

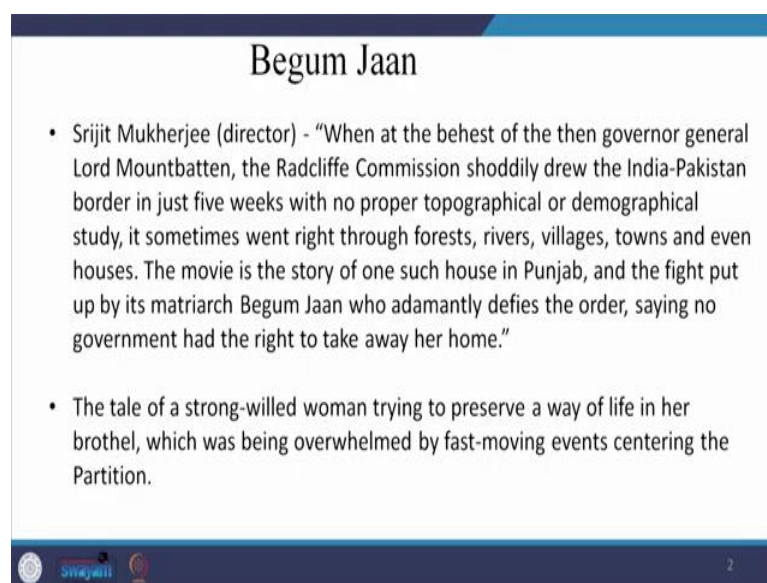
**Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema**  
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**Lecture - 56**  
**Refugee Women and Patriarchal Society - V**

Good morning and welcome back to the lecture series on Partition of India in Print Media and Cinema. So, we are discussing Refugee Women and Patriarchal Society and we are going to discuss today Srijit Mukherjee's film, Begum Jaan. So, Begum Jaan actually explores the problematics associated with border and map-making. It deals with it. In fact, it problematizes and questions the Radcliffe Line, which was drawn arbitrarily and which actually ran through villages, through houses, in fact, through natural topography, separating them into two. It actually went through rivers also, and this actually makes a very important, very interesting case, where a lot of critics ask how a river that is fluid that flows.. what part of it can be arrested and considered as part of one nation-state as opposed to the remaining of the river belonging to the abutting nation-states.



So, how can we actually partition a river, something which is fluid, which is a water body? So, the question of border - it is a valid concept; it is in the postcolonial world, a world that has seen formation of new nations and nation-states, partitioning of one nation into two.

How does... how can we accommodate the idea of very similar humanity.. I mean very similar cultures, ethnicities and the larger practices of people in terms of you know belonging to two separate nations, where one would be...one nation would be, or inhabitant of one nation would be considered as foreigner to the other, whereas they are similar. (Refer Slide Time: 02:39)



**Begum Jaan**

- Srijit Mukherjee (director) - "When at the behest of the then governor general Lord Mountbatten, the Radcliffe Commission shoddily drew the India-Pakistan border in just five weeks with no proper topographical or demographical study, it sometimes went right through forests, rivers, villages, towns and even houses. The movie is the story of one such house in Punjab, and the fight put up by its matriarch Begum Jaan who adamantly defies the order, saying no government had the right to take away her home."
- The tale of a strong-willed woman trying to preserve a way of life in her brothel, which was being overwhelmed by fast-moving events centering the Partition.

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So, Srijit Mukherjee is talking about the Radcliffe Line. He says, the director Srijit Mukherjee says- when at the behest of the then Governor-general Lord Mountbatten the Radcliffe Commission shoddily drew the India-Pakistan border in just five weeks with no proper topographical or demographical study,

it sometimes went right through forests, villages, rivers, towns and even houses. The movie is the story of one such house in Punjab and the fight put up by its matriarch Begum Jaan, who adamantly defies the order, the government order, and she says that no government can take away her you know no government has the right to take away her home, right.

So, it is a tale of a strong-willed woman, who is by profession a prostitute and she is trying to preserve her way of life in her brothel basically and this humdrum life, this mundane life of a group of prostitutes is deeply touched... their lives are overwhelmed by fast-moving events caused by and centering the partition.

So, we see that brothels.. I mean even if we think of the brothel as a space, it is generally... a brothel is never at the heart of a town because these are the marginal peoples, people that the clients meet mostly at the dead of the night, and these clients sometimes come from a very respectable you know strata of the society; they could be you know (like in the case of Begum Jaan) we see the king comes.

So, we see the royalty coming and then we have the policemen, the ministers- everyone come to this brothel, but in the daylight they deny this aspect of their identity; so obviously, a brothel usually is located you know outside of a town and so, Begum Jaan's brothel is somewhere in between two towns on the outskirts, right, on the outskirts of two towns somewhere in between these two towns and so, the story is about the Radcliffe Line running straight through this brothel house.

And as a reaction to this decision imposed from above, the women are reluctant, the sex-workers are reluctant to give up their house, which is their only home. As we can see, many of these women... most of these women are partition victims too. They are victims of riots, communal riots, most of them are rape victims, their families refuse to take them back and so, they have resorted to prostitution as a means of living. (Refer Slide Time: 05:50)

## Begum Jaan

- Brothels were usually situated outside the towns, so Begum Jaan had her brothel in between two towns on their outskirts. The story is about the partition line running through this house and the reluctance of women of the house to give it up. Instead of abandoning the house they put up a tough fight on the attackers.
- The idea of the brothel has been used by the movie to contest the division of the two countries on the basis of religion. It puts forward the question of where people that do not associate themselves with any religion, caste, creed, like prostitutes can place themselves during partition.

Now, they do not want to give up their house, for they have nowhere else to go. So, instead of abandoning the house as the order was put up for them, they resort to, they recourse to a tough fight on the attackers. So, the idea of brothel once again harkens back the discussion on the liminal space, the third zone, which is neither here nor there.

We were talking in the context of Tamas.. we were talking about the rabbis the ones that are born as Muslims, but who sing inside the Gurudwaras. So, they occupy a kind of liminal space. Similarly, in Mani Ratnam's Bombay we see the position of the unisex.

Although it is a very insignificant and short, you know, a role that is played by this unisex, we see that the unisex or commonly known as [hijra] in Indian languages actually lives in a shanty, in a hovel, but the humanity that he or she actually shows is amazing; it stuns the so-called normal/ mainstream people, who are at each other's throats.

I mean in in the face of this I mean in in in this cross fire the the the hermaphrodite or the unisex in Mani Ratnam's Bombay saves the two estranged children the two abandoned children the unisex saves one of the ah two brothers that that are estranged and and that lose their parents and they are wandering on the on the streets the riot stricken streets.

So, we see the humane aspect of the unisex, and it is this unisex who later comes out and you know reprimands the rioters, saying that you are going on doing some mad acts, some rampant you know killing. So, you should... the unisex begs for mercy and asks the rioters to basically stop, you know, this killing spree. We see the third space coming out, emerging as very powerful in different ways.

So, they belong to neither of the two you know staunch groups; I mean neither of the two groups that have their staunch ideologies and positions. Similarly the prostitute. I mean when we think of Mani Ratnam's figuration of the unisex, we cannot but also think of the position of the prostitute vis-a-vis partition. What has a prostitute got to do with partition?

Her life is a kind of trauma, a living trauma, a daily trauma that she has come to terms with, and that she lives, that she has accepted. So, like I said in Begum Jaan, many of these women are riot victims, rape victims that are not taken back by their families and so, the figure of the prostitute woman and the idea of the brothel has been used by the movie because a brothel as a space actually transcends the question of caste, class,

religion; all these divisive categories that create walls among people. It put forward the question of where people like the prostitutes can place themselves during the partition, where do the prostitutes belong vis-a-vis the entire partition drama or partition scenario.

Because they cannot really associate or own up their spouse, their religion, caste, creed that they were born into... they are beyond that. So, Begum Jaan basically calls brothel as their home, where customers do not worry or enquire about the cast, creed or religion of the woman. So, this is I mean sex trade is one of the oldest means of earning, I mean as far as human civilization is concerned in different parts of the world. So, it is one of the oldest trades, oldest means of earning.

And so, there is a kind of candor we could say.. there is a kind of a honesty about these women which cannot... where no external markers or manmade categories actually stick or hold. So, it is the bareness of reality where the man is the client and the woman is selling her body, where the other aspects do not really hold, they fall apart.

So, the feeling among the women is that they do not have any castes, they are all equals and they are all prostitutes, they are all abandoned by the mainstream society. So, the movie actually (we could say it) the movie actually subverts and also points out to the loophole that is present in the idea of partition.

How partition as an imaginary line... and I would like to harken back and recall Amitav Ghosh's term shadow lines.. they are not real lines, but they are shadow lines and how these shadow lines, these imaginary lines reinstate some extreme and violent aspects of humanity that corroborate to the fact that two people from different belief-systems, from different worldviews cannot coexist.

How these lines actually destroyed the lives of thousands of common people? The line is supposed, in this case, to cut apart the brothel and so, one side of the brothel would belong to India and the other would belong to Pakistan. It is a very unnatural and in fact, a laughable proposition, where within the same brothel house, women are engaging in a similar trade -half of the house would be...I mean, half of the prostitutes would be termed as Pakistanis, whereas half would be seen as Indians. It is a laughable prospect basically and Begum Jaan vehemently disagrees to such a prospect you know put forward by the government, the government officials. (Refer Slide Time: 13:30)

## Continued...

- Begum Jaan calls it her home, where the customers don't worry or enquire about the caste, creed or religion of the woman. The feeling among the women of the brothel is that "there's no caste here, we are all the same. We're all prostitutes."
- The movie subverts and points out the loophole in the idea of Partition of how an imaginary line destroyed lives of thousands. The line is supposed to pass cutting apart the brothel, one side of which belongs to India and the other to Pakistan.
- A local policeman mocks the line by saying if the Britishers were creating two nations or drawing a line for a kabaddi match.

Even the policemen at one point in the film, the policemen mock this imaginary line by saying that the Britisher's were creating two nations or drawing this line as if for a kabaddi match, right. (Refer Slide Time: 13:45)

## Refugee

- Gyanendra Pandey-"In the context of 1947, a moment of quite incredible uprooting and violence, displacement in its physical sense refers generally to evacuation and migration. There is, however, another rather unusual aspect to this history of displacement: one that has not been widely discussed. This is the displacement of people who found nowhere to go even after they had been pushed around from place to place - the making of people into refugees in their own homes" (1997, 2261).
- -"Several hundred thousand people were estimated to have been killed; unaccountable numbers raped and converted; and many millions uprooted and transformed into official 'refugees' as a result of what have been called the partition riots" (Pandey 2).

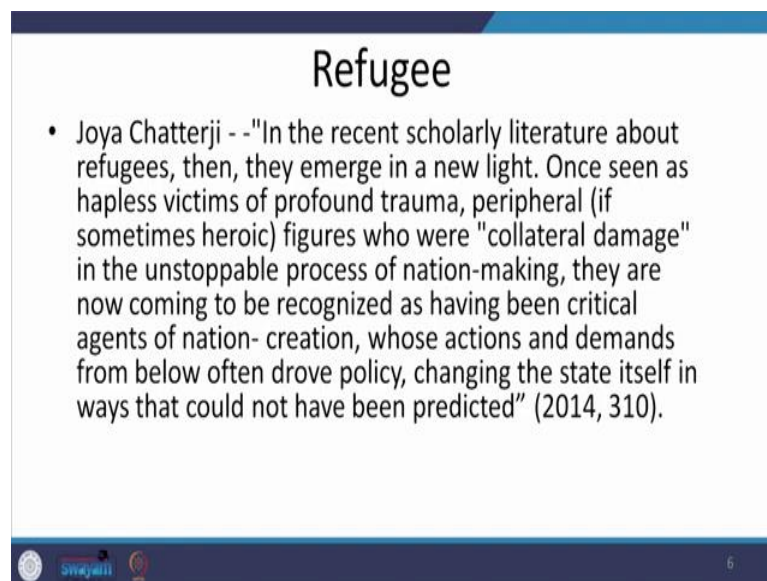
So, Gyanendra Pandey notes that in the context of 1947, a moment of quite incredible uprooting and violence, displacement in its physical sense refers generally to evacuation and migration.

So, what Pandey is trying to look at are the different circumstances of immigration, while for the upper echelons of the society, it was more planned, organized, and there was a question of choice where they would like to resettle. There were a population,

there was a significant section, you know a group of people from the lower strata, who had nowhere to go, who basically were being pushed from place to place.

Here I would like to remind of the case of the Bengali Dalits, basically they came... I mean the case of Bangladesh which underwent [partition] basically three times; it was changed from East Bengal to East Pakistan and further to Bangladesh in 1971 and exodus happened in batches/ in waves. So, it never happened at once and these people actually wandered from West Bengal to the Andamans and then to Dandakaranya and then they came back to Marichjhapi, only to be massacred by the government.

So, they did not, they were being pushed around from place to place, and they have been wandering in search of a permanent home for decades basically. So, the making of common people into refugees was a doing by the partition, it was a deed or partition was culpable for turning ordinary people into refugees in their own homes. (Refer Slide Time: 15:52)



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## Refugee

- Joya Chatterji - "In the recent scholarly literature about refugees, then, they emerge in a new light. Once seen as hapless victims of profound trauma, peripheral (if sometimes heroic) figures who were "collateral damage" in the unstoppable process of nation-making, they are now coming to be recognized as having been critical agents of nation- creation, whose actions and demands from below often drove policy, changing the state itself in ways that could not have been predicted" (2014, 310).

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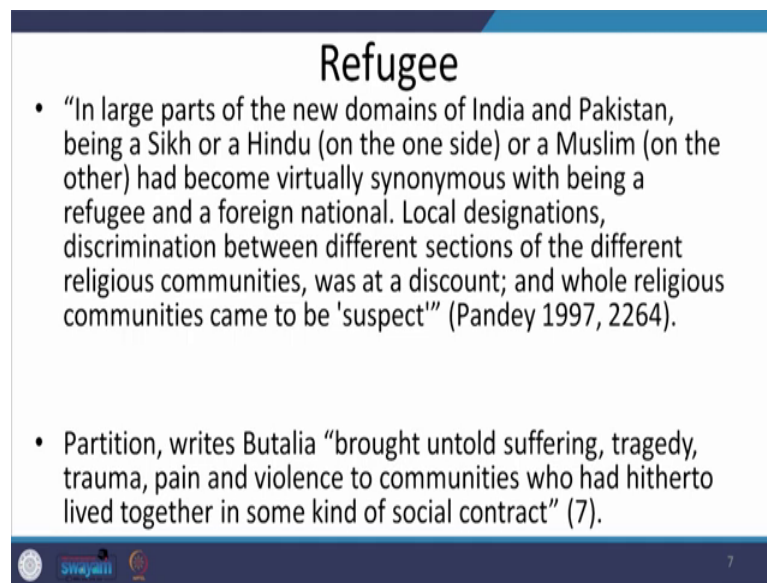
So, Joya Chatterji studies that in the recent scholarly literature about refugees, the refugees actually emerge in a new light.

And so, we cannot only see them as hapless victims of profound trauma, but as Chatterji argues, they are not only takers of collateral damage in this incessant process of nation-making, but they are also recognized as critical agents. So, new scholarship also...recent scholarship revisits the hapless refugee's image by seeing how their actions and demands 'from below' could also influence policies and change the state itself in ways that could





not have been predicted. And this is I mean something we can relate with - the mobilization in the post-partition nation-states, the mobilization by the refugees especially in India, the strikes.. the refugee strikes and the protests and demands put forward by the refugees rendered them a status not only as a victim,

but also someone who could you know determine where they belonged and how they wanted to live. So, they had some decisions to assert about their own life. (Refer Slide Time: 17:38)



## Refugee

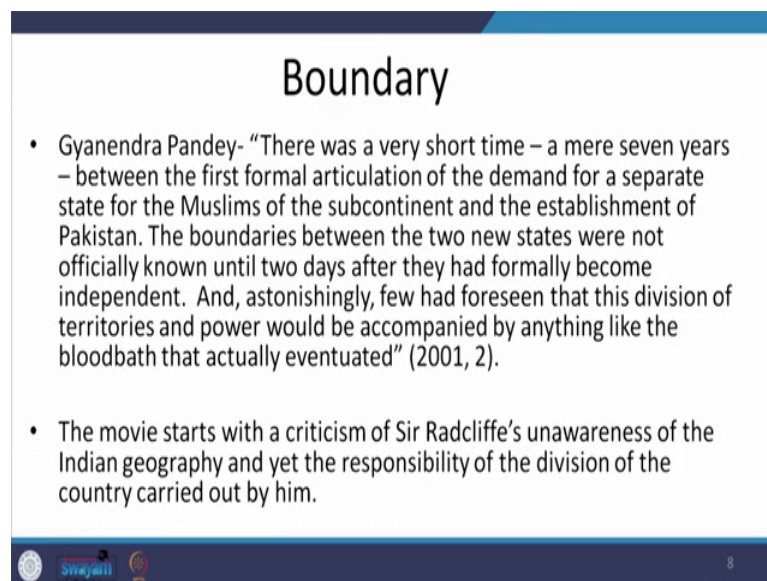
- “In large parts of the new domains of India and Pakistan, being a Sikh or a Hindu (on the one side) or a Muslim (on the other) had become virtually synonymous with being a refugee and a foreign national. Local designations, discrimination between different sections of the different religious communities, was at a discount; and whole religious communities came to be 'suspect'” (Pandey 1997, 2264).
- Partition, writes Butalia “brought untold suffering, tragedy, trauma, pain and violence to communities who had hitherto lived together in some kind of social contract” (7).

 Swayam 

So, we see that after the border is made, (just going away from Begum Jaan to our theoretical backdrop that would enable us to understand the plot better)..

I mean what happens is after the border is made, each community - the Hindu, the Muslim, the Sikh - they are virtually synonymous with being either a native or a refugee or a foreign national, depending on whether they belong to the majority group or the minority. So, a Muslim in India is generally not a very positive figure commonly seen. Similarly, a Hindu in Pakistan is certainly not shown in a very positive light, and so forth.

So, who is the native and who becomes a foreign national is actually determined through these borders, and the question that turns one into a refugee, the new status that turns one into a refugee. So, we see local designations, local discriminations between different sections of/ different religious communities. [They] defined one community as a suspect, one section of people as a suspect as opposed to the other. (Refer Slide Time: 19:05)



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## Boundary

- Gyanendra Pandey- "There was a very short time – a mere seven years – between the first formal articulation of the demand for a separate state for the Muslims of the subcontinent and the establishment of Pakistan. The boundaries between the two new states were not officially known until two days after they had formally become independent. And, astonishingly, few had foreseen that this division of territories and power would be accompanied by anything like the bloodbath that actually eventuated" (2001, 2).
- The movie starts with a criticism of Sir Radcliffe's unawareness of the Indian geography and yet the responsibility of the division of the country carried out by him.

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So, between the first formal articulation of a separate nation-state for the Muslims that is in 1840 with the Lahore Resolution, also known as Pakistan Resolution and the actual establishment of Pakistan, there was merely a span of 7 years. So, the boundaries between the two nation-states were actually not known clearly until a long time; the boundaries of the new states were not known till some time by even by the prominent leaders.

And what is worse, no one could foresee that the exchange of population, blood-bath that actually eventuated would become concomitant with this exchange of population. As we see that bloodbath is concomitant with the exchange of population that happens at the time of partition. So, the movie actually starts with a criticism of Sir Cyril Radcliffe's unawareness - someone who was...

So, Radcliffe was someone who had no idea of the ethos, the culture of India, had been flown in to make this momentous decision and this responsibility of the division of this country - such an important significant decision was carried out by him, which changed the fate of millions of people forever. (Refer Slide Time: 20:56)

**Women**

- Udit Sen- "Refugee women occupy a contradictory position within partition history. On one hand, they are hyper-visible as the 'chief sufferers' of gendered violence, including mass rapes and abductions, that accompanied and followed the partition of India. On the other hand, as soon as the focus shifts from the extraordinary and traumatic events of partition to the mundane and prolonged affair of rehabilitation, women all but disappear from the archives of the state" (201).

Swajali 9

So, [the idea of the] refugee woman is something that Udit Sen is interested in studying, and she says that she holds a very paradoxical contradictory position vis a vis partition history. On the one hand, she becomes hyper visible, super visible as the chief sufferer of gender violence and yet on the other hand, you know once things start settling down, as soon as things settle down the focus shifts to the traumatic events.

So, we see that on the one hand, the women are seen as.. the women are rendered a hyper visible status and on the other, the focus actually shifts from the extraordinary and traumatic events to the mundane and prolonged affair of rehabilitation, where women actually are relegated to the margins; they actually disappear from the archives of the state.

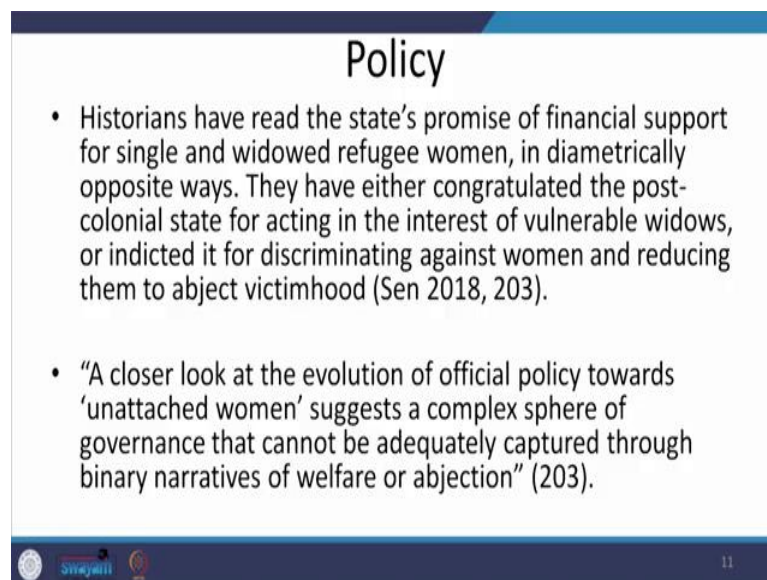
So, when we talk of refugee, we have also discussed how the patrilineal nuclear family was the relevant unit for being counted as a refugee case, let us say. So, the Government of India understood the case of refugee filed through the normative lens of a nuclear family, i.e. by kind of giving importance to the normative nuclear family, which has the male head and the woman is basically you know, the partner to the male or a kin to the male, but not automatically the head of the family. So, the male head of the family emerged as the generic refugee. Refugee as a term is actually... it has a gender connotation, it refers to the able-bodied male, and tacitly it also implies that such a male belongs to middle-class, lower middle-class and if such a refugee is a mouthpiece of its community/ his community, then he automatically belongs to one of the upper castes. So, the normative refugees figure has some caste, class, gender dimensions and so, we have the other refugees who are less refugees as compared to the mouthpiece, right. We have other refugees who are less refugees as compared to this mouthpiece. So, refugee women could expect to gain access to relief and rehabilitation through their male family members. So, refugee women did not even fit into this refugee case or the ideal refugee. So, they became invisible in the rehabilitation process or at least they were rendered a passive status. (Refer Slide Time: 24:55)

## Women

- The government of India privileged the patrilineal nuclear family as the relevant unit for the enumeration of refugees and the disbursement of relief and rehabilitation. As a result, the male head of the family emerged as the generic refugee with whom the state interacted. Refugee women were expected to gain access to relief and rehabilitation through their male family members. However, not all refugee women could fit this ideal (Sen 2018, 201).
- Based on this, it can be inferred that had the women from the brothel in the movie given up their residence, they would have had to suffer harder in the refugee camp with no place for them, as they did not hail from a patrilineal nuclear family.

Based on this it can be inferred that the women from the brothel in the movie (coming back to Begum Jaan), we can say that what was at stake for Begum Jaan and you know her female partners, who were partners in the same trade ...what was at stake for Begum Jaan and her female partners who were in the same trade what was at stake (we could understand) that if they gave up the brothel they would have nowhere to go, they would be rendered the status of/ they would be rendered a further marginal status, they would become an unattached refugee women, they would be you know hurled to, they would be thrown into refugee camps, Permanent Liability camps and they would be converted into beggars; basically, they would have to beg for their upkeep from the government and it would be at the behest of the government that their survival happened. So, the government would give them doles and you know, through the government's welfarist policies their lives would go on, which is not how they were presently living. They were presently at least in charge of their own lives.

So, they would definitely suffer harder in the refugee camps; more so, because they were not from any patrilineal nuclear family their demands in the camps might not be met simply because they did not have any male kin to claim doles for them or to demand on behalf of them. (Refer Slide Time: 26:55)



**Policy**

- Historians have read the state's promise of financial support for single and widowed refugee women, in diametrically opposite ways. They have either congratulated the post-colonial state for acting in the interest of vulnerable widows, or indicted it for discriminating against women and reducing them to abject victimhood (Sen 2018, 203).
- "A closer look at the evolution of official policy towards 'unattached women' suggests a complex sphere of governance that cannot be adequately captured through binary narratives of welfare or abjection" (203).

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So, historians have read the state's promise of financial support for single and widowed refugee women in two diametrically opposite ways. So, I mean there has always been this binary narratives about the refugee women either being you know very successfully rehabilitated through welfare policies by the government or they being you know

resorted/ they being treated in an abject manner or they are facing some kind of abjection.

So, we see that either the historians are congratulating the post-colonial nation-state for acting in the interest of the widows, the unattached women or contrarily, the historians are indicting the state for discriminating against women and reducing these women into abject victims.

So, within this binary formulation or within this binary narrative, we basically do not get a clear-cut picture of what actually happened to the refugee woman. It suggests a complex sphere of governance that cannot be actually determined through binary narratives.

So, now if we look at the policies, there was a special women's section of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation that was set up under Rameshwari Nehru in order to handle the sensitive/ delicate situation as well as the magnitude of problem posed by and inflicted on the refugee women.

The process of recovery itself has been questioned by many critics. Not all women belonged to ...not all women qualified within this category; only the extreme cases were being examined by the likes of Rameshwari Nehru and Mridula Sarabhai. And then Anis Kidwai too.

So, victims of rape recovered, abducted women that had lost their male family members in riots, the widows and also the ones that were abandoned by their families, which fled leaving them behind. (Refer Slide Time: 29:48)

## Policy

- “A special Women’s Section of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation was set up under Rameshwari Nehru... in order to handle the ‘delicacy’ and ‘magnitude’ of the problem posed by refugee women”(Sen 2018, 205).
- “But not all refugee women came under the purview of this section. It focused on those who had been wrenched out of their familial moorings, i.e., victims of rape, ‘recovered’ abducted women, widows, women who had lost their male family members in riots, or those who had been simply abandoned by their fleeing families” (Sen 2018, 205).

These were some of the extreme cases which were being dealt with, which were being taken up by the female social workers.

The less extreme cases of refugee women who were indeed not raped or abducted were not... somehow their questions or their crises have not got registered officially. So, refugee women made their way into the official discourse or they became visible in the official discourse of rehabilitation only through social rupture, only if something abnormal happened to them did they become visible, otherwise not. (Refer Slide Time: 30:47)

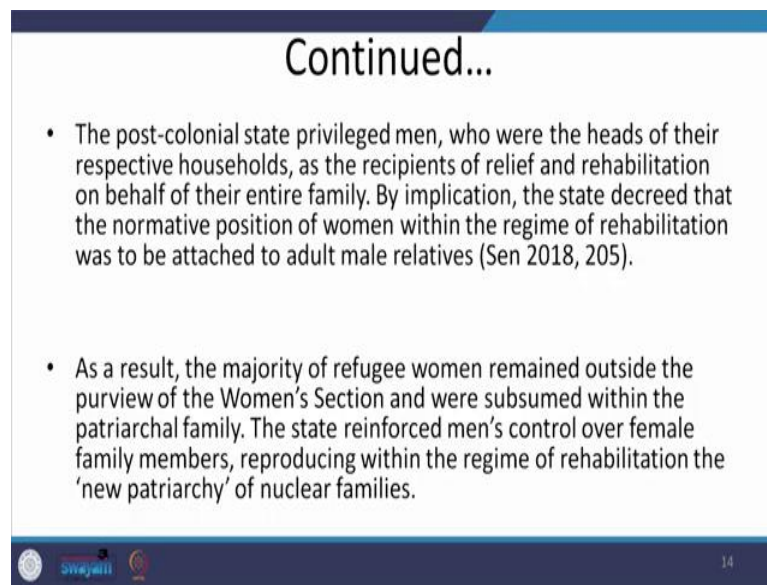
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- “Refugee women made their way into the official discourse of rehabilitation only through social rupture. The official term for such women, who were regarded as exceptional cases requiring special care, was ‘unattached women’” (Sen 2018, 205).
- On looking at the characters of the movie, we see they stand as misfits for the definition of these ‘unattached women’ since they do not have a male support or have familial ties in the first place. So being refugees for these women gets complicated at several levels.

So, the official term for such women who were regarded as exceptional cases was the unattached women. As soon as the refugee women had a male kin, she was not



automatically the state's burden or the state's liability. So, we realize after looking... based on this background information when we see the characters in Begum Jaan, the female partners in Begum Jaan's sex trade, they stand as misfits for the definition of unattached women, they do not have any male support or familial ties in the first place. So, unattached women are basically the ones whose males have died in war or due to riots. These women do not have any males in the first place to lose. So, becoming a refugee would make their lives even more complicated at several levels. (Refer Slide Time: 31:56)



**Continued...**

- The post-colonial state privileged men, who were the heads of their respective households, as the recipients of relief and rehabilitation on behalf of their entire family. By implication, the state decreed that the normative position of women within the regime of rehabilitation was to be attached to adult male relatives (Sen 2018, 205).
- As a result, the majority of refugee women remained outside the purview of the Women's Section and were subsumed within the patriarchal family. The state reinforced men's control over female family members, reproducing within the regime of rehabilitation the 'new patriarchy' of nuclear families.

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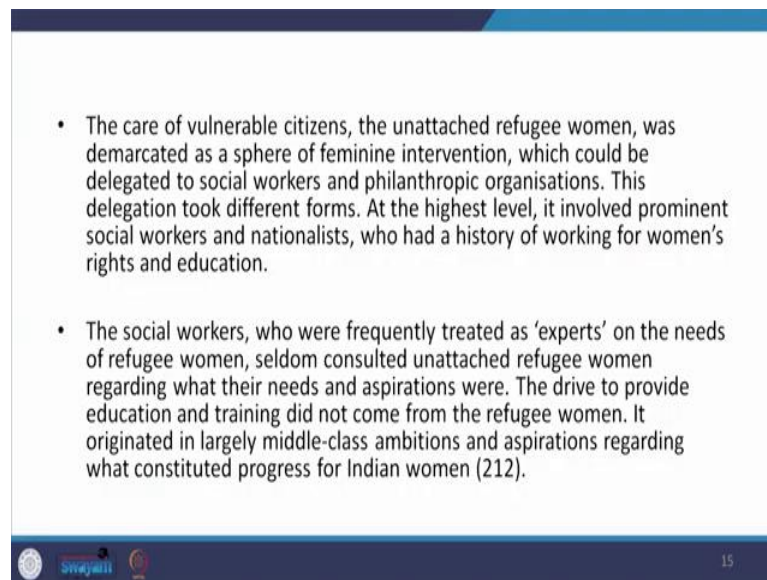
So, the post-colonial state privileges men that are head of respective household as recipients of relief and rehabilitation on behalf of the entire family. So, the man actually represents the family as a unit. By implication, the state decreed that the normative position of women within the regime of a rehabilitation was to be attached to some male kin.

So, most of the refugee women were subsumed within the patriarchal family, right. They were outside the purview of the women's section which was dealing with the extreme cases of unattached women, right. The normal women never came into the picture, into the larger schema; the question of the normal refugee woman never appeared in the national picture, in the largest schema.

So, the state reinforced by such you know designs... the state was reinforcing male's control over the females, the female family members and it was thereby reproducing and normalizing through the regime of rehabilitation the new patriarchy of nuclear families.

So, the unattached women, the care of unattached women who were seen as vulnerable citizens was relegated or was demarcated as a sphere of feminine intervention, which could be dealt with by the social workers and the philanthropic organizations. So, technically speaking even government was not dealing with the cases of women.

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- The care of vulnerable citizens, the unattached refugee women, was demarcated as a sphere of feminine intervention, which could be delegated to social workers and philanthropic organisations. This delegation took different forms. At the highest level, it involved prominent social workers and nationalists, who had a history of working for women's rights and education.
- The social workers, who were frequently treated as 'experts' on the needs of refugee women, seldom consulted unattached refugee women regarding what their needs and aspirations were. The drive to provide education and training did not come from the refugee women. It originated in largely middle-class ambitions and aspirations regarding what constituted progress for Indian women (212).

It was the social workers and the philanthropic organizations that dealt with such women's cases. At the highest level it involved prominent social workers and nationalists, such as Rameshwari Nehru, Mridula Sarabhai, Anis Kidwai, who had a history of working for women's rights and education. Now, what is the interface between these female social experts or workers and the, you know, unattached female refugees?

It is not always a very smooth relationship; such a relationship could also be hegemonic and forceful, I mean, because the social workers were treated as they know it all about the needs of the refugee women, and many a times the social workers would not even consult these women about what they needed, what they aspire to be and or where they aspire to be. There were forceful relationships between the social female social workers and the unattached women many a times.

So, the drive to educate women, to train them to make clothes or handicrafts, buy them sewing machines - all these trainings were coming 'from above' and not 'from within.' These were not suggestions given by the refugee women by and large. So, what we see is that the female social workers are an extension of the largely middle-class ambitions and aspirations regarding what constituted progress and you know, progress and goodness in the larger sense, for the Indian woman.

So, the refugee woman was not automatically allowed to decide her fate. It was the female social worker who acted as a wing of the government, who decided what/ how much they should get educated, what they should study, how they should earn their livelihood, what trainings and skills be given to them; it was not the refugee woman.

So, the portrayal of the women in the movie Begum Jaan stands as a contrast to this popular portrayal of women in partition, where they are passive takers of whatever is being doled out to them. They do not have, you know, they do not have much at stake. So, the brothel work is a business for these women and their profession and so, they treat this house as both their workplace and their place of recreation, their shelter, their home. These women do not have any ties, like I have already said. (Refer Slide Time: 37:06)

## Agency

- The portrayal of the women in the movie *Begum Jaan* stands as a contrast to the popular portrayal of women in partition.
- The brothel work is a business for these women, their profession. Their house is both their workplace and their home.
- These are women with no ties left, they associate themselves with no caste and religion. Their house is the only asset they possess. As a consequence, an attack on this house will leave these women with absolutely nothing like many victims of partition.

They associate themselves with no caste or religion; they are beyond that. They have left their families behind them. So, this house, this brothel house is the only thing that they possess and they cannot give that away. They are not ready to forego the house as a consequence.

I mean an attack on the house leaves the women with absolutely nothing. They are rendered a victim status and they become a victim of partition differently and if we can say doubly, right. They are once raped (many of them are rape victims), they are victims of riots and that is how they have landed up in the brothel. Now once the brothel is taken away from them they would be reduced to beggars.

So, they are doubly victimized and you know, they are doubly harmed by the partition. With this, I am going to stop today's lecture. Let us meet again for another round of discussions.

Thank you.