

Research Article

Where is my *home, my nation?* : Cinematic Memory of the Women who were Abducted During the Partition of India in 1947

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an intense engagement of the partition saga and the experience of women in the process of the remaking of 'Nations'. It aims to narrate the memories of survival and aftermath lives of abducted women who faced horrendous acts of violence in wake of evolution of 'partition' times. The tales of horror inflicted the arrival of nationalistic rhetoric on the bodies of women presents the gendered notions of nationalism and its horrendous expressions. Interspersed with readings from literature on the subject of partition with an analysis of discourses mostly from eleven selected films from Hindi cinema, this paper highlights the textual understanding of the films in the context of the idea of nation and sufferings of women in the nation building process. It revisits the patriarchal inflictions on the body of a woman in the larger context of the dark desires of macho-nationalism through the intersectional analysis of texts and subtexts of the selected Hindi films.

Keywords: Abducted women, Cinema, History, Memory, Nation, Partition

INTRODUCTION

History is a woman's body

– Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence* (2000)

The present paper attempts to address the ways in which Indian cinema has

memorialized the ruins of The Partition of India and the riots that followed in its wake, leaving a long trail of loss and devastation. The Partition of India in 1947 was not a single event that occurred and ended with exchange of populations over the redrawn political geographies of the two nations – India and Pakistan. Considering that there is a recurring talk of the unfinished agenda in the sub-continent, it is fair to suggest that the Partition is not fully over yet. It is impossible to forget the haunted memory of the generations that were born out of this experience are living embodiments of the scar that an earth-shattering event left on their minds and bodies in the form of traumatic memory. This paper is in sync with Hill's (2009) reminder that the past has always been an important resource in memory framework and studies, specifically 'to situate particular projects, such a nation building, in the framework and under the new conditions of modernity'. It becomes much more significant in Indian history when the State has failed to make any attempt to memorialize the loss and trauma that accompanied The Partition experience and its aftermath riots. In this context, Young (1990) rightly argues that the only possible means to understand the holocaust memories and histories is through the ways in which it is 'communicated' or 'handed over' to us. Thus the only source of information about those turbulent times is the memory of the survivors and their memoirs, found audio footages, literature, and visual records. It is through the lenses of cinema, that this paper aims to reflect on how the project of nationalism since partition actualized itself by targeting the bodies of men, women and children as the objects of nationalization across both sides of the borders. In what forms these different and hidden voices found a place in cinematic imagination is the core concern of this chapter. It aims to highlight the ways in which desires of nationalism were brutally inscribed on bodies of women who were 'abducted' from the edges of caravan in which they were in the process of reaching their 'newly acquired homelands'. It aims to understand how, at what point of time and in what ways cinema emerged as a site of memorialization of the holocaust that twelve million people witnessed during the emergence of India and Pakistan as sovereign nations. Studies on the Partition and its attendant politics in post-colonial India suggest that there was no closure to the division in 1947; it still haunts the lives of diverse religious communities, specifically minorities in both countries. The aim of this paper is to understand Cinema as a form of living memory against what is normally known as historical memory. Unlike the latter, the living memories are not characterized by names, dates or events chosen for glorification. Rather, as Halbwachs (1996) detailed accounts of *The Collective Memory* suggest, these alternative collective frameworks of memory represent those currents of thoughts and experiences of disconnect with the present society within which we attempt to reconstruct our past. It is a sort of revisit to the events of the past in which we would like to be deeply immersed, even if extremely painful and traumatic those

alternative memories might have been. Based on the above framework on collective memories, this study attempts to locate 'Cinema' as one of these alternate sites of reconstruction of the past, and also as a site which allows us to reconnect with the shared experiences of 'affected' communities which emerged as a consequence of the Partition. Termed as national catharsis (Kaul, 1998) this is what exactly the cinematic narratives tend to evolve by reconstructing the memories from the 'ruins' of the dreadful past. It is significant here to underline the fact that Cinema, as a text shall not be seen as a 'national' allegory that represents third world's postcolonial puzzles between varieties of nationalisms. These thoughts have been derived from Ahmad's (1987) reply to Fredric Jameson's (1986) rhetoric of looking for allegories in the areas of cultural production of knowledge by third world countries. Ahmad, here rightly argues that:

Nationalism as nationalism of mourning, a form of valediction, for what we witnessed was not just the British policy of divide and rule, which surely was there but our own willingness to break up our civilizational unity, to kill our neighbours, to forego that civic ethos, that moral bond with each other, without which human community is impossible (p. 22).

Hence, the present study derives its arguments from Ahmad's conceptualisation of film as a text produced from a culture that should be interpreted by keeping in view its multiple ideological conditions. Cinema thus emerges as a site of memorialization of alternate social histories signifying the diverse forms of imagination of violence, loss and trauma that accompanied the riots in Post-colonial India. Generations of filmmakers failed to find a language to comprehend the consequent pain and suffering under the hegemonic codes of post-colonial nations. Studies by Menon and Bhasin (2003) emphasize that the feminist historiography of the Partition is yet to register its significant presence in Indian social history. This invisibility does not mean in terms of the number of women and children abducted, rather it needs to be considered in terms of the lack of records and attempts to preserve and highlight the gendered narrative of violence, displacement, betrayal, honor, struggle and survival during Partition and its aftermath. The present study is an effort to reflect on these gendered narratives and diverse unheard voices that cinema as an audio-visual medium attempts to preserve, memorialize and mourn at various times in India's history.

THE HISTORY AS WE KNOW IT

As per Menon and Bhasin (2003), by the time the boundaries were declared, about eight to ten million people had crossed Punjab and Bengal borders, making Partition as the largest mass migration in human history. It is in these turbulent times when religion became a basis of division of homeland that women on the both sides of

border became the targets of enactment of the violence during Partition riots. In an ordeal to save the 'national honor' symbolized in the form of bodies of women, calls were made to sacrifice themselves by their own kinsmen and were later on glorified by their families as 'martyrs'. Such accounts by the survived men depict their choice to glorify that mass killings of women and children from own families was the only preferred way to save them from 'conversion' and 'rape' which they considered to be worse than death. Assuming that the women were weak and will be targeted for sexual violence which would further result in the production of 'impure' bodies with the children of men from '*Other*' religion, the communities from both sides of border preferred to end the entire race of their women by making calls for their martyrdom for saving the honor, the religion and the *panth*, their *Qaum*, their *Dharm*. Many families choose silence over the 'mention' of disappeared and abducted women from their families as a part of the ultimate loss incurred during partition and hence the first initiative of preparing lists of abducted women under the responsibility of Edwina Mountbatten's United Council for Relief and Welfare. In its meeting the governments jointly declared that forced conversions and marriages would not be recognized by the State and every effort shall be taken by both states in the process of recovery and restoration of abducted women and girls to their own families in respective states. The process of rescue and recovery by both the states came into realization with the Inter-dominion Treaty inked on December 6, 1947 that aimed to set up Central Recovery Organization which declared that women living with the men of other religion had to be brought back, even by 'force', to their 'own' homes i.e., to the 'land of their own religion'. In this religion-nation matrix, women's religious identity was taken for granted and that became the ideology of rescue and recovery operations by both States. Thus the category of 'abducted women' which was born out of the partition experience came to be defined only in terms of their 'religious' identity. Hence, unlike others, there was no choice for the 'abducted women' to be the part of the nation she wanted to be. As an object, she was expected to be 'restored' back to her respective State of 'religion'. Later on, this agreement was legally sanctioned into a bill, namely 'The Abducted Persons Recovery and Restoration Ordinance' which was eventually transformed into an Act promulgated in 1949 as 'The Abducted Persons Recovery and Restoration Act', 1949. Under it, the government of India defined 'abducted persons' for the very first time as:

Any woman who was seen to be living with, in the company of, or in a relationship with the man of the other religion, after March 1, 1947 would be presumed to have been abducted, taken by force. After this date all marriages and conversions that had taken place would be seen as forced, and would not be recognized by either of the two governments (The Tribune, 27 April 1999).

Under this definition an 'abducted' person could mean 'a male child under the age of sixteen years or a female of whatever age who is, or immediately before the 1st day of March, was missing and who on or after that day and before 1st January 1949, had been separated from his or her family and was found to be living with or under the control of any other individual or family and in latter case included a child born to any such female after the said date'. Children picked up by either community in the time of Partition, or in the years following it, women similarly abducted, and children born to such women after Partition or even women and/or children found living with the member of the other community would be taken as abducted. In the midst of such developments there were hidden voices of women who never wanted to return and many women who protested against this rescue and recovery operation. Kidwai (2004) recounts that one major difficulty during recovery works was that most of the abducted girls and women did not want to return to their families across the border. In such circumstances, her accounts exhibit the inadequacy of training of social workers, and the harsh attitude of police officers generally worsened the situation and instilled fear amongst the women. Majority of educated girls were killed soon after abduction, usually after their protests against the wind. Those who survived were the captives of highly ranked police and army officials, government officers, administrators and educated people. As per the detailed note from the meetings of Partition Council provided by Butalia (2000) the main obstruction faced by rescuers was the fear of 'non-acceptance' in the minds of majority of abducted women and the reasons assumed behind this fear was the continuous persuasion by the captors about their future. But, finally, the agreement declared that as per mutual agreement between the two dominions, in such cases these women should be *forcibly* evacuated. Women were allowed to take their children along with them to India for the initial period of fifteen days during which they had to arrive at a decision whether to keep the child or not. But what if they agreed to keep the child, were their families also ready to accept them? What if they decided not to keep those children, will the father accept the child? Many such critical questions about the fate of the children born out of Partition times remained pertinent but unanswered. Further as per their observations, even if women on both sides wanted to keep their children, they were never considered for acceptance in their families and hence they had to stay throughout their lives in camps and *ashrams*. It is in the midst of these found histories of the violent times during the Partition holocaust that I locate the present paper but the focus lies in the fact that the Partition did not bring an end to the communal violence in any nation. Rather it intensified the continuum of destruction by channelizing the role of state in inhibiting communal groups who became the perpetrators of violent conflict on human life. With each and every violent episode, the symbols of social identities between in-groups and out-groups came to be ritualized, modernized and strengthened

in popular imagination which became a further breeding ground for the communal politics in post-colonial India. It is in this long century that the characters born out of Partition times re-witnessed the images of violence and conflict that revived their memories again. This research paper aims to draw those ‘characters’ and their ‘in-conflict’ identities which evolved from the ruins of communal riots in post-partitioned India from cinematic memory as a site of popular remembrance and forever mourning. The image of abducted women, abandoned children and elderly were not the end-products of Partition experience only. These multi-layered images re-figured and re-emerged with each and every episode of communal carnage as a haunted recap of what commoners witnessed during Partition. In other words, it was these cinematic images that ‘brought the past alive and felt’ not only to the generations of those who survived this genocidal violence but also to those generations who were the products of manufactured textbook histories.

Deconstructing Home: ‘Nation’ in Post 1947 Hindi films

Soon after the arrival of independence, Hindi films began to offer a deep concern for human suffering in its narratives through the subtle presence of characters that represented the conditions and processes of violence which accompanied freedom. It offered a glimpse of madness which perpetuated the very idea of a nation which left individuals and groups homeless. In 1948, film *Aag* marked its emblematic presence with the deeply troubling role of *Nimmi* played by Nargis. The narrative weaves an *unforgettable* shot during the audition he meets a girl, who unlike others is a symbol of loss, despair and lifelessness. Her denial to express her name or even in alternative to erase that as an identity, marked loss and trauma that she had faced and makes her presence much more aggrieved and haunting in contrast to the popular imagery. Her *homelessness* was a mark of her brutal displacement from her home in the narrative of *Nation*. Distressed by her lack of identity from horrid past, she further narrates that:

Yes, I came from hell. Punjab these days is not less than hell. Wherever I see, there is a sort of dreadful fire in every direction. This fire had swallowed my mother-father, my three brothers and two innocent sisters. This fire swallowed my home, my name. Anything else you want to ask.

Her narrative and dreadful haunting presence in the film was a mark of the bodies which were born out of the Partition. Similarly, film *Lahore* (1949) reflected on partition as an arrival of unimaginable ‘loss’ and ‘grief’ in human life across borders. It reiterated this unrest in its theme - ‘*I am the Darkness Your Enlightened World will Never Accept*’ and inscribed on screen the pain and suffering faced by thousands of

rescued women across borders and that appealed to families to support them in returning with their own families so that they could restore their lives again. Gradually this narrative progresses to become a meta-narrative for both the nations which emerged on the extremes of sexual violence over the bodies of women and children. The most stirring fragment of social reality in the film is the sequence when Ramesh treats Radha (who was abducted during partition) as dead. The centrality of this narrative is highlighted when Chaman visits Ramesh's home in Amritsar and finds out that he too had seized the life of Salma, a Muslim woman, by taking advantage of her situation when she lost her family during riots in Amritsar. This tragic condition of Salma is clear from her lifeless presence on the screen. She is sitting on the edge of a bed, symbolic as a lifeless spectator downwards conveying hopelessness marked with silence. This film was first of its kind to expose the macho-nationalist hypocrisies that violently disenfranchised its own people by labelling them as 'polluters of economic and national life' (Staub, 2007 p.99). Further, the narrative of another film *Lajwanti* (1958) re-imagined and re-constructed the visual space for these communities by bridging the narratives from cultural nationalism and the violent vicissitudes of the social reality that was witnessed during partition times. Another significant narrative offered by film *Chhailia* (1960) begins with an emotionally vigorous journey of Shanti in a train from Lahore to Delhi. With the sight of this long awaited joy and happiness she lets her fellow travellers know: '*Ye aa gaya Hindustan...Hamara Hindustan*'. A moment full of proud for her as she perceives it as is finally reaching back to her family in her new homeland. This memory train turns goes into a flashback of the moment when Lahore burnt on the day of their marriage symbolizing two parallel realities – on the one side, Shanti's hopes for a happily married life with the promises of her 'protection' (ring) by her husband and on the other hand, we see 'Lahore in fumes'. In Lahore, then and now, is the distressed figure of Shanti and many women like her, were waiting to return to their new homeland, to their families and their own people without having any idea of how this long awaited new homeland will turn into a *no woman's land* for them. On her arrival, she waits for a long in a refugee ashram in the hope that her family will recognise that she is alive and accept her but the violent design of the nation-family matrix denied her the home when her family denies to accept her and viciously marked her existence as 'dead' rather than alive. This film exposed the culturally pre-existing conditions which made the violent reactions more intense and stimulated the rage against own people. In the similar context, *Dharmputra* (1961) has already been studied by Bhaskar (2009) as the film imaginary that *mourns* the nation. But the present study extends the similar perspective by understanding the textual content of the film in context of the *Nation* in specific. Narration of this film evolves from a feminine self who looks at the legacy of secular

and united past of Indian history by scrolling one by one the pictorial collection of the archives of Indian past in an album. But it is at last critical moment when *Dileep* confronts his identity crisis when he comes across the truth that he was a son of a *Muslim* couple from whom he was desperate to seek communal revenge. This film builds strong sentiments about what Nehru's vision reflected in those times, especially by an enthralling special appearance of Rajendra Kumar in the song 'Ae rehbar-mulq-o-qaum bata, ye kis ka laho hai kaun mara', who metaphorically represents his envisioned India with a peaceful co-existence of all the diverse religious communities even after a partition holocaust. In the history of *Hindi* cinema, I have never witnessed such an exhilarating appeal that critically dares to question the identity of *dead* people who were victims of the mass carnage.

While articulating the concerns of dark times further, *Garam Hawa* (1970) is a narrative that unfolds by breaking the historically convenient silences on the Partition experience as a profound social suffering that seized the lives of Indian Muslims. It was in 1970s, this film gave a voice to the devastation of shared spaces in the wake of Partition by entering into the domestic and working spaces where Salim Mirza spent his everyday life since generations in the city of Agra. This narrative interweaved the upcoming of Partition in life of each and every member of Salim Mirza's family, most evocatively by expressing its upcoming in the life of his mother and his daughter Aamina. It is based on what Das (1996) calls an 'antiphony of language and silence which reconstructs the world in the face of tragic loss'. The narrative evolves from the memories of Partition holocaust with the visuals of the political leaders who devised it, the spirits of peace that resisted it, and further the victims in refugee camps were the ones who experienced and actually felt it. Aamina's wait for her beloved marked by haunting sound of train conveys the tyranny of such times in which ghost of partition haunted the lives of its people by setting them apart from each other by coercing *national* boundaries in the form of borders. Requirement of symbols became the first imposition to prove loyalty to the nation or love towards it and this is how her life became a subject of violence enacted by the partition experience, though subtle but profound, in a way that her home was in despair, hopes were dead and thus she denies any desire to live in the beleaguered world where humanity was no more there. Raging against this deception, she chooses to bring an end to this pain by bearing it forever inside herself by her choice to end her life itself. This time she decides on a 'departure' not from boundaries of one nation to another, but from the whole world which betrayed her dreams.

Then, the most thrilling work of social interpretation of the past was in the evolutionary shot of film *Earth 1947: The Apocalypse* (1998) that rises from Lenny's narration

about the collapse of British India in 1947 and beginnings of rumours about its division into two different parts marked on bodies of vulnerable communities. It marked a 'scar' not only in terms of geography but also in terms of emergence of antagonism amongst its two major religions. Both Ayah and Lenny witness the dreadful tales about trains full of bodies in gunny bags and revengeful mobs decimating human bodies by tying them as an object to vehicles pulling it apart in different directions. Scarred by the influence of brutal memory of decimation of human bodies torn into two pieces from the center, *Lenny* decides to perform the similar act of mob brutality on her doll. Extremely distressed by *Lenny's* act of ripping her own doll that signified unimaginable brutality of *betrayal* and deception by her own people, *Ayah* picks up those torn pieces of the doll's body and stitches it. This act of *Ayah* emerges as symbol of 'restoration' of life and most importantly, her restoration of the belief in 'human-ness' as a virtue which as she witnessed, was disappearing in the people of *Lahore*.

Sharing the similar traumatic experiences, the journey of Puro in film *Pinjar* (2003) of being abducted as a subject of communal revenge and her unusual journey of grief over the loss of her unborn child. On the contrary her actions were filled with resistance as a response to the oppression she was forced to live and comply with which bore nothing to her except endless pain and suffering. The shot where she sullenly wipes away drops of *Rashid's* tears from her face marks her dissent against the governance of female bodies as per the wishes of patriarchal societies. The narrative interweaves her resemblance when she comes across *Pagli*, a mad woman in her village who emerges as an allegory as a beleaguered identities which were born out of partition. She enters in the film as the one who was bearing the wrath of masses who were throwing stones on her and she in contrast was verbally resisting them for this inhuman act. Her image is contrary to what usually a woman is expected to be in a regulated patriarchal world – her bare clothing, her free movements and her existence on the street emerges as a metonym that challenges the spaces of domestication in which feminine identities are usually suppressed. The uncertain sense of identification with the pain of *Pagli* leaves a deep impression on her mind and out of this sense of identification she could realize the pain of a woman who had no name, no family, no physique, no home and nothing overall became a subject of the anguish of mob. Her presence leaves *Puro* with a deep emotional ordeal of her horrified past that unites her with *Pagli's* pain with which she recalls as '*ek aur pinjar*'. It is in this journey that *Rashid's* transformation as a companion who helps *Puro* in rescuing the abducted girls from their captors by risking his own life reflects the possibility that human pain can be transcended across gender-nation paradox. This was reason that *Puro* in the last scene choses *Rashid* as her 'truth' and

'Pakistan' as her home and denies surrendering her identity again in the name of nation. In the same year another film *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag* (2003) was released as a biopic of Milkha Singh, a survivor of partition and its most intense memory which is present in cinematic imagination is 'the trauma that constituted the lives of women who became refugees during Partition'. The fragments of past in the film portrays the haunting realities where announcements of names of 'lost and found' girls and women on loudspeakers in the refugee camp became a painful reality in those times.

One such narrative, *Khamosh Paani* (2003) emerged as an Indo-Pakistani cinematic imaginary that unfolds the identity crisis in the life of *Ayesha Bi* since Partition to the period of 1970s during the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan. She experiences a major emotional setback every time by a question that always tracks her to the dreadful past is when one of her students asked her – '*Why she never goes to well?*'. To this question, her memories are filled with nightmares of partition times when young girls were forced to commit suicide at the village well but she (as *Veero* then) resisted and escaped death by running away from that well. However now as *Ayesha Bi*, she continues to preserve remains of her identity in her trunk – a reservoir of her past, a lost childhood and a bridge to present. But with the changing political scenario she witnesses radical transformation in her son who forcibly bereft her of all her memories. It is quite fascinating to note the presence of a third memory who witnesses this conversation between *Ayesha* and her brother. She constitutes what Fulbrook (2014) recalls as 'communities of connection' that includes individuals who are inevitably associated with a salient past, without being experiencing it personally but recording what it means to 'communities of experience' in the times of holocaust.

In this journey, *Qissa* (2013) is a darkest memoir whose subtext is situated in the times of Partition and its impact on the bodies of women which were considered to be owned by the patriarchs of the families as well as communities. This film by Anoop Singh, in its fragments traces the journey of *Kanwar*, whose father, just like *Nation*, lives in the world of *denial* in which he refuses to accept *Kanwar's* body as a *girl* and hence raises her as a *boy* as per his aristocratic desires. In this dark memoir *Kanwar's* character emerges as 'a character with identity conflict which was born out of macho-nationalism' and it resists the desires of hyper nationalists to promote 'son-of-the soil' theory. By the end of the film, not only *Kanwar* but also *Neeli* denies to accept her father's desire (metaphor of *Nation's* desire) by committing suicide in his house. His soul continues to haunt everybody as a *ghost* inside the house in order to fulfil his maddening desire of a *son*. However, this desire for *son* needs to be understood as a metaphor of a *Nation* which desired male hegemony in the family-nation paradox.

Further, in 2017, Begum Jaan was very much distinct from the earlier mainstream genres of cinematic imaginaries. This film reclaimed that no one can bereave a woman of her home, neither can divide it in pretext of partition line which was executed in 1947. Nation-states and its normative codes, as always, had no place for sex workers in its narrative and hence, it was Begum Jaan who constructs her own home and resists along with her home-mates to preserve it till her last breath. Unlike *Nation*, her home stood as a metaphor of sexual labour of women from all the stratas of society. For outsiders her home was perceived as the most ‘polluted’ and ‘sinister’ space while for its residents, it is a radical mix of identities, desires, cultures, practices, values and ethics. For her, this home was her country that offered the space of existence for the girls who were abducted, abandoned or disowned by the social world. Begum Jaan and her home-mates deny surrendering their home even after the repetitive notices by the officials from both sides of border. She accepts ‘death’ in her home rather than vacating it for building borders. Independence, for her, comes as a war in which she resists her exile and gives birth to most intriguing thread of trans-generational memory in this narrative i.e. character of Laadli, a young child in Begum Jaan’s home, who witnesses this war and the consequent homelessness. She evolves as a bond between the past and present of post-colonial India in which she practices the act of resisting injustice as Begum Jaan’s legacy. After seventy years of independent India, Laadli as an old woman witness the historical injustice to women in everyday lives and she resists this injustice by ‘act of undressing’ herself and laying her body bare open in the front of perpetrators. This act was influential as it not only redefined the reality, but also stood strong as ‘subtle’ form of resistance against the false notion of *Nation* and reaffirms the faith in humanity by strongly supporting the belief in sanctity of life against the hetero-patriarchal societies. Further, the most influential recent imaginaries was *Dastaan* (2010) – a Pakistani TV Series that represented the horrific violence during 1947-56 and the tales of lost humanity and homeland.

The Way Ahead: Re-visiting The Lost Home/Nation

Hence, even after attempts of the detailed reflections on cinematic narratives mentioned above, the pain and trauma that accompanied during partition times in ‘totality’ denies presence of any comprehensible account in popular memory. As Butalia (2000) observes, it remains unimaginable, unbearable and unforgettable. This paper summarises that the emergence of *Nations* results in nothing but painful memories on the bodies and mind of its subaltern. In the present context, these traumatic images shall be restored and communicated on the larger scale to the contemporary generations so that they shall not *forget*; so that their memory shall not become a canon of narrow

and selfish *nation*, especially in the present neo-liberal times. These memories are the inevitable necessary reminders through which they can experience the occurrence of violence and its dreadful impact on the people. These films have a special function to perform for us; it shall enable the discomfiting task of *memorializing* against the comfortable act of *forgetting* how the violence deprived people of their individualities and home by collapsing the very idea of sanctity of human life. Thus this paper argues that the contemporary generations have huge collective responsibility to work in gathering these lost fragments of past and build 'connected' memory in popular imagination which can record and transmit the vicissitudes of violent past. It is the most essential task, especially in the present digital age so that the upcoming generations are not devoid of the memory representing, mourning, resisting and condemning the occurrence of such violent events inscribed on the bodies of its people in the name of *Nation*.

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