly notorious for its targeting of women and children. Scores of Muslim women were subjected to stripping, harassment, molestation, rapes, gang rapes, insertion of sharp weapons into the genitals, branding private parts with Hindu ultranationalist symbols etc. and the nearly-dead female bodies were burned alive. The process of stripping and burning Muslim bodies carried communal connotations since Islam considers cremation/burning of dead bodies as 'haram' and insisted on ritual cleansing and draping before burial. Instead, naked Muslim bodies are dumped into heaps and burned en masse during communal riots, intending deliberate sacrilege. The individual female bodies then become the metonymical equivalent of the communal body. These acts of violence were mostly publicly perpetrated on roads or while the fathers or the husbands of these women were forced to watch the gruesome spectacle. Tanika Sarkar observes that violence upon women caries many layers of signification.

The physical destruction of the breasts, vagina and the womb is the symbolic destruction of the sources of pleasure, reproduction and nurture for Muslim men and Muslim children...Physical destruction of children signifies an end to Muslim growth. The cutting and burning of the foetus is the symbolic destruction of the future generations. The burning of men, women and children as the final move served multiple functions: it was to destroy evidence, it was to make Muslims vanish, it was also to desecrate Muslim deaths by denying them an Islamic burial and forcing a Hindu cremation upon them; a kind of a macabre postmortem forced conversion. ("Semiotics" 2876)

These acts of violence upon women were acts indirectly targeting Muslim men, stripping them of their masculine honor for their inability to safeguard their women, thus effeminizing them. The Hindu men who refrained from joining the communal trend and perpetrate sexual violence were offered bangles, declaring them to be lacking and feminine.

In the article "Gujarat 2002: What Justice for the Victims?", Christophe Jaffrelot details how the Narendra Modi-led Gujarat government of the time communalized the state apparatus by not allowing Muslims to hold executive positions and recruiting Hindu nationalists en masse to the Gujarat Home Guard (79). The state ministry interfered and regulated the police forces throughout the pogrom, preventing them from registering FIRs or patrolling the riot-struck areas, thus facilitating the mass murder and sexual violence. Tanika Sarkar conclusively states in her essay "Semiotics of Terror" that "without a unique conjuncture of events - BJP at the helm of the centre, an RSS Pracharak at the state - ethnic cleansing on such a scale could not have been carried out" (2873). She notes that a pattern of violence can be discerned in the Gujarat riots and other similar communal riots in the nation, suggesting three things – "one, the woman's body was a site of almost inexhaustible violence with infinitely plural and innovative forms of torture. Second, their sexual and reproductive organs were attacked with a special savagery. Third, their children, born and unborn, shared the attacks and were killed before their eyes" (2875). The judiciary too expressed pro-government (pro-Hindutva) leanings; the Hindutva ideology has mightily infiltrated the uppermost echelons of the democratic system of the country that four of the Supreme Court Judges went public in January 2018, first time in the history of Indian Judiciary, raising allegations against the then Chief Justice Deepak Mishra, openly declaring that the Judiciary is no longer transparent and that the democracy is at stake in the nation.

The indoctrination in the RSS *shakhas* about violence perpetrated on Hindu women combined with inaccurate lessons in history and the perpetual fear of a more virile Muslim male body and about the demographic takeover by the Muslims drive Hindu men to violence. Violence is the source and means of Hindu victory and a proof of their masculinity. This one to one equation of violence with masculinity has always underlied the Hindutva nation. Post identical communal riots at different locales, the Hindu nation resorts to a fixed pattern of covering up by negating the occurrence of violence, obliterating witnesses, revising the history, inducing forced amnesias and creating counterfeit memories to justify the state's official version of the story.

The dissertation categorically equates growing Hindu nationalism in India to the growing masculinity of the nation, which is incompatible with the spirit of democracy and secularism that forms the foundation of the Indian nation. It is not just that the Hindu nationalism viciously gripping the nation render the men more masculine, but it also masculinizes the women, enabling them to think and act like men, thus challenging traditional gender roles. This transition makes the lives of the rest of the women (who form the majority) grim. The manifestations of the masculine Hindu nationalism clearly reflect in the banal aspects of Indian life which is analyzed in the following section.

Manifestations of the Hindu, masculine, Indian nation

Alongside the socio-political and cultural analyses of the kind carried out above, scientific and statistical studies also establish India as a masculine nation. The Geert Hofstede criteria that study the effects of society and culture on individuals reveal India to be a masculine nation with a masculinity index score of 56. Though developed for evaluation of business, the criteria has been extended and applied in other discourses as well. The criteria reveal Japan to be the most masculine nation and Sweden to be the least; USA, UK, Germany, Italy etc. top the

masculinity index while Netherlands, Spain, Thailand, Portugal etc. are far behind and are deemed feminine. Hofstede's cultural dimensions used for analysis include power distance, individualism/collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity/ femininity, long/short orientation and indulgence/restraint. It observes that India is masculine in terms of its focus on success and achievements, its resolution of conflict through aggression, reduced women's representation in politics, the nation's assertiveness, competitiveness and ambitions, its resort to war, its visual displays of success, power etc. (Hofstede 30-32). Dibyesh Anand in his essay "Pornonationalism and the Male Subject" coins the term 'Porno-nationalism' to denote the centrality of the narcissistic, sexualized imagination in Indian nationalism, which is essentially Hindu and masculine (163). Hindu nationalism has a deep masculinist anxiety that it aims to resolve with a masculinist awakening, the kind India has been witnessing in the past few years, resulting in an escalation of aggression, violence and gender crimes.

Dibyesh Anand is of the opinion that the asexualization of the Hindu self is accompanied by a hyper-sexualizing of the Muslims, an evidence of which is found in their accused overbreeding that stirs in the Hindu consciousness a fear of demographic siege (169). This sexualizing of the Muslim body renders the Hindu nationalist self morally superior. With the Right Wing exercising power at India's centre, the ongoing process of strengthening the masculinist-nationalist body has gained momentum. This pulsating masculinity finds a vent in the everyday performances of the nation, contributing to banal nationalism, the various commonplace aspects of which include sports, cinema, social life, arts, military displays etc. The dissertation proposes that in spite of equating Indian nation with the divine feminine, the nation is inherently masculine and its masculinity is on a

hike from the early 1990s and that the hike is more pronounced since 2014 when the nation was taken over by the Hindutva ideology, fuelled by testosterone.

The displays of masculinity of the Hindu nation seek to prove wrong the colonial image of the effeminate Hindu. The martial training and display of physical might and prowess is a psychological response to the age old construction of the incapacitated Hindu man; the image of an aggressive Hindu man is central to the Hindu nation. Combined with these instincts is the patriarchy that seeks to establish its dominance over women. Indian nationalism like any other nationalisms, draws on socially constructed ideas of masculinity and femininity to determine gender-based political participation. In this aspect, India is explicitly gendered masculine since majority of the power positions are held by men, mostly men who proudly display their masculinity verbally and sometimes physically. Women, in spite of the political reservations, are still scanty in the national politics; the female political imaginary is still conditioned to limit itself to the domestic sphere. However, women and their bodies are central to any nationalist discourse as the chalice of cultural values.

The present Indian nation is highly reliant on technology, particularly the social media in which Hindu nationalists engage in masculinist, misogynist communication, that it might not be wrong to say that the present day Indian nationalism is techno-masculine Hindutva nationalism. Social media is employed to generate empathy for the Hindu nationalist cause, consolidate sentiments, rouse communal spirits, mobilize masses to action, spread falsities and establish them as truth, consolidate votes and steer elections and to make and unmake leaders. Fake news that villainize Muslims such as the likes of non- existent love jihads and Muslims spitting into food also does its rounds on social media. A common factor in most if not all of these false news is that they are concerned with the aggressive masculine aspect of the nation, be it the nation's triumph over its opponents, the

militaristic (masculine) achievements or communal violence unleashed in the nation. Masculinity reeks in the posts, tweets and comments that defend the falsities and those who question their veracity are met with bullying, political manipulation, physical threats etc., all of which are expressions of masculinity. Even the oncetrending hash tag Beti Bachao, Beti Padao had a masculine undertone inherent to it which presumes daughters to be weak and needy of protection. The hash tag and the campaign are both products of a patriarchal ideology; in spite of the progressive political message it explicitly conveys, there is an implicit regressive undertone to it. Women who post anti-Hindutva tweets and feminist Hash tags are met with abusive language, morphed photos and rape threats, all of which are expressions of masculine aggression. Women encounter gender based violence on a daily basis on all social media platforms, resulting in some of them quitting the cyber space and others toning down their language and the vigor in their criticisms, or in other words, remaining feminine and adhering to the traditional space of the ghar; social media belongs to the bahir space, accessible primarily to men. The social media reveals the presence of an anxious Hindu masculinity, anxious about its virility being questioned; it gets easily wounded and pounces upon its opponents, slutshaming, effeminizing or communally denigrating the opponents.

A curious display of masculine aggression can be seen in sports, particularly in Indian Cricket which is the most popular sports in India. In comparison to the conservative strategies of the past, Indian cricket, over time, resorted to an increasingly aggressive strategy in batting as well as bowling. Aggression on the pitch begins from a vigorous handshake between the captains of the opposing teams and range from dynamic batting and bowling to strange gestures (sometimes inappropriate), racial slur comments whispered at opponent players, jeering and catcalling from the players and audience, competition among the coaches to physical

belligerence like shoulder barging, cornering, crossing etc. The trend of aggressiveness is very visible and palpable particularly since the captaincy of Saurav Ganguly. After the match fixing controversies of Azharudeen, Indian team was lacking the morale when Ganguly took up the captaincy; aggressive strategies were the need of the time. From the impetus Ganguly's aggressive strategy offered the team sprung players like Yuvaraj Singh and Muhammad Kaif. Ganguly's act of ripping off his shirt and brandishing it in air to celebrate India's victory against England in 2002 was met with huge criticism for being aggressive and violating the cricket protocols.

The Indian Cricket team adopted the 'Morganball' strategy of aggressive game devised by English captain Eoin Morgan, which leaves the opponent team no option but to resort to an aggressive game, responding to aggression with aggression. Another palpable change in Indian gaming strategy is its resort to the Australian tactic of sledging, an act which involves aggressive verbal confrontation of the opponent, thereby demoralizing and diverting their concentration; it is an act that deliberately induces underperformance. Most often, sledging crosses the limits of friendly, humorous banter and enters the realm of personal abuse and racial slur. Virat Kohli is notorious for sledging on the pitch. Infamous was the sledging accusation by Australian player Andrew Symonds on Harbajan Singh for swearing in Hindi. Other players like Ganguly, Sehwag, Dhoni etc. had resorted previously to various degrees of the 'art' of sledging, ensuring that it doesn't get personal. "I have always been opposed to ugly sledging, but a little bit of banter isn't a bad thing on the cricket field and in fact can add something to a high-intensity contest – as long as it remains within reasonable limits, of course", writes Sachin Tendulkar in his autobiography Playing it My Way (206).

Players like Gautam Gambhir had expressed their distrust of the 'safety first' approach against aggressive teams like Australia and West Indies and sought to reciprocate aggressively, believing that unbridled aggression alone can lead to victory. Opponent players like Chaminda Vaas and Ricky Ponting have previously expressed that they were mesmerized by the Indian team's aggressive game. Indian player S. Sreesanth was notorious for his aggression on the pitch bordering on theatricality and lack of control over his emotions, particularly while appealing for and celebrating wickets or interacting with umpires and has been reprimanded, warned and even fined for his misconduct and lack of gallantry on the pitch. Masculine pride and misogyny reeked from Hardik Pandya's on-camera statement on *Koffee with Karan* in which he made a casual sexist remark "aaj main karke aya" referring to his sexual encounters ("Hardik Pandya"). Virat Kohli's aggressive hard hits originate more from his mindset than from his body which regards the bat as a weapon and not a toy. Deeming themselves as armed warriors, the cricketers strive to uphold the national pride.

With the advent of short format Cricket as in Twenty20 and the IPL in the early 2000s, the trend of aggression is on a hike; the quick pace of the game has necessitated hard hits and boundaries over singles and doubles. There is no denial to the fact that the gaming strategy differs from test matches to ODIs to quick-form cricket, particularly with the kind of commercialization that the game underwent with the advent of the IPL as it evolved extra glamorous, necessitating certain aggressive moves and styles. There was a simultaneous setback that the slow-paced test format suffered because the audience preferred a fast-paced quick game that offers the desired adrenaline rush; the shorter the game gets, the more aggressively masculine it turns out to be. A difference worth noticing is that TV channels have refrained from telecasting test matches with their viewership declining and prefers

quick format game over tests. In an attempt to transform the game into a spectacle, fast pace bowling, hard hits, sledging are all part of quick form cricket. This dissertation posits that an escalating aggression and masculinity pervades the game, particularly in recent times.

A player in menacing form is simultaneously feared and adulated that it seems as if a player's market depends on his aggressive expression of masculinity; trends have evolved to the point that the attractiveness of the player derives from how aggressive he is on the pitch rather than the gentleman that he really is and the factor of masculinity acts as a huge determiner of his stardom and fan base. With the fan base for aggressive players, the nature of the players on and off pitch has evolved; a majority of the players have internalized the fact that aggression is the key to being popular and evolved their personalities accordingly. From the 1983 World Cup that India won at the Lord's against the West Indies, a linear progression of building aggression can be traced over the years, transitioning cricket from being a gentleman's game to a belligerent man's game. The trend of vigorously hitting against the boundaries can be read as a postcolonial strategy that the Indian team has resorted to, an equivalent of the Empire answering back.

T.V commercials bank on cricketers to advertise their products and their bankability depends on their macho image. Worth noting is the idea that when the male players transition from being cricketers to stars, women's cricket in India is still in its infantile phase with less fan base and negligible bankability. Clothing plays an important part of sports. Women tennis players dress themselves in ways that reveal their gender, which is where the attraction and fan following of the game lies. Indian female cricketers dress in unisex gear making the game less appealing. The public prefer to watch real men play the game over 'lesser men' playing it. A curious phenomenon that recurs on the fan pages and print media every time a

player is out of his form is to baselessly shift the blame on to his girlfriend or wife, accusing her of distracting him from the game, toning down his masculine aggression on the pitch. Dhoni's wife Sakshi and their little daughter were thrown rape threats when the Chennai Super Kings lost the IPL in 2020 to Kolkata. Anushka Sharma has been blamed for Virat Kohli's poor form to an extent that Kohli himself had to respond on his official Instagram handle, clarifying his inertia to be a phase that will soon pass, over which his wife was not to be held responsible. Sania Mirza had been held liable in the past for Shoaib Malik's poor performance at the World Cup. This is not even a recent phenomenon; actress Sharmila Tagore refused to accompany her husband and the then Indian captain Mansoor Ali Khan Pataudi to matches and foreign trips for the fear of being accused for his underperformance. Interestingly, the opposite never happens; boyfriends or husbands are never blamed or deemed to be accountable for a female player's underperformance. Masculinity sometimes finds its expression in such trivialities.

Popular cinema is another medium for the manifestation of masculinity in myriad ways, not merely through the content. The dissertation focuses primarily on Bollywood cinema which is prevalently regarded as national cinema because Bollywood gives easier access to masculine Hindutva nationalism than other regional cinemas in India in which a proclivity towards the local imaginary and a resistance against the imposed national culture can be detected. With Bollywood actors like Akshay Kumar, Kangana Ranaut, Vivek Oberoi and others explicitly expressing Hindutva affiliation, Bollywood plays a crucial role in shaping the nationalist agenda. These actors with pro-Hindutva lenience reap their benefits, monetary and otherwise; "In April 2019, just days before the fourth phase of the General Elections, PM Modi gave Akshay Kumar a 'non-political' exclusive interview that happened soon after the Election Commission refused to allow the

release of *PM Narendra Modi*, a biopic, before the elections were concluded" (Rajendran np). Masculinity and Hindu nationalism have to be read in consonance with regard to films.

Cinema is a masculine medium with a masculine gaze from the perspective of the camera, the director, the hero and the spectator, objectifying women. Hindutva masculinity has made its way into Bollywood quite gradually, employing the screen to aid the ongoing political Hindutva-ization of the nation, which indirectly is the masculinization of the nation. Since the BJP government assumed power in 2014, the Bollywood has, to a large extent, prostrated itself to Hindutva ideology that is aggressively masculine. What makes masculinity in films more problematic than its expression in sports is the fact that masculine aggression is instinctive and spontaneous in sports while in films, it is premeditated and is executed over a long-drawn out phase of conception-shooting-post-production in which numerous human interventions are involved; once the film is released for the audience to watch, its life span is huge and will stay for a long time in the public discourse and wreak harm. Cinema's grammar is such that there is an inherent glorification of masculinity in them that is more socially corrupting than those in sports since the audience emulate the macho heroes and their deeds.

In spite of the freedom of expression that the Indian constitution guarantees, the state imposes various restrictions to maintain harmony. A close scrutiny of objectionable content will be carried out by the authority prior to censoring or banning it; obscenity, threat to national security and integrity, jeopardizing the nation's diplomatic international relations etc. are the major grounds for censorship. However, with increasing communalism and hiking masculinity, a violent cry for banning any content that is against one's personal belief or political sentiment has been a growing trend. Such unscrutinised, instinctive bans, censorship, boycott etc.

and demand for the same are various manifestations of a fascist, masculinist state. It is a fact well known that cinema was strictly censored and employed as a medium of political indoctrination in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy where films were made to glorify masculine violence in the guise of nationalism. In India, at least since the past decade, censorship of cinema and the masculine surge in it is an extension of the masculine Hindutya nationalism and its fascist inclination.

A strain of intolerance to sarcasm and satire had always existed but personal and communal sentiments getting hurt by a mere two minute trailer of a film is a recent phenomenon. During the Emergency, the film Kissa Kursi Ka which was a lampoon of Indira Gandhi, Sanjay Gandhi, the Congress of the time and the Maruti Udyog project, was banned and its prints were confiscated and burned, resulting in Sanjay Gandhi's eventual imprisonment. In 1994, the film Bandit Queen, the biography of Phoolan Devi was banned briefly when the film was challenged by Phoolan Devi herself for its lack of accuracy and veracity. The film was made from a masculine perspective that structured the film around the gang rape, which is made the central spectacle of the film. Devi accused the producer/director duo to be no better than the Thakur men who raped her. Arundhati Roy interrogated the masculinity in the making of the movie in her article *The Great Indian Rape Trick* in which she belittles the National Award winning movie to be a mere "run-of-the-mill rape and retribution theme that the film industry churns out every now and then" (1167). She finds Shekhar Kapur's film lacking the curiosity and the human compassion that his source text India's Bandit Queen: The True Story of Phoolan Devi by Mala Sen had. Roy accuses Kapur of not expressing the courtesy of meeting his living subject at least once.

If you take a long hard look at the choices Kapur has made - at his inclusions, his omissions and his blatant alterations, a truly dreadful

pattern emerges...It is of consummate importance to the Emotional Graph of the film, that you never, *ever*, stop pitying her. That she never threatens the Power Balance...According to Shekhar Kapur's film, every landmark - every decision, every turning-point in Phoolan Devi's life, starting with how she became a dacoit in the first place, has to do with having been raped, or avenging rape...Rape is the main dish. Caste is the sauce that it swims in. (Roy 1171-1172)

Roy is also vehemently critical of the state meddling with female bodies the way it did with Phoolan Devi's. When Devi was rushed to the hospital with bleeding and was diagnosed with an ovarian cyst that did not necessitate a surgery, she was subjected to a non-consensual hysterectomy. Mala Sen's book reports the prison doctor to have said "we don't want her breeding any more Phoolan Devis" (Qtd in Roy 1184). The male gaze prioritized rape over hysterectomy as a crowd puller spectacle, selectively including and omitting episodes from a woman's life.

The 1990s were a time when the Sangh Parivar strengthened itself post the Babri demolition and realized the might of its women organizations. When Deepa Mehta's *Fire* was met with a furore from orthodox organizations for what was regarded as outrageous content, the Rashtra Sevika Samiti and Shiv Sena, who anointed themselves as the guardians of morality, protested against screening the film in India. Women were at the forefront of these protests, claiming the film to jeopardize the institution of marriage, deemed chaste in India. The major demand was for the screenings to be stopped and the film to be banned but an accompanying demand was for the lesbian characters' names to be changed from Radha and Sita to Muslim names. In 2015, the BBC documentary *India's Daughter* by Leslee Udwin about the victim and the perpetrators of the sensational Delhi gang rape of 2012 was banned and was removed from the BBC's channel on YouTube. The trailer was viral

for the excerpts from Udwin's interview with one of the rapists whose statements reinforced gender stereotypes and stank of misogyny and masculine violence. The film was banned in India on short notice accusing it of legal hitches but primarily underlying the ban was the fear of the image the film would create of the Indian men as sexual predators. The ban of the BBC documentary *India: The Modi Question* in 2023 was on the grounds that the documentary lacked veracity, was propagandist and was aimed to slander India before the international audience. However, circumventing the ban, the documentary was staged in campuses across India. In the state of Gujarat, many films which were nationwide commercial hits were banned officially or unofficially for the actor/director's political lenience. Also films featuring the Gujarat riots were protested against and withdrawn from theatres if not banned, *Parzania* (2007) being one of them.

The slightest of the political undertones can induce outcries for ban as seen in the cases of the films *Jodhaa Akbar* which was said to carry out a historical revisionism of the Rajput history, *Padmavat* for tarnishing the Rajput sentiments which was resolved with a title change prior to release and *Pathaan* for maligning Hindu sentiments in a passing shot where the actress wears a saffron bikini. A noticeable fact is that the protester is most often a majoritarian Hindu nationalist group whose sentiments are easily hurt; a cultural production that hurts the Muslim or Dalit sentiments are not easily censored or banned but are at best, reprimanded. Counter responses and defenses against censorship get encountered with force and violent threats. The attempts to screen the banned cinemas get met with statesanctioned power cuts and internet shutdowns. Disconnection of the internet was employed many times by the state as a political tool of control, particularly in Kashmir to conceal the political and military activity from the eyes of the rest of the world. Internet shutdowns in India have become the standard protocol to quell

dissent. So have Income Tax raids and ED probes in the celebrity circles; film stars who oppose the state agenda personally or through their films are accused of tax evasion and black money hoarding, thus silencing the dissent. South Indian actors Joseph Vijay, Suriya, Kamal Hassan, Prakash Raj etc. have been subjected to IT raids lasting for days for their fervent opposition of the Hindutva agenda through their films as well as through their personal politics. Hindutva permeating cinema has rendered it more masculine and more the number of hyper-aggressive, masculine cinemas that get churned out and get glorified, the more masculine the nation will evolve to be.

Television channels too have gradually given up the facade of religious neutrality and shifted to political partisanship. From broadcasting Ramayan and Mahabharat in the 1990s to the live broadcasting of the Bhumi Pujan ceremony of the Ram Mandir by the Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the national television Doordarshan has over the years exhibited clear pro-Hindutva lenience, in spite of its religion-neutral policy. It re-aired Ramayan in 2021 when the soap's market rose with the final verdict and construction of the Ram Mandir. The silver screen is employed by Hindutva as a political tool to create neo-narratives of history. The number of films centered on communal dissonance, deliberately intended to fuel Islamophobia is increasing. There is an ongoing trend in television and cinema to stereotype Muslims as lustful villains and terrorists and Kashmir as the abode of terrorism, painting the community and the geography as a problematic monolith, reinforcing the Hindutva binary of the virtuous Hindu and the vicious Muslim. Muslims are portrayed in dim lights on the screen, as spies, IS agents, terrorists, criminals and Pakistan sympathizers. The binary exists not just on the screen but gets extended to the actors as well. While mediocre performers with Hindutva allegiance have films in plenty in spite of the flops they produce at the box office,

Muslim actors like Shahrukh Khan have to undergo shameful body frisking, clear excess security checks at airports, assert his allegiance and patriotism to the Indian nation by constantly affirming that his grandfather was a freedom fighter and for him, his *mulk* (nation) comes before his *quam* (religion). His 2010 film *My Name is Khan* concludes on an affirmation that "my name is Khan and I am not a terrorist" ("My Name"). Kareena Kapoor and Saif Ali Khan had to reaffirm multiple times that the naming of their boys as Taimur Ali Khan and Jehangir Ali Khan had no vested communal interests but were random beautiful names they chose. They were heavily criticized for their choice of names that Kareena Kapoor confessed of contemplating a name change for their firstborn.

Several Bollywood movies have aligned themselves with the Hindu nationalist, masculinist agenda and have made huge profits. Simultaneously, there is a clear demarcation of the male bodies in cinema, particularly in Bollywood; muscular male bodies get chosen for aggressively masculine hero-centric mass crowd pullers while the not so macho male bodies like that of Irfan Khan or Nawazudeen Siddiqui get associated with a different genre of films and a different school of film making altogether which may not cater to a wide range of audience. Female-centric/female-led films are comparatively fewer in Bollywood, with Vidya Balan or Tapsee Pannu being exceptions; even in a film with a female lead, a male character most often steps in as a plot-turner or a savior as seen in *Kahaani* or *Pink* and the film mostly ends on a note of mansplanation. Ultimately, cinemas that glorify masculinity are made because the audience with ingrained patriarchy enjoys them and demand the perpetuation of such films.

With the film fraternity and the audience growing aware of the need for political correctness in films, it peripherally appears that glorification of toxic masculinity, the kind of which was portrayed in *Kabir Singh*, is on a decline. Instead

the perpetration of aggressive masculinity happens in a subterranean fashion in the contemporary Bollywood, particularly through its turn towards history which is not a turn to history per se but a turn towards Hindu history (Kohli and Dhawan np). The Maratha period dramas in Bollywood spread communal absolutism through clearly black and white images of Muslims and Hindus respectively, homogenizing both Hindus and Muslims of yore, contributing to the general Islamophobia rampant in the world after the 9/11 attack of the USA in 2001 and particularly escalated in India since the 2008 Mumbai attacks. This dissertation argues that accompanying the Hinduization of the nation is the masculinization of the nation. A trend of historically 'inspired' Bollywood movies can be particularly noticed since 2015. In spite of their historical veracity getting questioned academically, the version of revisionist history they spread, villainizing Muslims for destroying Indian culture and violating Indian women, get accepted among the masses as the official Indian history; the disclaimer of most such films read "based on real history". Often, with historical details lacking, the film makers take extra liberty to develop the plot through extravagant interpolations and exaggerations for cinematic effect. The core issue lies not in the fact that artists have the liberty to re-imagine history but that they claim the re-imagined version, which most often aligns with the Hindu nationalist version of history, to be true. Bajirao Mastani (2015), Padmavat (2018), Manikarnika (2019), Panipat (2019), Tanhaji (2020), Samrat Prithviraj (2022), etc. were period dramas that were either interpolations of history, revisionist films concurring with Hindutva historiography or deliberate portrayals of communalism in the yore, all intended to generate a notion of the need to save Indian nation from the invading Muslims. They may be under-researched and therefore lack historical nuances, may have historical omissions and deliberate additions. These films portray men as macho warriors who exhibit masculine aggression to safeguard their motherland and women as the submissive feminine; even if there are portraits of female warriors like Jodha, Manikarnika or Mastani, they are towered over by their masculine counterparts. In other words, these period dramas were employed to generate religious nationalism and further masculine aggression, establishing that in the Maratha period which was the golden age for India as a Hindu nation, men were aggressive warriors. The state has the discretion to declare films that are socially relevant to be tax free; this discretion has been misused by the BJP governments of various states in India in the past decade to exempt films like *Tanhaji*, *Uri: The Surgical Strike*, *Kashmir Files* and *Kerala Story* from entertainment tax so as to express solidarity with their content, in spite of the obvious fact that their content can only disrupt social and communal harmony.

The portrayal of Muslims in the Maratha period movies is quite problematic: they are shown as regressive, violent and lustful, everything opposite to the virtuous Hindu protagonist. In *Bajirao Mastani*, the Delhi sultans are kohl wearers who attack the Maratha Peshwas for suzerainty. *Padmavat* draws a stark contrast between the oppressive marriage of Alauddin Khilji and his wife and the equal marriage of Rajput ruler Ratan Singh and his wife Padmavati. Ranveer Singh's Khilji embodies masculinity, aggression and violence in his approach, his body posture, gait and deeds. The Khiljis are shown devouring meat and Alauddin Khilji is indicated to have shared homosexual relationship with his slave while Ratan Singh, the Rajput is enamored by his wife and is loyal to her. The Rajput scenes are well lit, while Khilji is shown in dim lights, with the camera positioned at a strangely low angle to accentuate his beastliness. There is a glorification of the self-immolation by the Rajput women to safeguard their honor, celebrating it as an act of valor, simultaneously turning it as a tirade against the lustful Muslim invaders who don't spare Hindu women's bodies.

Tanhaji tells the story of Shivaji's aide Tanhaji Malusare and the Maratha

battle against the Mughals to capture the Kondhana fort. The battle of Kondhana is fought between Tanhaji and Udaybhan Rathore, the aide of Aurengzeb. The film portrayed the battle as one between the Maratha Rajputs and Muslims which was not the case in history; Udaybhan himself was a Rajput employed by the Mughal Emperor. Saif Ali Khan's Udaybhan is ascribed all typical traits ascribed to a Muslim - violent, lustful, maniacal and power-hungry. Even the dance moves of Udaybhan in Tanhaji and those of Alauddin Khilji in Padmavat bear close resemblances; Saif Ali Khan and Ranveer Singh dance with their faces full of malice and animosity in close up and the steps are aggressive and are filled with pelvic thrusts. The film abounds with historical inaccuracies; it shows the Battle of Kondhana as a battle to redefine the Indian nation as a Hindu nation, while in reality, the concept of the Indian nation was still in its infantile phase in the 17th century. Shivaji's Bhagwa Dhwaj flown finally over the Kondhana fort has an 'Om' inscribed on it, which the Maratha flag lacked; these are places where the film maker tactfully fuses the political present with history. The trailer of *Tanhaji* advertises the film as "4th February 1670: The Surgical Strike that shook the Mughal Empire witness history like never before", which is a deliberate juxtaposition of the past and the contemporary to induce communal friction ("Tanhaji trailer" 02:15-02:35). These period films establish beyond doubt that the Indian ancestors were originally virtuous Hindus who were aggressive warriors and their masculine virility deserves glorification, from whom the Muslim invaders usurped power and that the ideal dharma of every Indian is to redeem their Motherland from the clutches of Muslims who are stereotyped as evil. A clear communal and racial profiling is being carried out by popular Bollywood cinemas of the present. This "(re-)construction of the Hindu fold using the debris of history is problematic for the ways in which it fuels a modern-day political discourse" that incites masculinity and aggressive violence in order to avenge imagined historical injustices (Kohli and Dhawan np). During

politically tumultuous times where people kill and die for religion, any cinematic contribution to strengthen and perpetuate religious absolutism and the stereotype of invasive, evil, murderous, lustful Muslim is politically unjust.

Along with the period dramas that masculinize the nation are the aggressive films based on Indian Armed Forces and the battles fought on land, air and water that establish aggression as a trait marking the Indian nation. Films like *The Ghazi* Attack (2017), Parmanu: The Story of Pokhran (2018), Uri: The Surgical Strike (2019), Kesari (2019), Bhuj: The Pride of India (2021), Shershaah (2021) etc. and spy movies like Phantom (2015), Naam Shabana (2017), Raazi (2018), Codename Tiranga (2022), Mission Majnu (2023) etc. are examples to this trend in which characters are positioned in beyond dangerous scenarios from which they save themselves, fellow citizens and the Indian nation, at times employing their intelligence but mostly through belligerence, establishing masculine aggression as a major trait of the Indian nation; even the female leads like Shabana, Zehmat and Durga are shown resorting to blaring violence and gun firing. Most of these films with Raazi being an exception, descend into a chest-thumping hyper-national assertion. Most of these films perpetuate an anti-Muslim agenda, valorizing the Indian (Hindu) Masculinity.

The reason for the perpetuation of the similar line of films is that the permeation of Hindutva politics and communal coloring into the cinema has produced films that turn out to be crowd-pullers and thus money-spinners, encouraging film makers to pursue the trend. Nationalism, Hindu honour, historical Hindu icons, Hindu suffering in the past and contemporary military strength have all become popular and bankable subjects for filmmakers in Bollywood. Additionally, there is an imposed code of national loyalty upon a theatre goer who has to rise for the national anthem and beam with pride inside the darkness of the theatre. The

chivalry and courtesy these films claim that the Hindus possess is indirectly a call for the converted Indians to return to the bosom of Hinduism, claimed as the original religion of India; *Ghar Wapsi* is a pet campaign of the Sanghparivar that they earnestly carry out. Films that follow the trend of masculine aggression are Bollywood's contribution to nation building. Similar trends are less pronounced if not absent in regional cinema, with the Marathi cinema as a probable exception. With the Hindu right wing growing politically and institutionally hegemonic, these cinematic representations add to a vitriolic atmosphere that glorifies masculine aggression, jeopardizes safe feminine existence and criminalizes Muslims.

Increasing cases of extralegal vigilantism and mob lynching can also be read as an indication of the ascending masculinity of the nation. These trends are on an upsurge with the Hindutva ideology ascending to power. A group of people, largely composed exclusively of men, impulsively decide to punish what is perceived by their religion, community or political faction as a crime, which need not necessarily be a crime by the law of the land. The perpetrators are mostly Hindu men and at the receiving end are mostly Muslims, women or Dalits. Extralegal vigilantism can range from trivial or serious moral policing to mob lynching, sometimes culminating in the victim's death. Mob vigilantism can spring either from the masses losing their trust in law and the state or the masses getting confident and empowered to take law into their hands, each turning into a court on their own. The increasing trend of vigilantism can be attributed to the sense of discipline RSS seeks to establish in the nation, thus granting the extralegal activity its legitimacy. Christophe Jaffrelot observes,

The fact that the vigilantes "do the job" is very convenient for the rulers. The state is not guilty of violence since this violence is allegedly spontaneous and if the followers of Hinduism are taking the

law into their hands, it is for a good reason—for defending their religion. The moral and political economies of this arrangement are even more sophisticated: The state cannot harass the minorities openly, but by letting vigilantes do so, it keeps majoritarian feelings satisfied. The private armies, which may be useful for polarizing society before elections are also kept happy – not only can they flex their muscles, but they usually extort money. (*Over* np)

In the Indian political scenario dominated by Hindutva, mob vigilantism combines with cow vigilantism, perpetuated by Hindu hyper-nationalists against cow-slayers, mostly Muslims, on behalf of protecting the cow, which is a sacred animal according to the Hindu dogma. With cattle slaughter banned in most central and Northern states of India, cow vigilantism is common in the Hindu-Hindi belt. Not just the cow-slayers and smugglers but castes whose traditional occupations are associated with cattle such as tanning and carcass handling are also prone to violence from the cow vigilantes. While most cases of mob lynching appears spontaneous, a premeditated nature of Islamophobia/xenophobia underlies all of them and they are not merely targeted at the lynched individuals but acts as a warning to the whole community.

A notorious instance of mob vigilantism in India was the slaying of Mohammad Akhlaq and the injuring of his son Danish for alleged beef eating, in spite of the family's claims that the cooked meat was mutton. "Social media has been used widely and strategically for spreading hatred towards minority communities in India. The majority of lynching incidents are photographed or filmed and the sensitive content gets forwarded to thousands of people within the span of a few hours to invoke feelings of hate and distrust" (Gupta 154). Associated with mob vigilantism are hate crimes, which has also increased under the BJP

governance, a notorious example being the abduction and gang rape of Asifa Bano in Kathua in Kashmir in January 2018. The Caste Hindus in Jammu had a rift with the Bakarwal community who were traditionally cattle keepers who used the land of the Hindus to graze their cattle. With the number of Muslim nomads on rise in the valley, the Hindus were alarmed and the rape was intended to scare the Bakarwal community, forcing them to leave Jammu. With social media being a major medium for propaganda and communalism, the virtual hatred enters into the socio-political sphere, transpiring into physical violence. There are various instances where fake WhatsApp forwards had culminated in mob violence. The spread of Hindutva has occasioned a masculinist awakening of the nation, where Hindu men consider it their onus to assert their masculinity and act violently towards the minorities of the nation. The mobocracy it unleashed causes socio-political anarchy, which is the contemporary reality in India.

Another instance in which the nation's masculinity asserts itself is in the transition that the images of Hindu Gods underwent in the past years, an aspect which had previously been discussed in this chapter. The emergence of the novel yet unusually fiery images of a lion-like Rudra Hanuman and muscular Shiva and Ram and a blood-thirsty Durga were prominent spectacles that accompanied the rise of Hindutva, indicating the growing masculinity of the nation. The nation has grown so aggressively masculine in the past few years that in cities like Bangalore, the taxi vehicles with images of Rudra Hanuman stuck to them scared women travellers to such an extent that they refrained from hiring them post the Kathua rape. In 2022, Aravind Kejriwal appealed to print the images of Gods upon the national currency, violating the constitutional secularism to please the Hindu voters. When the Hindu pantheon is filled with deities to be iconographically modified and rendered fiercer, the Muslim God lacks an image, which further accentuates the communal

polarization facilitated by the image of Gods. Parallel to the rise of violent images of Hindu Gods and the hallowing of the cow is the desecration of the crucifix, the Bible, demolition of Christian churches, particularly in the North East and a growing wicked symbolization of the green color and the crescent moon, observes Angana P. Chatterjee in her book *Violent Gods: Hindu Nationalism in India's Present* (97).

Being a mosaic of distinct religions, caste, ethnicities etc., there is every chance in a multicultural nation like India that what gets celebrated as the will of the majority need not in reality, be what the majority of the nation really desires. The many fringe groups in the nation that differ from the majoritarian views and policies express views that range from moderate to extremist and add to the mounting political tensions in the nation, sometimes even resulting in armed violence and secession. India is a highly secession-prone nation and areas like Assam, Bodoland, Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, Nagaland, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and West Bengal are severely affected by separatist movements. Parallel to regional separatist demands, there is the Maoist, Naxalbari politics aligned to the extreme left of the political spectrum contributing to the insurgencies within the nation. These movements add to the escalating masculinity of the nation, rendering the political situation more convoluted. The manner in which the insurgence and separatist uprisings are quelled by the state is extremely violent and masculine. In other words, the subnationalist groups are masculine in their composition, political demands, their modus operandi and their dissent against the state and the state in turn resorts to aggressively masculine means to subdue the dissent.

With the expansion of the Hindutva forces in the nation and their ascendency to power, the notion of a monolithic Indian nation in the yore that was exclusively Hindu has been popularized. Cinema is a major medium employed to facilitate this understanding; so is literature. Hindutva's infiltration into academics results in rapid

dissemination of the notion of Hindu Rashtra. Text books are interpolated with revised or even non-existent episodes of Hindu chivalry and they simultaneously portray Muslims in a shady image. Fundamental concepts like family, beauty etc. introduced to kids in school are derivatives of a patriarchal outlook and endorse a masculine upper hand, making children internalize gender stereotypes. The extent of ideological meddling in academics will ensure that the nation will keep growing aggressively masculine with each passing day.

Along with all the above discussed manifestations of the Indian nation's masculinity, the nation's decision to demonetize the economy, to declare nation-wide lockdown, to retaliate for the Pulwama attack, to revoke the special status of Jammu Kashmir etc. were carried out without much deliberation and sometimes even without consulting the opposition or the people of the nation who were most affected by these decisions. The practice of making instinctive decisions without consultation and expecting them to bring about collective good is a masculine practice, which is an extension of a patriarchal family practice of the male head of the family deciding for the rest of the members. Additionally, imposition of state-sponsored masculine violence through protective regulations and acts like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, the military regulations and communication blackouts in Kashmir etc. are all indications of the nation's escalating masculinity; to set boundaries, forbid defiance and rebellion, enforce discipline, coerce into silence and punish violations are all masculine traits which are on its rise in India.

CHAPTER 4

REFLECTIONS OF THE MASCULINE INDIAN NATION IN LITERATURE

"Biology alone cannot provide an answer to the question that concerns us: why is woman 'the Other'? The question is how, in her, nature has been taken on in the course of history; the question is what humanity has made of the human female."

— Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex

The previous chapters were an attempt to unveil the masculinity embedded inside the conception, construction, embodiment and practice of the nation. They have clearly established that the Indian nation particularly is a masculine nation in its essential nature and expression. Additionally, India's masculinity is evidently rising, transforming the nation into an ultranationalistic, intolerant, xenophobic, communally discordant, extremely majoritarian one and therefore insecure for the religious and gender minorities. The dissertation posits that since the concept of the nation is inherently masculine, with almost all of its theorists being male and the loyalty towards the nation is manifested banally in chest-thumpingly aggressive manners, the ideological, economic, social, political and physical violence the nation perpetrates on its women is quite predictable and is usually taken for granted. A vital source that reveals this escalating masculinity is the literature that is produced from and about the nation. This chapter undertakes a survey of literature to validate the central argument that India is a "no-woman's land" and is becoming extremely so (Menon 4). The chosen texts include partition narratives from male and female perspectives, narratives about communal riots, writings from the margins, certain

texts that are central to Indian literature and centre around the Indian nation, narratives about feminist utopias and a few Malayalam texts that directly and subterraneously address the concept of nation and its masculinity. Narratives like *Midnight's Children*, *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness*, *Train to Pakistan*, *Sugandhi alias Andal Devanayaki* etc. intricately fuse the national history with the plot narrative that they become testimonies of the nation's assertive masculinity. The selection of texts is not random since it is the moments of national partition, communal unrest and their analysis that reveal Indian masculinity at their zenith. With the literature on nations and its diverse expressions being unsurveyably vast, the dissertation cannot and does not claim the selection of texts to be comprehensive or ultimate; the chosen texts are only exemplars that reveal the varied representations of the nation's masculinity.

In his essay "Literature and Society", Richard Hoggart asserts that "without appreciating good literature no one will really understand the nature of society" (277). The patriarchy-afflicted contemplations, decisions and deeds of the nation find an expression in literature. An analysis of the early Indian literature in English would reveal most of the early authors to be men, with a few exceptions such as Toru Dutt and Sarojini Naidu. In the novels of pre-partition writers like Raja Rao, Mulkraj Anand, Rabindrath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee etc. can be seen the East-West dichotomy, the Indian social reality, the reflections of India's nationalist struggle, national consciousness and an idealistic, socialist vision about the future India. Similar patriotic and egalitarian spirit is expressed in regional novels, poems and songs of the time as well. However, the post-partition reality differed considerably from this vision; the humanistic, socialist visions about the Indian nation gave way to the reality of a nation that is xenophobic, communal and masculine, all of these traits escalating with the passage of time.

The birth throes of two nations —one that chose to remain secular and another that chose to be Muslim occasioned unprecedented violence, overshadowing the euphoria of independence. The notion of India and the Indian perception of the rest of the world altered with the mass migrations, not just across the Radcliffe Line but across the globe, prompted by the partition. These migrations produced an Indian diaspora more prominent than the overseas Indian population that the intercontinental trade and colonial indentured labour produced. The migrations of the 20th century were mainly for political reasons while in the 21st century, they are mostly for economic reasons. Diaspora has complicated the concept of the nation and its racial, ethnic and geographical purity. Diaspora life is marked by features like dislocated self, identity crisis, cultural clash, hybrid existence, mimicry of the native life, a nostalgic longing for the homeland that is at par with the emotion of Indophilia, all of which get reflected in the diaspora literature. However, there is a clear difference in the way the Indian nation is portrayed in diaspora literature, particularly that of the second generation diasporic writers and literature produced from India, rooted in the first hand lived experiences of the country; the diasporic imaginary and the national imaginary stand far apart in terms of their politics.

"Always historicize", states Frederick Jameson in his *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (ix). He is of the position that a reader is "confronted with a choice between study of the nature of the 'objective' structures of a given cultural text (the historicity of its forms and of its content, the historical moment of emergence of its linguistic possibilities, the situation-specific function of its aesthetic) and something that would foreground the interpretive categories or codes through which we read and receive the text in question" (ix). Every reading process is carried out through "sedimented layers of previous interpretations" and "inherited interpretative traditions" (x). Literature can never be

divorced from its socio-political milieu in which it took shape; any such interpretation will only be partial. The gender of the author, as well as of the reader, considerably shapes a book and its reading. The way a female author perceives the national imaginary and the way a female reader connects to it are quite different from the male perception. Women's writings deviate from the rigid, stoic masculine writing strategies and are comparatively more fluid. Women often resort to employ the *Ecriture Feminine* which is a means of writing the female body; it is the concept of the female authors employing the white ink that they have inherited from their mothers to psychologically inscribe the female bodies and its grievances and joys onto the paper (Cixous 889). It claims that the language used by the female authors holds the key to the female psyche. The Stream of Consciousness technique is a crucial part of the *Ecriture Feminine* writing strategy wherein a free flow of thoughts and emotions are resorted to. The dissertation aims to look at how inscriptions of/on the female body become signs to the evident as well as concealed masculinity of the nation.

There is no other event of epic magnitude in Indian history as that of the Indo-Pak partition that resulted in an unforgettable history of riots, massacres, rapes, sexual slavery and bloodshed. The Radcliffe line drawn without much research and humanitarian considerations created a gaping wound in the geography as well as the collective memory of both the nations that never stopped bleeding since 1947. History witnessed the largest displacement, migration and genocide during the partition years and the years that immediately followed it. "Some fourteen million people left their homes and set out by every means possible – by air, train and road, in cars and lorries, in buses and bullock carts, but most of all on foot – to seek refuge with their own kind" (Read & Fisher 497). More than fifteen million people were displaced and crossed the newly decided border and more than a million people were

killed in the months of walking, epidemics and riots that followed. The mainstream history texts address the historical factors that led up to the partition, the pivotal roles of leaders such as Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah in the division and the role of the British in amputating India. What is often left out undocumented is the violence endured by women. It is an internalized notion that all that happens in the private sphere of the *Ghar* such as heartbreaks, rupture of familial ties, loss of/estrangement from family and even physical violence are meant to be silenced. Ritu Menon writes,

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. At best, if unusually privileged, they may be witness to it, very rarely, they may play a minor role in contributing to it. But generally they are mere presences of no great significance. Afterwards, they are called to pick up the pieces, clean up the mess, rebuild and resettle, somehow manage, somehow forgive and forget. Above all, forget... Once the calamity is behind them and the chaos is ordered again, they withdraw from their brief foray into the public. (*No Woman's* 3)

Of the five stereotypical roles women play in the nation identified by Nira Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias and discussed in detail in the first chapter, a significant role women play is as markers of the boundary and cultural purity of the nation as well as the religious community they belong to (*Women* 7-8). For this same reason, women were subjected to heinous violence, the extent of which was unprecedented in the nation's history. The pain and humiliation endured by women is either unrecorded or diluted in the official records and the male narratives, which necessitates a feminist rendering of the Indo-Pak partition that can bring out the

nuances of the half-told tales. When men talked about national losses, religious and communal riots, women talked of the insecurity during the crossing of the borders in long Kafilas (long columns of people travelling together) or about losing their babies. The trauma of displacement was experienced the most by women, who were always placed outside of all political discourses. Married women whose native villages were at a walkable distance just across the newly drawn border had to travel hundreds of miles, cross the Waga border, obtain clearance passes and then travel miles again to see their families. Those who could not afford the expense never visited their blood relatives in their lifetime after 1947.

Thousands of women were raped on either side of the line, the official numbers never concurred with the real lived experiences. As in the times of other communal unrest, rapes were often followed by physical disfiguration and genital mutilation in order to demoralize and undermine the men and the nation that 'own' the women. With rape being a metaphorical victory, maining and disfiguring the female bodies become the ultimate conquest of the enemy. Many a times, state officials turned into abductors and rapists, holding the state accountable of perpetrating violence. The aspect of state-sponsored/sanctioned violence was analyzed at length in the second chapter. Extreme sexual violence was perpetrated upon the women on either side such as raping, branding the genital region with religious marks, ripping out wombs and murder. Chopping off of the breasts was symbolic of a nation losing its procreative ability. The essay "Fragmented Nations, Fragmented Bodies: Women Narrating Indo-Pak partition" observes that asexualizing woman has always been the first step in the creation of symbols and iconography and that dismembering women's bodies is of utmost political significance by obliterating her procreative ability (Abraham 31-32). In order to save themselves from the ordeal and the disgrace it brought upon their family and

community, women voluntarily committed suicide or yielded to the swords of the men in their family. Urvashi Bhutalia writes in her heart-breaking partition narrative *The Other Side of Silence* that, in spite of the inhuman sexual violence and massacres, "half a century later, there is still no memorial, no memory, no recall, except what is guarded, and now rapidly dying, in families and collective memory"(44). Feminist historiographers and story tellers attempt to unearth the dying memories, which make inevitable a reading of the women's narratives.

Both India and Pakistan made attempts to discover the lost and abducted women after partition, not out of genuine human concern but for the political purpose of maintaining the demographic constitution of both nations intact. When failed in the mission, both nations decided to keep the number of women who were missing and killed a secret to be never disclosed. Once the lost women were traced and recovered, their loss of 'honor' and the defilement it brought upon their family made them hesitant to accept the recovered women, further complicating the political scenario. The nationality and identity of the children born out of rapes further problematized the national boundaries. Mass abortions were sponsored by both nations at a time when it was illegal. A fertile female body that refused to acclimatize and resisted homogenization and assimilation was always seen as a threat, wherever they lived. Age-old patriarchal boundaries and the newly drawn national boundaries victimized women alike. Ritu Menon observes in her essay "No Woman's Land" that

Women have no country and so they can make no claims on it, not even the fundamental, normal claims of citizenship...from the account of various social workers, it is clear that women were bartered like apples and oranges; apportioned between the countries according to official classification – Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, Minor or

Legitimate or Illegitimate, abducted or not, forcibly converted or voluntarily married... the only person who did not have any say in their lives were themselves. Not only do women have no country, they cannot even call their bodies their own. (7)

Partition narratives tell these stories of humiliation and trauma to a generation that has progressed much farther in terms of time and technology but not so much in terms of communal harmony and socio-political amity. Ismat Chugtai in her essay "Communal Violence and Literature" observes,

Communal violence and freedom became so muddled up that it was difficult to distinguish between the two. With every aspect of life disrupted by this earth shaking event, how could poets and writers possibly sit by without saying a word? How could literature, which has close ties with life avoid getting its shirt front wet when life was drenched in blood? (41)

Partition literature is not mere riot-specific literature that is time-bound and Chugtai observes that they will stay immortal, even after the violence dissipates, since the partition is etched in the collective memories of both nations forever. An analysis of select partition narratives are bound to unveil the nation's masculinity and a progression of it can be traced with the passage of time.

Khushwant Singh (1915-2014) who hailed from pre-partition Punjab was a lawyer by profession and served as the editor of *The Illustrated Weekly* and *Hindutan Times*. Singh later took to writing and authored works like *Train to Pakistan*, *I shall not Hear the Nightingale*, *Burial at the Sea*, *The Good, the Bad and the Ridiculous* etc. He was awarded Padma Bhushan in 1974 and Padma Vibhushan in 2007. In his partition novel *Train to Pakistan* (1956), Singh chooses the fictional

setting of the peaceful and harmonious Punjabi village of Mano Majra to portray the pangs of partition and the communal violence that ensued. The novel not just discusses the political causes and repercussions of the partition but delves deeply into the human experiences connected with it.

Mano Majra is marked by its railway station and wakes and sleeps in tune to the train whistles and has a utopian existence of communal harmony amidst the seventy families of Muslims and Sikhs and Khushwant Singh refers to the village as one among the "only remaining oases of peace" (Train 8). The house of Lala Ram Lal, the moneylender was the only Hindu home in the village. The peace is however shattered with the murder of Ram Lal and the arrival of ghost trains carrying dead bodies of Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan, ushering in a stench of death that the village soon grows accustomed to, resulting in a spate of communal violence in the thereunto peaceful village. The "imagined community" of a small, secluded, secular, harmonious village where the people knew each other personally got transformed into another "imagined community" of the same people, differently constituted; they no longer harbored in their minds the "image of their communion" and with the communal venom spewing in their minds, distanced themselves from their neighbor who is now the 'other' (Anderson 6). The ghost trains disrupt the village's healthy seclusion from the national politics and throws it head over into the cataclysm that gripped the rest of the nation. When the heap of bodies was burned, "a soft breeze began to blow toward the village. It brought the smell of burning kerosene, then of wood. And then, faint acid smells of searing flesh...The village was stilled in a deathly silence. No one asked anyone else what the odour was. They all know. They had known it all the time. The answer was implicit in the fact that the train had come from Pakistan" (Train 93).

Though Ram Lal's murder is not a communal murder, it foreshadowed what

was in the offing. The tragic mood of the novel is reflected in the whims of the monsoon, the late arrival of which left the village dry and when the monsoon did come, it did not bring relief but more disaster. Referring to the communal riots that broke out in various parts of the nation that is soon to spread to Mano Majra, Singh observes in his opening chapter that "Muslims said the Hindus had planned and started the killing. According to the Hindus, the Muslims were to blame. The fact is both sides killed. Both shot and stabbed and speared and clubbed. Both tortured, both raped" (*Train* 7). All these acts of violence, the book observes, are manifestations of masculinity, perpetrating violence on women and the men who were deemed powerless.

The gendered structure of the village of Mano Majra is quite evident in Khushwant Singh's descriptions of the village. The men are assigned physical labour and jobs of reputation such as farming, government jobs like that of the sub inspector, deputy commissioner and magistrate, the train driver and even that of the dacoit. The religious power is also vested in men like Imam Baksh and Meet Singh. All administrative decisions are made by the state, composed of male executives. Women engage in menial jobs that are underpaid or even unpaid like that of domestic chores, cleaning the village etc. after which "women rub clarified butter into each other's hair, pick lice from their children's heads, and discuss births, marriages and deaths" (*Train* 11). A powerful display of the gender stereotype is seen in the novel where red and blue glass bangles are thrown at Juggat Singh alias Jugga Badmash for his sedentary dacoit life after falling for his love interest Nooran. Mending his *Badmash* lifestyle is equated by Jugga's fellow dacoits to emasculation, which they chide through the bangle symbolism. Ascribing effeminacy upon a once hyper-masculine man is a sure strategy to deflate his masculine pride as discussed in

the third chapter with reference to the theory of hegemonic masculinity and Gender Order theory by R.W.Connell.

Towards the end of the novel, the Sub Inspector who is positive of the Sikh plan for annihilative violence, glorifies the masculinity of the dacoit Malli stating that "Malli is not a woman with henna on his palms or bangles on his wrists" (*Train* 176). Nooran is constantly referred to in terms of her physicality – "large gazelle eyes and little mango breasts", "tight shirt showing off her breasts", "at night she puts black antimony in her eyes" etc. (12-13). The constant threat of rape hung in the air; the dacoits yell after the murder of Ram Lal, "come out if you have courage! Come out if you want your mothers and sisters raped! Come out brave men!" (16). A man's attack on another is accompanied by abuses and rape threats upon their mothers and sisters. Jugga slaps Malli and says "This to rape your mother. This your sister. This your daughter. This is your mother again" (127). Rape of their women becomes a tool to silence the men in the village. Women's bodies bear the symbolic burden of being the signifiers of communal and national purity.

The rumors about the atrocities in the borders reach Mano Majra, though late. The news pouring in on a daily basis roused the communal spirits among those who lived in pure fraternity until then and the cordial relations among the villagers began to be weighed down by history and memory. Memory and forgetting play very crucial roles in defining and redefining communities as observed by Ernest Renan (*What is a Nation?* 3). "Rumors of atrocities committed by Sikh on Muslims in Patiala, Ambala and Kapurthala, which they had heard and dismissed, came back to their minds. They had heard of gentlewomen having their veils taken off, being stripped and marched down crowded streets to be raped in the market places. Many had eluded their would-be ravishers by killing themselves" (132). Women get

commoditized during the riots, transforming them into an object upon which violence can be perpetrated for pleasure, vengeance or to leave a warning.

The Sikhs in the village are incited to vengeance through rousing lines like "For each Hindu or Sikh they kill, kill two Mussalmans. For each woman they abduct or rape, abduct two...For each trainload of dead they send over, send two across" (Train 162). The sudden passion that such speeches arouse and the quick boiling of blood, spirit for vengeance and retribution are all masculinity indicators discussed in chapter 3, all of which victimize the women. National independence which meant little or nothing to the people of Mano Majra, comes at the cost of their honor, coexistence, livelihood and their very life. When the Muslims of Mano Majra are forced by the state to leave for Pakistan, Nooran is pregnant with Jugga's baby, which complicates the national boundaries and the religious constitution of both countries. Nooran pleads with Jugga's mother for acceptance and laments that if her child is born in Pakistan, it will, by all probabilities, be murdered for being born to a Sikh father but the bedridden mother who herself is a carrier of patriarchy, remains relentless, forcing her to leave to Pakistan with the fellow Muslims of the village. The train to Pakistan carrying the Muslims including Nooran is planned to be sabotaged by the Hindu men who are bent on butchering the Muslim passengers. Jugga, who had been previously accused of lacking masculine vigor, saves the train at the cost of his own life, emerging as the most masculine of all characters in the novel by showing extreme courage and disregard for his life, which is expected from an ideal son of the nation.

Jugga's personal love for Nooran asserts itself as an extended love for the Muslim community and the entire nation through his act of slashing the rope with his *Kirpan*, thus averting the catastrophe and letting the train pass, sacrificing himself in the ordeal. The use of *Kirpan* is symbolically relevant as it is the essence

of Jugga's Sikh faith that saves the train full of Muslims. Thus the socially ill-reputed dacoit Jugga is redeemed by his love and the heroism that springs from it. The novel valorizes and celebrates the inter-communal love from which springs the heroic deed and envisions love and fraternity as the only redemptive forces in the midst of the partition chaos. "Jugga transcends dominant discourses of class identity and religious belonging that mark national citizenship and engender ethnic violence in the nation. It is significant and ironic that it is the figure of Jugga, once accused of effeminacy but later turned hyper-masculine, sexual, 'bad' man, and not the state representatives, that ensures the safety of Muslim refugees going to Pakistan", observes Kavita Daiya ("Postcolonial" np).

While the violence perpetrated by the nation upon women is much explored, Kavita Daiya is of the opinion that "a look at the narration of gendered violence against men in the postcolonial Indian public sphere reveals that masculinity and men as subjects can also become critical sites for the symbolization of nationality and belonging" ("Postcolonial" np). The men in *Train to Pakistan* are constantly under extreme gender pressure to be masculine and aggressive even when they wanted to stay peaceful and preserve the fraternal coexistence they were so used to. They are burdened by the responsibility of avenging their women's dishonor in spite of their knowledge that retribution would mean perpetrating sexual violence on women of the 'other' community and would fetch no positive consequence. In this sense, both male as well as female bodies are subject to violence; the male bodies are under the ideological and gender pressure to behave in a stereotypically masculine fashion.

In spite of all the progressive thinking and his efforts to maintain the communal fraternity, Magistrate Hukum Chand spills out his internalized patriarchy by reiterating the popular Hindu nationalist rhetoric, employed even by Gandhi, of

death being the Hindu women's only refuge from rape and defilement. "They would rather commit suicide than let a stranger touch them", he said (*Train* 28). Hukum Chand's concern about the Hindus sabotaging the train carrying the Muslims springs only from the fact that his love interest Haseena Beegum, a Muslim child prostitute, is onboard the train. "If only she were here in the rest house with him, he would not bother if the rest of the world went to hell. But she was not here; she was in the train. He could hear its rumble. Hukum Chand slid off his chair, covered his face with his arms and started to cry" (192-193). In contrast to the hypocrite in Hukum Chand, Jugga's masculine body crushed by the train to Pakistan bears evidence to the triumph of inter-faith love and Indian secularism.

Kavita Daiya observes in her article "Postcolonial Masculinity: 1947, Partition Violence and Nationalism in the Indian Public Sphere" that all the interreligious relationships in the novel are between Sikh/Hindu men and Muslim women; there are no Muslim men who embody masculine virulence in the novel. Daiya notes that "Nooran's pregnant body carrying the product of Sikh-Muslim love becomes symbolic not only of the birth of the Pakistani nation, but also of the impurity of ethnic and national identities…birth of the Pakistani nation is inscribed as symbolically enabled through the violent sacrifice of Jugga's strong, potent, masculine, and heroic body – the Sikh male body" (np). Jugga is at the same time a victim of the nation's violence upon men as well as a hero who asserts his masculinity; though he is assigned femininity, he performs as masculine.

The othering of the bodies is crucial in the novel; Jugga's shattered masculine body is a matter of national pride while Haseena's child body prone to sexual service and Nooran's promiscuous body that bear the evidence of her interfaith detour in the form of her protruding belly are culturally othered and socially looked down upon contemptuously by the nation. The only female bodies that earn

respect in the novel are those of the Hindu/Sikh women who immolate or drown themselves or subject themselves to the swords of their men when their honor is at stake. Khushwant Singh makes a mangled, shattered peasant male body as the allegorical representation of the Indian nation, toppling the usual order of a physically perfect, elitist female body embodying the nation. The transition of the fictional Punjabi village Mano Majra from its peaceful coexistence to the animalistic aggression against the other is symbolic of India's transition from the ideals of ahimsa that shaped the freedom struggle to violence and is synonymous to the nation's gradual evolution from femininity to aggressive masculinity.

British Indian novelist Attia Hosain (1913-1998) born and brought up in Lucknow, grew with the growing Indian nation to first handedly experience the prepartition horrors. She left to settle in England with her family in 1947, just before the partition. She was influenced by left wing ideology and was friends with many leftempathizing writers involved in the Progressive Writers' movement. Her 1961 work Sunlight on a Broken Column is a semi-autobiographical partition novel that tells the story of a fifteen-year old Muslim orphan girl Laila, belonging to an aristocratic family in Lucknow. Secluded from the eastern and western borders of the nation, Lucknow did not witness partition violence on the same scale as Punjab or Bengal. Therefore, the novel's perspective on partition is different from the other partition novels. The novel progresses through the evolution of Laila's character as she pursues her education and love and falls into the genre of Bildungsroman. The novel is narrated in the first person, tracing Laila's life for nearly twenty years where she battles crises both within the family and inside her head and transitions from a teenager to a wife to a mother and is finally rendered a widow. Many critics have hailed Sunlight on a Broken Column as a 'Purdah novel' for presenting an authentic picture of life under purdah.

The novel is composed of four parts, the first three being chronological; the final part is set in a time frame where fourteen years have passed. With her father and mother dead, the fifteen year old Laila is forced to suppress her love for Western education and values and obeys the restrictions in the strict Muslim family of hers, presided over by her grandfather Baba Jan, under whom the other members were reduced to mere "fearing automatons" (Sunlight 31). She is raised by her orthodox aunts Abida and Majida who strictly adhered to the purdah system. Their ancestral house Aashiana was well segregated into male and female spaces, clearly reproducing the Ghar-Bahir binary that Partha Chatterjee proposed in Nation and its Fragments (120). "The day my aunt Abida moved from the zenana into the guest room off the corridor that led to the men's wing of the house, within call of her father's room, we knew Baba Jan had not much longer to live", says young Laila to indicate the strict gendered division of space inside the home (Sunlight 14). Her uncle Hamid assumes the role of the family patriarch after the death of her grandfather and he turns out to be more autocratic than his predecessor, in spite of his liberal values.

At college, Laila is surrounded by students who protest against the British Raj; the Swadeshi movement, the 1937 elections, Non-cooperation movement etc. and the Second World War feature in this historical novel as the backdrop to the plot. Laila does not get actively involved in the movement but the politically dynamic college life and the nationalist movement manages to create ripples in her. However, she is unable to commit to the cause of the nation's freedom since she was struggling in her head with the notion of personal freedom which was denied to her, justifying the argument made in the second chapter that women joining the nationalist movement were fighting a two-fold cause – personal freedom alongside national independence. She often exclaims at the self-sacrificing womanhood she

sees around her, particularly in her aunts and struggles to comprehend the stereotypical concept of femininity. The misogynist atmosphere within the house is evident in uncle Mohsin's question "Is the girl to pass judgments on her elders? Doubt their capabilities to choose? Question their decision? Choose her own husband?" (Sunlight 20).

The novel juxtaposes Laila's struggle for freedom with India's struggle for freedom. The feeling of frustration and suffocation Laila experiences was commonly experienced by educated, self-willed women in the traditional Indian nation of that time. She was often blamed for being ambitious and reading books; Hakiman Bua chastises her saying "Your books will eat you. They will dim the light of your levely eyes" (Sunlight 14). Laila silently rebels against the stereotypes, prioritizes personal happiness over the honour of the family and the community and slyly evolves into a rebel, developing her own brand of subtle feminism. From this silent rebellion comes her marriage to Ameer, a teacher of history at Aligarh University, a man who unlike his name, is poor, against her uncle Hamid's wish of her marrying one of his sons so that the family property remains undivided. Ameer who had joined the army for financial reasons was taken in as a prisoner of war and is killed in his attempt to escape. After fourteen years since she left the family, she revisits the dilapidated ancestral house post Ameer's death with her daughter Shahla. Laila is taken away by Azad, probably for a better and happy life; the novel ends on a slightly ambiguous note, leaving open the possibilities of the future.

Even though Laila does not get involved in the national politics like her fellow students, she critically engages with a personal politics in a silent, cerebral fashion; she is not immune to national politics, but involved in a different form of politics – a gendered version of it with which she can personally relate. However, the national politics forcefully enters her life with the looming prospect of partition

and the political death of her husband Ameer later in the plot. Laila accompanying Azad at the end of the novel can be read as her committing to active political involvement which Azad had steadfastly stood for in the course of the novel. Laila's inimitability derives from the way she copes with the losses in her life – the deaths of her father, mother, grandfather and Ameer as well as the familial and social conditions that force her to give up on her dreams. She sees death not just in her personal life but in the world around her as well, with the partition taking a toll on innocent lives. Her uniqueness is derived from her being trapped in the liminal space between life and death, dreams and reality, love and hate.

The Taluqdar family to which Laila belongs to had been traditionally a family that wielded power but the exercise of power had always been patriarchal and hierarchical as seen in its handing down from Baba Jan to Hamid, who regulates with an iron fist the lives of all members in the Aashiana house. Power being reserved for men alone is a trope addressed in detail in the third chapter. The novel simultaneously reveals how access to education and spaces like the college and library enable the political mobilization of women. The rebel in Laila comes out of hiding at certain points in the novel where she violates the codes of obedience and docility and decides to walk out of the familial restrictions upon their life choices by choosing to marry Ameer. Such consensual marriages as that of Laila's are shown to offer a greater freedom and individuality to women. For the tradition-bound Zahra, marriage was always something to look forward to and she hoped that marriage would help her transcend her gender limitations and domestic obligations. But that wasn't the case; she soon realized that the mere crossing of the domestic threshold is by no means a guarantee to liberation. The whole narrative is a gentle tease on the institution of marriage which is yet another social confinement that limits women, the only difference being the question 'how far'.

Interfaith love is a taboo in the novel, punishable by death. Sita and Kemal were deeply in love but it did not come to fruition because,

I, Sita, loved him, Kemal, and still do. Two individual human beings. But it would have been the daughter of my father and mother marrying the son of his parents, with different backgrounds and different religions, two small cogs in a huge machine...Our love is our own, inside us, but our marriage would have been outside ourselves, everyone else's. I thought about it until it seemed easier to die. (*Sunlight* 215-216)

It seems that Laila's strength and courage to defy the elderly men of her family springs from the fact that she and Ameer belong to the same community, though he is socially lower to her. When her disobedience makes her re-entry to Aashiana impossible, she moves home up a hill after the death of Ameer, where she sets up a feminist utopia where dwells Laila, her daughter Shahla and Laila's servant cum confidante Nandi and they are occasionally visited by other fellow suffering women like Sita and Romana who lead unsatisfactory married lives. This home uphill is the antithesis to the masculinist Aashiana, acting as a contrast to the titular 'Nation of Men'. Her home is reminiscent of the utopian Ladyland that features in Rokeya Sakhavat Hossain's depiction of a feminist utopia in her 1905 work *Sultana's Dream*. The Ladyland is completely run by women and men are excluded from it, which is a parallel to the real world purdah system that oppresses women. Although designed a Ladyland which acts as a refuge to women, Laila simultaneously expresses her "fear of violence, murder, rape and mutilation" (*Sunlight* 304).

Although it is expected that when the society transitions from the feudal system and colonialism to democracy and secularism, communal harmony should ideally deepen, it is the opposite that actually happen. Social relations worsen and

riots break out at the slightest provocation. The streets of lucknow that is shown in the earlier parts of the novel as throbbing with life, where Azad And Zahid watch the Moharram procession and Laila and Ameer roam together, get transformed into a scene of bloody carnage with the prospect of partition. Lucknow, known as the land of Nawabs had an elegance that fused Arab and Persian styles. However, the city that was designed, built and landscaped by the Muslim rulers who reigned over the kingdom of Awadh became the sepulchre for Muslims in 1947, symbolically represented by the murder of Ameer. The purdah that was supposed to save the Muslim women from the male gaze became the identification of the women to be raped and killed. The novel clearly expresses the aggravating communal tensions between Hindus and Muslims in the 1940s, revealed through the Muharram riots in the plot that wounds many of Laila's male cousins who were out on the streets. Recounting the riot, Laila says that it involved a "desperate mob whose cruelty is the twisted sum of each individual's fear" (Sunlight 78). With the partition and the choice between India and Pakistan, some of Laila's family choose to remain in India, risking their lives and others move to Pakistan. Reaching the Islamic neoparadise that summoned the Muslims of India turned out to be a difficult prospect with mobs attacking the long kafilas and trains, looting, plundering and murdering the people on the move.

Sunlight on a Broken Column narrates several incidents from the nationalist struggle – Gandhi's impact on students that drive them to streets in protest, the non-cooperation movement, Government of India Act of 1935, the elections of 1937 etc. All these events and the partition are viewed in the novel from the perspective of an outwardly progressive, yet deeply conservative Muslim family who want to hold on to their Muslim identity and still belong to the nation. Though the addressing of the theme of partition in the novel seems minimal and peripheral, it discusses the

vulnerability of women on either sides of the line, not through graphic descriptions but subterraneaneously within the plot, using the disintegrating ancestral house, Aashiana as a motif. Aashiana serves as a microcosm of India.

In part IV of the novel, Aashiana is dilapidated and sans grandeur, its members either dead or moved to Pakistan, servants dispersed, once well-kept gardens soiled and the house surrounded by ugly apartments and refugee camps. Hosain describes the dilapidated state of the house as ugly "like the skin of a once beautiful woman struck by leprosy" (Sunlight 271). The whole broken image acts as a representation of the divided country whose harmonious past has been emptied out like the house itself. Even in parts II and III of the novel, the home slowly transforms into a house, offering less warmth and harboring less unity; the disintegration is gradual as is the slow building of the communalism that led to partition. The tearing of the nation into two is juxtaposed with the protagonist's shattered dreams, deterioration of interpersonal relations, eventual estrangement, displacement and disorientation. In other words, partition does not form the backdrop of Hosain's novel as is the case of most partition novels, but partition is interwoven with the plot itself. The characters are enmeshed in the vortex of political events that their personal lives and the nation's history cannot be disentangled; the partition of Aashiana mirrors the partition of India as well.

Women were always relegated to the sphere of home (*ghar*) and the home was not deemed significant in history since all historical and political events took place in the public domain (*bahir*). However, the home plays a central role in Hosain's narrative, making it unique and establishes that the novel is an alternative means of narrating partition and its repercussions in the private sphere of women. The centrality of the home fuses the personal and the political. The personal narrative of Laila subsumes the national narrative into its fold, mixing the two, by

which the former is strengthened. "Her search for identity and her progress of individuation is concomitant to the nationalist struggle. Laila's growing awareness of her capabilities to undermine the patriarchal set up is simultaneous to the awakening of the Indian masses to oust the colonizer" (Parmar 2754). Her cousin Saleem had left for Pakistan with his family and his part of the property was taken up by the government to house refugees.

There were strangers living in the rooms once so private and guarded, strangers who were names in Government files balancing Saleem's name against theirs – he labelled 'evacuee', they 'refugees'. Their presence here, and Saleem's in their erstwhile homeland, was part of a statistical calculation in the bargaining of bureaucrats and politicians, in which millions of uprooted human beings became just numerical figures. (*Sunlight* 272)

The disintegration of Aashiana is not perceived by Laila as a simple loss but a horrific one, equivalent to the dismembering of the nation itself. Walking through the rubbles of what was once a full-fledged home, Laila becomes the carrier of nostalgia and memories left by partition, leaving her "as still as a stone in unstirred waters" (272). The outside and the inside worlds are not well differentiated but fused inseparably by Attia Hosain and in that sense, *Sunlight on a Broken Column* becomes a period novel, capturing the ethos of the 1930s and the 1940s.

Bhisham Sahni (1915-2003) hailed from Rawalpindi in undivided Punjab and chose India as his homeland after the great divide. He is acclaimed in multiple roles of writer, playwright, actor etc. He was awarded Padma Bhushan in 1998. He was a member of the Indian National Congress and was an ardent participant in the freedom struggle and associated himself with the relief work post partition; his lenience later shifted towards Communism. With his firsthand experience of the

partition, Sahni is a reliable source on the Indo-Pak partition and *Tamas* (1974), his passionate rendering of the partition is indispensable in the study of partition narratives. A few of his other narratives on partition include *Pali* and *Amritsar Aa Gaya Hai. Tamas* is celebrated as his magnum opus; the titular reference is to the metaphorical darkness prompted by the partition and the novel portrays the horrors that reined free before and after the violent partition of the Indian nation. The novel has been translated into many international tongues as well as most Indian regional tongues. *Tamas* won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1975 and was made into a Television film in 1986 in which Sahni himself starred alongside Om Puri. *Tamas* was first translated into English by Jai Ratan in 1981 and later by Sahni himself in 2001.

Tamas is set in the undivided Punjab in April 1947 and the plot spans over five days. However, the backdrop to these five days of vicious orgy of communal violence and bestiality spans over a century in the past. The novel is divided into two sections and employs a curious mix of Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and English. The novel is unconventional in the fact that it has no central protagonist; the focus of each chapter varies and the focal character of a chapter may not reappear at all. As the novel progresses, it turns out that the protagonist is the riot itself, driving the plot forward. The novel traces the lives of people from both Hindu and Muslim communities and from all social echelons and the novel's polyphony adds to its elegance. The driving factor behind the riots that grip the city is that a pig's carcass was found lying on the steps of a local mosque, which is obviously interpreted as a threat and a provocation from the Hindus which in turn resulted in the slaughter of a cow as retaliation, deemed sacred by the Hindus. In a city that is already teeming with communal mistrust and news of the upcoming partition in the air, the slightest of provocations would prove lethal. Riots break out in the city and violence, arson

and looting follow and the indifference and passivity of Richard, the deputy commissioner, heightens the violence, leading to savage rapes and mass suicide. Once the riots are quelled, refugee camps mar the landscape and an uneasy peace that is ready to be ruptured at the slightest of the provocations prevail over the city.

The tanner Nathu belonging to the *Chamar* caste gets asked by the influential Murad Ali who paid him five rupees to slaughter a pig for veterinary purposes. Nathu had never killed a pig before but could not deny Murad Ali who had been of considerable help previously. The pig's carcass is found on the steps of the mosque in the Imam Din mohalla, an impoverished Muslim locality, creating a tense situation where even the Congress workers are threatened of being skinned alive unless they leave. Just when the Congress men cleared the mess of the carcass and hid it from open view, a cow is being chased by a man. Senior Congress activist Bakshiji laments that "it seems kites and vultures will hover over the town for a long time" (*Tamas* 37).

In a satsang convened the next day, Hindus decide to arm themselves in case of a riot and Lala Lakshmi Narain, a rich merchant offers to sponsor two hundred lathis. All Hindu households are instructed to store canisters of oil and coal to burn away the Muslim rioters. Lala Lakshmi Narain's son Ranvir who is spell bound by Master Ji's classes on the Vedas and the occult gets initiated into the youth wing with pro-Hindutva leanings. The Master Ji wears Khaki shorts and heavy black boots and teaches that everything non-Hindu is unclean, indoctrinating young boys with the early lessons of communalism. The initiation ceremony into the Hindutva fold involves the killing of a hen to prove that Ranvir "possess a stout heart...An Aryan youth must be strong in faith, resolute at heart, and determined in action" (*Tamas* 43). Once initiated, Ranvir is given instructions on how to trigger violence.

On the window-sill they had placed three long knives, a dagger and a kirpan. In a corner lay two lathis with polished brass heads and iron spikes at the other ends. Along one wall they had arranged bows and arrows in a row. Bodhraj ...had brought some arrows, their ends tipped with metal, and stood there explaining their special characteristics. "If you rub arsenic on the tip of an arrow it'll become a poisoned arrow", he explained. "And if you put a piece of camphor on its tip it'll become a fire arrow and ignite any surface that it hits. If you tip it with sulphite of copper it will produce poisonous gas wherever it strikes". (44)

Soon after Ranvir's reluctance to kill the hen is resolved and he gets initiated, he resorts to bloody violence to the sweetmeat seller; the courage springs from the power he derived from the initiation. "So, it's not difficult to kill, Ranvir thought. He could have killed that man with no compunction. He only had to raise his hand and it was done. It would be over in no time. To fight was, of course, something quite different, especially when the other man put up resistance. But even so it would be quite easy to plunge a knife into a man's body" (47). Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle argue that the nation thrives upon blood rituals, which the novel *Tamas* elucidates (*Blood* 9).

Riots break out on the next day with communal spirit and hate towards the 'other' simmering among people who thereunto lived in harmony. The "daily plebiscite" that Renan believed to constitute the nation gets reshaped or withdrawn, resulting in the nation's reorientation (*What is a Nation?* 10). It is noteworthy that unlike most partition novels, *Tamas* lacks a subplot of interfaith love that transcends communal restrictions because the world the novel presents is too polarized for love. What held the society together was merely a working harmony that crumbles in the

first chapter itself. At night, Nathu and his wife hear loud noises of the Muslim chant *Allah o Akbar* and the Hindu chant of *Har Har Mahadev* in response and the grain market was set upon fire. Lala Lakshmi Narain feels insecure in staying in a Muslim locality, particularly with Ranvir's prolonged absence. The sudden distrust people develop towards their neighbor of the 'other' community is the first phase of the intensification of the riot. Congress activists who were out on the streets, preaching peace and harmony are killed and the Communist Party joins the endeavors for peace. Ranvir, Shambu, Manohar and Inder feels like old Rajput warriors when they become armed rioters and Ranvir thought of himself as Shivaji; being armed rouses the masculinity in them, which grants them the license to unleash savagery.

The riot spreads from city to the country side and Sikhs too get involved in the violence. They congregate inside the Gurudwara, preparing to retaliate. The female lead Jasbir Kaur has her *Kirpan* hanging and polished, ready to strike. Women too internalize masculine violence and deem it their sacred duty to avenge blood with blood. When the Gurudwara was about to be attacked, the Sikh women led by Jasbir Kaur jumped into the village well to save their honour. The Muslim slogan *Allah o Akbar* is responded to from the Gurudwara with *Boley So Nihal! Sat Sri Akal!* Iqbal Singh's forced conversion is described as follows:

The barber first clipped Iqbal Singh's hair short, then tied the remaining hair into small knots ...For the final stage he used a shearing machine normally used for cropping horses' hair. The machine worked its way through Iqbal Singh's hair, making grotesque patterns on his head. Then the barber shaved his head clean with a razor. They let his beard remain...Despite his fear-stricken eyes, Iqbal Singh had begun to look Muslim... Noordin sat down by Iqbal Singh. With his left hand he forced Iqbal Singh's mouth open and

with his right hand he pushed a big piece of beef, dripping with blood, into his mouth....Holding a rosary in his hand, the mullah recited the Kalma asking Iqbal Singh to repeat it after him...his name had been changed from Iqbal Singh to Iqbal Ahmed...Before nightfall Iqbal Singh was circumcised. (*Tamas* 130)

With the whole city and countryside under siege, the government intervened to quell the riots. Physical hostilities soon came to an end but the mental savagery people harboured against each other remained intact. The dead were disposed of, cities and villages were wiped clean and the wounded were cared for; the deeper wounds sustained by the mind and the memory however, remained intact.

Sahni's portrayal of the common Hindus and Muslims who develop hostility towards each other is with compassion while his portrayal of the Hindu and Muslim instigators of violence is filled with mockery and satire. His representation of the passive Congressmen is also unappealing; they are presented as quarrelsome, lacking unity and pulling each others' legs. It might probably be Sahni's pro-left leaning that prompts him to present Comrade Dev Datt, a self-identified "professional revolutionary" who is active in restoring the peace as the antithesis to the passive Congressman Bakshi (*Tamas* 350). When it is commonly believed that partition arrested the long history of communal harmony in India, *Tamas* problematized the discourse by raising the question whether that harmony was a travesty, a kind of facade that eased human lives. In retrospect, it may be that the communal relations in the subcontinent always had a submerged element of distrust, and the maintenance of safe distance from the 'other' embedded in it. Gory communal violence had broken out prior to the partition as well, just that containing them and returning to the 'normal' facade of communal harmony was easier then.

A common concern echoing throughout the novel in all families regardless of their religion and which side of the line they belong is "if anything untoward happens, where shall we conceal our daughters?" (*Tamas* 158). Women have been the most abject victims of partition – in *Tamas*, women are raped, killed and many even kill themselves to preserve the honor of their community; above all, they live in the constant fear of displacement and the accompanying trauma it brings. The novel is an exploration of the inner psychology of the perpetrators of violence and the means and manners of indoctrination by which men internalize revenge and violence as their obligation and how women are at the receiving end of the masculinist violence ushered in by the partition. *Tamas* describes the anatomy of the riot; the reader is presented the slow simmering passions in their nascent phase, the gradual bubbling and boiling of it, causing arson, looting, murder and savagery to an unexplored extent and traces its progression until it is forcefully extinguished, though the embers still burn.

Anita Desai (1937 -) is the author of *Cry the Peacock*, *Clear Light of Day*, *In Custody*, *Fasting Feasting*, *Fire on the Mountain*, *The Village by the Sea* etc. She is the winner of the Sahitya Akademi Award of 1978 as well as the British Guardian Prize and was nominated thrice for the Booker. Born of mixed parentage of Bengali father and German mother and hailing from Mussoorie in British India, Desai's firsthand experience of the Indo-Pak partition is negligible. Her *Clear Light of Day* (1980) is a partition novel that was nominated for the Booker Prize in 1980. Set in Old Delhi, the novel narrates the tensions that grip the Das family during and post partition. The novel is semi-autobiographical and is set in the times around the partition and the assassination of Gandhi.

The novel is divided into four parts that are non-chronological, intermixing the past and the present. The 'light' in the title is a reference to the illumination of the broken relationships once the Das family is mended and reconciled. Anita Desai's addressing of gender politics extends into being a critique of the male Indian nation and its masculinist nationalism. Part I of the novel is set in the present where Tara Das is back to her ancestral home where her unmarried sister Bimla Das alias Bim lives with their autistic brother Baba. Bim is a history teacher and values independence and liberty; she runs the house now in the absence of her brother Raja, who married a Muslim and moved away. Bim and Raja are not on talking terms while Tara who lives abroad with her husband Bakul and two daughters is back home to attend Raja's daughter's wedding. With Tara's return, old memories of togetherness which seem unpleasant today, return and Bim says that it is the danger of coming back home. She says,

Old Delhi does not change. It only decays...It is a great cemetery, every house a tomb, nothing but sleeping graves. Now New Delhi, they say is different. That is where things happen...So much happens there, it must be a jumping place. I never go. Baba never goes. And here, here nothing happens at all. Whatever happened, happened long ago—in the time of the Tughlaqs the Khiljis the Sultanate, the Moghuls—that lot. (*Clear* 13)

Tara finds herself sinking back into the familiar stagnancy that her ancestral home holds. The strange feeling of the ghosts of old memories resurfacing, not just that of the family but also of the nation, ushers in an uneasiness in both Bim and Tara.

Bim shows Tara a letter from Raja, informing her of the death of Hyder Ali and that he and his wife Benazir decided that Bim and Baba can stay in the same house for the same rent; in effect, Raja becomes Bim's landlord. There are covert allusions to the nation falling into new hands after independence. The sibling rivalry also bears allusions to the Indo-Pak discord around the partition. A part of the

family's disdain towards Raja springs from the fact that he frequented the house of their Muslim landlord Hyder Ali under the guise of borrowing Urdu books and later went in search of the Alis when they moved to Hyderabad when the communal tensions in old Delhi escalated. He eventually married Hyder Ali's daughter Benazir; interfaith marriage was anathema to the Das family. Bim and Tara muse about their lives that meander like a river; there are long stretches and then a flood, like the summer of 1947. Partition and the trauma that it inflicted always haunts them, how much ever they tried to run away from it.

Bimla and Tara are antithesis; unlike Tara whose dream in life was to get married, Bim chose to remain unmarried, had her hair cut, smoked, dressed carelessly and fashioned herself as a 'new woman', leading a life of financial independence in which she is answerable to none. She refuses to conform to the stereotype of a conventional woman but for this same reason, she is an outcaste in her home and society. Part II of the novel shifts to the summer of 1947, a summer of smoke, flames and vultures. Raja who was recovering from tuberculosis under Bim's nursing was worried about the Alis who had left for Hyderabad. Raja's love for Urdu poetry and his frequent visits to Hyder Ali's home was discouraged by the Das family. Raja wanted to specialize in Islamic studies from Jamia Millia which was not acceptable to his father. "You can't study there. It is a college for Muslim boys", he said and tore the application form into pieces (*Clear 77*). Later when Raja insisted, Mr. Das said,

If you had asked me a few years ago, I would have said yes at once: yes, all right...Iam talking about the political situation. Don't you know anything about it? Don't you know what a struggle is going on for Pakistan?...There is going to be trouble, Raja—there are going to be riots and slaughter...If you, a Hindu boy, are caught in Jamia

Millia, the centre of Islamic studies as you call it, you will be torn to bits, you will be burnt alive... The Muslims will do that to you for trying to join them when they don't want you and don't trust you, and Hindus, for deserting them and going over to the enemy. Hindus and Muslims alike will be out for your blood. It isn't safe, Raja, it isn't safe, son. (77-78)

The youthful Raja on the other hand, was thrilled by the prospect of the communal risks his choice would pose and failed to understand the paternal concerns but gave in to the orders. He joined the Hindu college to learn English Literature and made friends with fanatical Hindus who later inform the police that Raja is a Muslim sympathizer and a Pakistani spy (90). With the rising communal polarizations, Raja was less welcomed at the Ali family for the evening Urdu poetry gatherings. Around this time, Raja's Hindu friends found out about his affinity for Urdu poetry and chastised him. With the communal tensions intensifying in Old Delhi, the Alis left one day with no prior notice. The reorientation of the community through the withdrawal of the consent to live together is the common trope that runs in all novels based on partition.

On a walk back home after the tea party, Bimla came to know about Gandhi's assassination. She rushed to let Raja know, who felt relieved to know that it was a Hindu who murdered Gandhi.

'Raja,' she shouted, 'Mahatma Gandhi's been killed. Murdered. He's dead.' Raja gave a violent jerk and shot out of bed, the heavy quilt sliding to one side and falling to the floor, rolled up like a corpse. Raja's hair stood on end...'You must be mad,' he shouted at her...Raja hurried to the radio on his bookshelf and fiddled with the knobs in a kind of desperation. 'Bim,' he said, almost sobbing,

'there'll be more riots – killing – they'll slaughter every Muslim they can find – anywhere.' 'God no, not again, not again,' whispered Bim...They sank onto Raja's bed with relief to hear it was not a Muslim but a Hindu who had killed the Mahatma. 'Thank God,' Raja cried out, pulling up the quilt off the floor and hugging it to him almost violently. 'Thank God'. (*Clear* 135-136)

The year of partition also saw a massive tempestuousness in the Das household as well. With Mrs. Das dying, Mr. Das' car crash and spot death, Raja's Tuberculosis, Mira Masi's descend to lunacy and eventual death, Tara leaving with Bakul after marriage, the Alis leaving and finally Raja setting off to Hyderabad in search of the Alis, leaving Bim and Baba in the house mark an eventful period for the family, closely mirroring the eventful phase of the two nascent nations as well.

Part three of the novel travels even backward in time to the childhood of the Das children and their growth. With the birth of autistic Baba, Mira Masi became a part of the family. She was married off at twelve and was rendered a widow at fifteen. She was unwelcome in her own home and therefore found the Das home heaven where the children doted on her. The children shared a troubled relation with each other. Part IV brings the reader back to the present where Bimla and Tara grapple with their past and realize they are not as different as they thought them to be. In the light of this new way of looking at each other, the sisters reconcile and Bim even asks Tara to ask Raja to visit her once the wedding is over.

Unlike most other partition novels that specifically address communal and gendered violence during partition, *Clear Light of Day* does not resort to it; the novel instead addresses women's issues that were not just limited to the partition era but are pertinent to all ages such as the prioritization of boys within the family, the taboo associated with widowhood, women forcefully assigned the responsibility of

looking after the sick, the outer world being open to men alone etc. When Bimla prioritizes her career, intellect and self-reliance over her body and societal conventions, she is rewarded with loneliness, melancholy and disillusionment. The futility of the institution of marriage is also a major aspect discussed covertly by the novel. In their childhood, when Raja and Bim express their desires to pursue careers, Tara expresses her wish to be a wife and a mother who knits for her children to which Mira Masi responds that Tara's might be the only dream that materializes (*Clear* 112). Tara's marriage to Bakul is a facade behind which dwells incompatibility and lack of respect. Women's search for identity forms a major theme of the novel.

Bim's adoption of the androcentric clothing and behaviour is probably part of her resistance against the masculine hegemony she witnessed since her childhood and detested while Tara internalized it. The school life energized Bim's ebullience that was subdued by the patriarchal atmosphere of her home. The typically feminine Tara felt confined by the school and yearned for the home. As children, Bim and Tara discovered the power that emanated from men's clothing as they tried wearing Raja's pants.

They saw why they were so different from their brother, so inferior and negligible in comparison: it was because they did not wear trousers... Carried away by the splendor of their trousersed selves, Bim suddenly dashed across to the desk and pulled out the small top drawer in which Raja kept cigarettes. She found an opened packet with a few cheap, foul-smelling, loosely packed cigarettes and matches in her pocket, realizing now why Raja walked with fine, careless swagger. If she had pockets, if she had cigarettes, then it was

only natural to swagger, to feel rich and superior and powerful. (Clear 132)

Transvestism is a tendency discouraged by the conventional society and transvestite women are considered assertive, opinionated and disobedient. This aspect was explored in the third chapter with reference to female masculinity. Bim's rejection of Dr. Biswas is also unconventional to a woman; however, she found him too masculine and chauvinist for her liking and refused to confine herself to the doll-like woman Biswas and most other men sought.

The disintegration of the Das family begins in 1946 when the cries for partition had become shriller. Tara marries Bakul and leaves India in the summer of 1947 when the two nations were partitioned. The death of aunt Mira and Raja's departure coincides with the year Gandhi was shot dead. The time between 1946 and 1948 are marked by deaths and departures not just in the Das family but the entire nation as well. Although Desai makes it appear that the nation's history and the lives of the characters are connected merely by coincidence than by a well-crafted intrinsic logic, the events in the novel and the events in history are intricately interwoven by her that history courses subterraneously through the lives of the characters. The separation that the family endures is inextricably connected with the separation of the nation. The partition is a tangible reality to the Das family although they do not endure partition trauma firsthand. The socio-political upheavals in the society are mirrored in the rifts within the family. The sibling rivalry and fragility of social relationship are juxtaposed in the novel with the antagonism between India and Pakistan and is presented in such a fashion that it prevents the narrative from slipping into the gory description of violence so that the novel evokes empathy rather than curiosity. This sidelong glance and oblique style has prevented Clear Light of Day from being popular as a partition novel per se. While a superficial

reading summarizes the novel as the evolution of four siblings and their relationships coinciding significantly with Indo-Pak partition, on a profounder reading, the novel is about how history intrudes into the desolate personal spaces of the Das family.

Escapism runs as a major theme in the novel, a characteristic trait derived from the pressing demands of the troubled times of partition. Desai however prioritizes the inner world over the outer; it is the psychological musings of the characters that become her focus. The discourse of partition therefore, serves as a backdrop and is also temporally and spatially fused into the narrative. Her use of Indo-Pak partition as the novel's backdrop is not extended politically. Using techniques like flashbacks, stream of consciousness and interior monologues, Desai maintains her focus intact on the inner turmoil of the characters. When Tara exclaims that everything remains the same in the house, Bimla asks her "would you like to come back to find it changed?" (*Clear* 4). The indirect reference to the partition of the nation cannot be missed.

The novel has no descriptions of mob confrontations or partition violence; communal discord is only indicated in the narrative. The only instance where a hint of violence in the outside world is offered is when the Das family sees from their rooftop ceaseless flame and smoke, indicative of the city burning outside the immediate purview of the house and therefore the novel.

The city was in flames that summer. Every night fires lit up the horizon beyond the city walls so that the sky was luridly tinted with festive flames of orange and pink, and now and then a column of white smoke would rise and stand solid as an obelisk in the dark. Bim, pacing up and down on the rooftop, would imagine she could hear the sound of shots and of cries and screams, but they lived so far

outside the city, out in the Civil Lines where the gardens and bungalows were quiet and sheltered behind their hedges, that it was really rather improbable and she told herself she only imagined it. (*Clear* 67)

The violence Bim imagines is dismissed as her hallucination, bringing the narrative back to the family. Bim and Tara seldom use the term 'partition' in their conversation, using the phrase 'the summer of 1947' instead. Ailments, alcoholism, lunacy and deaths within the family become the narrative equivalents of the partition horrors. The Das house has been in a state of stillness, petrified since 1947, mixing the dead and the living, memories and reality, the same way India and Pakistan do. Partition is rendered in a localized perspective in the novel, making it unique. The slightest misunderstandings between the siblings drove them apart but blood pulls them closer again, after years. But such a second chance is no longer available for the sibling nations that parted ways in 1947. India and Pakistan are quite like Bimla and Tara, with no possibility of reconciliation.

Bapsi Sidhwa (1938-), the Pakistani writer who moved to the U.S later in her life has Gujarati roots and was born in pre-partition Karachi, which was then the part of Bombay presidency and later moved to Lahore, which was then part of Punjab, all of which fell to Pakistan after 1947. In spite of her Pakistani identity, she identifies herself as a Punjabi-Parsi. Her novel *Ice Candy Man* published in 1988 was later renamed as *Cracking India* to extend the novel's appeal and widen its readership. *Cracking India* is set in a time frame spanning from 1943 to 1948 in Lahore. The novel's protagonist and its objective narrator is an eight year old poliostruck Parsi girl named Lenny Sethi. The story revolves around Lenny and her Ayah Shanta, an eighteen year old Hindu girl from Amritsar and how the partition affects their lives. The novel is a coming of age bildungsroman and is set at a time of huge

political upheaval in Lahore as the Hindus fled, the Muslims arrived, the Sikhs were divided in action, and total havoc was wreaked. Lenny's narration fuses her personal evolution and sexual awakening with political events like the disagreements between the Congress and Jinnah and the carnages unleashed by partition. A Parsi perspective on partition adds to the novelty of the story. Deepa Mehta's film *Earth* (1998) is inspired from *Cracking India*.

Shanta, the Ayah was a charming woman and had a diverse coterie of suitors and even "holy men ogle at her with lust" (Cracking 2). She plays a crucial role in the plot of the novel as it is her abduction, absence and her eventual rescue that serves as the driving factor of the novel. It is Lenny's hamartia – her inability to lie - that lead to Ayah's abduction. The main themes of the novel include experience of being handicapped, religious conflicts, oppression of women, partition violence, sexuality, class differences etc. The novel begins in the pre-partition days when the British are contemplating leaving and the Muslim League and Jinnah demand selfrule for Muslims. For most part of the story, Lenny is the sole narrator and her childish perspective lends humor and compassion to the narrative; Ranna takes up the narration for a brief part of the novel when the violence he describes is beyond the comprehension of an eight year old girl. Lenny's city life and Ranna's country life which were binaries hitherto, blends together by the fact that neither the city nor the country side is spared from partition violence. The novel juxtaposes the growth and political awakening of Lenny with that of Pakistan and the idyllic microcosm of Lenny's life with the macrocosm of the nation.

The novel opens with the line "my world is compressed"— Lenny is a girl of four, affected by polio and restricted to her pram as the novel opens(*Cracking* 1). Her family resides in the affluent corner of the Waris road and her Godmother is her dearest person. She grows slowly into the realization about the ongoing communal

polarizations gripping the nation on the verge of its independence that she exclaims "now I know surely. One man's religion is another man's poison" (125). Lenny takes long strolls in the pram and meets the ice candy man, selling popsicles in the park. Lenny's mother views him with misgiving and finds him "shady and almost disreputable type" which is proven to be true at the end (19). She is also the silent witness to Ayah's nocturnal meetings with her multiple paramours and the child enjoys these glimpses into her Ayah's sex life, gradually creating a sexual awakening in her as well. The initial chapters of idyllic innocence and joy however foreshadow the upcoming doom in the form of the nightmares Lenny gets, involving children's limbs being cut off by soldiers. From early on in the novel, there are plenty of references to Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah, Lord Mountbatten, Subhash Chandra Bose, the non-cooperation movement, salt Satyagraha, Dandi march etc. When the demands for an independent Pakistan is raging, Lenny is taken to the hospital where the doctor Colonel Barucha reprimands her father for delaying her treatment asking, "Are you a father or a barber? And you all want Pakistan! How will you govern a country when you don't know what goes on in your own house?" (9).

When Lenny and Ayah visit their cook Imam Din's village in Pir Pindo, Lenny befriends his great grandson Ranna and hears the serious conversations among the villagers that "there is trouble in the cities... Hindus are being murdered in Bengal... Muslims, in Bihar. It's strange... the English Sarkar can't seem to do anything about it... seems like the English ruler doesn't want to do anything about it, but...this is only happening in the city and won't affect our lives" (*Cracking* 39). However, all false hopes disappear when the city and the village fall prey to the violence alike. Hearing news from all corners about the upcoming partition, Lenny enquires of everyone whether the country is going to be broken and concludes that "one day everybody is themselves - and the next day they are Hindu, Muslim, Sikh,

Christian. People sink, dwindling into symbols" (44). Military trucks try to load Muslim peasants from Pir Pindo to take them to Pakistan and they retort:

Do you expect us to walk away with our hands and feet? What use will they serve us without our lands? Can you evacuate our land? Do you expect us to leave everything we've valued and loved since childhood? The seasons, the angle and color of the sun rising and setting over our fields are beautiful to us, the shape of our rooms and barns is familiar and dear. You can't expect us to leave just like that! (79)

The early evidence of the slow settling in of communalism is indicated by the dispersal of Ayah's diverse admirers who hailed from various religious communities and diverse social strata. Religious intolerance simmering in the nation could not overcome her feminine allure.

Lenny and her whole family go to see Master Tara Singh, the Sikh political and religious leader who speaks behind the Queen's Garden. He wastes no time in giving his message: "We will see how the Muslim swines get Pakistan! We will fight to the last man! We will show them who will leave Lahore!" The Sikhs in the crowd go wild, waving their swords. And the Muslims there yell back, saying that they will celebrate Holi with their blood (*Cracking* 97). The simmering communal tension finally finds a vent and the carnage begins. Ayah and Lenny see parts of Lahore burning from their rooftop and Lenny wonders "How long does Lahore burn? Weeks? Months?" (111). And just like that, as one ominous night turned into a daybreak, Lenny, her family and her city are now in Pakistan; "The Radcliffe Commission deals out Indian cities like a pack of cards. Lahore is dealt to Pakistan, Amritsar to India. Sialkot to Pakistan, Pathankot to India. I am Pakistani. In a snap.

Just like that. A new nation is born. India had been divided after all" (112). Stories of "uncontrollable butchering" are heard from all around and the ice candy man reports to have seen ghost trains which bear the dead bodies of Muslims women with their breasts chopped, against which he pledges revenge (108). "That night I went mad, I tell you! I lobbed grenades through the windows of Hindus and Sikhs I'd known all my life! I hated their guts... I want to kill someone for each of the breasts they cut off the Muslim women... The penises!" (114). One of Ayah's paramours made a good business out of sharpening blunt knives, swords, daggers and axes much in demand at the time; Lenny notes that "there must have been a lot of meat to cut" (109). The motif of blood and flesh recurs in the novel, reiterating the fact that the new nations were products of blood rituals – both in terms of sacrificial blood as well as blood purity. The nation sacrifices its own children so as to strengthen itself, by generating solidarity, observes Marvin and Ingle and in this sense, even the modern nations are primitive in their ritualistic performances (*Blood* 9).

Lenny wonders whether the mobs roaming the streets really have gotten quieter or whether the fires burning the city really have decreased, or whether people have just adapted to these new realities. Ayah hides inside the house for the fear of Muslim rioters surrounding it; the family lies that she had left to India. The constant fear of being sexually violated lies in the female unconscious, which is a product of the masculine nation asserting its masculinity in the most belligerent fashion. When the ice candy man asks Lenny about Ayah's whereabouts, trusting him to protect Ayah, she discloses the fact that Ayah is inside the house. The violent mob drags Ayah out of the house and she is found missing thereafter. Chapter 25 of Cracking India shifts the narrator and Ranna tells the tale of horror that happened in Pir Pindo. Many of the village elders are beheaded, many women are raped inside the mosque

and the village is burned. On his journey to safety, he saw women's hair burned or shaved, babies smashed against the walls, filth and blood filling his vision. Lenny laments, "while the old city in Lahore, crammed behind its dilapidated Mogul gates, burned, thirty miles away, Amritsar also burned" (*Cracking* 151-152). No city on either side of the Radcliffe line was spared from violence.

Ayah is seen accidentally by Lenny, dressed up like a film star and is being traded to philandering men for money in a notorious red light area, pimped by the ice candy man who later converts her as Mumtaz and marries her. Lenny's Godmother and mother are involved in saving kidnapped women, sending them either to their homes or recovery camps. In spite of the ice candy man caring for her, Ayah expresses her desire to return home and the godmother who eventually rescues Ayah comforts her, saying, "life goes on and the business of living buries the debris of our pasts. Hurt, happiness . . . all fade impartially . . . to make way for fresh joy and new sorrow. That's the way of life" (Cracking 273). Ayah is admitted to a recovery home and once recovered, she is sent back to her home in Amritsar. The tragedy that befell on Ayah – kidnapping, rape, conversion, loveless marriage etc. were the realities of many women in India and Pakistan. Lenny's growth and maturation from innocence (both sexual and political) to the grim reality she sees around forms the core of the novel and Ayah's resolve to return to her home in spite of the humiliation her body was subjected to, which would otherwise culminate in suicide or a lifetime in a recovery home, marks a triumph among the many failures the novel exposes the reader to. Lenny's mother too is a strong woman, evident in ways she survives her personal tragedy as the marital bliss depicted in the initial chapters of the novel is replaced by depictions of bruises on her body and infidelity on the part of her husband. Her courageous defiance of the mob that attacks their home in search of Ayah, and then her zooming across a burning Lahore with petrol

cans in her car to supply to women requiring a safe passage across the border, clearly shows her indomitable spirit to keep her personal pain at bay and be available for fellow suffering women.

Critics differ in their perspective about the child narrator and they almost unanimously agree that the child's perspective dilutes the political intensity of the novel. At the same time, Lenny's perspective allows certain creative liberty to exaggerate, eliminate and later edit the narrative. The historical events are nonchronological in the novel either to indicate the cluttering of the narrator's memories, which are mostly not firsthand experiences or to indicate that the chronology is insubstantial as long as getting it right cannot alter the appalling reality. Lenny exclaims that "sometimes the ice candy man quotes Gandhi or Nehru or Jinnah but I'm fed up of hearing about them. Mother, father and their friends are always saying: Gandhi said this, Nehru said that. Gandhi did this Jinnah did that. What's the point of talking so much about people we don't know? (Cracking 29). Lenny's worries about partition are extremely childish and trivial; "There is much disturbing talk. India is going to be broken. Can one break a country? And what happens if they break it where our house is, or crack it further up on Warris road? How will I ever get to Godmother then?" (101). From this naive perspective, Lenny grows to the realization that religion is a poisonous venom that can potentially kill. Masculinity works at different levels in the novel through characters such as that of a family man who later transforms into a wife-thrasher, random men who ogle at the voluptuousness of Ayah's body, the cousin who makes sexual advances to Lenny, Ayah's lovers like the masseur and the ice candy man who later pimps her, the violent rioting men etc.; violence of varying degrees are involved in each of these roles – domestic, sexual, political and cultural. In the nation composed of these

graded hegemonic masculinities, Lenny, her mother and Godmother are tiny isles of hope, leading the suffering women to safe havens.

The Indian feminist writer Urvashi Bhutalia (1952-) with Punjabi roots is an undeniable voice in the literature on partition. She has been active in the women's and civil rights movement in India and is the co-founder of Kali for Women, India's first feminist publishing house along with Ritu Menon in 1984. She was the Padma Shri laureate in 2011 and has her focus centred on women's oral narratives on partition. Her body of work is shaped considerably by her feminist and leftist ideology. *The Other Side of Silence* (1998) is Bhutalia's magnum opus and is a run on narrative in the form of recollections and memoirs of the partition violence, primarily from women. The book penetrates the national amnesia to unearth memories of violence and trauma and narrates them compassionately. The text is an attempt to fill the missing gaps in the official narrative of the Indo-Pak partition; the multiple narrations of the same historical event illuminate facets of the partition that were obscured by the academia's obsession with historical facts and political events.

Bhutalia's primary hypothesis is that the building of the Indian nation was an inherently gendered and violent process and women acted as pawns in the game of nationalism, putting their honor and dignity at stake. She observes that "women's bodies became the ground on which the two new nation states – and in 1971 the third nation state that grew out of this history – fought their wars" (*Other* xxviii-xxix). As Rituparna Roy points out *in South Asian Partition Fiction in English: From Khushwant Singh to Amitav Ghosh*, the partition experiences of women remained left out both in elite and subaltern historiography. It is in the 1990s that the feminist perspective gathered voice and women authors saw partition as a male narrative, in which women were sacrificed or abducted or recovered in a conflict which gave primacy to community and hierarchy at the expense of individual rights

(19). The general picture of the partition exists publicly in history text books while the particular is buried deep in memories kept silent and stories hushed within the households, which need to be unearthed through conversations that may even border on sweet coercion (*Other* 4). Bhutalia conducted compassionate and empathetic interviews with people, women mostly, viewing them not as mere informants but as emotionally vulnerable human beings whose bodies bear witness to a past that is well documented, yet murky.

Since these interviews are oral testimonies of old traumas that are capable of erasing and tampering with memories, Bhutalia acknowledges that the interviewees may deliberately withhold certain aspects of their memories and may intentionally forget certain others. "There are, of course, no complete pictures. This I know now: everyone who makes one, draws it afresh. Each time, retrospectively, the picture changes: who you are, where you come from, who you're talking to, when you talk to them, where you talk to them, what you listen to, what they choose to tell you . . . all of these affect the picture you draw", she says (126). When even men find it difficult to recount the horrors of partition, the pain of revisiting old memories would be double for the women. "In order to be able to 'hear' women's voices, I had to begin to pose different questions and most importantly, 'listen' to their speech, their silences, the half-said things, the nuances" (126). Memory is often not regarded as a credible and reliable source of history. The Other Side of Silence however manages to extract memories that seem and sound more credible and reliable than the official 'facts'. The text is an attempt to unearth those voices that got submerged under the official history and facts. "My focus here is on the small actors and bitplayers, whose lives, as the lives of all people, were inextricably interwoven with broader political realities. How these realities touched on and transformed their lives is what my work is concerned with" (91).

Bhutalia juxtaposes her interviews with the story of her own family shattered by partition when her mother and her siblings except for Ranamama crossed the border to settle in India. Rana, to the shock of other siblings, held their mother back in Pakistan, converted her from Dayawanti to Ayesha begum and buried her when she died according to Islamic rites. He too converted and married a Muslim woman. However, when Bhutalia painstakingly crossed the border to meet her uncle, he recounted that he has lived as a stranger within his own house in Lahore since the family parted and told her that "I have not slept one night in these forty years without regretting my decision, not one night...although he had told me that his home in Lahore was the only home he had ever known, it was to India hat he turned for a sense of home" (Other 38-39). Self-imposed restraints and psychological violence killed many people from within after the partition. Many narratives in the text clearly indicate that violence is not always an 'outsider act' as the mainstream history professes; many a times, it is very much an 'insider act'. Honour suicides and familial murders of women done in the name of protecting communal and national honour are later celebrated as martyrdom. A collective decision was made that in the Pakistani village of Thoa Khalsa which was under threat of attack that

Rather than lay their own women open to the possibility of sexual violence, abduction and inevitably impregnation by men of the other religion, they would kill them themselves...some eighty or ninety women marched to the village well and jumped into it and took their own lives. I was told this story by one of the women who survived – by the time she jumped in, the well had filled up and she did not die. Her account, her memories of this moment, were conflicted, shot through with the relief of being alive, but the guilt of having somehow escaped an 'honourable' death. (*Other* xxvii)

Butalia describes her meeting with Bir Bahadur Singh who described with pride of him watching his father kill his sister and Mangal Singh who along with his two brothers 'martyred' seventeen women in their family (45-46). She uses these discussions to point out the ways self-imposed or intra-familial or intra-community violence during partition had been removed from the definition of violence altogether. The institutions of family and the nation both were and continue to be violent towards women. She is of the position that "as long as violence can be located somewhere outside, a distance away from the boundaries of family and the community, it can be contained. It is for this reason, I feel, that during partition, and in so much of the recall of partition, violence is seen as relating only to the 'other'"(215).

Bhutalia observes that women's lives were jeopardized more than those of men by the arbitrarily drawn Radcliffe line; they lived in perpetual danger of being raped during the times of partition and that the girls' schools were always the first to be attacked and demolished during times of riots and mutinies (*Other* 55). In her Introduction, she narrates the story of the eighty-four year old Shehnaz who was earlier Harbhajan Kaur. Her story of abduction, marriage to a Muslim, separation, eventual return to India, remarriage to a Sikh, and the final dramatic union with her entire family is a story that covers all kinds of violence a woman can endure (xvii-xix). Maya Rani, the sweeper was untouched by the partition violence because she was a Harijan, clearly demonstrating that the partition history was differentiated not just by gender but by other parameters like caste, class and region too (xxiv-xxv).

On August 17, 1947, the Prime Ministers of both India and Pakistan met at Ambala and decided to exchange population. While the rich moved from one country to the other by air, the poor travelled by road or on foot in long kafilas, uncertain of their destination and whether they will make it. They were forced to

leave their goods and belongings behind as they would be burdensome in the journey and might even slow the journey. Partition shattered the impartiality and objectivity of the police and armed forces and they started taking sides so much so that "non-Muslims travelling from Pakistan to India and Muslims travelling from India to Pakistan felt safe only if they were accompanied by police of their own kind" (*Other* 78). Along with elaborating on how harrowing the experience of partition was for women, Bhutalia also addresses how partition opened new avenues for women to enter the public sphere that was historically and culturally denied to them by taking up the roles of social workers, rehabilitation coordinators, camp officials, recovery and relief volunteers etc. (130). Bhutalia had interviewed various such women like Kamlaben Patel, Mridula Sarabhai, Anis Kidwai, Premvati Thapar and Damyanti Sahgal. Bhutalia records from Kamlaben Patel's memory:

Nearly 75000 women had been raped and abducted on both sides of the border at partition...Apart from the rapes, other specific kinds of violence have been visited on women. Many were paraded naked in the streets, several had their breasts cut off, their bodies were tattooed with marks of the 'other' religion...They bore children, often only to have them taken away forcibly. Sometimes, families traded in their women, in exchange for freedom, at other times, the women simply disappeared, abducted from camps, or as caravans of people marched across the border on foot. (132)

Older women and widows were more prone to abduction for the acquisition of their property. The parameters for being a native of the nation set by both states stripped women of any choice about their movements between families and nations and ultimately defined them purely along religious lines. The displacement across the border was a greater trauma for women because the physical and mental stress of

shifting home was additional to the everyday responsibility of family and kids that patriarchy had conventionally bestowed upon her. In the later phase, when the recovery mission commenced, recovery constituted additional displacement, trauma, and even familial rejection for many women. Also, the recovery mission denied women their choice of the nation they wished to belong to; they were by default, allotted to the nations according to their religion, irrespective of whether they were abducted, converted or married to the abductor with whom she has now started a family.

Forcible evacuation was one thing. The women's acceptance into their families was another. Such was the reluctance of families to take these women back, that Gandhi and Nehru had to issue repeated appeals to people assuring them that abducted women still remained pure...a number of pamphlets were published which used the story of Sita's abduction by Ravana, showing how she remained pure despite her time away from her husband . (*Other* 160)

Purity of women was of more importance in the Hindu majority India because Hindu religion gave ultimate importance to notions of purity and pollution. Children born out of a mixed religious union was yet another complication. The resolution was found in a choice offered to the women to either retain the children and stay in an ashram all their lives or give up the children for adoption and move ahead with their lives. The seemingly easy resolution was not an easy choice for the mothers at all. The pregnant women were sent away to remote centres where they could give birth and then offer the babies up for adoption so that they could go back to their families or they were sent to mass abortion centres financed by the state to have *Safaya* (cleansing) performed on them (*Other* 161). It was believed by both nations that only forced recovery and the relocation of women into the families

where they really belonged would restore the moral order in the nations. Rehabilitation Ashrams were built in Jalandhar, Amritsar, Karnal, Delhi, meant to hold women in transit until their families took them back, which in most cases did not happen. The Ashrams became permanent homes for these women. Willingness and self-choice of women involved in their recovery were insubstantial; that which lay at the heart of the recovery operations was the national honour. The state's interference with women's biological rights, dictating terms and issuing orders on how to conduct their bodies is indeed a violation of private space.

Bhutalia dedicates an entire chapter to how children, legitimate and illegitimate, dealt with the traumas of partition. Obvious is the fact that young girls were at the receiving end of sexual violence and children were burned in the process of the annihilation of the village. Many children were orphaned, abandoned and some were found unattached, to be sent to ashrams and sometimes later given to adoption. She cites from Anis Kidwai's memory of visiting Irwin Hospital in Delhi in 1948.

Kidwai found a number of children of all ages in the hospital – someone has a head wound, another a broken leg. One little girl – she couldn't have been more than five years old, according to Kidwai – sat around happily, singing and playing. "You seem to be fine", Kidwai said to her. "Yes, I came here with my aunt, but she is dead now". And with that, she began to introduce the children. "This is Rashid', she said, "everyone in his family is dead, and that is zainab, her family is also dead, and over there is Nabu – they slit his mother's throat" and she continued to laugh as she said this. (*Other* 259-260)

Partition children and post abduction children loomed as a central problem to both

nations' ethnic purity and the question of where the child belonged – the maternal nation or the paternal nation – complicated the demography. She asks, "did citizenship...devolve through the mothers or through the fathers, through nationality or religion?"(276).

In her introductory note titled "Return", Bhutalia lays bare the fact that partition is not a thing of the past. With communal and political divisive powers gaining strength and vigor with each passing day, partition is also the nation's present reality. New Radcliffe lines are being drawn across gender, caste, class, sex etc. on an everyday basis. Parallel to this, individual and political efforts are being made at personal, local and national levels to induce collective amnesia and engineer forgetting of those moments of national unrest and the blows upon human dignity. "The traces of a long history of solidarity between the Hindus and the Muslims, the illustrations of a composite culture in the undivided India are sweet memories that are unfortunately pushed under the carpet due to propaganda at the present" (Baruah 212). Urvashi Bhutalia's *The Other Side of Silence* is a restorative memoir that serves as an amulet against the amnesia.

The Canadian-Indian author Shauna Singh Baldwin's (1962-Commonwealth Writers' Prize winning debut novel What the Body Remembers (1999) is a poetical, political and feminist fictional rendering of the Indo-Pak partition. The setting is initially part of the pre-partition Punjab that later fell to Pakistan where dwells an anglophile Sardarji, whose first wife Satya fails to give him children. He takes a young, sixteen year old Roop as his second wife. The young Roop whose mother is dead sees a maternal equivalent in Satya and hopes to be treated as a younger sister, if not a daughter. Satya is initially hostile towards Roop but as the plot unwinds and the horrors of partition are unleashed, the dead Satya's spirit turns into the guardian of Roop and her children. Baffled by her husband's remarriage, Satya initially resorts to desperate measures to retain her position in Sardarji's heart as well as in Punjabi society. Amidst the commotion of India's Independence, Sardarji himself is under pressure since the India he knew changed before his very eyes with communal tensions ripening, separatism growing and partition drawing near.

Patriarchy takes the centre stage in the novel where the women characters are completely under the masculine gaze and control. The novel problematizes women's choice and consent, particularly in matters like marriage and cohabitation and choosing one's home country, moving homes and parting from children when the partition struck. Baldwin achieves artistic triumph by capturing the churning political and religious history of modern India and Pakistan as she explores memorable transformations; of Satya, from a dominating force in her family to a lonely outsider; of Sardarji, from an idealistic, ambitious engineer to a hardened, more realistic civil servant; and finally, of Roop, from an arrogant, self-centered daughter to a selfless wife and mother who becomes the backbone of her family.

The novel is a women's version of narrating the dismembering of the Indian nation, addressing both intra and inter-community violence perpetrated upon the women. The title *What the Body Remembers* embodies a reference to Roop, meaning 'body'; the novel is a collection of what Roop remembers. Recounting the acts of violence partition inflicted upon women, the book is also the unfolding of what women's bodies remember. The reference to the 'body' in the title is not necessarily limited to the physical bodies of women, but the national body which was scavenged by the communal vultures. Looking at the violence perpetrated across the nation, Roop laments "India is like a woman raped so many times she has lost all count of the trespassers across her body" (*What the body* 425). In the article "Objectification of Women and Violence in *What the Body Remembers*", Lucia-Mihaela Grosu-

Radulescu views Indian patriarchy as an extended derivative of colonialism, where the men imbibed and appropriated the traits of the colonizer, imposing himself on the women, to refer to which Grosu-Radulescu coins the term 'Intimate Colonization' (86). She reads the intra and inter-communal violence perpetrated on women in Baldwin's novel as illustrations of intimate colonization. She derives this position from the critical positions of Susan Sontag and Ania Loomba. Sontag in her essay "The Third World of Women" posits that "all women live in an imperialist situation in which men are colonialists and women are natives" (184). Women are seen as embodiments of the innocent natives upon whose bodies violence can be perpetrated. The same fundamental binaries that govern the colonizer-colonized relationship such as power v/s powerlessness, colonizer v/s native, superior v/s inferior, civilized v/s pagan etc. exist within the man-woman relationship. Ania Loomba views the Indian male's dominance over the women as a derivative of the inferiority he imbibed from the colonization that excluded the native men from the exercise of power; in other words, colonialism strengthens Indian patriarchy (Colonialism 161). This perspective that connects masculinity and colonialism is evident in What the Body Remembers when Satya tells Roop: "what can I teach anyone? All of us need our own ideas, not foreign ideas; this is what I tell Sardarji. But he – his mind is their colony also'. She laughs bitterly. I told him, 'I too am a colony- your colony...now you...birds in the same cage" (What the Body 240). In spite of the respect women command in Sikh religion, their reality is bleak and stifled, evident in the advice Bebeji offers Satya: "A man is pleasured, but a woman is merely cracked open for seeding like the earth before the force of the plough. If she is fertile, good for the farmer, if not, bad for her" (8).

The colonial hangover of the native finds continuity in the Anglophile Sardarji who loves tartar sauce and Queen Anne chairs which disgusts Satya. Depicting him as a hybrid, with a British voice and demeanor, Baldwin highlights the intimate colonizer in him. Contrary to the belief that men, being sons of the nation and bound to protect the mother nation are more nationalistic than women who are confined to the privacy of their homes, Satya is more spirited and nationalistic than Sardarji. "She needed spices, she wanted spices – the very thing the British first came here for – perhaps she swallowed them daily just so they couldn't have all of them. She wanted the smell of coriander and the slow frying of cumin." Meanwhile, her husband prefers "just an omelette for dinner" (What the Body 47). The prologue of the novel consists of an episode of Satya's birth where the new born Satya is desperate at being born a woman again and feels cheated. "So angry am I, my eyes are open wide... A girl who comes into this life with her eyes wide open will never lower them before a man" (ii). Satya is born with a desire for equality of gender and respect, which to no one's surprise, is denied to her and all other women. She knows from her past lives the traumas a woman has to undergo, making her curse the Sants who took her money and blessed her to be born a man in the next birth. As the baby Satya grows, gets married and is taunted for her barrenness, she realizes that "Vaheguru never listens to a woman's prayers" (4). Contrary to the stereotype of a peaceful docile woman, Satya, many a time, exhibits traits of violence to Roop, towards whom she harbours ambivalent feelings. With the arrival of Roop who is young and fertile, Satya who was assertive, commanding and exercised control over the male and female workers of Sardarji's estate sheds the remaining femininity in her and transforms into the role of a male oppressor. Baldwin questions the stereotype of a gentle woman through Satya. Female masculinity can turn out to be quite violent as hegemonic masculine positions themselves.

Roop, on the other hand, is naive, childish and young and is therefore perfect

marriage material, raised in a fashion that made her internalize female inferiority; she was offered roti and dal while chicken and egg bhurji were offered to her brother Jeevan, who was planning to join the army, which had its door closed towards women. She was forbidden from attending her mother's funeral which was attended only by men. Once she is of age, she is prohibited from horse riding to retain her virginity intact. Raised as a child of patriarchy, she is excited at the prospect of marriage that too to a wealthy, English educated Sardarji; the age difference and the incompatibility get easily dismissed. Adding to the eagerness to get Roop married is the fact that she is deaf in one ear, a fact concealed from the world, except for her father, so that her feminine reputation remains untarnished. Roop's mother was a victim of patriarchy which prevented her from taking proper medical care for the fear of exposing her body to male doctors, resulting in her death. Roop doesn't want to be like her mother who could never step out of her purdah or Pari Darwaza to see the world outside. Her dreams about marriage therefore were big and were seemingly fulfilled by her marriage to Sardarji; the marriage however remained empty since Roop was treated as a baby making machine. A motherless Roop is trained never to disobey her father and her husband and when Sardarji orders her to give her first-born to Satya, she obeys in spite of heart-wrenching pain.

Both Satya and Roop are victims of intimate colonization, except for the fact that their coping mechanisms are different; Roop succumbs to it while Satya dons the role of the violent male. For the same reason, Sardarji chooses Roop over Satya and decides to move out with her to Lahore. "Roop will listen to him admiringly, carefully, her eyes upon his mouth as if ropes of pearls fell from his lips, while Satya has never lowered her eyes before him and carries herself far too confidently" (What the Body 286). Satya's assertive nature results in her failure as a wife and culminates in her suicide before which she develops second thoughts and regrets her behaviour

to Roop, who like her, was a victim of masculinity. In her last hour, Satya dreams that "surely there will come a time when just being can bring izzat in return, when a woman will be allowed to choose her owner, when a woman will not be owned, when love will be enough payment for marriage, children or no children" (310). Regretting her deeds to Roop, Satya's spirit serves as a source of fortitude to Roop throughout the horrors of partition.

In What the Body Remembers, Baldwin employs the female body as a metaphor as well as a metonymy, which helps the personal narrative to be extended into a narrative of the nation, crafting the novel as a critique of the nation and its history constructed by men. In part eight of the novel, the timeline reaches 1947 and Roop encounters a fear different from her past fears of staying unmarried, lonely, being disreputed in the society etc. – the fear of being raped and killed by Muslims. Sardarji, being a civil servant, cannot accompany Roop and the children in their journey back from Lahore to Delhi; they are instead accompanied by their Muslim maidservant Jorimon who Roop fears might betray them to Muslim men. But in the course of the journey, Jorimon protects and cares for her and the children, making her realize that "No longer are they mistress and maidservant—from this moment, they are just women, equally vulnerable" (What the Body 420). Roop's brother Jeevan entering their looted house to discover a shroud of white under which his wife Kusum's body is dismembered at every joint and then re-membered neatly to seem like whole is a crucial scene in the novel that reveals the extent of partition violence upon women. To Jeevan's surprise, her body was also cut below the ribs to reveal a hole into which he, like his assailants, could dig in his hands like a European surgeon. The image of Kusum's womb rolling beside her corpse is horrorevoking to the core.

Rape is one man's message to another: 'I took your pawn - your move'... Jeevan received the message. Kusum's womb, the same from which his three sons came, had been delivered. Ripped out. And the message, 'We will stamp your kind, your very species from existence. This is no longer merely about izzat or land. This is a war against your quom, for all time. Leave. We take the womb so there can be no Sikhs from it, we take the womb, leave you its shell'. (447)

To Roop's further horror, she learns that it was her father who killed his daughter-in-law Kusum to prevent her from being violated and dishonored and his family honor from being tarnished. Such intra-communal violence carried out in the name of family and community honor seldom get categorized as violence; such acts are not crimes but heroic deeds and the women are not deemed victims but martyrs. Even though other women in that same household also had to endure trauma -Roop's unmarried aunt Revati Bhua who is well past the fertile age was left to be handed over to the rioting mob in exchange of others' lives and the worker woman Gujri was abandoned - only Kusum's death is exalted to the status of a heroic sacrifice for the element of honor involved in it. Women are condemned to live in utter subjugation to men, a condition the partition worsened. They are left with no power to decide or act for themselves; their only power, Baldwin posits, resides in their capacity and duty to 'remember'. "I must remember, thinks Roop. I must remember Kusum's body. Roop will remember Kusum's body re-membered" (451). The story of Kusum's murder had entered Roop's body that she will have no choice but to remember it. Roop's body thus becomes an archive of memory, bearing stories of her own and other women like Satya, Kusum, Jorimon, Madani, Huma and countless stories she heard in her lifetime.

The novel has an instance towards the end when Roop employs her body as

the ultimate tool of resistance. She had undertaken a long, arduous journey from Lahore to Delhi via road, enduring near-rapes and escaping death by sheer luck. She saves Jorimon from rape by a group of Muslim men by speaking broken Urdu and resorting to the haughty tone she learned from Satya, who is dead by now. She goes to the Delhi railway station to wait for Sardarji and sees people in trauma unboarding each train from Lahore. Her functional ear hears stories of desecration of temples, rapes of women, naked Sikh women forced to dance in Mosques and feels totally lost in the crowd, waiting for her husband who she is not sure, is alive.

Roop's very bones feel old. So old. She can bear it no more; blood simmers to boil in her veins... Every man, woman and child should – just once in this lifetime, see a woman's body without shame. See her as no man's possession, see her, and not from the corner of your eyes! Roop draws herself to her full height, crosses her arms about her kameez. In a minute it is gone. A touch to the cord of her salwar; it drops about her ankles. She wants to free her breasts, let her brassiere-bunyaan float away...She wants to free her body of its panty, step from its bonds, leaving it right there on the platform. She wants to walk through the hushing crowd wearing nothing but her mama's sapphire earrings. She wanted to scream "see me, I am human, though I am only a woman. See me, I did what women are for. See me not as a vessel, a play thing, a fantasy, a maidservant, an ornament, but as vaheguru made me". A sepoy runs to her side, takes off his khaki shirt and covers her almost naked body, scoops up her clothes, leads her away gently to the ladies' waiting lounge. If a man does not lay claim to a woman's body, the country will send someone to do so, thinks Roop. (What the Body 436)

A live, naked female body in broad day light is a threatening sight that scares the male nation which is only used to naked female bodies under darkness or naked female bodies ravished and killed. A woman who conquered shame and fear is indeed scary for the male nation that thrives on the fear it generates in women and the obedience it commands from them. Roop's stripping and the spectacle it generates tragically brings out the farcical nature of the Indo-Pak partition.

Baldwin's novel intervenes in the masculinist nationalist discourse and historiography through its recollection and retelling of the collective trauma of partition, using the female body as the central trope. The female bodies in the novel recount not just individual suffering but collective traumas; Roop remembers other female bodies alongside hers, establishing that partition is a collective memory of trauma, passed down to generations of women who have never first handedly experienced partition or even heard a gun fire, like Shauna Singh Baldwin, an Indian, living in Canada. In the article titled "Subaltern Aspects in Shauna Singh Baldwin's What the Body Remembers", K. Venkata Lakshmi and Dr. G.Chenna Reddy equate Baldwin's notion of collective memory with Toni Morrison's concept of 'rememory' employed in *Beloved* (33-34). In *Beloved*, Sethe explains the concept of rememory to her daughter Denver in the following words: "If a house burns down, it's gone, but the place- the picture of it- stays, and not just in my rememory, but out there, in the world...I mean, even if I don't think about it, even if I die, the picture of what I did, or knew, or saw is still out there (43). Rememory is beyond the control of the rememberer; it can pop up at unexpected times as a link that connects the traumatic past and the present as in how a fourth generation child born in a family of ex-slaves dream of handcuffs and auctions. Baldwin employs the partition trauma as a rememory that is capable of haunting generations of Indians and Pakistanis. Partition transforms Roop in ways and roles neither Papaji nor Revathi

Bhua had trained her to be. She came a long way from a young girl who rode horses and wanted to get married to a rich household to a woman who had seen it all and survived; the reconfiguration of Roop's identity comes at the cost of her innocence, supplying her with memories that will haunt her for a lifetime.

Saadat Hasan Manto (1912-1955) was a Pakistani writer, born in prepartition Punjab with Kashmiri ethnicity and is popular for his stories about partition, which he was vehemently against. He is best known for his short stories. He saw the Indo-Pak partition as an act of madness and chronicled the partition horrors in his stories; his stories are known for their scathing insight into the human psyche and the animalistic instinct that spring from rage and deprivation. He did not value the social and cultural taboos which ended up in him being trialed thrice for obscenity and acquitted. The gendered aspect of partition was a major focus of Manto. A Dutiful Daughter, A Bitter Harvest, Toba Tek Singh etc. are some of Manto's famous short stories on partition.

A Dutiful Daughter is about the recovery mission undertook by the nascent nations to recover the lost and abducted women to their own home countries which Manto equated to import-export trade. The story is critical of the grounds upon which the operation was carried out, treating women as the nation's property. Manto comments about the vulnerability of women in times of political unrest:

When I thought about these abducted girls, I only saw their protruding bellies. What was going to happen to them, and what did they contain? Who would claim the end result? Pakistan or India? ...And who would pay the women the wages for carrying those children in their wombs for nine months? Pakistan or India? Or would it all be put down in God's great ledger, that is, if there were any pages left? (74)

In *A Bitter Harvest*, Manto sheds critical insight into how women's bodies are employed during political unrest – as chalices of communal and national honor to be raped and impregnated. Qasim is haunted by the sight of his daughter's raped dead body. "On the floor was the nearly naked body of a young girl, her small, upturned breasts pointing at the ceiling as she lay on her back. He wanted to scream but couldn't. He turned his face away and said in a soft, grief-stricken voice, 'Sharifan'" (51). To avenge his daughter's rape and murder, he sets out to rape another girl and the vicious cycle of violence upon women continues. Women being the bearers of dual identity –that of gender and of nation/religion (the terms being almost coterminous in the cases of India and Pakistan), are always at the receiving end of sexual violence. Manto's short stories bring out the nuances of partition either unexplored or sidelined.

Manto had already established himself as a short story writer before the partition itself and in the stories he wrote prior to partition, women are also perpetrators, murderers, and sinners. But in his partition stories, as in most other partition stories, women are the victims. Manto satirizes the escalating nationalism, pointing out its futility in his *The Dog of Tithwal*. The Indian soldiers posted at the border welcome a barking dog happily and names him Jhun Jhun. But they hesitate to offer it food for the fear of it being a Pakistani dog; they are ordered to shoot everything that is Pakistani. The dog is made to wear a nametag, declaring it as an Indian dog. The Pakistani soldiers on the other side of the border name the dog Shun Shun and tag him as a Pakistani dog. The dog is fired from either sides and is killed; the soldiers on either sides debate whether the dog died as a martyr or merely died a dog's death.

...The dog sniffed at it and was about to eat it, when Harnam Singh snatched it away ... 'Wait, you could be a Pakistani dog.' They

laughed. Banta Singh patted the animal and said to Harnam Singh, 'Jamadar sahib, Jhun Jhun is an Indian dog. 'Prove your identity,' Harnam Singh ordered the dog, who began to wag his tail. 'This is no proof of identity. All dogs can wag their tails,' Harnam Singh said. 'He is only a poor refugee,' Banta Singh said, playing with his tail. Harnam Singh threw the dog a cracker, which he caught in midair. 'Even dogs will now have to decide if they are Indian or Pakistani,' one of the soldiers observed. (*The Dog* 20-21)

In his story *Khol Do* ('open it'), Manto presents the haunting picture of a father in search of his missing daughter. Sirajuddin seeks help from a local search group to find his nearly seventeen year old daughter Sakina who was found missing from the train. The boys manage to find her in their search and rape her for days and her dead body was found on the railway track. Sirajuddin gets to meet his daughter as a lifeless corpse only days later in the hospital. "The doctor looked towards the cadaver lying on the stretcher. He checked the corpse for a pulse then told Sirajuddin, "Khol Do", indicating the window. There was movement in Sakina's dead body. "With her lifeless hands, she untied her salwar and lowered it" (*Khol Do* 38). The girl had been so accustomed to the command 'Khol Do' that even when dead, her body recognizes and obeys it. The fact that she was raped is not mentioned in the story and was not known to the doctor or Sirajuddin; it is indicated through her act of obeying the command.

Toba Tek Singh is one of Manto's celebrated short stories about partition. It is also one among the last stories written by him and was published in 1955. Post partition, it was not just the women and children who were exchanged between India and Pakistan but also prisoners and lunatics. Set some three years after partition, the story is about the Sikh man named Bishan Singh alias Toba Tek Singh, a lunatic in

the Lahore asylum who originally hailed from the town Toba Tek Singh in Punjab, which fell to Pakistan after partition. Bishan Singh is being sent to India but he refuses to go and lies down in the no man's land between India and Pakistan. In fits of madness, Bishan Singh abuses both India and Pakistan. Most of the prisoners were completely ignorant about partition.

Newspapers were no help either, and the asylum guards were ignorant, if not illiterate. Nor was there anything to be learned by eavesdropping on their conversation. Some said there was this man by the name Mohamed Ali Jinnah who had set up a different country for the Muslims, called Pakistan. As to where Pakistan was located, the inmates knew nothing... One inmate had got so badly caught up in this India-Pakistan-Pakistan-India rigmarole that one day, he climbed the nearest tree and installed himself on a branch from which vantage point he spoke for two hour on the delicate problem of India and Pakistan... he went a branch higher and when threatened with punishment and declared: "I wish to live neither in India nor in Pakistan. I wish to live in this tree". (*Toba* 203)

The Sikh inmate Bishan Singh had been admitted in the asylum for the last fifteen years. He spoke nothing but gibberish, never slept a wink in these fifteen odd years and was always found to be standing, making his legs permanently swollen. When he came to know of the exchange of the lunatics, he kept asking everyone to which side his native land of Toba Tek Singh fell – India or Pakistan. Nobody had a clear answer to this because the division of provinces was debated and was being reworked. "Silakot which used to be in India was now in Pakistan. Lahore was currently in Pakistan but could slide into India any moment. It was also possible that the entire Indian subcontinent could become Pakistan and who could say if both

India and Pakistan might not entirely vanish from the map of the world one day?" (*Toba* 205). When being exchanged, most of the inmates resisted movement because they had so gotten used to the inertia and solitude in the asylum. When Bishan Singh was about to be sent to India across the Wagah border, he repeated the question where Toba Tek Singh was to the officer overseeing the exchange to which he replied with derision that it is in Pakistan. Bishan Singh refuses to be transferred to India and in spite of the attempts to convince him of the necessity of his transfer to India, he wouldn't move. He remained motionless in the no man's land between Pakistan and India.

There, he stood in no man's land, on his swollen legs like a Colossus...Just before sunrise, Bishan Singh, the man who had stood on his legs for fifteen years screamed and as officials from the two sides rushed towards him, he collapsed to the ground. There, behind barbed wire, on one side lay India and behind more barbed wire on the other side, lay Pakistan. In between, on a bit of earth which had no name, lay Toba Tek Singh. (209)

The story *Toba Tek Singh* can be read as a finale to Manto's literary preoccupation with partition. His stories do not discuss their backdrop in detail because partition is a part of the Indian unconscious and needs no introduction. He defined himself as a story teller and not a pornographer and found it normal for taboos and sex to be part of the stories that are true to life. His stories make all the communal and national boundaries and binaries disappear and what remains behind are the raw horrors of partition, particularly the violence the crude division of the nation perpetrated upon its women. His stories open and end abruptly and do not linger long on emotions or ponder long on losses. But they leave behind in the reader a pang about what the nations and their women underwent. Any study of the

violence involved in partition, particularly gendered violence is incomplete without Manto.

Equally relevant as partition literature in the study of the Indian nation's ascending masculinity and its expression in the form of gendered violence, particularly sexual violence, are the writings from the margins and narratives and analyses about the state's totalitarianism, riots and communal unrests. Mahasweta Devi (1926-2016), the Bengali writer and activist, is well known for her identification with the marginalized and the underprivileged sections of society, whom she represented in her writings. Her anti-state writings are a product of her resistance against totalitarianism and state-sponsored violence perpetrated on dalits, women and indigenous people. She leaned towards the left of the political spectrum and associated herself with the welfare and empowerment of the tribal population in the North Eastern states of India. She was honoured by the nation multiple times for her literary contributions as well as her general contributions to social welfare of women and the tribal people. She is the recipient of the Sahitya Akademi Award, the Jnanpith Award, Ramon Magsaysay Award, Padma Shri and Padma Vibhushan. Major works in her sprawling literary oeuvre include Mother of 1084, Agnigarbha, Breast Stories, Rudali, After Kurukshetra, Chotti Munda and his Arrow, Old Women etc., most of which are collections of short stories by Devi. Her short stories gained more popularity than her novels and most of her works were translated into English and other regional Indian languages. Instead of leaving behind sympathy and compassion for the marginalized and the oppressed, her stories move the readers to an ideological change and ignite in them a desire to champion the cause of the oppressed.

Her 1974 novel *Hajar Churaishir Maa (Mother of 1084)* has the Naxalite Revolution of the 1970s as its backdrop. The militant communist revolution was

seen as an anti-state movement and was brutally suppressed by the West Bengal government, resulting in the deaths of many militants and rebel youth. The protagonist Sujatha Chatterjee is the mother of corpse number 1084, belonging to her son Brati Chatterjee with pro-Naxalite sentiments. The novel begins on the eve of Brati's second death anniversary with Sujatha's reminiscence of Brati. The story is about the political transition and awakening Sujatha undergoes in the process of trying to understand her killed son, in which she failed when he was alive. The novel spans a day -from morning to evening of the second death anniversary of Brati. Sujatha recalls the ominous night when the phone rang and a voice summoned her to the mortuary where she meets her son's dead body, killed in the guise of an encounter, nameless, dehumanized and marked as corpse number 1084. Brati was reduced to "Three bullet holes: on the neck, on the abdomen, on the chest" (Mother 11). Through the character of Sujatha and the grief-struck journey she undertakes after the death of Brati, Mahasweta Devi conveys the impact of state-sponsored witch hunting of rebels and the state-backed violence targeting the families of those who protest the majoritarian decisions, particularly the mothers who formed a central subject in many of Devi's narratives.

Sujatha has three children elder to Brati – her son Jyothi and daughters Nepa and Tuli from whom Brati was considerably different. He was a tender child always attached to the mother. Her husband Dibyanath Chatterjee is a philandering businessman. His first response to Brati's killing is to ensure that the news of his Naxalite involvement doesn't spread. He refuses to go to the mortuary to identify Brati's body. This is when an outraged Sujatha throws all pretensions of a docile, respectable elite woman and departs to the morgue to see her son. Dibyanath wipes the house clean of anything that reminded of Brati, obliterating his very existence from the house. Sujatha gets isolated in the family for aligning with and loving a

wayward son who got himself killed (*Mother* 10-12). She struggles to tackle the grief while simultaneously attempting to make sense of her son's radical choices so as to seek consolation. "All that Brati could be charged with was that he had lost faith in the social system itself...Brati had not remained content with writing slogans on the wall, he had come to commit himself to the slogans. There lay his offence" (*Mother* 17). The novel is about Sujatha's attempt to honour her son's death and thereby bring a sense of closure to her throbbing grief.

The ominous night two years before saw the encounter killings of four comrades - Brati, Somu, Laltu and Parth. Sujatha visits Brati's friend Somu's house where the four young men spent their last few hours before death. A sisterhood had already formed between the bereaved mothers who were brought together by fate to meet at the entrance of the mortuary. The graphic details of Brati's last hours narrated by Somu's mother only double Sujatha's pain. She then sets out to visit Brati's girlfriend Nandini who was also a member of the Naxalite organization with whom Brati had shared his vision for a new world order based on equality. Sujatha fails to understand the young woman's revolutionary spirit and unwavering resolve and returns to her home, where she is in demand to fulfill her wifely and maternal duties. The two meetings however, enabled her to understand her son better. The emotional and political journey undertaken by Sujatha for the last two years since she lost her son to a cause that was thereunto unknown to her transitions her from an apolitical Bhadralok woman to a self-conscious individual, conscious of the hypocrisy of the bourgeois society she lives in and Brati rebelled against. She wakes up from the illusion of a happy marriage to see her husband for what he really is -a lecherous philanderer. In the two years of bereavement and comprehension, Sujatha discovers the truth that her youngest son discovered long back – that the happiness

and security the Chatterjee family seemed to possess is merely a facade, beneath which dwells unhappiness, hypocrisy and conformity.

Of all the family members, Brati alone refused to conform to the social and political conventions and never hid his disregard and contempt for the outdated values, culminating in his death. Sujatha, in the course of two years, realizes that the life she leads is chaotic, submissive and lacking order, the family she feeds is disloyal and uncaring and the society she lives is deceitful. This awakening marks her evolution into a political being; she transitions into a morally assertive, politically conscious, socially defiant individual. Her visit to Somu's tattered house and his aging mother, living in the periphery of the society serves as an initiation to this transition by giving her an understanding that worlds unknown to her exists for real and Brati frequented them. She realizes that his understanding of the world was far deeper than she ever thought and exclaims to Nandini, that "I really didn't know Brati" (*Mother* 81).

Sujatha's husband Dibyanath is clearly a representative of the patriarchal society and the masculine nation; he exercises complete control over his family, particularly his wife, who is merely a trophy wife for him. In spite of his philandering nature, he is respected by the family. Except financially funding the family, "he would never come down to ask about the children. But he noticed Sujata, he had to be sure that Sujata was fit enough to bear a child again" (*Mother* 3). When he hears of Brati's murder, he consults with his eldest son Jyothi but do not deem Sujatha worthy of knowing the truth and having a say about her dearest son. He refuses to go to the mortuary and forbids others from going, resulting in an aghast Sujatha's first ever defiance of his command. On that day, Dibyanath died for Sujatha; he no longer existed for her (7-8). What possibly alarms Sujata more than

her son's death is the complicity which her family shows when they convene to disown Brati and obliterate him wholly from the familial space and conversations.

Worth noticing is the character of Brati who was ridiculed by his father for being attached to his mother. Dibyanath called him "a milksop. Mother's boy. No manliness" (*Mother* 47). He had no particular love for other members of his family except for his mother and Hem, their house help and his caretaker since childhood. He had a world of comrades and a common dream outside his family. He felt more connected to Somu's deprived family and spent time at his tattered home (38). With his proletarian sentiments and socialist dreams, he was a misfit in his elitist home and society. Evaluated on a scale of masculinity, his emotional nature, identity crisis, his affinity towards the mother etc. drop him down on the scale, deeming him less masculine. However, "in his manner of dying, Brati proved his indomitable strength and courage" (47).

Sujatha's political awakening and the eventual transition makes her walk out of the house where Brati never felt at home, was never welcomed or respected, and where his memories are hushed. It is not just her tribute to her son whom she failed to understand, but is also a feminist act of defiance, walking away from a place where she is not respected. The appendix decaying inside her is a semblance of the moral decay around her. Having reached a better understanding with Brati, she is now ready to turn her back on the decadent value system represented by her family. The decision to walk out was her third act of rebellion; the first was when Brati was two years-old and she refused to bear a fifth baby and the second was when she refused to leave her job (*Mother* 46). However, she dies of the ruptured appendix, indicating that her rot from within culminated in her death (127).

While the broader political discourse of the Naxalite uprising and the state's trampling of it serves as the background to the story, it never comes to the forefront;

what gets fronted by Mahasweta Devi are the emotional struggles of the mother and the intimate human lived experiences. But at the same time, Mother of 1084 is an extremely political story in the sense that it is about the political awakening of an apolitical and unaware mother after she losses her son to a political cause her family could never identify. "Who is Sujata? Only a mother. Who are those hundreds and thousands whose hearts, even now, are gnawed by questions? Only mothers" (Mother 99). Discussing how the Bengali Badhralok families internalize patriarchy, how the loss of their sons differently affects two mothers hailing from different social stratas, how their families differently respond to the deaths and how the state's brutality on men affect the women in their lives while the rest of the family and society carry forward the "pretense of normality" even when the world is crumbling around, Devi deliberates deeper politics than what lies at the periphery of the plot. Her sharp criticism of the state resorting to violence in the form of encounter killing under the guise of ending insurrection is evident when she writes, "What has ended? Nothing. Nothing has ended. Only a generation between sixteen and twenty four was wiped out" (79). In his Introduction to the novel, the novel's translator Samik Bandhopadhyay observes that, "even while Mahasweta Devi evokes and recreates the killings of the Naxalites, she concentrates on the later reactions - and lack of reaction - of a cross section of survivors, both those who wear the scars and wounds – both literally and figuratively" (*Mother* xv).

The novel is quite different from the previously analysed works in terms of the masculine nation perpetrating violence upon women since the violence on women in the novel is more psychological than physical. An exception of physical violence perpetrated on women in the novel would be the police violence upon Nandini, resulting in her losing her eyesight; however, she is more concerned about the ideological violence than the physical torture she was subjected to. As discussed

in the previous chapter, intolerance towards criticism, opposition and protest and the resort to violent means of quelling them, even if that involves murder and bloodshed is a fascist, masculine trait of the nation. The Indian nation has previously resorted to such witch hunts and encounter killings of naxalites, Maoists, insurrectionaries and political rebels and resorts to similar violent annihilations of the slightest of its opponents in the present day in the wake of its escalating masculinity. The masculine violence perpetrated by the state upon Brati indirectly affects his mother, traumatizing her experience. The nation's violence on Sujatha is therefore, not direct but it inflicts upon her a trauma, making her everyday life an ordeal.

Draupadi is yet another story by Mahasweta Devi that is set in the backdrop of the Naxal uprising but quite unlike the *Mother of 1084*, *Draupadi*, translated into English by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak addresses the male nation and the masculine violence it perpetrates on women in the most physical and direct terms. The protagonist Dopdi Mejhen is likened to the Draupadi of *Mahabharata* on various grounds. Dopdi is "the most notorious female" and the wife of Dulna Majhi, previously killed by the army and is wanted for the murder of Surja Sahu and his sons (*Draupadi* 19). The antagonist Senanayak, who represents the state, is not given a specific name and is the representative of every man, masculine and aggressive in every cell of his body. He has pledged to eliminate the last of the Naxals and Guerilla fighters. He "knows the activities and capacities of the opposition better than they themselves do" (21-22). His policy of attack and elimination of the enemy was "in order to destroy the enemy, become one" (22).

The dossier at the opening of the story advertises a token of hundred rupees to the informer who has news about the whereabouts of Dopdi. The Santal couple Dopdi and Dulna worked as informers to the fighters within the forests and when Dulna was killed, Dopdi moved from place to place, hiding in "Neanderthal

darkness" and pledging not to disclose the details of her accomplices, come what may and will bite her tongue off if forced to (*Draupadi* 20). She was proud of her lineage of the "pure, unadulterated black blood of the Champabhumi" (31). On her walk through the forest to the base camp, she realizes that she is being followed and her identity is compromised. As a warning to her comrades in arms, she "raises her arms and her face to the sky and ululates with the force of her entire being. Once, twice, three times" (34). "Dopdi Mejhen is apprehended at 6.53 pm" and gets taken away to the camp for interrogation (34).

The initial part of the story can be read as an extension to *Mother of 1084*, with abundant references to young educated Bengali men, like Brati, taking up the revolutionary cause, siding with the tribes and hiding deep in the forests, issuing pamphlets, attacking government offices and killing the exploitative landlords. When the army encounters these young men, branding them as anti-nationals, "why after confrontation are the skeletons discovered with arms broken or severed? Could armless men have fought? Why do the collarbones shake? Why are the legs and ribs crushed?" (Draupadi 26). That the bodies are tortured beyond human tolerance before they are shot from point blank is a fact openly known, yet unacknowledged. The state lacks an exact number of Naxals and geurilla fighters hiding within the forest and therefore "operation Jharkhani forest cannot stop" (27). Dopdi is the major lead to those in hiding and was wanted by all means. She knows well that if she is caught, "they will kounter her" as that is the only means by which the nation engages with the protesters (28). "When they kounter you, your hands are tied behind you, all your bones are crushed, your sex is a terrible wound" (28). She surrenders with all knowledge of what could become of her, yet pledged not to betray her comrades.

After an hour of questioning Dopdi with her refusal to cooperate, the

Senanayak issues the command "make her, do the needful" and the act of 'making' her begins, completely unmaking her body after hours of torture (*Draupadi* 34).

Opening her eyes after a million light years, Draupadi strangely enough, sees sky and moon. Slowly, the bloodied nailheads shift from her brain. Trying to move, she feels her arms and legs still tied to four posts. Something sticky under her ass and waist. Her own blood. Only the gag has been removed. Incredible thirst. Only if she says 'water' she catches the lower lip in her teeth. She senses that her vagina is bleeding. How many came to make her? Shaming her, a tear trickles out of the corner of her eye. In the muddy moonlight, she lowers her lightless eye, sees her breasts and understands that, indeed, she's made up right. Her breasts are bitten raw, the nipples torn. How many? Four-five-six-seven then Draupadi had passed out...Perhaps, they have abandoned her for the foxes to devour. But she hears the scrape of feet...Draupadi closes her eyes she doesn't have to wait long. Again, the process of making her begins...A compelled, spread eagled, still body. Active pistons of flesh rise and fall, rise and fall over it. (34-35)

In the morning, after the sexual ordeal, Dopdi is ordered to wash, dress and move to the Senanayak's tent. She throws the water pot on the ground instead of washing herself and tears her clothes into tatters. The guards were shocked by her rebellion, in spite of her night-long subjection to gang rape, which was meant to discipline her. She was like no other women they had met. The guards who are untrained to handle such a woman run for orders from above.

The Senanayak comes out and facing him stands Dopdi in all the 'glory' conferred upon her body by his soldiers at his order to 'make her'. Dopdi stands

before him, completely naked, yet with her head held high. The Senanayak is shocked to see her.

Draupadi stands before him naked. Thighs and pubic hair matted with dry blood. Two breasts, two wounds...Draupadi comes closer, stands with her hand on her hip, laughs and says, the object of your search, Dopdi Mejhen. You asked them to make me up. Don't you want to see how they made me?" When the Senanayak orders her to wear her clothes, she asks him, "What's the use of clothes? You can strip me but how can you clothe me again? Are you a man?... There isn't a man here that I should be ashamed. What more can you do? Come on, *kounter* me – come on, *kounter* me. (36)

Dopdi pushes the Senanayak with her two mangled breasts, smearing blood on his white shirt and in his countless years of experience of disposing militants, the Senanayak experiences fear for the first time when he stands before an unarmed, naked woman.

In the translator's Foreword to the story *Draupadi*, Spivak elaborates on her reason to translate the story into English – she was drawn to the character of Senanayak, who served as the main attraction of the story. The Senanayak likens himself to Prospero and is resolute in curbing the Naxalite uprising in Bengal, which was a product of the "peculiar coalition of peasants and intellectuals" (*Draupadi* 6). Dopdi, his object of search is likened to and referred to as Draupadi in many parts of the story. Like the mythological Draupadi who is polyandrous, Dopdi is coerced into sex with multiple men, the difference between mythology and reality being the missing consent of Dopdi. By shifting Dopdi from a devout monogamous relation with Dulna to a spectacle of gang rape, Mahasweta Devi draws similarities between her and the mythological Draupadi. Parallels can also be seen in the disrobing of the

mythological Draupadi at the royal court and the stripping of Dopdi in the military camp except for the fact that while Krishna saved Draupadi's honour by clothing her, there was no help offered to Dopdi who endured the sexual violence painfully. Belonging to many husbands, the Kaurava court equates Draupadi with a harlot and finds nothing wrong in unclothing her in the court. With Dopdi being a Santal woman, the Senanayak and his men, who are representatives of the male nation, find nothing wrong in 'making' her, unmaking her in the process. Another pertinent tie between Draupadi and Dopdi is that of blood; while Draupadi was menstruating when she gets dragged to the Kaurava court and pledges to leave her hair loose until she washes it with Dussasana's blood, Dopdi has her own blood flowing between her legs, unknown to her. When she stands up to face the Senanayak, her breasts, lips and genitals are all smeared in blood. Her spitting of a blob of blood onto the Senanayak is a revenge equivalent to Draupadi washing her hair in Dussasana's blood. Spivak identifies Dopdi as a Palimpsest and a contradiction to Draupadi (11).

While Dopdi worked shoulder to shoulder with men, arming herself with a baby scythe in her waist and discharging all her duties with the perfection of any male comrade, she is brought to a realization of her female identity through the process of 'making' after her detention. Subjected to violence that can "only happen to a woman", the woman in Dopdi is awakened, and she stands tall and naked before the Senanayak, refusing to hang her head or tamed (*Draupadi* 11). The male nation, symbolized by the Senanayak and his fellow soldiers cower before a 'real' woman. The masculine violence perpetrated by the state upon Dopdi is graphically portrayed in the story but the takeaway from the story is the indomitable feminine spirit in Dopdi that refuses to be ashamed or bow before the masculine might of the nation and its men.

Even in her other stories, Mahasweta Devi addresses the nation's negligence

or its gendered approach to its women, affecting female lives directly or indirectly. In her Stanadayini, translated as The Breastgiver, Devi tells the story of Jashoda, a professional wet nurse who was of great demand in rich households to suckle their children. Rich men who wanted their wives physically intact borrowed Jashoda's breasts, exploiting her all throughout her lifetime, squeezing the life blood out of her. However, when the women of the household learn contraception and birth control, Jashoda is driven out of work. Finally, when she develops breast cancer and her breasts that suckled children all throughout her life transformed into sores, she dies abandoned; she who suckled the whole world died alone. Her breasts are her tool towards empowerment, financial and social. Simultaneously, they are also her reason for shame and eventual death. She gets reduced to the two blobs of flesh on her chest, which she prized intimately and her whole identity revolved around it. The story is different from the usual plot of men exploiting women; Jashoda is exploited by the elite women themselves. The story also highlights the importance of reproductive independence that the women of the Haldar family gain gradually as generations pass by. Mahasweta Devi's voice of protest against the masculine privilege and the violence the masculine Indian nation perpetrates on its women was so mighty that her writing brought about social changes such as the unmanacling of the statue of Birsa Munda and improving the penurious life conditions of the tribes within the forests. Her stories were so critical of the institution of the male nation that the Delhi University scrapped her works from the syllabus when the BJP government assumed power.

Salman Rushdie, the father of Indian magic realism is known for his much acclaimed novels like *Midnight's Children*, *The Satanic Verses*, *Shalimar the Clown* etc. The publication of his *Satanic Verses* which was accused of blasphemy and defamation of Islam, catapulted him to a global controversy, leading to fatwas and

death threats issued against him and even assassination attempts being made at Rushdie. Pakistan banned the novel and even the secular India turned hostile to the book, banning its import. *Midnight's Children* (1981) is considered to be his Magnum Opus and the novel won the Booker Prize in 1981and was later selected as the best of the Booker winning novels in 1993 and 2008.

Born in Bombay in 1947, only two months prior to the independence of India and the Indo-Pak partition, the notion of India as a nation is so closely connected to Rushdie's personal life. He had expressed his discontent with the two nations and had criticized both Imran Khan and Narendra Modi for their political policies. Rushdie is a vehement critic of the BJP and its Hindutva agenda. His *Midnight's Children* traces the life of Salim Sinai, born at the stroke of the midnight when India awoke to independence. Salim is endowed with special powers as well as a telepathic connection with the other children who share their moment of birth with him as well as the nascent Indian nation. Combining postcolonial, postmodern, magic realist elements, the novel is a bildungsroman, detailing Salim's life along with that of the Indian nation, superimposing them, making the novel a literary palimpsest. The protagonist Salim Sinai is born at the midnight hour alongside the Indian nation, with telepathic powers and an enormous nose, ever dripping, with an exceptional sense of smell.

I was born in the city of Bombay... once upon a time. No, that won't do, there's no getting away from the date: I was born in Doctor Narlikar's Nursing Home on August 15th, 1947. And the time? The time matters, too. Well then: at night. No, it's important to be more... On the stroke of midnight, as a matter of fact. Clock-hands joined palms in respectful greeting as I came. Oh, spell it out, spell it out: at the precise instant of India's arrival at independence, I tumbled forth

into the world. There were gasps. And, outside the window, fireworks and crowds. (*Midnight's* 3)

At the age of thirty one, fearing imminent death by "disintegrating into millions of specks of dust", Salim wants to tell his life story to his wife Padma, which forms the crux of the novel (152).

Salim employs his telepathic power to convene a conference of the midnight's children (about 581 in number) who are geographically apart and hail from distinct social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Each of them has a distinctive gift of their own; those born the closest to the midnight hour have the strongest gifts. Two such well gifted children apart from Salim include Shiva and Parvati. As the nation grows and undergoes social and political turmoil, they are narrated from Salim's perspective and his experiences. Salim endures a brief amnesia from which he soon recovers. A major political turn in the novel is the Proclamation of the Emergency by Indira Gandhi and the slum beautification programme as well as the compulsory sterilization drive led by Sanjay Gandhi that accompanied it. During the Emergency, the Midnight's children experience a diminishing of the potency of their power and Salim is held briefly as a political prisoner. Once out of prison and having very little to do, he chronicles his life that is historically bound to that of the nation, simultaneously chronicling the evolution of the Indian nation for his son (Parvati and Shiva's son) to read. The story is also the story of nation making where people who once consented to live as a united nation withdrew the consent or restructured the terms on which their consent is based. The nation evolves in ways unfathomed, reinforcing the notion that nation is indeed a "daily plebiscite" (What is a Nation 10).

Salim traces his origin back two generations – his grandfather Adam Aziz, a doctor, meets his future wife Nazim in 1915 whom he treats through a perforated

sheet. He gets to see her face only on the day the First World War ended in 1918 and they marry in the same year. One among his five children, Mumtaz (alias Amina) is married to the merchant Ahmed Sinai. A fortune teller foretells about Salim Sinai that:

A son... such a son! A son, Sahiba, who will never be older than his motherland-neither older nor younger...There will be two heads - but you shall see only one-there will be knees and a nose, a nose and knees...Newspaper praises him, two mothers raise him! Bicyclists love him-but, crowds will shove him! Washing will hide him - voices will guide him! Friends mutilate him - blood will betray him...Spittoons will brain him - doctors will drain him - jungle will claim him-wizards reclaim him! Soldiers will try him - tyrants will fry him...He will have sons without having sons! He will be old before he is old! And he will die... before he is dead. (*Midnight's* 81)

At doctor Narlikar's nursing home, the nurse Mary Pereira exchanges Amina and Ahmed Sinai's son with the illegitimate son of Vanita and Methwold. The poorborn baby gets the privilege of the rich and grows up as Salim Sinai and the richborn is thrown into poverty and grows up as Shiva, Salim's nemesis, who is born with powerful knees and is strong in combat. Salim is born with an enormous nose that is always snotty. Tired by the pressure of the prophesy, he hides inside a washing cabinet and is punished by his mother with a day of silence, resulting in his discovery of his gift of hearing others' voices. When Salim is hospitalized for a cut finger, the blood tests reveal that he can't possibly be Amina and Ahmed's son. When Mary Pereira reveal about her exchange of the babies, Amina and Ahmed rift apart and Amina moves to Pakistan with the children. Salim watches his uncle Zulfikar ushering in a martial reign in Pakistan. Later, the Sinais relocate to Bombay

and Salim undergoes an operation for congested sinus and nose during the Indo-China War, after which he loses his gift of telepathy and instead gains another gift of extraordinary smell, which can sniff emotions. Salim's family perishes in the Indo-Pak war and he is hit on the head by his grandfather's spittoon, inducing amnesia.

Sans memory, Salim gets recruited to the Pakistan army for his extraordinary sense of smell. He aids in quelling the uprising in Bangladesh. The war tragedies, however, traumatizes him and he runs into the deep Sunderbans forest where he recovers his memory, except for his name. He meets Parvati, the witch, another Midnight's child who gives his name back and magically aids him in escaping to India. Salim and Parvati live in the Magician's ghetto. Disappointed about Salim's lack of interest in her, Parvati has a relation with the war hero Shiva, but it takes a bitter turn and the pregnant parvati breaks up with Shiva and returns to live in the ghetto. As an unmarried woman who got pregnant, Parvati is ostracized by the ghetto-dwellers and Salim consents to marry her.

Around this time, the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, referred in the novel as "the Widow" hears about the collective of Midnight's children and is worried that they may employ a talisman against her (*Midnight's* 208). Seeing the children as a threat, the Widow declares National Emergency following which Sanjay Gandhi launches a slum beautification programme which destroys the Magician's ghetto. Parvati dies shortly after the birth of her son. Salim is taken by force to a sterilization camp by Shiva and is sterilized. Salim reveals the names of the other midnight's children, resulting in them being rounded up and forcibly sterilized. All of them lose their special gifts which could have turned out as a potential threat to the Prime Minister and the nation. Once out from the bondage of the state, Salim goes to Bombay with Parvati's Son Aadam where he meets Padma, who becomes his wife. The story comes to a full circle here and acts as an allegory

of Indian history from the colonial times, through independence and partition till the withdrawal of the Indian Emergency.

Salim's narration is largely based on memory than history, but is mostly true to the original facts, rendering the novel its authenticity. Salim's experiences are pitted against the Indian experiences, fusing the personal and the national in a curious fashion where Salim Sinai is "handcuffed to history" (Midnight's 3). "In fact, all over the new India, the dream we all shared, children were being born who were only partially the offspring of their parents—the children of midnight were also the children of the time: fathered, you understand, by history. It can happen. Especially in a country which is itself a sort of dream" (118). In the letter Nehru sends to Salim, he writes, "Dear baby Salim, my belated congratulations on the happy accident of your moment of birth. You are the newest bearer of that ancient phase of India which is also eternally young. We shall be watching over your life with closest attention; it will be in a sense, a mirror of our own" (121). The letter catapulted Salim to fame by juxtaposing him and the nation before the public. Also the notion of the nation as an "imagined community" comes to play a definitive role in the confluence of the midnight's children, who wouldn't know each other individually, if not for Salim's telepathic skills, but "a sense of communion", a feeling of being one with the nation and one with each other since their birth and the birth of the nation lives in the minds of each those children (*Imagined* 6).

...a nation which had never previously existed was about to win its freedom, catapulting us into a world which although it had five thousand years of history, ...was nevertheless quite imaginary; a mythical land, a country which would never exist except by the efforts of a phenomenal collective will – except in a dream we all agreed to dream; it was a mass fantasy shared in varying degrees by

Bengali and Punjabi, Madrasi and Jat, and would periodically need the sanctification and renewal which can only be provided by rituals of blood. India, the new myth – a collective fiction, in which anything was possible, a fable rivaled only by the two other mighty fantasies: money and God. (*Midnight's*112)

The meeting of the midnight's children that Salim convenes has a semblance of the Congress party meeting, where delegates from all over the nation meet. The enigmatic voices Salim hears inside his head belong to the multitude of Indians, again closely connecting Salim with the nation. The World Wars, the Indo-Pak, Indo-China frictions, discord in Bangladesh, communal rivalry and insurgencies within the nation etc. that are discussed in the novel indicate that the reality of the Indian nation, represented as a "many headed monster" is quite different from that envisaged by Nehru in his *Tryst with Destiny (Midnight's* 115). The speech marks the independence as an end to India's ill fortune but just as Nehru winds up his speech, Ahmed Sinai is in severe pain, as a "falling chair shattered his toe", indicating that the ill fortune does not end with the nation's independence (117). The "teeming millions" that Salim hears inside his head is a reference to the fragmented India post-partition, reduced to a multitude of languages, ethnicities, religions and castes (168).

The men in the novel are perpetually in a crisis – Salim experiences identity crisis as a baby exchanged at birth, social crisis at having to constantly shift between India and Pakistan and shift homes often, political crisis for being a Muslim in India as well as being a midnight's child with miraculous skills during the Emergency. Many other male characters in the novel are in severe physical or emotional crises. Salim's fear of his body crumbling out of overuse springs from this inner turmoil. This is in contrast to the stereotypical masculine representation of men as

emotionally stoic and resigned. Salim is no descendant of Adam Aziz as the novel initially recounts and the sterilized Salim cannot bear a descendant of his own, amplifying his masculinity crisis. The castration reduces Salim to a state of effeminacy, rendering him incapable, the same way partition rendered the Indian nation. The novel addresses the national crisis from a male perspective, making it a masculine crisis. Salim's castration is also the castration of the entire nation, wherein the nation is mutilated and rendered impotent to resist an imposed regime. Again, it is the masculinity of the nation that is problematized through the motif of compulsory sterilization — a masculine, mighty nation rendered impotent by a woman, overturning the gender stereotype. The Emergency period is shown as a phase of personal failure for Salim and a national setback for India. At the time of the proclamation of the Emergency, Parvati is pushing her baby out, linking that baby's life inalienably with that of the nation.

A commonly observable feature throughout the novel is the reversal of gender roles; while men wax and wane in their masculinity crisis, women take up the lead as seen in the Reverend mother or Amina. "My admiration extends also to her arms which could wrestle mine down in a trice, and from which, when they enfold me nightly in futile embraces, there is no escape", Salim notes about Padma (*Midnight's* 270). Another notable feature is that Rushdie's penchant for shunning the notion of purity is mainly expressed through male characters. The epitome of lack of purity is Salim, a hybrid by all means, particularly biologically. However, women are portrayed as retaining purity, refusing change, embracing and reinforcing the stereotypes. The motif of emasculated patriarchy runs throughout the novel, trickling down from Adam Aziz to Ahmed Sinai to Salim. An example, probably the only example, for hyper-masculinity in the novel is Shiva, who is mighty in his knees and extremely masculine, impregnating Parvati and then abandoning her and fathering countless other children. Salim's nemesis triumphing over him in terms of masculine

virility can be read in extension as the triumph of Hindu hyper-masculinity over the Muslim emasculated self. Another visible display of the nation's masculinity is from the government (represented by Indira Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi) that asserts its masculine virility during the Emergency, juxtaposing and contrasting it with the impotency induced by their compulsory sterilization drive. Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* is a novel quite different in the way it treats gender, gender binaries and stereotypes. Instead of reinforcing the binary, the novel disrupts it through its representation of vulnerable masculinity and empowered femininity. The nation is represented as masculine, rendered impotent in the course of its development.

The Malayalam author O.V. Vijayan (1930-2005), best known for his celebrated and much acclaimed novel Khasakkinte Ithihasam (1969) that served as a landmark in the history of Malayalam literature, is also the author of Gurusagaram, Dharmapuranam, Pravachakante Vazhi etc. He is known for his cartoons as well and had briefly associated himself with the Shankar's Weekly, The Patriot and The Statesman. Vijayan won the Odakkuzhal Award for Khasakkinte Ithihasam in 1970, the Kendra Sahitya Akademi Award and the Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award in 1990 and the Vayalar Award in 1991. He was awarded Padma Bhushan in 2003. Being a well versed bilingual writer, Vijayan self-translated most of his works to English. He was a vehement critic of totalitarianism and bureaucratic abuse of power. Chosen for the analysis of the manifestations of the Indian nation's masculinity are two of his short stories Arimbara and Bhroonam, both translated by himself into English, under the titles The Wart and The Foetus respectively, which are part of his short story collection After the Hanging and Other Stories (1989). Both stories are part of the section "Allegories of Power" in the collection and are about the fascist Emergency declared in India by Indira Gandhi. Both stories are masked by allegory for literary appeal and to escape censorship.

Vijayan was never restricted by the socio-cultural and literary taboos and blood, breasts, penises, faeces and gore pervade the collection After the Hanging and Other Stories and the process of reading the stories is like entering a dark labyrinth of dirt and slime. The Wart and The Foetus are the first and the second stories in the collection respectively. Vijayan writes in his Introduction to the anthology that "the first stories in the collection are concerned with power and terror, occasioned by India's brief experience of the Emergency" (After np). His choice of the seemingly minor genre of short stories to portray a national scale event is apparently radical. He is at his subversive best in these stories. In the story *The Wart*, a small nasty, yet harmless pustule takes a Kafkaish twist and swells beyond the unnamed narrator's control, relegating his body to being an appendage of the wart which no longer is a wart but a colossal structure. The wart generates repulsion and abhorrence in every one around, including his own wife Suma and his son Unni, who eventually desert him. The pustule which was initially "tiny as a seed, below the lower lip" and considered by Suma as a "sign of luck" soon gave way to suspicions about contagion (After 13). The growing size of the wart reduces the human body to inconsequentiality and his wife Suma who enjoyed the best of marital pleasures with him deserted him to elope with the doctor Aechchu Menon.

The growth of the grotesque wart and its eventual overpowering of the narrator happen in various phases, quite like the political takeover of the nation. In the first phase, Suma spots the seed-sized wart which she enjoyed caressing. However, gradually, Suma develops disgust towards the wart, which eventually develops as disgust towards the narrator himself. In the next phase, the wart grows to the size of a gooseberry and then to that of a lemon, affecting his social relations. All the herbal medicaments he smeared over the wart were merely sucked in by the wart which grew stronger and bigger and started oozing pus, allegorical of the

Emergency reaping undesired adverse results. Suma restricts Unni from going anywhere near him for the fear of contagion, driving the narrator to isolating himself up in the attic. Even his attempt to excise the "invading spore" with his ancestor's blade failed (18). By the time the wart is of the size of a coconut, Suma and Unni desert him, leaving him to the care of his serfs Chathan and Naani, allegorical of the previous endorsers of the Emergency spurning it. In the next phase, the wart starts to issue commands beyond the normal human sense and commit atrocities, severing his last ties with society. The wart forces Naani to attend to him daily and she finds it physically arousing. The wart transforms into a black phallus that murders Naani in the act of intercourse and the narrator, as commanded by the wart that is now a phallus, engages in necrophilic union with Naani's corpse, not once but multiple times. All these acts are involuntary on the side of the narrator who finds the wart's commands irresistible.

When he pleads to the wart to spare him and reminds it that it was merely a low lying dot on his lips, it replies that "memory is a crime against history" (*After* 26). The narrator laments: "You were born out of my flesh. Why did you take away my freedom, the freedom of the one who gave you your being?" (26). The lament of the nation to the spreading cancer that has now started issuing orders, dictating terms and committing violence, mostly sexual violence upon the powerless women of the nation can't be missed. The story is a mighty testimony to how power is gradually usurped and misused and to what consequences. The wart grows enormously to the point that the narrator is now an appendage to it and the wart decides to abandon the narrator whose body was its host so far. A role reversal is effected; the wart assumes the human role, capable of thinking, processing and acting and the narrator gets relegated to the role of the wart, about to be excised. The wart processes the ancestral Dhanvantari treatises, mixes medicaments and detaches the narrator from

its body. "I saw an enormous creature roll in from behind the house. The wart! The medicaments had worked and I had shriveled and fallen off the wart's great body" (28). The wart, hereafter, has no master and is free to unleash its vicious reign.

The elephant shaped wart gets venerated as God, an ultimate form of power, free to engage in the next vicious cycle of power, corruption and violence. The wart which once belonged only to the narrator (though it later took ownership of the narrator) is now adored and venerated by everyone alike. This is the general nature of unlimited power; it will always have its followers whose number is always escalating. The wart assumes a masculine gender position, ordering the narrator to address it as 'brother'. The masculine lust for power and the desire to exercise power over women forms the crux of the story. Bhavana Murali observes that "*The Wart* is a powerful tale about the corruption that power wreaks on an individual... a morality tale and a warning to future generations about the dangers of indifference and spiritual surrender to the unbridled power of states/political institutions" (np).

The evil polity during the Emergency, which was deemed not as a national Emergency but as Indira Gandhi's personal Emergency, is profusely criticized by Vijayan in the story which confirms the old dictum that when power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely. The escalation of the masculine exercise of power that the nation was subjected to by a woman who was deemed as the Iron lady is allegorically represented in the form of the invasive wart that soon grows to create an identity of its own. In his influential essay *Third World Literatures in the Era of Multinational Capitalism*, Frederick Jameson argues that there is an "obsessive return to the national question" in the third world literature, which necessitates a resort to allegory (65). He is of the opinion that third world literatures can be interpreted as national allegories. *The wart* acts as a powerful allegory of all power systems like casteism, feudalism, patriarchy, masculinity, totalitarianism etc.,

all of which are represented in the short story. The obsession of the wart with Naani's body and the recurring phallic images indicate the masculine sexual violence perpetrated on female bodies, mostly without consent and sometimes by manipulative consent as obtained from Naani. The more concentrated the power in male hands, greater will be the sexual violence upon women.

In Vijayan's *The Foetus*, the maleficent foetus of the widowed sovereign of the village that sucks life out of the villagers, preventing babies from being born, disrupting the peace and harmony of the village and masking the stars becomes an allegory of Indira Gandhi and her son Sanjay Gandhi. "Behind the fortress's walls of cold granite and doors of rosewood lived the Lady, widowed sovereign of the village...after long years she became pregnant... At this time, fearful omens manifested themselves in the village, the perennial spring of the temple tank dried up, even as the lady's womb ceased bleeding" (After 30). The news of the widow's pregnancy raised many eyebrows and the astrologer was summoned to testify whether it was an immaculate conception. He, however, could not decipher meaning from the stars' positions because a foetal membrane masked it. The slow, yet steady growth of the foetus brought about many catastrophes in the village including water scarcity, deaths that were results of draining away of blood, rapes, shutting of schools etc. Initially, the villagers decided to overlook the portents and the death of the drummer as "an inexplicable aberration" but the intensity of violence escalated on a daily basis (31). The nocturnal predatory foetus is described as "an enormous blob of jelly...its malefic fluids glistening in the moon" (31). The slimy trail of the foetus was accompanied by footprints of hounds, and the villagers deduced that the hounds made way for the predatory foetus. The story interprets the conception of the foetus, marking absolute power, as an outcome of the people's years of surrender to those in power. "It has been happening all the while. For many generations, the lord

of the fortress had willed their power over us and this manifests itself in this blob of slime" (33).

The "young scions" celebrated the advent of the foetus, drank to its long life and offered goats and roosters and bananas to pacify it. The leader of the youth spoke to its flock, "the foetus is our new sovereign and we are his soldiers. The old order is crumbling" (*After 33*). The evil always finds followers. The office of the village council was evacuated and the photos of "the Lady in carnal fullness of middle age, pregnant and naked ... and a blob of gelatin, turgid and luminescent with tiny hands and feet. The foetus!" adorned the walls and the young stood before them with reverence (33). The priest and the astrologer seemed the only ones who were disappointed and terrified by the murderous regime. The youth grow impatient when the foetus stays still and no longer kills. They appeal to the sovereign lady who tells them that the foetus is gaining strength and is only a matter of time before it comes out. "He slumbers and grows. Have patience...he has mastered the trails of the night. He broods and grows to master the paths of sunlight. Soon, he will come out to lead you" and the youth rejoice (34).

The foetus which has gradually grown accustomed to daylight makes sure that there are no more pregnancies or babies in the village. Many unborn children were forcefully brought out of the womb as tiny fetuses, the young protégée of the sovereign foetus. The battalion of fetuses overpowers the insurrection against the regime, "softening the decades of legendary battles into inane compliance" (*After* 36). The priest and the astrologer come across the rape of a teacher inside a school classroom, to be followed by many more. The young scions rape women, including those who are pregnant. "The school has been closed down and all instructions forbidden. Lessons have been replaced by slogans ... It is the foetus's law... The foetus has outlawed childbirth. Henceforth, the village will have only

fetuses...There are no police left...don't you realize we are in an island in time, our destiny come to a halt?" (37-38). The battalion of fetuses grow strong enough to intercept and apprehend a couple planning to flee with their child. The woman is raped by the foetus and the man is killed. The priest and the astrologer pray for the foetus's repentance, holding up the book of litany that scares the evil. The foetus shows signs of repentance and the priest requests it to "return, son, to your mother's womb and be born as a child". The wailing foetus, filled with remorse, obeys. Days later, the word spreads in the village that the sovereign lady died in the process of labour, delivering a still born baby. The foetal eclipse ceases and peace prevails in the village.

The story is a full-fledged allegory of the Indian Emergency, detailing the sovereign's and her foetus's ascension to power, perpetration of murder and rapes, their fetching of followers and their final down fall. The sovereign widow becomes an allegory of Indira Gandhi and her predatory foetus is a scathing reference to Sanjay Gandhi. His nocturnal venturing in contrast to the lady's fixed residence inside the castle is indicative of Indira Gandhi residing inside her home and Sanjay Gandhi perpetrating the devastation outside. Sanjay's strategies win several young admirers turned followers who are allegorized in the story as the young scions who are blinded by the power the foetus wields. The foetus overpowering its mother is indicative of Sanjay eclipsing Indira Gandhi in executing the dreadful strategies devised. The youth wing of the Indian National Congress gathered more power than its parent organization during the Emergency. The order of the foetus that prevents anymore childbirths in the village is a reference to the sterilization drive carried out by the Sanjay gang. The suspension of schools, police stations, the taking over of the village council are all the fascist regime's take down of the democratic institutions, in the same way the Emergency suspended all democratic processes. The foetus is

the product of the widow sovereign's scandalous pregnancy and becomes a self-anointed sovereign like Sanjay, who was never elected or never loved by the people. The foetus's very conception is marked by ominous portents like the drying up of a perennial spring that might be allusive of the droughts of 1972-73, which worsened the crises of the Indira government.

The murder of the village drummer is indicative of the silencing of the broadcast media through the censorship measures issued by the Indira government. The initial response of the villagers to this death is passive; so was the initial Indian response to the declaration of Emergency as the people lacked clarity about what it really was. While the intelligentsia revolted against the proclamation, the common folk largely slumbered through the initial phase until it began to directly affect them as it did to the villagers, leaving bloody, slimy trails all over the land. The insurrection in the story can be interpreted as the reference to the J P movement led by Jayaprakash Narayan that massively mobilized the students of India. The foetus lays down a number of autocratic rules, curbing the liberty and free movement of the common people. The foetus and his followers molest a number of women, unmindful of their identity; Vijayan observes in the story that they might have resorted to even incest. The Book of Litany that scares the foetus and its cronies is an allusion to the Indian constitution. The boundless power the foetus wields attracts even the oldest member of the village who answers that "aged disciples have always walked behind young Messiahs" (After 38).

Through its allegorical representation of the tyrannical abuse of power during the Emergency, the compulsory sterilization drives and physical violence on women, Vijayan successfully brings out the gendered nature of the Indian Emergency which was marked by its centralization of power. The still birth of the foetus marks the withdrawal of the Emergency and Sanjay losing his power and the

death of the sovereign widow is indicative of Indira Gandhi's election failure and the downfall of the Congress, marking an interim culmination of the masculine violence. However, it is only provisional as the concept of the nation is by its nature, masculine; it will reassert its masculinity any time soon. Vijayan's stories mark the Indian Emergency as a pivotal landmark in the nation's centralization and masculinization of power, culminating in the vicious forays into the female body.

K.R. Meera (1970 -), the Malayali journalist turned writer is popular for her novel *Aarachaar* (2012) which won the Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award, Kendra Sahitya Akademi Award, Odakkuzhal Award, Vayalar Award etc. Apart from this magnum opus, she is popular for her short stories like *Mohamanja*, *Karineela*, *Ormayude Njarambu* and novels like *Meerasadhu*, *Yudasinte Suvishesham*, *Ghathakan* etc. Meera's writing explores themes like patriarchy, women's psyche, identity and individuality etc. The focus of her works is generally women's inner world and thoughts and her characters challenge the traditional power dynamics that privileges the male gender. *Aarachaar* tells the story of the Grddha Mullicks, a lineage of executioners to which the protagonist Chetna belongs. The novel can clearly be described as a Bengali novel, written in Malayalam; it is a Bengali novel not just in it setting but also in its sensibility. *Aarachaar* was translated into English by J. Devika in 2014 under the title *The Hangwoman: Everyone Loves a Good Hanging*.

The nation/state figures as a subterranean presence in *Aarachaar* as the role and terms of the executioner are dictated by the state. The executioner hangs the person the state deems a convict and has no say over his/her job. When the state ponders over appointing Chetna to the job of the executioner which is conventionally deemed a male job, the plot becomes thick in terms of the ties between nation, power and gender. Chetna Mullick, in spite of being appointed as

the nation's first female executioner, a job that wields power over a man's death, is still under constant male supervision of her father Phani Bhushan Mullick and later of Sanjiv Kumar Mitra. *Aarachaar* unveils the layered permeation of masculinity into the national fabric and becomes a good source for the analysis of the nation's assertions of masculinity. In the course of the novel, the reader gets to meet many powerful women belonging to various paths of life –the Grddha Mullick lineage, government officials, women on the streets of Calcutta and Sonagachi etc. History has always been biased towards the feminine gender; it fails to record the female achievers, dismissing them without a trace so much so that the female executioner before Chetna is unknown to the world. A close reading of the novel brings to light the presence of a male nation that lies at the background of the novel.

The free flow of language, thoughts and emotions employed by Meera in Aarachaar through the use of the stream of consciousness technique is a qualifier of the Ecriture Feminine style introduced by the French feminist Helene Cixous. What could have turned out essentially as a male world is retained as a feminine universe through emotions and images intrinsic to the female experiences of Chetna, Ma, Thakuma, Pingalakeshini and other women. Even the language Meera uses to refer to her fountain of creativity is exclusively feminine. She warns, "don't underestimate me, my creativity has no menopause" (Kuruvilla np). "The inscription of the feminine body and female differences in language and text" that Elaine Showalter talks about is evident in Aarachaar (Feminist 249). Meera never cushions the female experiences so as to make them palatable; they are raw and unrevised in Aarachaar as in her other works. All her female protagonists like Radhika, Tulsi, Chetna etc. merge together to produce a real female lived experience.

The novel traces Chetna Mullick's pursuits, memories, angsts, longings and the love-hate relationship she has with the television journalist Sanjiv Kumar Mitra. In the course of narrating Chetna Mullick's present, the novel also unveils the glorious saga of the Grddha Mullick family. The novel begins with the President of India rejecting the mercy petition of Jatindranath Banarjee. The old and weary executioner Phanibhushan Grddha Mullick who self-proclaims that he had carried out 451 hangings demands from the state a government job for his daughter Chetna Mullick in return for hanging Banarjee. This is the premise on which the young Chetna gets appointed as the first female executioner of the country, not evaluated and appointed on her merit but with her father coercing the state into appointing her. However, Chetna is a 'born' executioner, a 'natural' in the profession, renowned for her small, deft, perfect nooses using her dupatta. The question if Chetna is willing to take up the physically and mentally traumatizing job of being a hangwoman is irrelevant since she belongs to the very patriarchal family of Grddha Mullicks in Bengal with centuries' worth tradition of hanging criminals. The Mullicks are part of a very patriarchal family system in which the voices and opinions of women and the underprivileged subaltern go unheard. The woman's choice of profession and her consent for the profession are negated right at the onset of the novel and Chetna is forced to inherit the job of the executioner. Even her opinions made in The Hangwoman's Diary aired on the television belong to her father. While the Grddha Mullick line continues through the male successors, Chetna's rise to power as the hangwoman is only due to the absence of an able-bodied male successor, since Chetna's brother Ramu is incapacitated and bedridden. This sheds clear light on the patriarchal family system, where women are denied access to power. Chetna is chosen, in the absence of 'better' options to carry forward the Grddha Mullick pedigree of hanging men for the sake of justice. The novel is narrated on an epic canvas and history is marked with reference to the succeeding patriarchs of the family, referred in the novel as Pitamaha. The novel clearly states that history is always 'his' story and Chetna's attempt to rewrite history through her revolutionary

appointment as hangwoman is discouraged by the state, the men around her as well as the women of her own household. A woman's ascension to power is threatening to the patriarchal family apparatus as well as the male nation.

A major question the novel addresses is whether women have the audacity to hang a man. Chetna, however, proves her mettle from a very young age by instantly learning to make the perfect noose, hanging (though accidentally) her childhood playmate, injuring Maruti Prasad who attempted to molest her and expressing her desire to hang Sanjiv Kumar Mitra when he exhibits his carnal desires for her."That night I imagined that he was standing on the top of the platform of death; that I had covered his face with the death mask; that I pulled the lever in 727 ways" (Aarachaar 122)¹. Another major question that the novel raises is how many women were hanged in history. There aren't many because the state and judiciary pass a soft verdict for the female criminals, taking into consideration their gender and familial responsibilities. However, the novel discusses in detail the hanging of Kadambari, a woman who killed her husband during his illicit affair. When the lever was pulled and her body was suspended, her legs parted in pain and the audience rejoiced in the clear view of her privates. It is only after this incident that the law was made to cover the women convicts from head to toe and their legs to be tied before hanging them.

Sonagachi plays a crucial role in the novel. The hangmen of the yore were philanderers in the streets of Sonagachi. Phanibushan Mullick had affairs with many women of the red street. He however killed Chetna's Kaki ma when he found her in a suspicious situation in the Red street. While men have the social sanction for profligacy, women are bound by chains of moral purity, virginity, maternity etc. Sanjiv Kumar Mitra leads a high profile life and is ashamed to reveal that his mother

¹All quotations from *Aarachaar* are translated by the researcher.

Trilokyadebi was once a *beshya* in Sonagachi. The traits of the street are so mastered by Sanjiv that his nimble fingers can steal things from vendors in broad daylight, without anyone noticing. The men enjoy sexual freedom, in spite of all familial obligations that bind them; the women, however, are strangled by invisible codes of conduct.

After being appointed as the nation's first female executioner, Chetna becomes an overnight celebrity - the source of India's pride and the symbol of Indian womanhood. She is the embodiment of Shakthi, a figure every Indian woman looks up to. She becomes the click bait for the channel's TRP. The sudden publicity bamboozles even Chetna, who had never been the centre of attraction before. Hailing from a family dwelling in abject penury, the experience of being thrown into the limelight is numbing for her. She was a victim of society's gender discrimination and there is no wonder that she did not object to the prospect of the government job, even if that meant she will have to do a cursed job all her life.

The motif of 'story telling' is pivotal to the plot. Most part of the history is presented through stories and the rest in the form of factual narration. Phanibhushan Grddha Mullick, Thaku ma and Chetna are the main story tellers and they take pride in their ancestry and never misses a chance to tell stories about their forefathers who devised, improved and revolutionized the act of hanging criminals. The Grddha Mullicks lineage run long back into the colonial period that their family saga is a revelation of the mechanics of power. Every time Sanjiv Kumar Mitra tries to trap Chetna with his questions, she delves into the past, citing the story of her ancestors as an answer to the tricky questions raised. The story teller wields certain powers and privileges; they sometimes withhold or alter the ending of the stories to their benefits. Chetna hides parts of the stories many times during the interview. These omissions, additions and interpolations are very political; they reveal the patriarchal

nation's choices, preferences and priorities. Chetna Mullick stands over the graveyard of obliterated and forcefully obliviated female experiences, representing the Indian feminine self. Her ascend to limelight and nation-wide acclaim is therefore, every Indian woman's ascension to power.

The glorification of the male tradition is very evident in the text, while the absence of a female tradition is equally obvious. Chetna picks up the rope to hang Banariee and feels scared "but felt proud as I thought that this rope was passed down the hands of my Baba, Dadu and his Dadu" (Aarachaar 124). Also questions on the necessity of hanging and the justice involved in it are problematized by the novel. The interviewer in *The Hangwoman's Diary* asks, "is not hanging to death the state's denial of a human being's right to live? By carrying out the hanging, Chetna, aren't you also being a part of the state's agenda?" (131-132). Chetna's response echoes the responses of all her forefathers, that the executioner is mere tools in the hands of the state. It is the state that concludes upon the crime, the victim and the perpetrator and passes the final verdict; the executioner merely executes the act, so that justice prevails. Chetna clearly explicates the politics of hanging. She says, "I can kill anyone with the noose made out of my dupatta. But it is not expected by the citizens from a responsible government. When the government decides to hang a criminal, it should be executed foolproof. Therefore, the government-appointed hangman/woman can't hang the criminal the way a hitman does" (173). Chetna insists that India is a democratic nation and "Sanjubabu, the government elected by the people get to decide how the citizens should live and die" (175).

When the stories of Chetna's male ancestors were marked in golden ink, the women in their lives were forgotten. When Thaku Ma told Chetna the story of Udayamitra Mullick who became a monk, saddened by the elopement and death of his wife, Chetna responds with the question "what about the women? Were they

never sad?" to which Thaku Ma replied, "women can hold back grief" (Aarachaar 139-140). When Chetna asks her whether Dadu loved her, Thaku Ma said, "man's love and woman's love differ. A man can only love a woman who pleasures him; woman can love even a man who hurts her" (140). Chetna's confusion about her feelings for Sanjiv Kumar Mitra springs from her inability to say 'no'. "I longed to utter a no, but no words came out. My heart desired him, even when he hurt me" (142). The executioner-executed motif is extended to the love-hate relation Chetna Mullick and Sanjiv Mitra share between them. When Chetna has the upper hand in the studio room, she feels powerful like the executioner and longs to tighten the noose around his neck. While he behaves playfully and expresses his love, she melts and the love frozen inside her starts flowing and then she exchanges roles with him, becoming the executed, with the noose tight around her neck, precisely between the third and fourth vertebrae. At a point where Sanjiv Mitra abuses Chetna in her own house for lowering the TRP of his channel, she fiercely answers him back and runs inside, hiding her tears. She expects her Ma or Kaki Ma to console her, but they were busy consoling Sanjiv Mitra. Chetna painfully realizes that a man's tears are priceless in comparison to the trivial tears of a woman. Phanibhushan Mullick praises his daughter, but the very moment she answers back to him, he asks her to shut her mouth because women are not supposed to raise their voices inside his family. The women in the novel are trapped in a suffocating male world.

The victimization and objectification of women are very evident when Sanjiv Kumar Mitra brings in Kokila Banarjee, the wife of the sentenced-to-death Jathindranath Banarjee alongside Chetna, his executioner. The tears of the former and the resoluteness of the latter become the channel's bait for rating. Chetna shivers in the presence of Kokila. Mitra asks the most insensitive question that can only spring from internalized patriarchy - "Kokila Di, have you given a thought about

your kumkum bindi that simply has a life of ten more days?"(Aarachaar 153). Mitra later brings Pratima Ghosh, the mother of Ramesh Chanderghosh, the last hanged culprit. Surprisingly, Pratima endorses hanging, deeming it better to hang the poor than torture them in jails. Mitra tries his best to evoke tears from her but fails. Her response is not the ideal feminine response expected from a mother who lost her son. Chetna's is not the only role that challenges the gender stereotype; various women in different walks of life question the stereotypes through their mundane lives. When Mitra tries to molest Chetna inside the match box-sized house of Pratima Ghosh, she slaps him. The noose that was tied tight between the third and fourth vertebrae of Mitra's neck bore witness to an unusual female sisterhood between the mother of the hanged and the daughter of his hangman.

The twenty second chapter abounds with references to Pingalakeshini, the only hangwoman in the Mullick family before Chetna. She had to suffer physical violence at the hands of many men and as revenge, she killed all nine children born from her womb using their umbilical cord as the noose - again an antithesis to the maternal stereotype. After the conquest of Balban, Pingalakeshini demanded him the job of the executioner to execute her violators. Sanjiv Mitra asks Chetna why did Pingalakeshini opt to be an executioner when she could have wreaked vengeance on the violators even otherwise. Chetna replys "all that I can say is that the wrath of some women does not end by simply killing a man" (220). What Chetna did not tell Mitra was the fact that Pingalakeshini hung Thumkhan khan seven hundred and twenty seven times. However, her story is unrecorded in history, which celebrates Chetna as India's first ever hangwoman. When Ramu Da tells Chetna that she now has a place in history, Chetna says "I am scared of History". He replies, "All women are". Chetna finds it to be slightly faulty: "it is not women who are afraid of history. It is history who is afraid of the women. This is why very few women find place in

history" (237). Even when the world looks up to Chetna, her world merely revolves around two men – her Baba Phanibhushan Mullick, whom she is afraid to defy and Sanjiv Mitra whom she is afraid to love or hate. Chetna's body is the embodiment of Indian womanhood, yet that body is regulated by men. She sometimes resists and mostly succumbs to the masculine power.

The masculine state that overpowers the feminine presence is evident in Meera's *Aarachaar*, though not explicitly; it functions in the most subterranean fashion within the novel, in the form of the figure of the executioner, who functions for the state. Chetna, who is appointed as the first hangwoman in India and performs a task that makes even men shiver, fails to resist the powerful patriarchal presence in the form of the state. It is also very evident that women, especially, Thaku Ma and Kaki Ma are carriers of patriarchy who fears that the world will stop when women laugh loud or tread hard. Meera realistically portrays the plight of women inside an essentially male nation in the novel *Aarachaar*.

The Malayalam novelist T. D. Ramakrishnan (1961-) is the author of popular novels like *Alpha*, *Francis Itty Cora*, *Sugandhi enna Andaal Devanayaki*, *Mama Africa* etc. *Francis Itty Cora* was much acclaimed for its novel blend of local history, fiction and mystery. Ramakrishnan is adept at translation and has translated Tamil literary works into Malayalam. He is the recipient of the Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award in 2016 and Vayalar Award in 2017 for *Sugandhi enna Andaal Devanayaki*. The novel was published in 2014 and fused politics with the mysterious myth of Devanayaki. It unveils the inhuman political realities in Srilanka and the masculine, fascist and undemocratic nature of organizations like the LTTE that spearheaded the Tamil liberation movements in Srilanka. It was a totalitarian organization that was violent even towards its own members and the politics put forward by the novel explicitly underlines the patriarchy that underlies such

liberation organizations and the historical injustice perpetrated on women by the nation. The novel was translated into English by Priya. K. Nair under the title *Sugandhi Alias Andaal Devanayaki* in 2018.

T.D. Ramakrishnan writes in his introductory note that his motivation to write the novel was the indifference of the Keralites toward the internal discord in Srilanka that spanned over fifteen years and the refugee crisis it caused, in spite of Kerala's proximity to Srilanka in comparison to the Metropolitan cities of India. The plot starts with the arrival of Peter Jeevanandam to shoot a movie on Rajini Thiranagama, a human rights activist killed by the LTTE. A doctor by profession, Rajini once affiliated herself to LTTE, offering them medical help, recouping the injured liberation tigers back to life. However, on realizing the misogyny embedded in the very ideology of the LTTE and its violent ways with women as well as the futility of armed struggle, she backed off and severed links with the militant organization, resulting in her eventual assassination by the LTTE. Peter is well backed by the Srilankan government in his mission. But his undercover aim is the quest for Sugandhi, an LTTE member and his beloved. However, Peter gets mysteriously involved in a ploy to kill the President and the plot thickens. The present political reality of Srilanka, history, facts, myths and fiction are ingeniously fused by T.D. Ramakrishnan in the narrative to portray an obvious, yet not so wellacknowledged fact that violence, particularly against women is inherent to nation as well as revolution. The novel skillfully maneuvers an amalgamation of the historical, the mythological, the metaphysical and the real and is clearly postmodern in its style and technique. The novel is dedicated to the assassinated Srilankan human rights activist Rajani Thiranagama.

Meena. T. Pillai observes that "a deep suspicion for the grand narratives of history" underlies the novel *Sugandhi enna Andaal Devanaayaki* and it "complicates

the fine line between popular fiction and highbrow literature" (*Mixing* np). Peter Jeevanandam visits Srilanka at a critical point in the Srilankan history when the Rajapaksa government that assumed power following the quashing of the liberation movements started losing its initial global approval due to its autocratic inclinations and fascist tendencies. Peter receives all the support from the government for what is professed to be a film that justifies the government's retaliations upon the Eezham; the film is supposedly titled *Woman Behind the Fall of Tigers*. The film makers including Peter stay at the DP, a centre for the cruel persecution of the liberation tigers, particularly women. When Peter's quest for Sugandhi meets the myth of Devanayaki published online, the realistic plot merges with that of fantasy.

Devanayaki lived in a province called Kanthalloor and becomes the eighth queen of the Chola Emperor Mahindravarman. Her consummation with him and the marriage did not necessitate her consent at all. The only drawback Devanayaki was told to possess was her disregard to authority, which was deemed as a hitch as far as a woman was concerned (Sugandhi 35-40)². All the queens of Kanthalloor were required to wear an Arathali, a kind of chastity lock made of gold with the seal of the Kanthalloor Empire. The Arathali is locked by a Garbhasoothram that the queens can't open by themselves. The King alone has the key to the Garbhasoothram which he will unlock only for copulation (42). The Arathali and Garbhasoothram together act as a mighty fortress, guarding the queen from invasive lechers. With the siege of Kanthalloor and the capture and slaying of Mahindravarman, Devanayaki was brutally raped by the conquerer Mahinda and his army in one of the many versions of the Devanayaki myth. She seeks revenge upon Mahinda who ordered the sexual violation and brutal murder of her three year old daughter Kooveni and reaches Anuradhapura from where she is captured and

-

² All quotations from *Sugandhi* are translated by the researcher.

subjected to brutal violence by Mahinda. The Chola army who followed Devanayaki burned Anuradhapura down to ashes and she rises into the air and disappears with a promise that she will rush to those places where women's tears fall and burn the city down; the novel posits that a Devanayaki rebelling against injustice resides in each woman rebelling against patriarchy and hopes for her reincarnation to avenge the exploitation of women.

At a critical instance in the novel, Devanayaki says, "I had mastered Kautilya's Arthashastra and other treatises on politics and diplomacy ... Nowhere in any of them could I find the advice to kill the innocent people or rape and impregnate women. But the Chola and Sinhala army had always perpetrated these violences" (Sugandhi 212). The image of Devanayaki that can be derived from the novel is a perfect blend of masculinity and femininity; she is equally skilled in sexually appeasing a man which is an impeccable feminine virtue as well as engaging in diplomacy, strategy design, statecraft and even warfare that are typically deemed masculine. The Devanayaki myth slowly gave rise to a covert Goddess cult in Srilanka. It is believed that the hunters of Elahagala village had the privilege of witnessing an incarnation of Devanayaki as a revenge Goddess. The hunter tribe worshipped this version of Devanayaki as their Goddess and initiated a rite of 'Deivakkolam' to protect the nation and the tribe from the Sinhalas. Being an anti-Sinhala ritual, the 'Deivakkolam' did not become part of the dominant Srilankan culture, in spite of its mythological significance. This is an example to how the state owns its women, the rituals concerning women and regulates the female deification (Sugandhi 214).

The Devanayaki myth is strategically incorporated into the narrative by T.D.Ramakrishnan to narrow down the differences between Sugandhi and Devanayaki, thereby unveiling the misogyny rampant in any system of governance,

including democracy. At the DP, the command of the officer Wickrama Ranthunga is to "first rape, then question" (Sugandhi 238). When Poomani Selvanayakam was brought to the 'Lion' to be raped and impregnated with a Sinhala baby as a punishment for her activism, he asks her, "isn't this your first time?" to which she replies "no, you are the fourth man I slept with". This reply shocks him because he believed the greatest punishment for a woman is depriving her of her virginity (105). The captured Eezham fighter Sugandhi was raped consecutively for three days and was presented to reputed men as a gift; the nation's victory over the liberation tigers was celebrated upon her body by the aristocratic men. Her arms were amputated and her face was marred with acid by the Srilankan army; yet her indomitable spirit is unwilling to surrender and wages a war against the President and the government from outside Srilanka. She was offered freedom if she spoke to the media against Veluppilla Prabhakaran and the Iyakkam, which she refused out right. In a second chance, she accepted the offer but spoke her heart out at the press conference (248-253). Over the years, things never changed for the women; from the yester year queen forced to wear a chastity belt that can be unlocked only by the man who owns her, invisible chastity belts are forced upon contemporary women as well, which the novel successfully conveys. Rape has always been employed as a tool to tame wayward women (political activism is deemed as a kind of waywardness); social conditions have not bettered since the time of Devanayaki that Sugandhi and the fellow contemporary women have to undergo similar sexual violence imposed upon them. The fight against authoritarianism and patriarchy is therefore a never ending saga as the novel rightfully projects.

When detained for militancy or unwanted political indulgences or ailments like feminism and human rights, pregnancy is the first punishment given to women in the DP because the men in the army (representatives of the nation itself) believe

rape and impregnation to be the worst penalty that can be inflicted upon women. The cartoon which appears in Meenakshi Rajarathinam's facebook page – that of a half-naked woman named Srilanka, brutally raped and a triumphant President in his military uniform with one of his legs on her chest is indicative of the government's role in perpetrating violence against the women of the nation. The cartoon is titled 'Don't you feel ashamed?' (*Sugandhi* 201). The novel also discusses the political reality of Srilanka which is ruled by a President who is -

The most strategic autocrat of the entire world, hiding his fascist teeth and nails behind his white dress and an even whiter smile... He subdues all sounds of discontent and protest. Freedom of expression and freedom of the press are completely banned... He is the world's greatest war criminal. He cannot wash his hands off the crime of killing around seventy five thousand lives in the state's warfare against the Eezham...The fight was between two fascist forces- the state and the Eezham. The victory of the state was merely the victory of the more powerful fascist over the less powerful fascist. (231-233)

Both the fascist forces – the state and the Eezham – were violent towards women. The organization called Srilankan War Widows no longer consists of the widows of martyred soldiers alone, but also the widows of the liberation tigers and other militants as well as widows of the civilians. It is approximately estimated that there are about one lakh war widows in Srilanka (242). In his investigation, Peter is told that "almost all women activists of Srilanka would have been raped at least once" (258). The graphic detailing of the physical torture of Arulmozhi Nangai and Yamuna at the DP become the testimonies for how the male nation unmakes its women, physically and psychologically. Sugandhi deems herself as the present day Devanayaki; if Mahinda chopped off Devanayaki's breasts, the Srilankan army

chopped off Sugandhi's arms and marred her face with acid. Only times change; the men don't and the suffering of women never ends. The novel conveys without doubt that patriarchy and misogyny are part of most exercises of power and women are victimized everywhere alike.

Rana Ayyub's Gujarat Files: Anatomy of a Cover Up (2016) and the controversy surrounding it reveal the fascist, majoritarian and patriarchal nature of the Indian nation. The book is a product of her investigative journalistic career at Tehelka and the sting operation she carried out to unveil the hidden side of the Gujarat riots of 2002. Being a very vocal critic of the RSS and the involvement of the state in the Gujarat riots, Ayyub disguised as Mythili Tyagi, an American film maker with pro-RSS leanings and established connections with credible sources, most of which include police officers, diplomats and right wing empathizers. The disguise even enabled her to interview Narendra Modi, the then Chief Minister of Gujarat as well as Maya Kodnani, the BJP minister who was later charged for the Naroda Patya Massacre. Her investigative findings were presented as a report to Tehelka, which they rejected. The findings were later processed into the book Gujarat Files: Anatomy of a Cover Up, which Ramachandra Guha hailed as "brave" (Divide np). The book sold quite well but faced a lot of criticism, political opposition and controversy. Ayyub's undercover investigation was recognized globally and she was awarded the 'Most resilient Global Journalist Award' for her brave resistance against forces that tried to stifle her investigative spirit and her daring voice.

The book is a journalistic testimony to how the state, with its politicians and bureaucracy work in tandem with the extremist groups to create anarchy and reap political benefits out of it. The checks and balances system that acts as the spine of democracy failed in Gujarat with the state's unlimited exercise of power. What goes

without saying is the obvious fact that women remain the most affected in all the riots and unrest. With the state initiating and encouraging law breaking and violence, contempt for law and order develops in the civilians, depriving them of the fear of punishment, accentuating the aggression, promoting lawlessness and jeopardizing communal harmony as well as democracy. The book contains incriminating evidence to accuse the then Gujarat government, if not for initiating the violence, then for its choice not to contain it on time. The book also problematizes the politics of extra-judicial killings, euphemistically known in common parlance as encounter killings. There were a number of high profile encounter killings that followed the riots, including that of Ishrat Jahan, Kausar Bi, Sohrabuddin Sheikh etc.

While there are differences of opinion, even among the journalists regarding the ethical concerns behind undercover spying, secret recording and sting journalism in general, there is no contention about the fashion in which the book shed light on a tumultuous time in the recent past that the nation is in a hustle to erase from the national memory. The analysis of this book is carried out by the researcher with an iota of caution and skepticism since the evidences presented in the book are not 'officially' verified and declared credible. As the Foreword to the book by Justice B.N Srikrishna observes, "as to whether the material presented in this book represents facts or mere perspective vision of the events is for the reader to judge...It is for the state apparatus enforcing the rule of law and the constitutional machinery as its sentinel to objectively assess the trustworthiness of the facts narrated" (Gujarat 5).

Ayyub begins the book narrating her impulse behind going public with the findings of her investigation. She begins with a recounting of her first ever assignment – to cover the Gujarat elections. It was during this assignment that she

first met "Narendra Modi and his Man Friday Amit Shah" (*Gujarat* 12). She recounts the provocative speech in which Modi repeatedly asked what should he do with a terrorist like Sohrabuddin to which the mob screamed their reply, "Kill him" (12). Right at the onset of the book, she cites examples from the past how politically provocative speeches trigger violent responses from the masses. She cites various examples of prosecution of honest police officers in Gujarat for not aligning with the state's agenda. In the sting operation, Ayyub almost effortlessly gains access to the upper echelons due to her pretense as a film maker. Her meeting with Maya Kodnani in her gynecology clinic in Naroda and later in her home was highly productive. She was filled with hatred for the Muslims but equally evident was her disdain for the Chief Minister, who she believed trapped her in the case, making a scapegoat out of her (166-167).

Ayyub gets to visit Girish Singhal, the head of The Gujarat ATS who was accused of branding petty criminals as terrorists and killing them in fake encounters. Singhal was particularly accused of the encounter killing of the nineteen year old Ishrat Jahan; he later confessed to the CBI of his role in the staged killing as well as the complicity of many state government officials in it. Ayyub observes a pattern in the encounter killings in Gujarat – a cynical, false propaganda that those killed in the fake encounters were Islamist terrorists on a mission to kill the Chief Minister of Gujarat and his Hindutva firebrand cronies was circulated among the public. "In the communally polarized aftermath of Gujarat 2002, such false propaganda was like a match to tinder" (39). She notices that the branding of Muslims as terrorists and killing them in fake encounters resulted in a generalization that held the entire Muslim population accountable for the anti-national activities as well as the consolidation of the pro-government sentiments in Gujarat.

Singhal in a conversation with the disguised Ayyub says, "if somebody comes to us with a complaint and we satisfy the complainant, we upset the government and if we please the government, we upset the complainant. The police is caught in between", revealing the helplessness of the executives when the state has a set communal agenda. He also reveals that most of the police officers employed for extra-judicial killing are from the lower castes and are "used and abandoned" by the political system (Gujarat 47). Referring to the Gujarat Home Minister of the time, officer Raigar says, "in a democracy, if a person becomes too big, it can be detrimental... He controls transfers, postings and promotions. If somebody does not do his job, he is sent to a side posting and nobody wants to be sent to a side posting" (120). Girish Singhal indicates that those in the upper political echelons remain unscathed in the investigations on the encounter killings because they operate discretely. Tehelka published the testimony of the Gujarat cadre IPS officer Sanjiv Bhatt that in a meeting of police officers and bureaucrats, the then Gujarat Chief Minister gave them a free hand to kill the Muslims in the riots of 2002 (Gujarat 83). Many of the officers present in this alleged meeting had developed amnesia by the time they were cross-examined by the Nanavati Commission (84). In 2015, Bhatt was terminated from service and even had to serve long terms in prison. Most of the senior police officers that Ayyub met expressed their disillusionment at ways in which their powers were restricted by the state and guilt about their passivity at a time that necessitated urgent action (119). With the state assuming a totalitarian nature, the executives and the civilians are both jeopardized, though differently. As revealed by the officers, the unholy politicianspolice nexus was not entirely consensual.

The book cites from the communally rousing speeches by Pravin Togadia and the likes of him, stirring people to more violence after the Godhra incident. At a gathering, Togadia said, "Ramayana is relevant to the Godhra incident. At 7:45 am, the burnt S6 coach was Hanumanji's tail set on fire... Who burnt the tail of Hanuman? Ravan burnt it. Hanumanji had gone for a walk. We hear Hanumanji had come to Godhra...and didn't want to go back" (*Gujarat* 93). Clearly drawing the comparison of Muslims to the clan of Asuras, such speeches served as clarion calls for violence, instigating the mob to action. Ayyub narrates meeting Gita Johri, Gujarat's first woman IPS officer who investigated the encounter of Sohrabuddin and his wife Kausar Bi, concluding them to be fake encounters, exposing the conniving police officers, resulting in the arrests of senior police officers. But Gita's findings and report were spurned by the court (*Gujarat* 175-176). In a patriarchal state, a woman declaring its most powerful men to be corrupt criminals was unacceptable. Taking the reader through the course of the murder of Gujarat's most loved Home Minister Haren Pandya, the brave fight put up against the state by his wife Jagruti Ben and the investigation that ensued, Ayyub discusses how the nation regulates its women and lays their boundaries.

Gujarat Files is a testimony of how civilian as well as bureaucratic lives get affected by the fascist nature that the state assumes. Though not explicitly discussed, the plight of the women lies at the core of the book as women are always at the receiving end of all the patriarchal, fascist actions of the state. Interesting to note are the responses Rana Ayyub received for the book apart from praises which include rape threats, murder threats, threats involving an alleged sex tape of hers etc. The feminine self of the author suddenly becomes the target and she gets degraded from being a journalist of repute to being a Muslim journalist or a female journalist. In spite of deeming Ayyub's findings to be prima facie revelatory, the researcher, like the reading public in general, retains certain reservations about the book since the

validations of the claims made in the book are not appended or available in the public domain for analysis.

Arundhati Roy (1961 -), the Booker prize winning novelist with her semiautobiographical magnum opus The God of Small Things (1997), is a political activist for human and environmental rights. She is a vehement critic of the RSS and the Modi government and is adept in writing political non-fiction, mostly about social causes. She is highly critical of the transition of Indian democracy into fascism, resulting in bureaucratic corruption, gullible judiciary, misuse of power, insurgency, cooked up cases and fake encounters. She is critical of the Indian policies of nuclear armament, the implementation of the AFSPA in the North East, the unsatisfactory investigations on the Parliament attack, the earnestness to hang Afsal Guru, the government's policies to quell Naxalite-Maoist insurgency, the CAA-NRC etc. In 2017, Roy published her second novel The Ministry of Utmost Happiness that knits together the dark times of Indian history and narrates the story of different people traversing them. The Indian land reform, the Bhopal gas tragedy, Gujarat riots of 2002 and the Kashmir liberation struggle figure in the novel as critical milestones in Indian history. Of the multiple texts analyzed in this chapter, Roy's plot alone involves a Hijra, belonging to the Muslim minority, through whose eyes the Hindu majoritarian male nation can be studied distinctly from the previous analyses.

The novel *The Ministry of Utmost Happiness* has two main story lines – one about Aftab turned Anjum, a transperson struggling for livelihood in Delhi and the other about Tilo, an architect and activist and the three men who fall in love with her. The book describes itself as a 'shattered story' and Roy juxtaposes binaries to drive her point home, the same way she did with the touchable/untouchable binary in *The God of Small Things*. The plot begins and ends in a graveyard and the cover

page too is structured like a tombstone with a flower rotting on it. The novel is dedicated 'to the unconsoled', clearly emitting a mood of death. The historical events discussed in the novel point to a slow death of the Indian democracy. The novel therefore, speaks more than what it actually seems to. In spite of being fiction, the novel appears like a companion piece or a furtherance of Roy's political non-fiction and reveals what the activist in Roy deems as the fault lines of the Indian democracy. The characters of the novel – Muslims, queer persons, orphans etc. are all the casualties of the Indian national project and the novel becomes a celebration of their lives – the lives of those who are out of the elitist male nation.

The novel is narrated non-chronologically. Anjum who was born as intersex was gendered by his mother Jahanara as a male and named as Aftab but growing up, he got bullied and ridiculed for his effeminacy. After having three girls, Jahanara and her husband Mulaqat longed to have a boy, indicative of the prospects a boy is expected to bring to the family and the privileges a boy enjoys over the girls. However, born with "a small unformed, but undoubtedly girl part", Aftab who fails in confining to the gender binary shatters Jahanara (*Ministry* 7). When his father Mulaqat discovers about his queerness, he encourages the masculinity in him by telling stories of the virility of his Mongol ancestors. However, Aftab harboured a love for the feminine in him and follows a beautiful Hijra one day to reach Khwabgah. At the age of fifteen, he relocates himself completely to the Khwabgah, a 'home of dreams' whose residents are mostly Hijras. He transforms from Aftab to Anjum through a gender transition surgery and transforms into a beautiful Hijra. A fellow resident in Khwabgah named Nimmo speaks about the identity crisis and the sense of non-belonging and says,

What makes normal people unhappy? Price-rise, children's school admissions, husbands' beatings, wives' cheatings, Hindu-Muslim

riots, Indo-Pak war —outside things that settle down eventually. But for us the price-rise and school admissions and beating husbands and cheating wives are all inside us. The riot is inside us. The war is inside us, Indo-Pak is inside us. It will never settle down. It can't. (*Ministry* 23)

Finding an abandoned baby by the masjid, Anjum takes her home and names her Zainab and raises her. She raises her and tells her stories from her own life – instances such as when she had been forced to pee from fear when the police threatened her and her Hijra friends up on a flyover during the national Emergency (33-35). A bout of malaria troubles Zainab and Anjum sets out on a pilgrimage to holy site in Gujarat with Zakir Mian but are caught in a political turmoil (later known as the Gujarat riots), killing Zakir Mian; Anjum however, is spared because Hijras are said to bring ill fate. Anjum returns after witnessing the violence the masculine nation is capable of perpetrating upon women that she dresses Zainab as a boy to safeguard her. When the head of Khwabgah, Ustad Kulsum Bi disagrees with this decision of Anjum, she leaves Khwabgah where she had lived for thirty years to settle in the graveyard in which the plot opens.

Anjum slowly builds a life around the grave of her ancestors and is soon joined by Saddam Hussain, an unemployed Dalit who seeks to murder the police officer who killed his father. Soon, Anjum's home grows and flourishes into the Jannat Guest house. Parallel to this storyline is the plot of Tilo who is in love with a Kashmiri architect Musa. She is also loved by Biplab and Naga, her co-actors in a college play. Tilo's absconding, her eventual marriage and separation with Naga, her brief stay at Biplab's apartment etc. drive the plot forward. An anti-corruption protest and hunger strike is launched at Jantar Mantar by a Gandhian. An abandoned baby is spotted whom Anjum wants to take home but the fellow protesters want to

inform the police. Amidst the debate, the baby is taken by Tilo and she names her Miss Jebeen the Second, named after Musa's daughter who was massacred along with her mother in Kashmir. Tilo recalls her life in Kashmir, attempting to document the Kashmir conflict. The army under the captaincy of Major Amrik Singh kills Musa's dear friend Gulrez and Tilo pledges revenge. Her kidnapping of the baby is in honor of Musa's lost family but with the police on her trail, her friend Azad Bharatiya suggests her to try Jannat Guest House where she settles happily and starts working as a teacher. Jannat Guest House flourishes into a happy place that welcomes the society's outcastes.

For most parts, the novel is set in the national capital of Delhi and employs the city as a representation of the entirety of India. The plot occasionally shifts to Gujarat, Kashmir etc. which are turmoil-struck hotspots in India. When the novel opens, even the vultures of Delhi are dying from poisoning; the death of the scavengers presents an image of total destruction, indicating the danger the capital city poses, even for animals. It is in this dangerous scenario that Anjum "lived in the graveyard like a tree. At dawn, she saw the crows off and welcomed the bats home. At dusk she did the opposite. Between shifts, she conferred with the ghosts of vultures that loomed in her high branches" (Ministry 3). The graveyard behind the government hospital becomes an indirect criticism of the healthcare system in the nation that devalues human lives. The novel becomes a testimony of the othering and destitution of the sexual minorities in the male nation when Anjum is asked by Ziauddin "tell me, you people, when you die, where do they bury you? Who bathes the bodies? Who says the Prayers?" to which Anjum replies, "where do old birds go to die? Do they fall on us like stones from the sky? Do we stumble on their bodies in the streets? Do you not think that the all-seeing Almighty on this earth has made proper arrangements to take us away?" (5).

While detailing the thirty odd years Anjum spent in Khwabgah, Roy addresses events of national and international political significance such as the national Emergency declared in 1975 and the airline attack in New York that initiated a spree of Islamophobia, resulting in a global persecution of the Muslims. Roy also refers to how the Right wing Hindu faction in India benefitted out of this global scenario, establishing beyond doubt that India has been and should be a Hindu-exclusive nation (*Ministry* 41). The Godhra train burning happens when Anjum is in Gujarat that the television in Khwabgah is perpetually switched on out of terror. There is no news about her for two months and once she returns, the first thing she teaches Zainab is the Gayatri Mantra she learned in the male refugee camp in Ahmedabad, which she believed would help Zainab survive in the alarmingly Hindu India. Anjum chops off Zainab's hair and dresses her in men's clothing, as the Gujarat riots taught her the reality that India is a nation unsafe for women; survival is largely easy for the Hindu male. Kulsoom Bi disapproves of this since the primary principle that governs Khwabgah is *Mansoori* or 'consent'. But Anjum who had seen the reality of communal violence and the sexual atrocities that accompany it knew for real that if there is something that never mattered in the Indian nation, it was one's 'consent'.

Even in the graveyard, Anjum is not spared of the haunting memories of the catastrophe that transpired in Gujarat, where the "saffron parakeets with steel talons and bloodied beaks...with their wrists wielding iron rods that bludgeoned people to death, festooned with red puja threads lovingly tied by adoring mothers" wreaked havoc, shrieking "Mussalman ka ek hi sthaan! Qabristan ya Pakistan" (*Ministry* 62). She was exempted from murder because of being a Hijra but was forced to reiterate Hindu hyper-national slogans. As time passes, Anjum moves on and her shack is modified into an actual house and with more people –the destitute and orphans, the

expelled Hijras and the surpluses – coming in, the house is expanded into the Jannat guest house, meaning 'paradise'. On the day of Eid, Anjum dresses as a man, to assume the role of the man of the house. This is a clear indication of the gendered nature of Indian society that believes a household to be complete and perfect only with a man to preside over it. The patriarchal family set up in which power is centered at the top and seldom drips downward is seen as the ideal family model.

From the television in the Jannat Guest House that is left perpetually switched on, Anjum learns that in spite of the puppet government that rules the nation, the Hindu forces gain power in the nation and "Gujarat ka Lalla" is on his way to the nation's upper echelon (Ministry 63). Saddam Hussain who was originally named Dayachand was a Chamar and dealt with cattle carcasses which the elite Hindus deemed untouchable. He recalls how his father was murdered for cow slaughter and how the elite Hindu crowd "splashed through puddles of his father's blood as if it were rainwater" (89). The touchable/untouchable binary returns with the cow's blood being untouchable for the caste Hindus but human blood is. The novel indirectly discusses the transition that the Indian nation is undergoing by growing more Hindu and more masculine. The poor dwellings in the city of Delhi get evicted, the city's slums are purified of its low caste residents, and the government turns authoritarian, issuing commands and meeting disobedience with violence. Many people refuse to budge and tell that the government can kill them but unfortunately for the government, "there are too many of them to be killed outright" (98). Roy's criticism of the Modi regime is at its pungent best in the novel.

Sitting adjacent to the fasting Gandhian are victims of the Union Carbide disaster on a strike, Manipuri nationalists demanding repeal of the AFSPA and the Association of the mothers of the disappeared from Kashmir but they lack the allure to receive public support and media attention. However, Dr. Azad Bharatiya,

relentlessly dedicated to his cause and is on a hunger strike for twelve years, becomes a symbol of hope and endurance amidst all pervading darkness. Roy observes the "saffron tide of Hindu nationalism rises in our country like the swastika once did in another" (*Ministry* 165). When the cries for the liberation of Kashmir deepen and Azadi slogans gain momentum, Biplab observes that no two Kashmiris define the term Azadi alike. The novel abounds with stories of fake encounters by the Indian army, particularly of the innocent Kashmiris, branding them as Pakistani and Afghan terrorists. Among Tilo's documents, Biplab finds a Kashmiri-English Alphabet, associating all the twenty six letters of the English alphabet with the words commonly used in Kashmir. "A is for Azadi, America, Afghan, Ammunition...F is for funerals...H is for HRV (human rights violations), Halfwidows, and Half-orphans. I is for interrogation... N is for NGO and NTR (Nothing To Report...Q is for Quran/Questioning...Z is for Zulm (oppression)" (208-210). The communal fault lines are triggered at the slightest provocation in a nation like India that is communally polarized.

One of Tilo's books titled *The Reader's Digest Book of English Grammar* and Comprehension for Very Young Children reads, "In Kashmir when we wake up and say 'Good Morning' what we really mean is 'Good Mourning'" (*Ministry* 279). Tilo's first visit to Kashmir was a visual pleasure; the season and the land's fertility surprised her. Alongside the smell of ripe apples and pears was the smell of dread, numbing human bodies.

As the noisy, rattling bus with its still, silent passengers drove deeper into the Valley the tension grew more tangible. Every fifty metres, on either side of the road, there was a heavily armed soldier, alert and dangerously tense. There were soldiers in the fields, deep inside orchards, on bridges and culverts, in shops and marketplaces, on rooftops...whatever people might be doing – walking, praying, bathing, cracking jokes, shelling walnuts, making love or taking a bus-ride home – they were in the rifle-sights of a soldier. And because they were in the rifle-sights of a soldier, whatever they might be doing – walking, praying, bathing, cracking jokes, shelling walnuts, making love or taking a bus-ride home – they were a legitimate target. (*Ministry* 347)

The martyr's graveyard in Kashmir's entrance reads "we gave our todays for your tomorrows" and the cemetery is filling up quite fast with "tombstones growing out of the ground like young children's teeth" (310-314). The people of Kashmir are so used to army trucks and gunfire that when Gulrez's rooster Sultan is killed by the army dogs, he scolds the dead rooster "If you didn't know how to live with the military, why did you come into this world?" (356). Lamenting the plight of Indian women in general and women in Delhi and Kashmir in particular, Tilo sadly says, "nothing in the city belongs to the women: not a tiny plot of land, not a hovel in a slum, not a tin sheet over their heads" (301).

After joined by Tilo and Miss Jebeen the Second, the television at the Jannat Guest house informs its residents that with the country being ruled by Gujarat ka Lalla, the Hindu fundamentalists "infiltrated university campuses and courtrooms", thus offering a peep into the contemporary Indian political reality (*Ministry* 401). When Nimmo warns Anjum of rearing cows in the present political scenario, Saddam Hussain who was previously a victim of cow vigilantism replies, "the only way you can be careful with these bastards is by ceasing to exist" (402). Anjum suggests they give Saddam Hussain's father who was hacked to death a proper funeral, for which they buy a new shirt and bury it ceremoniously in their graveyard

while Zainab recited the Gayatri Mantra Anjum taught her as a child in honor of her Muslim father-in-law whom she had never seen. This rare moment of communal harmony is elevated to the next level when Tilo takes out the ashes of her mother Mariyam Ipe who was a strict Syrian Christian and buries it along with the Muslim man, reciting a passage from Shakespeare instead of the Christian prayer (413).

A few days later, Dr. Azad Bhartiya comes to the Jannat Guest House with a letter in hand, from a woman named Revathy, who once abandoned the baby Miss Jebeen at Jantar Mantar. Revathy describes herself as a person who grew in affinity to the Communist party and she associated herself with the Maoist movement, only to be marked by the police as a wanted criminal. She was caught and brutally raped by the police. The letter reads,

It was a classroom. There was a blackboard but no furniture. It was a government school. All schools inside the forests are police camps...I was naked. There was six police around me. One was cutting my skin with a knife-blade. If I closed my eyes they slap me. Two are holding my hands and two are holding legs... They are smoking and putting their cigarettes on me. 'You people shout a lot! Shout now and see what happens!' I thought they would kill me... but they said...we will let you go. You must go and tell them what we did to you...You are spoiling everyone. Now you go and marry someone. Settle down quietly. But first we will give you some marriage experience.' They kept on burning me and cutting me. ...'Why don't you scream? Your great leaders will come and save you. You people don't scream?' Then one man forced open my mouth and one man put his penis in my mouth...Then all raped me many times. One is Udaya's father. Which, how can I say? I was unconscious. (422-423)

She escaped from captivity but realized that she was pregnant. She named the baby Udaya and abandoned her at Jantar Mantar. The letter clearly said that Revathy would be dead by the time the letter reaches the right hands. So Anjum insists on giving a befitting farewell to Revathy as well, and wrapped Revathy's letter in a red flag and buries it with respect. After the funeral, Miss Jebeen came to be called Miss Udaya Jebeen. The story serves as a reminder to how one's choice of ideology endangers one's very life in a masculine, right wing nation and how the nation's unjust treatment and violation of a woman affect a number of lives years later. The novel is a testimony to the final epitaph that Tilo chooses: "How to tell a shattered story? By slowly becoming everybody. No. By slowly becoming everything" (436).

Gender identity, caste, different definitions of the nation that complement or contrast each other, the nation wielding power over the citizens, the nation perpetrating violence on its people, particularly its women, the Hindutva politics and its totalitarian, misogynist outlook etc. feature in the novel in a haphazard fashion. The haphazardness of the novel is a thematic trope employed by Roy to tell a fragmented story about scattered lives in a crumbling nation. Anjum, who believes she is born to be a mother and becomes the mother of the adopted, the orphans, the destitute and even the uncared animals challenge the conventional definitions of motherhood. She is not a biological mother but is a better mother than many biological ones. She exhibits a rare human kindness that the nation has grown to lack. The novel thus becomes a polyphonic protest by the author on behalf of the multiple characters that are alienated, ostracized, forcefully silenced, or strategically unheard.

This chapter employs textual analysis as a methodology to look into the various aspects of the nation and its approach towards women. The analysis reveals that the concept of the nation which is masculine in its conception and performance,

treats women as second order citizens, whose entrance into the public domain is a matter of national concern. The perpetuation of the age old gender stereotypes is preferred and all kinds of deviation from it – sexual deviations from the norm, women assuming power, women asserting independence, women engaging in active politics, women aligning with other social-political causes etc. are considered aberrations inside the national fabric. In spite of the progress in gender equality and women's political participation that the Indian nation has achieved, the textual analysis and the statistical data reveal that the masculinity that underlies the foundation of the nation remains untouched by the progress, maintaining the nation essentially masculine in spite of the progressive politics the nation has embraced. The analysis reveals a gradual aggravation of masculinity, making it much more blatant and blaringly visible with the rising fascist tendencies exhibited by the nation.

CONCLUSION

NATION OF MEN

"If I want to define myself, I first have to say, "I am a woman"; all other assertions will arise from this basic truth. A man never begins by positing himself as an individual of a certain sex: that he is a man is obvious."

- Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*

The absence of women from the discourse on nations and nationalism being very conspicuous, this dissertation attempted to theorize upon this absence and look into the reasons and explanations for it. Most of the hegemonic and popular theorizations about nationalism (largely proposed by men themselves) deem the gender marker as irrelevant. Nira Yuval Davis observes this neglect towards gender as interesting since the Primordialist school of Nationalism Studies view nation as an extension of kinship relations (Gender 1). She clearly states that it is not just the bureaucrats and the intelligentsia but also the women that reproduce the nation biologically, culturally and symbolically (2). With the family and women relegated to the politically insignificant private domain, women remained outside the actively political public domain in which nationalist discourses belonged. Also, with the women's bodies being biologically closely associated to nature, they were excluded from the social and cultural realms. This dichotomous construction of social realms always intended to keep the 'inferior' away from power. However, after 1985, a number of feminist scholars began to critically engage with discourses on nationalism, initiating a study of the gender marker in relation to nations and nationalism. Nevertheless, the Oxford University press reader *Nationalism* (1994), edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith merely included a small section concerning gender by Nira Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias, trivially introducing the aspect of gender stating that "the entry of women into the national arena as cultural and biological reproducers of the nation and as transmitters of its values has also redefined the content and boundaries of ethnicity and the nation" (287). The casual nature in which gender has been analyzed with reference to nations and nationalisms is identified by the researcher as a lacuna.

This dissertation titled Nation of Men: Paradigms and Practices of Gender in Nationalist Discourses began on a calculated hypothesis that nation is a masculine concept and women are rated as second class citizens within the fabric of the nation. This dissertation has attempted to locate gender as a marker of the nation, evaluating the nation on the grounds of how it approaches and treats half of its population. Rajeswari Sunder Rajan observes in her The Scandal of the State that "the state has always been an important locus for any feminism as a significant site of the construction of gender and citizenship" (x). The Indian state has over the years, grown to be a pressing concern for its women, with its vindictive assertion of masculinity. The Indian state asserts itself as gender-friendly and progressive, by constitutionally ensuring gender equality and responding positively to the women's question, though mostly out of the pressure from women's interest groups and seldom out of genuine intent of national progress. However, in spite of the marginal progress made in terms of female education through policy making and campaigns such as the Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao, the progress in female health care, a slight rise in women's political participation etc., a dip in a variety of other parameters indicate a nation-wide trend of depleting resources and attention for women. The Indian state has proved itself to be a dismal failure in certain indices and parameters

upon which the nation's gender progress is evaluated, such as the sex ratio, female literacy rate, female political representation at the national level, employment opportunities and equal wages, female infanticide rates etc. The mysterious hiatus that preceded the passing of the women's reservation bill in the Indian Parliament, reserving seats for women's political participation speaks tons about the nation's approach towards women. Of late, the partially state backed communal violence in Manipur, slowly spreading to the neighboring states, marked by a large-scale destruction of Christian churches, passivity of the police and the armed forces in curbing the miscreants, a disquieting silence from the central government, and the perpetration of substantial sexual violence upon the tribal women that attracted global attention, transforming Manipur into a spectacle of naked parading and gang rape of the Kuki women is revelatory of the status of women within the Indian nation. In the backdrop of the majoritarian resurgence with the BJP government at the centre, the masculine violence upon women, particularly the subaltern women, is steadily escalating, since the ideology that drives the government is hypermasculine.

It is upon the above stated argument of feminine inferiority and subjection in the structurally and functionally masculine nation that this dissertation is structured. The Introduction of the dissertation titled "Nation and Nationalism: Origin and Evolution" traced the socio-political and historical circumstances that necessitated a concept called the nation and facilitated its evolution. The first chapter of the dissertation titled "Nation and Nationalism: Definitions, Typology, Origin, Evolution and Western Theoretical Positions" in its attempt to study the origin of nations and locate the reason for the primacy of the concept of nation among the various other possible socio-political organizations, concurred with the modernist position that the idea of nation is indeed modern, whose precursory models can be seen in the socio-cultural setups of the past. In the analysis of the various Western

theoretical positions on the concept of nation, the chapter specifically noted the absence of female theorists. This lacuna added to the overall notion of female absence in the concept of the nation as well as in its practice that this dissertation centrally addresses. The chapter studied how men and women share different nationalist projects and harbour different national aspirations. The second chapter titled "Indian Nationalism: Origins, Evolution, Theories, Political Perspectives and Political Practices" studied the origin and growth of Indian nationalism and studied the main schools of political thought and praxis that contributed to its shaping. The role of allegories and political symbols in consolidating the Indian nation is studied in this chapter and this dissertation observed that the contradiction between ideal womanhood, real womanhood and symbolic womanhood is central to the discourse of women and Indian nationalism.

The third chapter titled "Nation and Gender" analyzed notions like gender order theory, hegemonic masculinity, challenges and vulnerabilities of masculinity, gender performativity, expressions of masculinity in sports and films etc. The chapter also studied the affiliation of women to power and how society perceives it. The chapter deduced that exercise of power is generally a male entitlement and the male nation wields immense power over its women. The chapter also arrived at a postulation that the Indian nation's embrace of Hindutva elevated the nation's masculine aggressiveness to a point that the nation perpetrates extreme gender violence upon its own women as well as other women. The fourth chapter titled "Reflections of the Masculine Indian Nation in Literature" analysed a set of select texts to study how they express the masculinity of the nation. The analysis affirmed the hypothesis that the nation is masculine in concept and practice and that women are at the receiving end of the nation's expression of its masculinity. The chosen texts belonged to diverse time frames, political scenarios and geographies but the

common inference from all of them was the gendered nature of the nation. This dissertation also reveals that the concept of nation, with particular reference to India is "Janus-faced", facilitating women's progress to some extent while simultaneously relegating her to inferior positions and restricting her socio-political and cultural emancipation (Baron 2).

Through theoretical study, cultural explication and textual analysis, this dissertation eventually arrived at a conclusion that the foundational principle of most nations is masculine in general and that the ways in which nations are conceived, imagined and exercised are customarily masculine. With particular reference to the Indian nation, this dissertation pinpoints that there is an inherent contrast between the ways Indian nation asserted its gender and the ways in which the Indian nation is culturally and iconographically represented. While being represented and glorified as the female deity of Bharat Mata and even venerated at certain places and certain times in history such as that of the freedom struggle, the Indian nation exercises power in the most masculine fashion, asserting its hegemony over its women, disciplining their bodies, thereby relegating its women to the inner spaces of the houses. The deification of the tamed and disciplined, 'ideal' Indian femininity on one hand is often juxtaposed with the demonization of the non-stereotypical, decisive femininity that is deemed non-Indian; both deification as well as demonization are essentially processes of dehumanization. This dissertation identifies Hindutva as a hyper-masculine ideology that has internalized the subordination of women and sanctioned the perpetration of gendered violence as a means to assert itself. It also observes the escalating trend of masculinity, in terms of violence on women, the imposition of curfews and bans, the intensification of the fierceness of the fringe groups, insurgents and subnational dispositions as well as the

governmental policies towards the subaltern in general, with the ascend of the Hindutva forces to power.

The methodology that this dissertation employed is that of cultural and textual analysis, setting literary and cultural discourses firmly in their socio-political and historical backgrounds and the documentation of the referred works are in accordance to the 9th edition of the MLA handbook, except in a couple of instances where the researcher has exercised liberty to ensure readability. The injection of gender into the discourse on nationalism in the late 20th century and early 21st century marked a deviance in the conventional Nationalism Studies. This dissertation is an extension of this approach in which the study of gender as a marker of the nation makes the study extremely interdisciplinary, combining various strands of scholarship, various sources of knowledge, not limited to written sources but also oral sources as well as memories, and the feminist critique of the masculine concept of the nation. With the mainstream chronicling of the past carried out by the nationalist elites, which is mostly the men of the nation, women and their contributions to the nation get obliterated from history, sometimes deliberately and sometimes, by the very nature of historiography the nation approves and resorts to. This dissertation has exercised extreme caution in this regard in its approach to history. The analysis of the masculine concoction of history is balanced by the careful study of the counter-narratives by women that attempt to locate women in the nationalist narratives.

Memory as well as forgetting are crucial elements in nation-building; selective memory and collective amnesia are part of every nationalism project. The obliteration of the female from the historical and the political is balanced by the resurfacing of the feminine in the symbolical realm in which the divine feminine is glorified and the nation gets embodied as female. Also, the attributes of the women

chosen to be the embodiment of the nation acts as a crucial indicator of the elitism of the male nation. India, with its long drawn nationalist pedigree of having existed as a properly defined nation since ages, had once a trend of honouring the divine feminine which gradually gave way to an aggressive masculine resurgence, marked by an escalating inclination to violence, sexual crimes and bloodshed. The family metaphor that the nationalist discourse often resorts to (due to the common ties of blood that binds family as well as the nation), reduced women to a docile role of a home maker who facilitates the men in their chivalrous act of nation building; women were ascribed the role of biologically and culturally reproducing the nation without actually entering into the active political domain. It is this gendered historical construction that the feminist scholars of the 21st century attempted to question, and it is into their lineage that this dissertation belongs. This dissertation has exercised caution to historically contextualize the gendered character of nations as they are products of specific historical moments.

A major distinction that the dissertation observes between the Indian nation and other Western nations with reference to the gender marker is the fact that like many postcolonial nations, Indian women gained suffrage alongside men and obtained political rights before civil rights while the women in the West had to campaign for universal suffrage. However, while most nations of the world are in the process of unlearning age-old gender conventions and striving to increase their women's political participation, the Fascist political ideology that has gripped the Indian nation retracts the nation through its regressive gender policies and internalized female inferiority. The women's question is largely neglected in the nation, resulting in an escalation of sexual violence and gender crimes across the nation. The title of the dissertation – *Nation of Men* – derives from a conclusive

understanding that the ideological, cultural, iconographical and civil constructions of the nation are indeed gendered.

The proliferation of globalization, the rise of neo-fascism, the global display of masculinity, demographic changes, growth of information technology etc. resulted in global political convulsions, affecting Eastern and Western nations alike. With the concept of the nation-state under pressure and many nations of the world perceiving political authority differently from the past, developing an inclination towards absolutism, a peculiar brand of apocalyptic nationalism is on its rise. The explicit machismo, intolerance, state-backed sexual violence, increased ethnic and religious tensions, insurgent and irredentist demands and xenophobia are indicators of this rising trend. In this curious scenario, the study of how gender functions as an ideological, symbolic and practical marker of the nation gains additional relevance. This dissertation seeks to widen the horizons of the comparatively recent discipline that studies the gendered nature of nations and nationalist discourses.

WORKS CITED

- Abraham, Asha Mary. "Fragmented Nations, Fragmented Bodies: Women Narrating the Indo-Pak Partition." *Cracked Souls and Stained Memories*, edited by Poonam Matkar, Gupta Graphics, 2019. pp 23-35.
- ---. "Refashioning the Past: Hindutva Historiography and the Palingenetic Awakening of the Nation." *The Journal of Oriental Research*, XCII-XXII (2021): 95-101.
- ---. "What the Epic on the Screen did to the Nation: The Politics Represented by Ramanand Sagar's *Ramayan*." (Re)presentations: Problems, Politics and Praxis, Edited by Aparna Singh, PAIOLCK, 2019
- Acton, Lord. "Nationality." *Mapping the Nation*, edited by Gopal Balakrishnan, Verso, 1996, pp 17-38.
- Agarwal, Purushottam. "Surat, Savarkar and Draupadi: Legitimizing Rape as a Political Weapon." in *Women and the Hindu Right: A Collection of Essays* edited by Tanika Sarkar and Urvashi Butalia, Kali for Women, 1995, pp 29-57.
- Altekar.A.S. *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization: From Pre-historic Times to the Present Day.* The Culture Publishing House, 1938.
- Ambedkar. B.R. "Adoption of the Constitution." *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar:*Writings and Speeches. Vol.13, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, 2014. pp.11611219.
- ---. "Address by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar." *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*. Vol. 17, Part 3, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, 2020.
- ---. "Annihilation of Caste." Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches. Vol.1, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, 2014. pp.23-96.

- ---. "Dr. Ambedkar and the Hindu Code Bill." Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches. Vol. 14, part 1, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, 2014.
- ---. "Editorial." Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches. Vol.17, Part 1,
 Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, 2014. pp. xvii-xxix.
- ---. "Hindu Society must Organize on Modern Lines, Breaking down its Age-long Framework." *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*. Vol. 17, Part 3, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, 2020.
- ---. "Pakistan or the Partition of India." Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches. Vol.8, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, 2014. pp. 7-416.
- ---. "Significance of the Hindu Code." *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*. Vol. 14, part 1, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, 2014.
- ---. "What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables?" *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*. Vol.9, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, 2014. pp. 1-387.
- ---. Who were the Shudras?. Thacker and Co. Ltd, 1946.
- Anand, Dibyesh. "Porno-nationalism and the Male Subject." *Rethinking the Man's Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations*, edited by Jane .L. Parpart and Marysia Zalewski, Zed Books, 2008, pp. 163-180.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 1983.
- ---. "Introduction." *Mapping the Nation*, edited by Gopal Balakrishnan, Verso, 1996, pp 1-16.
- Anderson, Perry. Zone of Engagement. Verso, 1992.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*.

 University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

- Appelbaum, Diana Muir. "Biblical Nationalism and the Sixteenth Century States." *National Identities*, 15.4 (2013): 317-332. https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2013.814624
- Aristotle. Aristotle's Politics. Oxford at Clarendon Press, 1916.
- Assi, Seraj, Zachary, Foster. "There's no such Thing as Palestinians: The Ignorant Bigotry of Pro-Israel Propagandists." *Haaretz*, 21 March 2023. Accessed on 8 May 2023.
 - https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-03-21/ty-articleopinion/.premium/theres-no-such-thing-as-palestinians-the-ignorant-bigotryof-pro-israel-propagandists/00000187-03b9-dde5-ab8f-23bd95600000
- Auerbach, Stuart. "Indira is India." *The Washington Post*, 1 Nov. 1984. Accessed on 8 May 2023.https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1984/11/01/indira-is-india/3a5a4ea5-53d9-47e7-8a30-4f6b39b2e6f6/
- Aurobindo, Sri. *The Complete Works of Sri Aurobindo*. Volume 6 and 7, Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publication Department, 2002.
- ---. The complete Works of Sri Aurobindo. Volume 8, Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publication Department, 1997.
- Ayyub, Rana. *Gujarat Files: Anatomy of a Cover Up*. Createspace Independent Pub, 2016.
- Bacchetta, Paola. *Gender in the Hindu Nation: RSS Women as Ideologues*. Women Unlimited, 2004.
- Bakshi.S.R, Lipi Mahajan. Social Reformers in India. Deep and Deep, 2002.
- Banerjee, Sikata. *Muscular Nationalism: Gender, Violence and Empire in India and Ireland*, 1914-2004. New York University Press, 2012.
- Baron, Beth. *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender and Politics*. University of California Press, 2005.

- Baruah, Deepanjali. "Memory and Amnesia in Urvashi Bhutalia's 'The Other Side of Silence'." *Dialog*, 37.1 (2021): 210-225. https://dialog.puchd.ac.in/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/13.-Memory-and-Amnesia-in-Urvashi-Butalias-The-Other-Side-of-Silence.pdf
- Basu, Amrita. "Feminism Inverted: The Gendered Imagery and Real Women of Hindu Nationalism." *Women and the Hindu Right: A Collection of Essays*, edited by Tanika Sarkar and Urvashi Bhutalia, Kali for Women, 1995. pp. 158-180.
- Basu Anindita. "Ramanand Sagar's Ramayana: A Tool for Propaganda." *Students'**Research Global Media Journal- Indian Edition, 5.2 (2014): 1-4.

 https://www.caluniv.ac.in/global-mdia-journal/SR-GMJ-DEC-2014/SR-1.pdf
- Basu, Tapan, et al. Khaki Shorts and Saffron Flags: A Critique of the Hindu Right.

 Orient Longman, 1993.
- Bauer, Otto. "The Nation." *Mapping the Nation*, edited by Gopal Balakrishnan, Verso, 1996, pp 39-77.
- Berberoglu, Berch. *Political Sociology: A Comparative/Historical Approach*. General Hall, 1990.
- Bhaba, Homi.K. Location of Culture. Routledge, 1994.
- Bhatt, Chetan. Liberation and Purity: Race, New Religious Movements and the Ethics of Postmodernity. Taylor and Francis, 1997
- Bhutalia, Urvashi. *The other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*. Penguin Books, 1998.
- The Bible. New International Version, Biblica, 1973.
- Billig, Michael. Banal Nationalism. Sage Publications, 1995.
- Biswas, Soutik. "Ramayana: An 'Epic' Controversy." *BBC News*, 19 Oct 2011. Accessed on 16 April 2019.
 - https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-15363181

- Breuilly, John. Nationalism and the State. Manchester University Press, 1993
- ---. "Approaches to Nationalism." *Mapping the Nation*, edited by Gopal Balakrishnan, Verso, 1996, pp 146-174.
- ---. "Nationalism and Modernity." *Nationalism and Modernity*, edited by Johannes.

 U. Muller and Bo Strath, 1999, pp 39-66.
- Butler, Judith. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex.* Routledge, 1993.
- ---. Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. Routledge, 1990.
- Chakraborty, Adhrish. "What is Aurobindo's Theory of Spiritual Nationalism?" Applied Worldwide. 26 Aug 2021. https://appliedworldwide.com/theory-of-spiritual-nationalism/
- Chakraborty, Poulami. "The Notion of a nation: Tagore's idea of nationalism, spirituality and Indian society." *International Journal of English, Literature and Social Science*, 4.4 (2019): 1003-1006. https://ijels.com/upload_document/issue files/9IJELS-JUN-2019-28-TheNotion.pdf
- Chandra, Bipan. Essays on Indian Nationalism. Har Anand Publications, 1983.
- Chatterjee, Angana.P. Violent Gods: Hindu Nationalism in India's Present. Three Essays Collective, 2009
- Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton University Press, 1993.
- ---. Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse. Zed Books, 1986.
- ---. Empire and Nation: Selected Essays. Columbia University Press, 2010.
- ---. "Colonialism, Nationalism and Colonialized women The Contest of India."

 **American Ethnologist 16.4 (1989): 622-633. https://www.jstor.

 org/stable/645113

- Chugtai, Ismat. "Communal Violence and Literature." No Woman's Land: Women from Pakistan, India & Bangladesh write on the Partition of India. Edited by Ritu Menon, Women Unlimited, 2004, pp. 40-54.
- Cixous, Helene. "The Laugh of the Medusa." Translated by Keith Cohen and Paula Cohen. *Signs*, 1.4(1976): 875-893. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173239
- Cockburn, Cynthia. The Space between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict. Zed Books, 1998.
- Congelio, Brad. J. "They should stop their Crying. They Hate their Country." *Slate*, 27 Dec. 2017. Accessed on 15 May 2023. https://slate.com/culture/2017/12/racist-letters-about-john-carlos-and-tommie-smith-sound-like-they-were-written-about-colin-kaepernick.html
- Connell. R.W. Masculinities. University of California Press, 1995
- Cousins, Margaret E. Indian Womanhood Today. Kitabistan, 1941
- Daiya, Kavita. "Postcolonial Masculinity: 1947, Partition Violence and Nationalism in the Indian Public Sphere." *University of Colorado Boulder*, 1 February 2006, Accessed on 2 July 2023.https://www.colorado.edu/gendersarchive 1998-2013/2006/02/01/postcolonial-masculinity-1947-partition-violence-and -nationalism-indian-public-sphere
- Darlymple, William. "All Indian Life is Here." *The Guardian*. 23 August 2008.

 Accessed on 18 April 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/
 2008/aug/23/art.ramayana
- Dasgupta, Kalpana. Women on the Indian Scene. Abhinav Publications, 1976.
- Davis, Nira Yuval. Gender and Nation. Sage Publications, 1997.
- Davis, Nira Yuval, Floya Anthias ed. *Woman, Nation, State.* St. Martin's Press, 1989.

- Davis, Richard. H. "The Iconography of Rama's Chariot." *Contesting the Nation:**Religion, Community and the Politics of Democracy in India, edited by David Ludden, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996, pp. 27-54.
- Desai, A. R. Social Background of Indian Nationalism. Popular Book Depot, 1946.
- Desai, Anita. Clear Light of Day. Mariner Books, 2000.
- Desai. Mahadev, Gandhiji in Indian Villages. S. Ganesan, 1927.
- Devi, Mahasweta. *Breast Stories*. Trans. by Gayathri Chakravorty Spivak, Seagull Books, 1997.
- ---. "Draupadi." *Breast Stories*, Translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Seagull Books, 1997. pp. 1-37.
- ---. Mother of 1084. Translated by Samik Bandhopadhyay, Seagull, 2021.
- ---. "Bayen." Five Plays: Mother of 1084, Aajir, Bayen, Urvashi and Johny, Water.

 Trans. Samik Bandhopadhyay, Seagull, 1999.
- Dhamija, Bhanu. "Why Ambedkar didn't like India's Constitution?" *The Quint*. 14

 April 2018. https://www.thequint.com/opinion/why-ambedkar-did-not-like-indian-constitution#read-more
- Dhavan, Rajiv, and Thomas Paul, editors. *Nehru and the Constitution*. N.M. Tripathi Ltd., 1992.
- Durkheim, Emile. *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Translated by Joseph Ward Swain, Allen and Unwin, 1915.
- ---. *The Division of Labor in Society*. Translated by George Simpson, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1933.
- ---. "Germany Above All": The German Mental Attitude and the War. Translated by J.S., Librairie Armand Colin, 1915.
- ---. *Moral Education*. Translated by Everette. K. Wilson and Herman Schnurer, Dover Publications, 1925.

- Dutta, Krishna and Andrew, Robinson (ed). *Rabindranath Tagore: An Anthology*. St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Dutta, Prabhash.K. "Indira Gandhi, a Goongi Gudiya who went on to become Iron Lady." *India Today*, 19 Nov. 2017. Accessed on 8 May 2023. https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/indira-gandhi-a-goongi-gudiya-whowent-on-to-become-iron-lady-1089668-2017-11-19
- Eck, Diana .L. "Following Rama, Worshipping Shiva." *Devotion Divine: Bhakti Traditions from the Regions of India*, edited by Diana .L. Eck and Francois Mallison, Egbert Forsten, 1991. Pp 49-71.
- Emerson, Rupert. From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African People. Harvard University Press, 1960
- Enloe, Cynthia. Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics. University of California Press, 1989.
- Firstpost Staff. "History According to Puranas: RSS's Next Big Project." *Firstpost*, 18 Aug 2014. Accessed on 23 May 2019. https://www.firstpost.com/politics/history-according-puranas-rsss-next-big-project-1669673.html
- Fisher, Dan. "Split between Britain, U.S, seen as Inevitable: Foreign Policy: The Conservative Party Chairman fears that a 'less European' America will provide the Wedge." *Los Angeles Times*, 19 April 1990. Accessed on 10 May 2023.
 - https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1990-04-19-mn-2009-story.html
- Flock, Elizabeth. "Wikileaks Cable from 1974 refers to Thatcher as the 'Best Man' in the Conservative Party." *US News and World Report*, 8 April 2013. Accessed on 8 May 2023. https://www.usnews.com/news/blogs/washington-whispers/2013/04/08/wikileaks-cable-from-1974-refers-to-thatcher-as-the-best-man-in-the-conservative-party

- Gaikwad, S.M. "Ambedkar and Indian Nationalism." *Economic and Political Weekly*. 33.10 (1998): 515-518. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4406493
- Gandhi. M. K. *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*. Navajivan Publishing House, 1933.
- ---. An Autobiography or the Story of my Experiments with Truth. Navjivan Publishing House, 1968.
- ---. "Birth Control" in *Harijan*, 14 March 1936. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume LXVIII, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. "Criminal Offences" in *Harijan*, 1st March 1942. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume LXXXII, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---."Curse of Child Marriage" in *Young India*, 26th August 1926. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume XXXVI, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. "The Doom of Purdah" in *Young India*, 28th June, 1928. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume XXXXII, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. "Fallen Sisters" in *Young India*, 25th June, 1925. The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi. Volume XXXII, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. "For the Readers Past and Present of Young India" in *Young India*, 3rd April, 1924. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume XXVII, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. *Gandhi in India: In his own Words*. Edited by Martin Green, University Press of New England, 1987.

- ---. "Ganga-Swarup Basanti Devi" in *Navjivan*, 28th June, 1925. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume XXXII, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. "The Great Sentinel" in *Young India*, 13th October 1921. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume XXIV, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. "Message to the All India Women's Conference" in *The Hindu*, 24th December, 1936, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume LXX, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. "My Mission" in *Young India*, 3rd April, 1924. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume XXVII, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. The Role of Women. Edited by Anand T. Hingorani, Bharatiya Viya Bhavan, 1964.
- ---. "Swaraj through Women" in *Harijan*, 2nd December 1939. *The Collected Works* of Mahatma Gandhi. Volume LXXVII, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. "To B Agra" in *Young India*, 23rd September 1926. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume XXXVI, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. "What is Woman's Role?" in *Harijan*, 24th February 1940. *The Collected Works* of Mahatma Gandhi. Volume LXXVII, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.
- ---. "Woman in the Smritis" in *Harijan*, 28th November 1936. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Volume LXX, The Publication Division, Government of India, 1999.

- "Gender." Oxford English Dictionary, Edited by Catherine Soanes, 7th ed., Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 233.
- Gellner, Ernest, and Anthony Smith. Debate. *Warwick Debates on Nationalism*, 24 Oct. 1995, Warwick University, Coventry, UK.
- Gellner, Ernest. "The Coming of Nationalism and its Interpretation: The Myths of Nation and Class." *Mapping the Nation*, edited by Gopal Balakrishnan, Verso, 1996, pp 98-145.
- ---. Nations and Nationalism: New Perspectives on the Past. Cornell University Press, 1983.
- ---. Nationalism. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997.
- ---. Thought and Change. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.
- Gill, Preeti. The Peripheral Centre: Voices from India's North-East. Zubaan, 2010.
- Golwalkar.M.S. Bunch of Thoughts. Vikrama Prakasan, 1966
- Gopal, Sarveppalli. *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*. Volume 1, 1889-1947. Oxford University Press, 1975.
- ---. *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*. Volume 3, 1956-1964. Harvard University Press, 1984.
- ---. "Nehru and Minorities." *Economic and Political Weekly*. 23.45 (1988): 2463-2466. https://www.epw.in/system/files/pdf/1988_23/45-46-47/nehru_and_minorities.pdf
- Goswami, Arijit. "Nation and Nationalism: Feminization of the Nation and its Evolutionary Transcendence in Sri Aurobindo's *Savitri*." *Drishti: The Sight* II.IX (2021): np.
- Griffin, Roger. "Staging the Nation's Rebirth: The Politics and Aesthetics of Performance in the context of Fascist Studies." Fascism and Theatre:

 Comparative Studies on Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe 1925-1945, edited by Gunter Berghaus, Berghahn Books, 1996, pp. 11-29.

- ---. "Palingenetic Core of Fascist Ideology." What is Fascism? Interpretations and Research Perspectives, edited by Alessandro Campi, Ideazione, 2003, pp. 97-122.
- Grimm, Jacob, and Wilhelm Grimm. "Preface." *Deutsches Worterbuch*. Vol. 1, S. Hirzel, 1854.
- Grosu-Radulescu, Lucia-Mihaela. "Objectification of Women and Violence in What the Body Remembers." *RupakathaJournal*, 8.1(2016):86-96. https://rupkatha.com/V8/n1/09 What Body Remembers.pdf
- Guha, Ramachandra. "Divide and Win The Sanjay Gandhi of this Age." *The Telegraph*. 25 June 2016. Accessed on 30 July 2023. https://web.archive.org/web/20160626135616
 /http://www.telegraphindia.com/1160625/jsp/opinion/story_93068.jsp#.V92
 B_TscWgR
- ---. In a Corner of the Foreign Field: The Indian History of a British Sport. Penguin Books, 2002.
- Gupta, Charu. "The Icon of Mother in Late Colonial North India: 'Bharat Mata', 'Matri Bhasha' and 'Gau Mata'." *Economic and Political Weekly*. 36.45 (2001): 4291-4299. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4411354
- Gupta, Ishan. "Mob Violence and Vigilantism in India." World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues, 23.4 (2019):152-172.

 https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/48566204
- Gupta, Ruchira. "Gandhi and women in the Indian Freedom Struggle." *Social Scientist*, 47.1 (2019): 37-48. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26611494
- Guru, Gopal."Appropriating Ambedkar." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 26.27 (1991): 1697-1699. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4398126

- ---. "Nationalism as the Framework for Dalit Realization." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 23.1 (2016): 239-252. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26534721
- Habib, S Irfan. "Nehru and His Idea of India: 'Learn from History, Don't Stay Stuck in It!'. *The Quint*, 14 Nov. 2022. www.thequint.com/voices/opinion/jawaharlal-nehrus-idea-of-india-learn-from-history-not-stay-stuck-in-it#read-more
- Haldar, M.K. "Political Thought of Aurobindo Ghosh." *Indian Literature* 15.2 (1972): 56-67.
- Hansen, Thomas Blom. *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*. Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Harcourt, Wendy. Body Politics in Development: Critical Debates in Gender and Development. Zed Books, 2009.
- "Hardik Pandya Koffee with Karan Controversy." *YouTube*, uploaded by Lionairre, 13 January 2019. Accessed on 17 June 2023.

 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3lDdP2vc7RM&t=1s
- Hayes, Carlton J.H. Essays on Nationalism. Macmillan, 1926.
- ---. The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism. The Macmillan Company, 1955.
- ---. Nationalism: A Religion. Routledge, 1960.
- Heredia, Rudolf. C. "Gandhi's Hinduism and Savarkar's Hindutva." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44.29 (2009): 62-67. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40279289
- Hitler, Adolf. *Mein Kamph*. Translated by Alvin Saunders Johnson, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941.
- ---. "Hitler's Nuremberg speech addressing the Hitler Youth at the Nazi Party Rally".14 Sep. 1935, Nuremberg, Bavaria, Germany.Speech.

 https://archive.org/details/50DBEECE041C4842B7FC6C003625A520

- Hobbes, Thomas. Leviathan or the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civill. Andrew Crooke, 1651.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. J. Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality. Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hofstede, Geert et al. Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind:

 Intercultural Cooperation and its Importance for Survival. McGraw Hill,
 2010.
- Hoggart, Richard. "Literature and Society." *The American Scholar*, 35.2 (1966): 277-289. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41209369
- Hroch, Miroslav. Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A

 Comparative Analysis of the Social composition of Patriotic Groups among
 the Smaller European Nations. Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- ---. "From National movement to the Fully Formed Nation." New Left Review, 198.1 (1993):1-19.
- Hosain, Attia. Sunlight on a Broken Column. Penguin, 2009.
- Hutchinson, John, Anthony. D. Smith ed. *Nationalism*. Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Jaffrelot, Christophe, Pratinav, Anil. *India's First Dictatorship: The Emergency,* 1975-77. Harper Collins, 2021.
- Jaffrelot, Christophe. "Gujarat 2002: What Justice for the Victims? The Supreme Court, the SIT, the Police and the State Judiciary." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47.8 (2012): 77-89.
- ---. Hindu Nationalism: A Reader. Permanent Black, 2009.
- ---. "The RSS: a Hindu Nationalist Sect." *The Sangh Parivar: A Reader*, edited by Christophe Jaffrelot, Oxford University Press, 2005. pp.56-102.

- ---. "Over to the Vigilante." *The Indian Express*, 13 May 2017. Accessed on 17 June 2023. https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/over-to-the-vigilante-gau-rakshak-cultural-policing-beef-ban-4653
- Jain, Devaki. "Gandhian Contributions towards a Theory of Feminist Ethic." Speaking of Faith: Cross-Cultural Perspectives in Women, Religion and Social Change, edited by Devaki Jain and Diana L. Eck, Kali for Women, 1986.
- Jain, Madhu. "Ramayan Fever rages in Mauritius." *India Today*. 31 August 1990.
 Accessed on 16 April 2019.
 https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/international/story/19900831-ramayan-fever-rages-in-mauritius-812935-1990-08-30
- Jameson, Frederick. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act.* Routledge, 1983.
- ---. "Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism." *Social Text* 15.1 (1986): 65-88. https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/english/current students/undergraduate/modules/fulllist/special/newlits/jameson3rdworldlit.p df
- Jha, Dhirendra.K. *The Making of Nathuram Godse and his Idea of India*.Verso, 2023.
- Joshi, Mangesh. "Savarkar's Hindu Militarization Drive: Myths and Facts." *India facts: Truth be Told.* n.p., 11 Nov 2020.
- https://indiafacts.org/savarkars-hindu-militarisation-drive-myths-and-facts/ Kakar, Sudhir. *The Colors of Violence*. Penguin, 1995.
- Kant, Immanuel. The Metaphysics of Morals. Translated by Mary Gregor, Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Kanungo, Pralay. RSS's Tryst with Politics: From Hedgewar to Sudershan.

 Manohar, 2002.

- Karim, Mansarul. "Contribution of Indian Leaders to Indian Nationalist Movement: An Analytical Discussion." African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, 9.6 (2015):200-211. https://doi/org/10.5897/ AJPSIR2013.0636
- Kedourie, Elie. Nationalism. Wiley-Blackwell, 1993.
- Keer, Dhananjay. Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission. Popular Prakasan, 1954.
- Kenny, Mary. "No Wonder Mitterand said that Margaret Thatcher had the Eyes of Caligula (and the Mouth of Marilyn Monroe)." *Independent.ie.* 28 March 2009. Accessed on 8 May 2023.https://www.independent.ie/opinion/nowonder-mitterand-said-that-margaret-thatcher-had-the eyes-of-caligula-and-the-mouth-of-marilyn-monroe/26525167.html
- Kesavan, Mukul. "A Brief History of Modern Sport and the Nation State." Scroll.in,
 Aug. 2021, Accessed on 14 May 2023. https://scroll.in/article/1000226/a-brief-history-of-modern-sports-and-the-nation-state
- Khare,Brij.B. "Indian Nationalism: The Political origin." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 50.4 (1989): 533-559. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41855456
- Khetan, Ashish. "Gujarat 2002: The Truth in the Words of the Men Who Did It." *Tehelka*, 3 November 2007, Accessed on 17 August 2021.
- Kishwar, Madhu. "Gandhi on women." *Economic and Political Weekly* 20.40 (1985): 1691-1702. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4374897
- Knight, Lora. "Nationalism and Gender." *State of Nationalism*, 2018. https://stateofnationalism.eu/article/nationalism-and-gender/#article
- Kohli, Pranav, Prannv Dhawan. "Bollywood: 'Othering' the Muslim on Screen." Frontline, 21 March 2020. Accessed on 15 June 2023. https://frontline.thehindu.com/arts-and-culture/cinema/article31007504.ece

- Kohn, Hans. "The Eve of German Nationalism (1789-1812)." *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 12.2 (1951): 256-84. https://doi.org/10.2307/2707517
- ---. "Romanticism and the Rise of German Nationalism." *The Review of Politics*, 12.4 (1950): 443-72. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1404884
- ---. *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*. Robert. E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1965.
- ---. American Nationalism: An Interpretative Essay. Macmillan, 1957.
- ---. The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origin and Background. The Macmillan Company, 1944.
- ---. Nationalismus. Wien and Leipzig, 1922.
- Krishnaswamy, Revathy. *Effeminism: The Economy of Colonial Desire*, University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- Kulkarni, Pavan. "How did Savarkar, a Staunch Supporter of British Colonialism, come to be known as Veer?" *The Wire*.n.p, 28 May 2017.

 https://thewire.in/history/veer-savarkar-the-staunchest-advocate-of-loyalty-to-the-english-government
- Kumar, Megha. "History and Gender in Savarkar's Nationalist Writings." *Social Scientist.* 34.11 (2006): 33-50. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27644182
- Kuruvilla, Elizabeth. "Writing is my Revenge: K.R.Meera." *Mint.* 3 July 2017.

 Accessed on 25 July 2021. https://www.livemint.com/Leisure/da0MI0UGvgjZ77gPEf4M6O/Writing-is-my-revenge-KR-Meera.html.
- Lakshmi, Venkata. K, Dr. G. Chenna, Reddy. "Subaltern Aspects in Shauna Singh Baldwin's What the Body Remembers." Veda's Journal of English Language and Literature, 8.4 (2021): 31-35. https://joell.in/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/31-35-SHAUNA-SINGH-BALDWIN-WHAT-THE-BODY-REMEMBERS.pdf
- Loomba, Ania. Colonialism/Postcolonialism. Routledge, 1998.

- Lukaku, Romelu. "I've Got Some Things to Say." *The Players' Tribune*, 18 June 2018, Accessed on 14 May 2023. https://www.theplayerstribune.com/articles/romelu-lukaku-ive-got-some-things-to-say
- Maguire, Joseph. "Sports, Identity Politics and Globalization: Diminishing Contrasts and Increasing Varieties." *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11.4 (1994): 398-427. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2011.603554
- Malgonkar, Manohar. The Men who Killed Gandhi. Macmillan India, 1978.
- Mann, Erika. School for Barbarians: Education under the Nazis. Dover Publications, 2014.
- Mann, Michael. "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results." *European Journal of Sociology*, 25.2 (1984):185-213. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003975600004239
- ---. "Nation States in Europe and other Continents: Diversifying, Developing, not Dying." *Mapping the Nation*, edited by Gopal Balakrishnan, Verso,1996.
- Manto, Sadat Hasan. "A Bitter Harvest." *Naked Voices: Stories and Sketches*, Translated by Rakshanda Jalil, Roli Books, 2014, pp 51-54.
- ---."The Dog of Tithwal." *Kingdom's End and Other Stories*, Translated by Khalid Hasan, Verso, 1987, pp. 19-24.
- ---. "A Dutiful Daughter." *Mottled Dawn: Fifty Sketches and Stories of Partition*,

 Translated by Khalid Hasan, Penguin Books, 1997, pp. 73-77.
- ---. "Khol Do." *Manto: Selected Stories*, Translated by Aatish Taseer, Random House India, 2008, pp.38-39.
- ---. "Toba Tek Singh." *My Name is Radha: The Essential Manto*, Translated by Muhammad Umar Memon, Penguin Books, 2015, pp. 202-209.
- Marvin, Carolyn, David Ingle. "Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Revisiting Civil Religion." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 64.4 (1996): 767-80.

- https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/LXIV.4.767
- ---. Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag.

 Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Marx, Karl, and Frederich Engels. *Communist Manifesto*. International Publishers, 1948.
- Mathur, Shubh. The Human Toll of the Kashmiri conflict: Grief and Courage in a South Asian Borderland. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Maxwell, Alexander. "Typologies and Phases of Nationalism Studies: Hroch's A-B-C Schema as a Basis for Comparative Terminology." *Nationalities Papers:*The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity, 38.6 (2010): 865-80.

 http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2010.51597
- Mayo, Katherine. Mother India. Blue Ribbon Books, 1927.
- Mazumdar, Vina. *An Unfulfilled or a Blurred Vision?: Jawaharlal Nehru and Indian Women*. Centre for Women's Development Studies, 1998.

 https://www.cwds.ac.in/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/An-Unfulfilled.pdf
- Medzini, Meron. Golda Meir: A Political Biography. De Gruyter, 2017.
- Meera.K.R. Arachaar. D.C.Books, 2012.
- Menon, Kalyani Devaki. Everyday Nationalism: Women of the Hindu Right in India.

 University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Menon, Parvathi. "Sabarimala and Women's Identity in Kerala." *Social Scientist*, 48.3/6 (2020): 3-24. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26979095
- Menon, Ritu. "No Woman's Land." No Woman's Land: Women from Pakistan,

 India & Bangladesh write on the Partition of India. Edited by Ritu Menon,

 Women Unlimited, 2004, pp. 1-11.
- Messner, Michael. A, Margaret Carlisle, Duncan and Kerry Jensen. "Separating the Men from the Girls: The Gendered Language of Televised Sports." *Gender and Society*, 7.1(1993): 121-137. https://www.jstor.org/stable/190027

- Minogue, Kenneth. "Managing Nationalism." *New Left Review*, 23.9 (2003): np. https://newleftreview.org/issues/ii23/articles/kenneth-minogue-managing-nationalism.pdf
- ---. "Nationalism: The Poverty of a Concept." *European Journal of Sociology*, 8.2 (1967): 332-343. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23998546
- ---. Nationalism. Basic Books, 1967.
- Morrison, Toni. Beloved. Vintage Books, 2005.
- Mosse, George. *The Image of a Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. Oxford University Press, 1996.
- The Mother. *On Education: Collected Works of the Mother*. Vol.12, Shri Aurobindo Ashram Publication Department, 2002.
- ---. Words of the Mother: Collected Works of the Mother. Vol.13, Shri Aurobindo Ashram Publication Department, 2004.
- Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Visual and Other Pleasures, Indiana University Press, 1989, pp. 14-26.
- Murali, Bhavana. "Bhavana Murali Discusses one of his Favourite Short Stories." *Indireads*, 28 October 2013. Accessed on 15 July 2023. https://www.indireads.com/bhavana-murali-discusses-one-of-his-favourite-short-stories/
- Mustafa Fahad. Cricket and Globalization: Global Processes and the Imperial Game. 2009. University of Vienna, Masters Dissertation. https://www.easybib.com/guides/citation-guides/mla-format/how-to-cite-a-thesis-dissertation-mla/
- "My Name is Khan and I am not a Terrorist." *YouTube*, uploaded by Viral Issue, 22

 November 2020. Accessed on 17 June 2023. https://www.youtube.com/
 watch?v=Np1sRNZzIZY
- Naggel, Joane. "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of the Nation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21.2 (1998): 242-269.

- https://doi.org/10.1080/014198798330007
- Naidu, Sarojini, Natesan G.A. Speeches and Writings of Sarojini Naidu. G.A.Natesan and co..1925.
- Nairn, Tom. The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism. Verso, 1981.
- ---. Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited. Verso, 1997.
- Nandy, Ashis. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. Oxford University Press, 2009.
- ---. "Woman versus Womanliness in India: An Essay in Cultural and Political Psychology." *At the Edge of Psychology: Essays in Politics and Culture*. Oxford University Press, 1980. pp. 32-46.
- "Nation." Cambridge Dictionary. 2022.
- "Nation." Oxford Learner's Dictionary, 2nd ed. 1963.
- National Assembly, France. Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen Adopted by the National Assembly during its Sessions on August 20, 21, 25 and 26, 1789, and Approved by the King. 1789. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. The Discovery of India. Oxford University Press, 1985.
- ---. "Foreword." Women of India. Edited by Tara Ali Baig, Government of India, 1958, pp v-viii.
- ---. "Inaugural Address by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister." *Seminar on Architecture*, edited by Achyut Kanvinde, Lalit Kala Akademi, 1959, 5-9.
- ---. Jawaharlal Nehru: An Autobiography. Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1982
- ---. Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964. Volume 5, edited by G.Parthasarathi, Government of India, 1989
- ---. "The light has Gone Out of our Lives." All India Radio, 30 January 1948, Delhi.

 Speech.

- ---. Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, edited by S.Gopal, series 1, Volume 5, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1973.
- ---. "Synthesis is our Tradition." *Mainstream Weekly*. Volume XLIV, No.47, 24

 April 2007. https://www.mainstreamweekly.net/article31.html
- ---. "A Tryst with Destiny." Indian Constituent Assembly, 15 August 1947,
 Parliament House, Delhi. Speech.
- Noorani.A.G. "Savarkar and Gandhi." Frontline. 20.6 (2003): n.p. https://web.archive.org/web/20090822152732/http://www.hindu.com/fline/fl 2006/stories/20030328003603400.htm
- Orwell, George. "The Sporting Spirit." *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays*, Penguin Classics, 2009, pp. 163-167.
- Ozkirmli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. 2nd ed., St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- ---. Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction. 3rd ed., Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Packard, Vance. A Nation of Strangers. David McKay, 1972.
- Panikkar, K.N. "Outsider as Enemy: Politics of Rewriting History in India."

 Frontline, 6 January 2001. Accessed on 12 May 2021.

 https://frontline.thehindu.com/cover-story/article30249670.ece
- ---. "A Historical Overview." *Anatomy of a Confrontation: Ayodhya and the Rise of Communal Politics in India*. edited by Sarvepalli Gopal, Zed Books, 1990, pp. 22-37.
- Parekh, Bhikhu. "Nehru and the National Philosophy of India." *Economic and Political Weekly* 26.1 (1991): 35-48. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4397189
- Parmar, Atulkumar. M. "Patriarchy, Feudalism and Colonialism in Sunlight on a Broken Column." Scholarly Research Journal for Interdisciplinary Studies,

- 3.16 (2015): 2746-2756. https://www.srjis.com/pages/pdfFiles/1467098295 25%20Atulkumar%20M.%20Parmar%20New.pdf
- Penn, Nathaniel. "Son, Men don't get Raped." *GQ*, 2 Sept. 2014. Accessed on 8 May 2023. https://www.gq.com/story/male-rape-in-the-military
- Possamai, Adam. Religion and Popular Culture: A Hyper Real Testament. Peter Lang, 2005.
- Pillai, Meena. T. "Mixing Myth and Memory." *The Hindu*, 9 July 2015, Accessed on 27 July 2023. https://www.thehindu.com/features/friday-review/mixing-myth-and memory/article7398890.ece
- Puligandla, Ramakrishna. *Fundamentals of Indian Philosophy*. D.K. Print World, 1997.
- Quayum, Muhammad. A. "Nationalism, Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism: Tagore's Ambiguities and Paradoxes." *The Daily Star*, 28 March 2020. https://www.thedailystar.net/literature/news/nationalism-patriotism-cosmopolitanism-tagores-ambiguities-and-paradoxes-part-i-1886746
- Rajagopal, Aravind. Politics after Television: Hindu Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Public in India. Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Rajan, Rajeswari Sunder. The Scandal of the State: Women, Law and Citizenship in Postcolonial India, Duke University Press, 2003.
- Rajendran, Sowmya. "How Blockbuster Films are aiding the Hindutva Nationalism Project." *The News Minute*, 6 April 2022. Accessed on 15 June 2023. https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/how-blockbuster-films-are-aiding-hindutva-nationalism-project-162635
- Ramakrishnan.T.D. Sugandhi Enna Andaal Devanayaki. D C Books, 2014.
- Ramaswamy, Sumathi. "Maps and Mother Goddesses in Modern India." *Imago Mundi* 53 (2001): 97-114. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1151561

- Ranchod-Nilsson, Sita, and Mary Anne Tetreault. "Gender and Nationalism: Moving Beyond Fragmented Conversations." *Women, States and Nationalism: At Home in the Nation?*, edited by Sita Ranchod-Nilsson and Mary Anne Tetreault, Routledge, 2000, pp 1-17.
- Read, Anthony, David, Fisher. *The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence*. Norton & co, 1999.
- Renan, Ernest. "What is a Nation?" 11 March 1882, Sorbonne University, Paris, France. Speech. http://ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/What_is_a_Nation.pdf
- Report of Jeevan Lal Kapur Commission of Enquiry into the Conspiracy to Murder

 Mahatma Gandhi. Vol.2, 1969. https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/
 6026202-1969-Report-of-Jeevan-Lal-Kapur-Commission-of
- Roy, Arundhati. "The Great Indian Rape Trick, parts I and II." *My Seditious Heart:*Collected Non Fiction, Haymarket Books, 2019. pp. 1197-1211.
- ---. The Ministry of Utmost Happiness. Penguin Books, 2017.
- Roy, Pragya. "Why are Feminists opposing the Citizenship Amendment Act?" *Feminism in India*, 19 Dec 2019. Accessed on 18 March 2023.
- Roy, Rituparna. South Asian Partition Fiction in English: From Khushwant Singh to Amitav Ghosh. Amsterdam University Press, 2010
- Rushdie, Salman. Midnight's Children. Pan Books, 1982.
- Sahgal, Nayantara. *Jawaharlal Nehru: Civilizing a Savage World*. Penguin Books, 2010.
- Sahni, Bhisham. Tamas. Penguin Books, 2016.
- Salim, Ziya Us. Of Saffron Flags and Skullcaps: Hinduva, Muslim Identity and the Idea of India. Sage, 2018.
- Sarkar, Sumit. A Critique of Colonial Reason. Papyrus, 1985.

- Sarkar Tanika. "Aspects of Contemporary Hindutva Theology." *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion and Cultural Nationalism*, Indiana University Press, 2001. pp. 268-288.
- ---. Beyond Nationalist Frames: Relocating Postmodernism, Hindutva, History.

 Permanent Black, 2002.
- ---. "Heroic Women, Mother Goddesses: Family and Organization in Hindutva Politics." *The Sangh Parivar: A Reader*, edited by Christophe Jaffrelot, Oxford University Press, 2005. pp. 148-177.
- ---. "How the Sanghparivar Writes and Teaches History." *Majoritarian State : How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India*, edited by Angana P. Chatterji, Thomas Bom Hansen and Christophe Jaffrelot, Harper Collins, 2019.
- ---. "Nationalist Iconography: Image of Women in the 19th century Bengali Literature." *Economic and Political Weekly* 22.47 (1987): 2011-2015.

 https://www.epw.in/system/files/pdf/1987_22/47/special_articles_nationalist
 _iconography_image_of_women_in_19th_century_bengali_literature.pdf
- ---. "Pragmatics of the Hindu Right: Politics of Women's Organizations." *Economic* and *Political Weekly*, 34.31 (1999): 2159-2167. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4408263
- ---. "Semiotics of Terror: Muslim Children and Women in the Hindu Rashtra." Economic and Political Weekly, 37.28 (2002): 2872-2876.
- Savarkar. V.D. Hindutva: Who is a Hindu? Veer Savarkar Prakashan, 1969.
- ---. Seven Shackles of the Hindu Society. Akhil Bharat Hindu Maha Sabha, n.p, 2019. http://abhm.in/seven-shackles/#
- ---. Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History. Bal Savarkar Sadan, 1971.
- Schuman, Frederick. L. "The Political Theory of German Fascism." *The American Political Science Review*, 28.2 (1934): 210-32. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1947626

- Sen, Amartya. "Tagore and his India." *The Argumentative Indian*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.pp 89-120.
- Sen, Geeti. "Iconizing the Nation: Political Agendas." *India International Centre Quarterly* 29.3/4 (2003): 154-175. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23005824
- Setalvad, Teesta. "The Woman Shiv Sainik and Her Sister Swayamsevika." Women and Right-Wing Movements: Indian Experiences. Edited by Tanika Sarkar and Urvashi Butalia, Zed Books Limited, 1995.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism. Methuen, 1977.
- ---. "Nationalism, Nations and Western Policies." *The Washington Quarterly*, 2.1 (1979): 91-103. https://doi.org/10.1080/01636607909450254
- ---. Nation and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism. Methuen, 1977.
- Sharma, Jyotirmaya. *Hindutva: Exploring the Ideas of Hindu Nationalism*. Harper Collins, 2015.
- Sharma, Shalini. "Constitutional Inheritance to Women and Nehru." *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, 8.8 (2018): 548-552. https://www.ijmra.us/project%20doc/2018/IJRSS_AUGUST2018/IJMRA-15295.pdf
- Shelley, P. B. "Ode to the West Wind." *Prometheus Unbound: A Lyrical Drama in Four Acts With Other Poems*, C &J Ollier, 1820, pp 188-192.
- Shenoy, Deepti. "Saffron Spice and Everything Nice?: A Study of Women in Hindutva." *Historical Perspectives: Santa Clara University Undergraduate Journal of History*, 2.14 (2009):134-155. https://scholarcommons.scu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1095&context=historical-perspectives

- Showalter, Elaine. "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness." The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory, edited by Elaine Showalter, Pantheon, 1985. pp. 243-270.
- Sidhwa, Bapsi. Cracking India. Milkweed Editions, 1991
- Singh, Khushwant. Train to Pakistan. Penguin Books, 1956
- Singh, Prerna. "How Exclusionary Nationalism has made the World Socially Sicker from COVID 19." *Nationalities Papers*, 50.1 (2022): 104-117. https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2021.36
- Smith, Anthony. D. "The Biblical Origin of Nationalism." *Historically Speaking*, 7.4 (2006): 21-24. https://doi.org/10.1353/hsp.2006.0065
- ---. The Ethnic Origins of Nations. Wiley-Blackwell, 1991.
- ---. "Memory and Modernity: Reflections on Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism*, 2.3 (1996): 371-88.
- ---. National Identity. Penguin Books, London.
- ---. Theories of Nationalism. Duckworth, 1971.
- Smith, Talia. "Serena Williams, Body Shaming and the White Gaze." *PaperMag*, 4

 June 2018. Accessed on 10 May 2023. https://www.papermag.com/serena-williams-body-shaming-2574356861.html#rebelltitem1
- Snyder, Louis. *The New Nationalism*. Cornell University Press, 1968.
- Sontag, Susan. "The Third World of Women." *Partisan Review*, 40.2 (1973):180-206.
- Stalin, Joseph K. *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*. Kanishka Publishers, 1991.
- Stevens, Evelyn. "Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo in Latin America." Female and Male in Latin America, edited by Ann Pescatello, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973, pp. 89-102.

- Subhash. K. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's idea of Nationalism and his Role in Making India a United Nation." *European Academic Research* 3.12 (2016): 12874-12883. https://euacademic.org/UploadArticle/2393.pdf
- Swami Vivekananda. Lectures from Colombo to Almora. The Vyjayanti Press, 1897.
- Tagore, Rabindranath. "Gitanjali." The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore. Vol.1, edited by Sisir Kumar Das, Archeological Survey of India, 1984. pp. 39-78.
- ---. Home and the World. Trans. by Surendranath Tagore, Global Grey books, 2019.
- ---. "Letter to Gandhi." 12 April 1919. *The Mahatma and the Poet: Letters and Debates between Gandhi and Tagore*. Edited by Sabyasachi Bhattcharya, National Book Trust, 1997. pp. 55-57.
- ---. "Letter to Lord Chelmsford." 30 May 1919. *The Mahatma and the Poet: Letters*and Debates between Gandhi and Tagore. Edited by Sabyasachi
 Bhattcharya, National Book Trust, 1997. pp. 182-183.
- ---. "Nationalism in India." *Nationalism*. San Francis Co: The Book Club of California, 1917. 117-154.
- ---. Nationalism. San Francis Co: The Book Club of California, 1917.
- ---. "Women and Home." *Tagoreweb*, accessed on 10 March 2023.

 https://www.tagoreweb.in/Essays/creative-unity-218/woman-and-home-2636
- "Tanhaji: the Unsung Warrior Official Trailer." *YouTube*, uploaded by T Series, 19 November 2019. Accessed on 20 June 2023. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cffAGIYTEHU
- Tendulkar, Sachin and Boria Majumdar. *Playing it My Way: My Autobiography*. Hodder and Stoughton, 2014.
- Thapar, Romila. "Ideology and Interpretation of Early Indian History." *Review* 5.3 (1982): 389-411. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40240911

- ---. "Our History, Their History, Whose History?" *Dr. C.D. Deshmukh Memorial Lecture*, C.D. Deshmukh Auditorium Delhi, 14 Jan 2023. Speech. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DjyyezAoB80&t=666s
- ---. "Reflections on Nationalism." *On Nationalism*, Romila Thapar, A.G. Noorani and Sadanand Menon, Aleph Books, 2016.
- ---. "Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity." *Modern Asian Studies* 23.2 (1989): 209-231. https://www.jstor.org/stable/312738
- ---. "They Peddle Myths and Call it History." *The New York Times*, May 17 2019.

 Accessed on 15 April 2022.

 https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/17/opinion/india-elections-modihistory.html
- Tharoor, Ishaan. "Morocco's Show Down with France Carries Complex Political Baggage." *The Washington Post*, 13 Dec. 2022. Accessed on 14 May 2023. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/12/13/morocco-france-world-cup-history-politics-baggage/
- Tilly, While., editor. *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Trivino, Jose Luis Perez, Rafael Valencia Candalija."The Thermometer of Sporting Nationalism." *Review of Nationalities*, 9.1 (2019): 29-38. http://reviewofnationalities.com/index.php/RON/article/view/158/176
- Vickers, Jill. "Bringing Nations in: Some Methodological and Conceptual issues in Connecting Feminism with Nationhood and Nationalisms." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 8.1 (2006): 84-109. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740500415490
- Vijayan, O.V. "The Foetus." *After the Hanging and Other Stories*, Penguin Books, 1989. pp.30-42.

- ---. "The Wart." After the Hanging and Other Stories, Penguin Books, 1989. pp. 13-29.
- Walby, Sylvia. "Women and Nation." *Mapping the Nation*, edited by Gopal Balakrishnan, Verso, 1996, pp 235-254.
- Walzer, Michael. "On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought." *Political Science Quarterly* 82.2 (1967): 191-204. *JSTOR* https://www.jstor.org/stable/2147214
- Weber, Max. "Politics as Vocation." Weber's Rationalism and Modern Society, edited and translated by Tony Waters and Dagmar Waters, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 129-198. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137365866_7
- ---. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, University of California Press, 1922.
- ---. "The National, State and Economic Policy." *Political Writings*, edited by Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 1-28.
- Wolpert, Stanley. *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India*. University of California Press, 1962.
- Women in Politics: 2023. Inter-Parliamentary Union and UN Women, 2023. https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2023/03/women-in-politics-map-2023