POPULAR GEOPOLITICS AND THE DISCOURSE ON INDIA-PAKISTAN BORDER: A STUDY OF SELECTED TEXTS

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled "Popular Geopolitics and the Discourse on India-Pakistan Border: A Study of selected Texts" submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADC   *aides-de-camp*

AIML   All India Muslim League

BSF   Border Security Force

CAP   Citizen Archive of Pakistan

GDR   German Democratic Republic

NCJP   National Commission for Justice and Peace

NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: BORDERS FROM A CRITICAL GEOPOLITICS PERSPECTIVE

1.1 BACKGROUND

Borders are not only markers of a state's sovereignty, but pervade the social and cultural structures of a society, including ideas, notions and perceptions about the state and the nation. As territorial markers of the nation-state they also shape the identities of people living within and outside of the nation-state. The collective identity of the humans results from the binaries created by these artificial political linear entities or boundaries. These binaries though made tangible by hard borders, can be located within the territory at numerous places. Institutions of the state, their documents, historical narrative of the state, mythology, folklore, and rituals bear witness to the presence of the borders within the geographical boundaries of the state. Increasingly border making, like place making, is visible through the discourses which emanate from the above mentioned locations. These sites and avenues combine to create a discourse about borders which is reflected in the vernacular and various forms of interactions taking place within the society. Furthermore, borders are also present in everyday lives of people, in the form of conversations about the nations, states and their territory.

Such conversations at a larger level are carried out by mass media through newspapers, television, cinema, cartoons and the textual form is exemplified by novels, historical and contemporary narratives and travelogues. The recent adoption of the Internet by a large populace of the planet provides a more dynamic venue for furthering the discourse. The current study however, is concerned with the presence of borders in texts, mainly, novels and travelogues. The focus of the study is the India-Pakistan border, which because of the intense geopolitical rivalry since the independence from the British rule has received attention from scholars and writers from around the world.

The defining moment in the politics of Indian sub-continent is the geographical Partition alongside independence from the British rule. The current borders are a result of the haphazard and hasty transition of India from one large nation to two nation-states. The division highlighted the existing religious differences between the Hindus and Muslims and caused a loss of millions of lives due to the violence during the migration of huge Hindu and Muslim populations. Some scholars have argued that partition led to a migration rarely witnessed in such a short period of time.

The event of partition as it caused suffering and pain, culminated in myriad forms of representation of the event as well as of the geographical border it created. The study examines selected texts both fictional and non-fictional which represent both the event of partition and its impact and the India-Pakistan border. The selected texts are of multiple literary types (plays, short stories, novels, travelogues, narratives, personal accounts and interviews) and provide an insight into the impact of the border in the lives of the affected people.

Globalization as a process has led to the substitution of 'space of places' with the 'space of flows' (Manuel Castells, 1989) which marks a challenge for border studies in terms of both evaluating the impact of the myriad movements facilitated by the process as well as in contextualizing the field of border studies. The world in its contemporary form is characterized by assemblages (Sassen, 2008), territorial networks (Painter 2010) and the fluid character of the boundaries creates conceptual problems in understanding borders in their hard geopolitical character. The networked nature of the society provides a new dimension to borders and it demands new developments in the way they have been theorized. Geopolitical borders are frequently crossed, transgressed and increasingly violated owing to various pressures from people, goods and information. Categories such as legitimate and illicit movements have made borders more stringent than easing them. On the other hand, borders themselves as geopolitical entities are characterize by dynamism. Their fluidity can be evidenced from the fact that even in the twenty first century we have instances where territories are changing hands among two adjacent states or new states are being created in the system leading to the change in the borders of various

state entities[1]. Many current studies about 'borders in motion' (Zartmann 2010, Konrad 2015) emphasize the dynamic and fluid character of borders. The complicated nature of geopolitical borders is further enhanced by their fluidity and being-in-motion in combination with the all pervasive process of neo-liberal global capitalism.

Borders are also socially constructed. The pioneering work on the Finnish-Russian Border emphasized the importance of understanding the language of borders by Anssi Paasi (1996). Through the matrix reproduced below he argued that the process of construction of 'self' and 'other' results in the two languages: the language of integration and the language of difference. "Whereas the language of integration aims at homogenizing the contents of collective spatial consciousness and experiences, the language of difference strives to distinguish this homogenized experience from the other"(Paasi 1996: 220).

Table 1: An analytic framework for forms of socio—spatial integration and distinction

	Here	There
We	Integration within a territory	Integration over boundaries
Other	Distinction within a territory	Distinction between us and them

Source: (Paasi 1996:14)

Paasi's reference to the languages of homogenization and differentiation indicates that borders have a deep rooted historical and social context which defines the self and the other. These two processes may occur beyond the edges of the states and bordering may happen within the state as well. Such instances of language of differentiation and integration can easily be witnessed in the prevalent literature, art, cinema, newspapers and theatre on both sides of the border. The study therefore seeks to understand the construction of the language of border and bordering through different writings. The selected texts include authors from both India and Pakistan. The defining moment in this case is the partition of British India into two different polities during 1947. The language of partition has ever since pervaded the literature on both

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[1] Political instability in many regions has resulted in birth of new states. The Republic of South Sudan acquired statehood as late as 2011. Such political changes have transformed the geographies of the world and also led to the multiplication of spatial borders.

side of the Indo-Pak border. The study, however, focuses on selected literature from both sides of the territorial divide and seeks to analyze and interpret the creation of self and other in this work.

As demonstrated through the matrix, the language of borders does not only reside at the boundary line but it can also be witnessed within the respective territories of the two states. For the purpose of the research, the discourses on India- Pakistan border have been examined in not just geo-historic context but also in contemporary context via textual analysis. The study involves interpretation of prominent literary works written not only during and immediately after the partition but authors kept revisiting the trauma of partition even in their later work. The thesis relies on five selected works by five different authors which includes both fiction and nonfiction to bring out the diversity in understanding different kinds and types of borders. The selected body of literary texts include short stories by Urdu writer Saadat Hasan Manto, *Train to Pakistan* a classic of modern Indian fiction by Khushwant Singh (1956), *Midnight's Children* a famous novel by Salman Rushdie (1981), *Amritsar to Lahore* by American- Indian author Stephen Alter (2000) and a very recent work *The Footprints of Partition* by Pakistani development professional Anam Zakaria (2015). As one can see, the selected body of work shares publication dates which are spread across time, this decision was consciously done to evoke the memory of that one particular moment in the history that constructed enduring boundaries between India and Pakistan. This shows how writers are reflecting on same subject but each time highlighting a different aspect of partition which left a deep mark on the surface of the two neighbouring states.

Midnight's Children is one of the most popular works by Rushdie that earned him international fame and repute. Some of the features of this novel are- The book has extensive international readership. It has become one of the standard works which has been included in University curriculum worldwide. In the year 2003, the novel was staged by the Royal Shakespeare Company. After been awarded the Booker Prize in 1993, in 2008 the book also won Best of Booker Prize which was based on popularity. Out of the total number of votes nearly 36% people voted for Rushdie's *Midnight Children* (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/7499495.stm). In 2012, at Toronto International Film Festival an adaptation of the novel as a film directed by Deepa Mehta by the same name was also released.

Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* is considered to be a classic penned on partition. The popularity of this novel stems from the fact that originally written in English, the novel is translated in several Indian languages such as Hindi and Tamil. Apart from this, the work is also adapted both as a play and as a film (Train to Pakistan, 1998, Dir. Pamela Rooks).

The aforementioned works of literature have been chosen keeping in mind the overall framework of this research. The five works included belong to different genres from short stories, magic realism, historical drama, travel account to narratives. In terms of temporality, Manto's and Singh's writings were crafted and based on events during and just after the partition, Rushdie's work gradually builds the political and the social landscape starting from 1915 to late 1970s. Alter's book captures the facets of borders after 50 years of partition and Zakaria tries to retrace the history by revisiting popular memory and also showing the variance in public opinion across generations. Thus, the selection of these texts were based on heterogeneity and diversity in terms of themes, genre, temporal variations and objectivity in terms of including works from both sides of the borders

The study purports to examine the texts and show how these writings also to some extent have tried to challenge the political notions of the elites. The writings distinctly lay out the geographical mapping of those times that have shaped the geopolitical realities of today. The textual sources have interwoven an intricate web of politics through the portrayal of mundane life of the people depicting varying shades and variances of issue in question. The literary discourse has knit the geopolitical culture in its various manifestations at different levels in the society to show the divide which still continues to be a major bone of contention and has fuelled hostile relations between the two neighbouring states. The work ventures to demonstrate the revelatory powers of art through an innovative exploration of narration, memories, short stories, novels and histories and form a juncture between border, geopolitics, history, fiction and creative writing. It is to be noted how the authors carefully narrativize the different aspects of border inscriptions and turns them into these compelling bodies of literatures.

As stated above the present study aims to decipher the process through which border between India and Pakistan get concretized. It employs critical geopolitical reasoning

and traces bordering via the analysis of texts. There are few important constituents of the present study namely- Borders, Critical Geopolitics, Text and Discourse. With burgeoning literature both on Critical geopolitics and Border Studies the existing scholarship on these areas is very diverse and disparate. The study attempts to establish a link between the aforementioned diversified fields. It is important to delve into certain ideas that have informed the core chapters of the thesis. The following sections and subsections will navigate the way through some of the concepts that are the forerunners of the present research.

1.1.1 Geopolitics

The term 'geopolitics' is referred to and is understood in a number of different ways. The usage of this term in normal parlance instantaneously gives an impression of serious political indulgence or a crisis. It is in fact the most commonly used shorthand term employed in political arenas, print and media journalism, policy documents, bureaucratic circles and academia in reference with the events taking place in the international sphere. In general understanding, it refers to the interplay of politics, threats and power in the international system. But on close scrutiny it is evident that geopolitics is broader than what it is generally understood as. The popular usage of the term in newspapers or on television differs from its academic connotation.

Geopolitics is an offshoot of human geography, in simplest terms as stated by Klaus Dodds it is "a way of looking and engaging with the world" (Dodds 2014; 5). It is important to note that on one hand, some geopolitical issues grab a lot of attention while some go totally unnoticed. The not so visible traces of geopolitical practices breed at various levels of the society and assume a significant role in public domain; they have strong abstract existence that has an impact on the overall geopolitical scenario.

1.1.2 Critical Geopolitics

After the end of the cold war, the discipline of geopolitics began to witness a downfall. The classical geopolitical theories were increasingly becoming outdated and inadequate in their applicability. Several epistemological criticisms were levied and academia started labelling the subject as redundant. The modified version of geopolitics that finds contemporary relevance is critical geopolitics. The critical

geopolitical scholarship raised questions to the various tenets of geopolitical understanding. Critical geopolitics has redefined and re-established geopolitics as those discursive practices through which the political events taking place in the world are spatialised and also represented at various levels (O' Tuathail & Agnew 1992: 192). Figure 2 on page 10 presents the threefold typology of critical geopolitics that depicts how the geopolitical imagination of the dichotomous understanding of self and other leads to the spatialization of threats in the world. The spatialising process materialises via formal, practical and popular practices performed by different agents. There are myriad of actors that are constantly engaged in activities that have direct geopolitical implications.

The dynamic nature of geopolitics is contingent upon the political dramas that take place at various levels on the world stage. It is not just the conventional political arena where geopolitics features but there are various other platforms that find active geopolitics taking place which operates in undertone and is less noticed. Critical geopolitics focuses its attention on these parallel geopolitical practices that are either disguised or partially concealed and sometimes are also consciously camouflaged in everyday life. The web of geopolitics and geopolitical operations are robust and multilayered, critical geopolitics not only identifies but also brings to the surface the plurality of such practices.

O' Tuathail and Dalby in their seminal work proposes five basic tenets on which critical geopolitics is based. These lay the foundation of further critical engagements. The first tenet talks about geopolitics to be a broader cultural practice, the second talks about plurality of multiple meaning associated with space. The third tenet speaks that Geopolitics in itself is a plurality. The fourth talks about geopolitical practices to never be neutral and the last claims geopolitics to be a situated reasoning. (O' Tuathail and Dalby, 1998).

The very nature of geopolitics being plural makes it difficult to define. For Dodds it is a perspective, Agnew calls it reasoning while Tuathail and Agnew have said that it is about story telling giving it a narrative expression. Critical geopolitics by its virtue questions basic assumptions, existing beliefs, political structures and conjectures and relies on the dictum that world is socially constructed. Geographers like Dodds, Kuus and Sharp exclaim that "the analytical focus of critical geopolitics is not on any set of

territories, borders or actors- however diverse- but rather on the process by which these categories are produced" (Dodds, Kuus & Sharp, 2013) . Taking cue from this proposition the present research attempts to look at one such aspect where the attention is primarily directed to those sites that have produced, reproduced, created, recreated, shaped and reshaped the geopolitical thinking and understanding of cross border interactions and associations.

It is argued that the practitioners of geopolitics are not just the people who are directly associated with practice of statecraft such as politicians, bureaucrats and the like but there are other non-conventional actors other than those mentioned above who have significantly contributed to the geopolitical thinking and practice. Their nuanced ways of representing and depicting geopolitical realities is to a large extent directly related and influenced by the mainstream geopolitics. There is no denying that the non conventional accounts of geopolitical reality are more flexible. They are deeply embedded in the sociological realms. They succeed in highlighting the varying degree of penetration of (geo)politics in everyday life. The basic difference between a conventional, cliché geopolitical account and a parallel non conventional one is the fact that the former is a top down approach while the latter serves the dual purpose of projecting a more diversified picture that not only succeeds in showing the social realities but simultaneously it also highlights the geopolitical essence.

A close scrutiny of such parallel and implicit geopolitical accounts reveals that they convey disparate meanings; they not only depict the imagined geography of places, people and societies but they also show the intersection and relation between politics and the socio-political environment of that particular time. Thus with the critical geopolitical perspective the multilayered nature of politics and geopolitics is foregrounded. The emphasis of this approach on the rethinking and deconstructing the existing assumptions makes it a distinct field of enquiry.

Originating from critical geopolitics, popular geopolitics charts the beginning of a new horizon in the discipline of geopolitics. Some three to four decades ago it would have been unnerving to say that the popular culture and mass media is an indispensible dimension of the study of geopolitics. The content that is circulated via popular cultural representations should no longer be seen as a neutral portrayal of reality. It was Edward Said who directed the attention to the relation between cultural

products and politics. According to him "as the study of culture extends into the mass media, popular culture, micro-politics, and so forth, the focus on modes of power and hegemony grows sharper" (Said, 1993: 72). Popular geopolitics is one such study where the practitioners study the geopolitical culture through the media. Many a times there are hidden agendas behind production of the cultural products. The popular strand of geopolitics contends that popular media is actively involved in staging certain geopolitical ideas and their content is more constitutive and driven geopolitically. In present day and age, popular material contributes significantly in scripting the geopolitical fervour and establishing a desired geopolitical culture.

However, attention to the spatial pervasiveness of politics and its situatedness in everyday life was already been recognized by political geographers like Joe Painter who in his book 'Politics, Geography and Political Geography' (1995) differentiated between formal and informal politics. He believed that formal politics that confines to war, foreign policy, international relations, polity related agenda such as election governance etc are commonsensical assumptions about politics which is very narrow and restricted in its scope (Painter, 1995: 8). He also mentioned that formal politics is always viewed as something that impacts the everyday life but politics being a part of everyday life is often ignored. Painter validates his claim that politics is everywhere by borrowing from Foucault's idea of power. Power through capillary action percolates into the most mundane sites of everyday affair and social interactions thereby diffusing politics to even interpersonal realms.

Media (specially with the coming of internet) plays a very important role in propagating geopolitics all over the world. It is instrumental in disseminating information to remotest of places. Scholars like Klaus Dodds believe that collection, distribution, circulation and reception of geopolitical information is not a neutral process (Dodds, 2000; 71). There are evidences that show how popular sources act as a geopolitical tool and promote a certain geopolitical vision, thereby legitimizing them through propaganda. Popular geopolitics is that branch of critical geopolitics that focuses its attention on those non conventional sites where geopolitical understanding and knowledge is received by larger masses through populism. There are places other than formal settings where geopolitics in implied sense is understood and as geopolitical processes are also under constant action. It is popular geopolitics

that emphasises the role of these parallel sources of ideas and representations that augments in the formation of various geopolitical expressions.

Voices of dissent coming from within the academic circle of geopolitics provided sound footings to the subject. It was proclaimed that "geopolitics is not a discrete and relatively contained activity confined only to a small group of wise men who speak in the language of classical geopolitics" (O' Tuathail and Agnew, 1992: 194). Geopolitics has always been inextricably linked with the dynamism of various aspects of social sciences like politics, geography, power, knowledge identity and spatiality that is not alone confined to mainstream politics but can easily be located in mundane life of the people. To name a few- films, radio, television, newspaper, magazines, comics, cartoon, music, novels, poetry, art, internet are those popular means through which geopolitics is represented in varying forms and also widely circulated. They get dispersed in society and invoke an understanding of global geopolitical spaces.

For critical understanding of geopolitics it is important for its practitioners to focus their attention on diverse fields that make use of geopolitical subjects in their production but are traditionally not included as the subject matter of geography or geopolitics. In broadest sense, any domain that addresses a geopolitical problem either factually or creatively by default involves exploration of spaces and their relations in various combinations. Many times creative and liberal arts delve into the role of politics in making and remaking the rubrics of society by using their aesthetics and artistic skills. It is through the creative pursuits of writing, film making, curation that the cultural tastemakers are able to give a radical response to the geopolitical experiences of the past and the present. Creativity is a form expression, for those at the receiving end it is also a source of information that acts like a medium of creating awareness. On close scrutiny it becomes clear that geopolitical underpinnings are often the backdrop that inspires its practitioners to indulge in critically appraisal. It questions the historical geographies of imperialism, colonialism, communalism and others that have impacted the political geographies of today.

Plurality imparts distinctiveness to fictional and creative writings and this makes them non-conformist. They are free to cross disciplinary boundaries without following any structured theoretical framework that would make it unidirectional or confine it within a single framework. There is no set compartmentalization of such works and neither

do they have any prescribed nomenclature or moorings to which they rely upon. The interventions by the creative industries provide larger platforms to explore unidentified avenues. The path followed by such pursuits is carved by their intellectual propositions are rooted in geopolitical inspirations and practices.

Literature is a separate domain that has always been there in existence both as a university subject and otherwise. It too can act as a medium of geopolitical imagination. It is a field of practice that has addressed myriad of diverse themes that surpasses scales, places and spaces. There have been different modes through which literature has directly and implicitly brought serious issues on board by discussing, criticising, evaluating, exhibiting and also appreciating them in its own distinct fashion. At times literature tends to open a Pandora's box by discussing a particular instance and highlighting the most disturbing elements. The neutrality although cannot be sustained for very long. The embeddedness of geopolitics in literature gives it a twofold meaning. It is viewed as a tool of enacting geopolitics at the same time it is also performing geopolitics by acting as a source of propagating geopolitical information. Literature is also an important means of looking at the society. For instance, as highlighted by Said- writings produced throughput the nineteenth century have profound imperial undertone (Said, 1993: 90). Different illustrations in literature provide detailed description of the manner in which social spaces are imagined.

Figure 1.1: A Critical Theory of Geopolitics as a Set of Representational Practices

| Mass media Cinema Novels Cartoons | Foreign Policy Bureaucracy Political Institutions | Strategic Institutions Think Tank Academia |

POPULAR GEOPOLITICS   PRACTICAL GEOPOLITICS   FORMAL GEOPOLITICS

Geopolitical map of the world

SPATIALISING OF BOUNDARIES AND DANGERS

Geopolitical Imagination

GEOPOLITICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF SELF AND OTHER
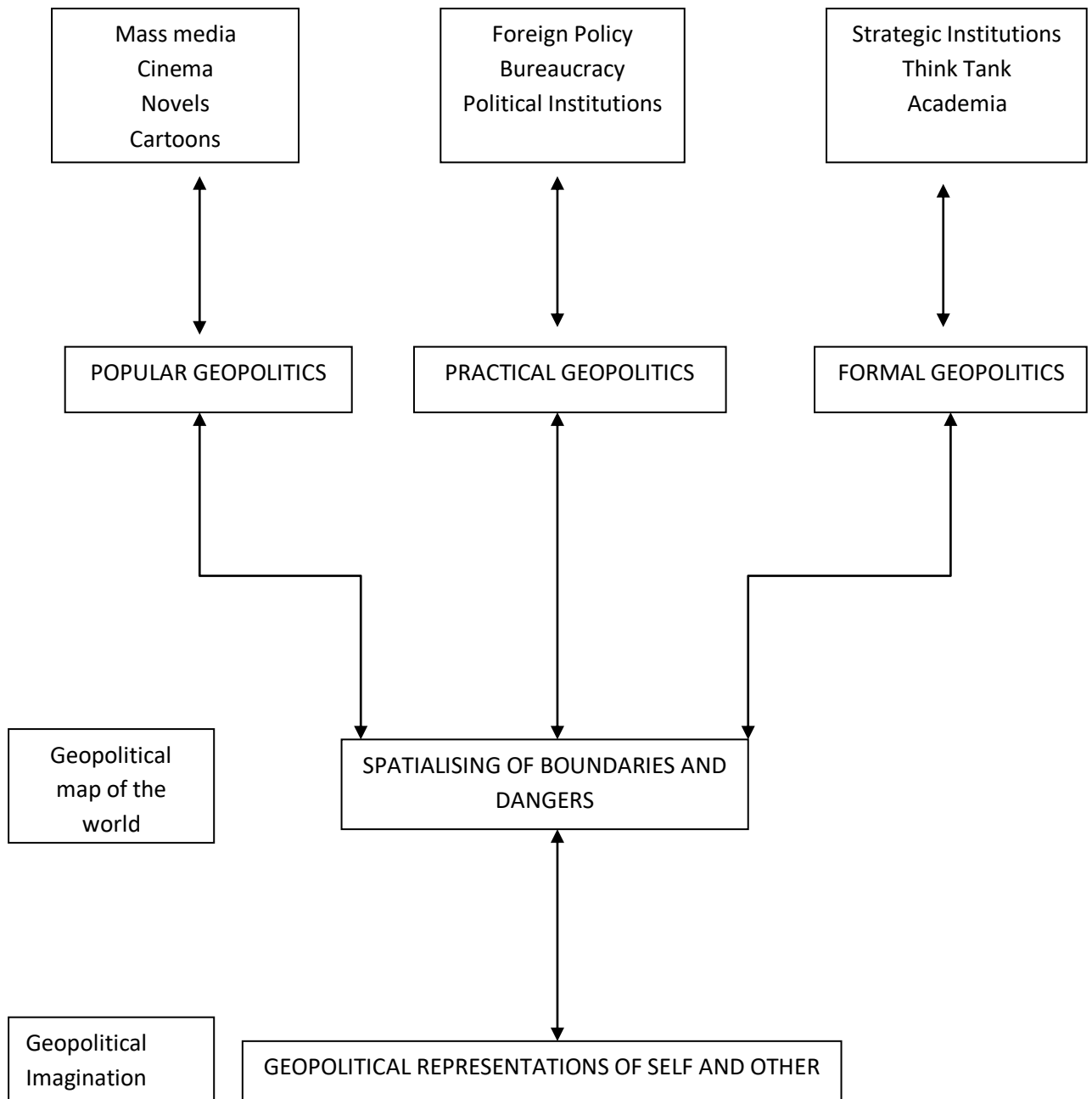
Source- Ò Tuathail, Gearóid and Dalby, Simon (1998: 5),

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1.1.3 Geopolitics and Discourse

Geopolitics in itself is a discourse (O' Tuathail and Agnew, 1992). Discourse of which a particular geopolitical imagination is a part, directs the course of geopolitical decisions and practices. The understanding of the social world depends largely on the existing discourse. Gearoid O' Tuathail argues that the discipline of geography is both a social as well as a political discourse within which the questions of ideology and politics are deeply ingrained (O' Tuathail, 1989). By considering the academic disciplines as discourse, the subject matter and the body of work get rooted in the discipline. The sense of detachment from the object of analysis is overcome because by treating the discipline as discourse they become the part of the world and not something that lies outside of it (Painter, 1995: 22). The dynamic nature of world politics give rise to a new political discourse and within this discourse geopolitics also experiences revival and renewal that calls its scholar for rethinking (O' Tuathail, Dalby and Routledge, 1998). Discourse is not something which has a concrete material existence rather it is tacit but with real consequences. Discourses are defined as capabilities that enable people to understand the written and spoken ideas and derive meanings. Discourse is not a means through which a structure is determined rather it is the circulating ideas that are instrumental in forming a discourse. Critical geopolitics gives impetus to the idea that there is a need to contemplate in detail, how is geographical understanding featuring in the geopolitical functioning of the statecraft.

Discourse is not limited to but can include ideas, language, text, practices, representations, symbols, performances, meanings and metaphors and so on. It has multiple meanings and ranges from a verbal communication to systematic set of ideas in speeches and writings. There are places where the term discourse is used interchangeably with text. The two terms vary; discourse is a larger whole of which text is a part. Text generally is either a written account or is present as symbols and signs while discourse is not just a verbal or a written account of a particular idea but includes other things as well. Discourse provides a perspective that guides the outlook towards the surrounding world.

Taking cue from Michel Foucault, Joe Painter has tried to illuminate on formal\informal politics and has also explained how politics pervades at every level

through discursive and interpretative framework. In Foucault's understanding 'politics is about power' (Painter 1995; 10) and in contemporary society there are invisible powers that saturate the everyday life of the people which is also referred as 'capillary power'. Any given situation, issue condition, statement is rendered meaningful to the people in a number of different ways. A particular understanding is a result of an evaluation process. It undergoes a set of filters; who says\writes what, how, where, in which context and in what way does the said\written thing conforms to the existing dominant belief or the common understanding of a particular individual\group in time and space. This expansive process is termed as discursive formation or simply discourse. It is through discourse that a particular understanding becomes meaningful in society or by individuals.

1.1.4 Border as a geopolitical subject

Critical geopolitics as a field of enquiry asserts that geopolitics is not just confined to conventional political arena but has recognized the presence of various other alternate platforms where the occupancy of geopolitics should be addressed. The reinvention of critical geopolitics as a disciplinary inquiry that engages in comprehending geopolitics as discursive praxis is advantageous for the new body of work in border studies. However the earlier trends in critical geopolitics showed initial indifference to border related themes but later the two domains partly became fused (Paasi, 2013: 214). The linchpin of the confluence of these two subject matters arises from the fact that both demand to focus their attention from the mainstream, directly discernable issues to the sidelined less recognized affairs. The two overlap in their dismissal of taken for granted role of geography.

Another complementary factor is the conceptual plurality that the two advocate. Out of its various tenets critical geopolitics lays emphasis on plurality of multiple meanings associated to space and endorses the idea that geopolitics itself is a plurality. As discussed above, border has evolved into an assemblage of multiple meanings. Borders mean differently to different people and can be interpreted in a number of different ways (Rumford 2012:894). Scholars of critical geopolitics have argued that it is "a plural ensemble of representational practices that are diffused throughout societies" (O'Tuathail and Dalby, 1998: 4). A similar point about the diffusion of borders is made by Balibar when he speaks about their ubiquity (Balibar,

2002: 84). Critical geopolitics is based on the axiom of world being socially constructed and the most widely accepted definition of contemporary border also projects borders to be socially constructed abstractions. Some of the exponents of critical geopolitics such as Dalby have defined geopolitics as an ideological process of constructing various types of social, political, spatial and cultural boundaries to demarcate the domestic spaces and segregation of them from the other perceived danger (Dalby, 1990: 173). Dalby believes that the changes in the international sphere brought through the dynamism of spaces and flows are hinged on the geopolitical architectures. He defines geopolitical architecture as "the way in which the states and non-state organizations access, manage, and regulate the intersection of territories and flows and in so doing establish borders between inside/outside, citizen/aliens, and domestic/international" (Dodds, 2014: 53). Going by Dalby's definitions it becomes clear that critical geopolitics is contributing immensely towards macro bordering by differentiating between domestic and foreign and this clearly denotes that bordering lies at the heart of the geopolitical enterprises. Similar notions resonate in the work of scholars Ashley (1987) and Walker (1993) who discussed the construction of boundary between inside\outside while discussing state and sovereignty.

The critical bend of geopolitics was inspired by Edward Said's orientalism (1978) in which he talks about an 'imagined orient' and the idea of otherness adopted by the west to exclude that which does not go with their conception of realities and designs that they formulate. Said's text also tries to bring to the forefront a type of bordering prevalent in the world as to how a unidimensional perspective has been dominating which is a divisive exercise of isolating us from them and perceiving the 'other' as danger. David Campbell (1992) rightly pointed out that in foreign policy the idea of differences is used to represent the threats as such an exercise helps the state to secure its own boundaries. These overlapping themes make it clear that border qualifies to be a subject of geopolitical investigation.

The threefold classification of critical geopolitics into formal, practical and popular categories provides diversity in addressing border related disparate issues in a more cogent manner. Popular geopolitics engages in everyday geopolitical enquiry to locate those instances that are not considered a part of 'high' politics and are often neglected. With respect to the diversification and decentralisation of borders, popular geopolitics provides avenue to contemplate about the everydayness and to analyze

embedded borders which were earlier considered at the periphery of academic involvement.

1.1.5 Geopolitics & Text

Text certainly has a major role to play in contemplation, propagation, dissemination and also in comprehensive understanding of geopolitics. Critical geopolitics analyse and scrutinise the text, emphasising and distinctly highlighting the (con)text from the text. It does not take facts as given and does not promote blindly believing the text without verifying it objectively. In the words of Martin Muller "understanding geopolitics as text opens an avenue to see global space as a malleable creation with political purpose and potentially multiple meanings" (Muller, 2013). Text is an art of representing reality that gives the writer\author the liberty of flexibility with which they can use their imagination in manifesting realities in various forms.

Critical geopolitics has three important bifurcations namely; practical, formal and popular geopolitics (Gearoid O Tuathail & Simon Dalby, 1998; 5). On the similar lines text can also be broadly categorised into these three branches. Practical geopolitical text would comprise of speeches, government records, declassified\classified documents, state policies, interstate written agreements and so on. Formal geopolitical text directly refers to the work done by scholars, researchers, think-tanks etc. While popular geopolitical text refers to printed media like magazines, newspaper, advertisements, cartoons, comic, novels, narratives etc. It was Sharp who emphasised that geopolitics is not something that emanates from elite text and trickle down to the everyday life of commoners in the form of popular text (Sharp 1993:493). She opined that there is a strong inter-linkage between elite and popular text, popular text provides basis that gives elitist idea not only acceptability but also helps in its proliferation. Thus popularity is inherently important for floating the ideas and making it reach to common everyday life of the people.

When a geopolitical study involves analysis of text then the text is not taken or accepted as it is. The text is open to critical enquiry and involves understanding of its multiple meanings through deconstruction. It is practically impossible to produce text that is entirely neutral and does not involve biases of any sort especially when its foundation is deeply ingrained in the prevailing politics. A particular text may convey several meanings and it is left to the interpretation of the reader to decipher the

connotations. The writings are laden with multiple meanings and it is this intertextuality or the superimposition of facts on fiction that research is trying to investigate. A critical geopolitical enquiry involves understanding the polysemic nature of text (Muller, 2013) and segregating the disparate meanings that are attempted to be portrayed thereby bringing out the pluralistic essence. Exploring and investigating a text from varied vantage point and objectively analysing the various perspective that are been addressed gives an overall holistic idea of the issue under question and there is also a scope of further investigating the answers to several questions that are raised in the due process. Texts knowingly and unknowingly weave an intricate web of realities and there is a need to switch back and forth between the multiple meanings to understand the differential traces by having both inside- out and panoramic view at the same time. Popular text may be deeply grounded in political realities but may\may not directly address to the issues. Critical geopolitics involves deconstructing the parallel meanings and unfolding the layered character of political realities keeping intact the nature of these covers. It is this body of critical engagement that requires alternate interpretation of popular texts so that the hidden, disguised and often concealed undercurrents could be unmasked.

1.1.6 Borders & Bordering Practices

Borders serve diversified functions; they act as a selective membrane that permits some and prohibit others. Borders are created, recreated, cease to exist, dismantled, hardened and many times they even dissolve, they are constructed wherever and whenever required. Borders are not just constructed at the territorial limits of the state but at various places away from these boundaries. The multitudinous manifestation of borders arises out of the single fact that everything first is conceptualised in the minds of the people. It is this perceptual geography that lays the foundation to multiple borders being constructed, resurrected that continuously appear and disappear with time. It is strongly argued that "geopolitics is about story telling in which the protagonists play roles as parts in geopolitical scripts that they tell about the world 'out there' as a way of securing what they hold dear 'over here'" (Agnew 2013; 23). Similarly the understanding of borders is also framed on the basis of binary distinctions that excludes here from there and us from them.

We live in a world that constantly evolves and transforms, something that remains constant is change and so is the case with borders. If we look back and trace the history of borders and bordering practices we would observe that there is an innate nature of indulging into separating and compartmentalising things with a sense of belongingness and otherness. Evolution of civilizations, making of histories, sociological developments, clashes, economic growth, alliances, disintegrations, changing power dynamics all have contributed immensely to the evolution of new borders and termination of others. Borders are highly dynamic in nature, they not only open and close but they also move. The scope of border studies has widened because borders are no longer just a line drawn on maps they connote deeper political, sociological, psychological and economic meanings that find expression even in day to day activities of everyone living in this world.

There is also advancement in the scope and functional role that the borders play; borders have multiplied both in form and in numbers. The ubiquity of borders (Balibar,2002) at all the levels of analysis and their mutual interaction with one another make them a distinct area to contemplate. The geopolitical landscape which was the centre stage for range of political, economic, sociological, socio-political and socio-economical events had and will continue to have a humungous impact on borders, bordering practices and border interactions thereby creating new spaces of further geopolitical analysis.

Border as an entity gains more geopolitical prominence because of the fact that it has close association with conceptualization of state. The primary function of state is to establish order within its territory. This order can ostensibily be realised when the political territory is bounded and is segregated from the neighbouring states by borders. Borders bound a territory within an area and this enclosed space forms the basis of expression to ideological state apparatus (Althusser 1970) such as sense of belongingness, feeling of brotherhood and nationalism at large.

Nationalism does not come naturally within the bordered territory of a state, it acts like a differentiating factor that determines the inclusiveness of 'us' versus 'them'. There are a plethora of factors that act as a consolidating medium in the strengthening of the feeling of nationalism with which the people living inside a territory are imbibed with. They infuse and invigorate a strong urge that sustains within the

territorial bounds and becomes pronounced while dealing with the externalities. The sense of national identity is reinforced in the minds of the people by various institutional means but it is the political\territorial borders that concretise it and provides it with robust emotional and psychological quotient. It is under the authority, control and protection of the state that every individual exercises rights and enjoys certain benefits. In the due course it becomes natural for individuals to become political beings and get deeply involved with ideological apparatus that further leads to the formation of national identities. Passi in D.W. Walter (2011:14) attempts to differentiate between nationalism and national identity and exclaims that national identity is neutral in its approach, it is a harmless feeling that comes naturally in individual as an attribute and allegiance towards the place one is born\lives in. While nationalism as described by him is more aggressive in its tone, it acts as a powerful mobilising tool that can be politicized and hyperpoliticized and work as a strong dividing force.

The change and evolution of borders from frontiers to borders and boundaries to evolving abstractions such as borderless world, border securitization to more mutated concepts such as borderland, borderwork, bordering, borderzones, borderscapes and borderscaping has broadened the scope of border scholarship. The journal *Geopolitics* in 2012 published an issue in which scholars Neol Parker and Nick Vaughan Williams owing to the diversification and expansion in border scholarship put forth the idea of rethinking borders by developing a whole new branch called the 'critical border studies'. Scholars such as Corey Johnson and Reece Jones (2011) have made an attempt to identify the where, how and who of borders. They have proposed 4Ps to comprehensively study the recent expansion in the border studies. The first P is place; they argue that boundaries are no longer the only places of enactment of bordering practices. There are countless places other than the edges of the states where one can examine the functioning of the border. The second P is performance. Border performance is centred on economics, politics, geography, sociology, psychology and also technology which lead to the multiplicity in enactment of borders. The third P is perspective; it stresses on moving away from the statist approach and concentrating on other non state actors to study borders holistically. The last all encompassing P suggested is Politics, it is based on the dictum that nothing lies beyond the reach of politics. The above mentioned four Ps form the significant reference point to the

present research. The interconnected motif of Place, Performance, Perspective and Politics is what that forms the foundation of this work. Chapter five titled 'understanding borders through travelogue and narratives' provides a detailed analysis of the coherent research agendas of 4Ps and it has also proposed a fifth P to approach the border research problems.

An important concept which is of vital significance to the field of critical border studies is 'borderscape'. The primacy and the relevance of this concept lies in the fact that it acts as a means or a tool that helps to comprehend the complexities embedded in borders as space by looking at both its spatiality as well as contextuality. By definition, borderscape refers not just to border landscape but it is a larger understanding of multiplicity and multifaceted nature of border wherein they assume different roles and perform varied functions. A body of academician have reflected upon the concept of borderscapes- Vladimir Kolosov & James W. Scott (2013), Chiara Brambilla (2014), Elena dell' Agnese & Anne-Laure Amilhat Szary (2015). The common theme that runs down in the above mentioned scholarly work is that the idea of borderscapes conjoins the political, social and cultural dimension to underline the disparate symbolism that forms its distinct hybrid nature.

Another work that the present research finds direct relation with is Professor Johan Schimanski's essay titled 'Reading borders and reading as crossing borders' (Schimanski 2015). The article lays emphasis on viewing borders both as institutions and narratives. There is an attempt to understand borders by analyzing border text in popular sources such as novels, cartography and film. The author writes that "border as they are formed, lived and negotiated in the real world become dependent on categories such as fiction, figuration and imagery" (Schimanski 2015: 100). The reading engages in continuous reconstruction of borders by these popular texts and also shows how texts are reconceptualised through border and bordering. A very important aspect to such a discursive practice is the role of reader and the impact of the exposure of border text that opens a variety of interpretations and subjectivities. There are two broad perspectives that the author suggested; one involves looking across borders the other involves looking along them. Such an approach is vital since it pays attention not just to the spatiality of borders but also the spaces that are constructed on reading text.

There are a number of ways in which borders are performed and one such means is manifestations of bordering practices in popular text. Border as a concept and its understanding has undergone mutation. Both historically as well conceptually there are visible changes that have transformed the outlook towards viewing border and also in studying them. These modifications can be attributed to a plethora of factors which open an array of possibilities and act as avenues for the researchers to work on. Border as a concept can also be understood as a kind of representation in itself, there are different sorts of images and metaphors that are employed or in some sense act as a helping tool that further concretise the deeper understanding of borders.

Borders are not only entities that represent but they are also representational. Narratives, fictional accounts, fantasies, metaphors are embroiled in the social and political realities of the real world. They are alternate procedures through which the artist (author in the case of popular text) tries to build a connection between literature, geography, space and (geo)politics. The confluence of art and literature on the footings of geopolitics is distinct in its own sense and popular geopolitics provides pathway to undertake such non conventional themes as research. The fictional\ non-fictional popular texts work at pre-cognitive and cognitive levels thus framing a world of subjectivities that are inspired by reality. A significant aspect of such a study is the direct involvement of the masses (readers in this case). The direct implication of these texts on the readers is seen in the extent to which they influence them and have an impact on how they think and act in the world.

The textual account provides background for understanding the world; it is instrumental in directing the course of thinking, helps in identifying, differentiating and attributing meanings to pre-existing structures. Text do convey certain meanings and others are absorbed by the individuals as per their own understanding, it leads to a social understanding of various spaces and stimulates geopolitical reasoning based on social constructions. There are multiple meanings that are both conveyed and received by the interpreters, some have direct connotations while others have implied meanings embedded in them. The reader is exposed to these nuances and is also provided with the privilege of giving it meaningful attributes.

1.1.7 India-Pakistan Border in Fiction and Narratives

The following section discusses about the selected text from literature that constitute the basis of the research. The chosen sample of five books includes both fiction as well as travel accounts and narratives. There exists a large corpus of literature on the theme of border between India and Pakistan and hence the choice of selected text had not been easy. Since the research is a subject matter of popular geopolitics, popularity is an important determining factor in the choice of the text. Apart from his intellectual excellence, Manto's work is chosen for two important reasons. First, his writings were written in vernacular language that captured the nuances well. Second, Manto witnessed partition from close quarters. He was the victim of the turmoil of partition and his personal plights are reflected in his work. His writings are translated in several languages and are even today extensively adopted for plays and films in different parts of the world.

Train to Pakistan is another essential work; it is one of the widely read novels on the issue. The author of the novel Kushwant Singh (born in Hadali now in Pakistan) was deeply affected by the partition. His personal sentiments find expression through his work. The next text selected is *Midnight's Children* by Salman Rushdie; this novel was significant because of its popularity not only in the subcontinent but also worldwide. Rushdie who was born in India migrated to Britain which was the colonizing power. Fourth writing is by Stephen Alter; his book is indispensible because its content directly relates to the subject of the study. The last selected work, *The Footprints of Partition-* is also very crucial because of two important reasons. Firstly the author, Anam Zakaria belongs to Pakistan and in order to sustain the objectivity of the research in terms of discursiveness it was vital to include writings from the other side of the border. Secondly this work is comparatively recent that clearly signifies how even almost after seven decades, partition and resultant border still entails attention. These texts belong to different times, Manto's writings were written during and just after independence in early 1950's while *Train to Pakistan* came out in 1956, Rushdie's novel was first published in 1981, Alter's book in 2000 while Zakaria's work in 2015. The books are chronologically studied in their various contexts.

Saadat Hasan Manto popularly known as Manto, and his renditions in the form of short stories forms a significant portion of the research because his of his graphic imaginations of the turmoil of partition. In terms of criticality, he challenges the very act of partition, by questioning the stalwarts of the then Indian politics, who in his opinion forced the partitions on the poor civilians to fulfil their own hunger for power. Manto is also referred as the father of the Urdu short stories and the most striking feature of his writings is that the fictional characters created by him were generally chosen from everyday, mundane life. Through his stories he has strived to sketch the social and political landscape and has tried to weave the idiosyncrasies, the sufferings, the ambiguities, the absurdities, the memory, the postcolonial changes and the cognitive dissonance of those tough times. His revolutionary and radical style tends to provoke and beckons a kind of response and reaction towards betterment. He has also raised several issues such as orthodoxy, hypocrisy, deprivation, violence, repression and many others by bringing alive the history and vicariously sketching the norms prevalent in those days and also at the same time questioning the very shallow basis of the dominant beliefs of the society.

By placing his work in the broader framework of border discourse the study aims to probe an inquiry into literature and history and to decipher the non-conventionality for which Manto's writings were widely known. Some of the important stories that shall be focussed in the study include- *Toba Tek Singh*, *The Assignment*, *The Return*, *The Dog of Titwal*, *The Last Salute*, The *Price of Freedom*, *Jinnah Sahab*, *The Great Divide*, *A Tale of 1947*, *The New Constitution*, and few others. Throughout his writings Manto has grappled with the issue of identity and freedom of expression. Partition has been the focal theme against the backdrop of which he has conceptualised most of his short stories. His stories have demonstrated the role of violence in furthering the communal divide.

Train to Pakistan by Khushwant Singh is another important source to understand the representation of border. In this book Singh expresses his personal agony from cataclysmic partition and also the disenchantment and disillusionment that followed the division and the creation of borders. The novel is centred on the village of Mano Majra. He sketches the life of the people and portrays them as innocent, naive having no political awareness and consciousness. The village is equally inhabited by Muslims and Sikhs who live in harmony as a community until the ghost train with corpses

arrives. After the train's arrival suspicion pervades all in the village jeopardising the fraternal feeling of brotherhood that earlier prevailed in the natives of the village. Earlier it was religion that united the people of the village as a consolidated group but after a series of events, communal conflict spread throughout the village leading to wrenching violence against the innocent people.

Singh posits an extremely crucial question on the very act of Independence from the colonial rule- Amidst such turmoil where the country is torn apart with death and violence what would the countrymen do with their new found independence? The freedom which people were yearning for years and the amount of sacrifice that went in earning this freedom could not be celebrated because of the creation of forced ambiguous boundary. The novel holds importance because it depicts nuances to show how the concept of Pakistan and Hindustan gets implanted in the minds of the people who were oblivious to it earlier. How did people react to the drawing of the border? What readjustments were made to deal with the political decision of partition? Rushdie's work Midnight's Children help in answering these questions. Following discussion will give a background of Rushdie's work and also encapsulate the relevance of this work in the research.

In *Midnight's Children* Salman Rushdie that has fabricated the history of India's conflicting identities since the time of independence. The eccentricity of this novel lies in the fact that the author has vividly made use of metaphors, allegories, myths and mysteries to portray range of subjectivities that are associated with the inception of independence and also the birth of Siamese twins India and Pakistan. The novel falls in the category\genre of magic realism. This work of fiction has mapped the different shades that are inextricably linked with nation, nationalism, nationalist struggle and imaginative geographies and related ideologies.

This gets further highlighted as Rushdie describes an account which revolves around Saleem Sinai. Saleem is born at the stroke of midnight that coincidently coincides with the same day on which India gained independence from the British rule. Through the biography of Sinai, Rushdie has endeavoured to carve out the biography of the country. He has drawn a parallelism between the protagonist Sinai and India's fate and destiny. He has approached the issue with proper background and has sketched the political conditions prevailing in those days with reference to major historical

events. He has also outlined the contrast that existed before and after independence. This book is an important part of border discourse because it lays the foundation of concepts such as freedom, sovereignty, identity, nation, community, nationalism, power, territory and the like that are deeply ingrained in varying degree to the formation, creation, recreation and reification of the concept of borders. Its importance lies in the fact that it is instrumental in understanding the invisible borders prevailing at different levels. In the works discussed above, one can say that the point of reference for the author's were primarily partition and post-partition readjustments. The next discussion is based on personal encounters and experiences of individuals.

Stephen Alter has tried to sketch the India- Pakistan border on account of his travel to both these countries. He has written this book in 1997 that marks the 50th year of the independence. He emphasises different forms, modes and practices that have led to the creation of multiple borders between the two states and also how borders have reified in the past 50 years. The most outstanding characteristic of his work is his simultaneous delineation of both the differences as well as the similarity between the two sides and the symbolic importance of the international border. In the author's note section Alter has clearly mentioned that his work is not a fiction and is based on his personal experience and encounters. There is constant engagement of the author to draw a parallel between the present political scenario, the prevailing regime, their policies and the inter-state relations between the two sides. By giving account of his interaction with the different people such as co-passengers, drivers, hawkers, businessmen, shopkeepers, migrants and refugees and the like the author has tried to portray the consciousness of borders that exist in the minds of the ordinary people that have also become part of their identity. Alter has also cited various scholarly, literary works in between like Edward Said, Amrita Pritam, Salman Rushdie, Khushwant Singh, M. J. Akbar, Manto, Urvashi Butalia and many others to emphatically describe the literary discourse on border between India and Pakistan.

As part of her oral history project while working with Citizens Archive of Pakistan in the year 2010, Anam Zakaria ventured to collect the narratives of the four generations of people who witnessed partition and creation of border between the two states. Her book is entirely based on oral accounts and narratives which have brought some not so known issues to the forefront and have also helped to understand several disjunctures in the popular meta-narratives. Through these narratives and accounts

Zakaria has made an attempt to join the dots from memories of partition to present configurations of association and differences by understanding different ways in which these people who were directly affected by partition view the 'other'.

The author maintains that the significance of the oral accounts lies in the fact that they are neither distorted nor filtered by any external agency and present an alternate picture of our pasts. The book also weaves the important instances of nationalism, patriotism, jingoism, identities and religion etc that shows how politics of border has deeply penetrated in the understanding and how it has been internalized by the individuals. To a large extent the work also makes an endeavour to uncover the multilayered realities by building a continuum from the times of the partition and the bitter reality that partitioning is constantly and continuously taking places in the hearts and the minds. She has also highlighted few instances where borders not only divides and separates but at times also conjoins and act as a gateway thus underlining the multiple role of border.

This is an overview of the select texts that are the printed primary source of the current research. The fictional works are dealt in at great lengths in chapter four titles "Partition as an othering practice and its literary representations" while the narrative and travels accounts are analyzed in chapter five which is "Understanding borders through travelogue and narratives" of the thesis.

1.2 DEFINITIONS, RATIONALE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study is an attempt to examine the border between India and Pakistan by analyzing the popular text. It aims to highlight the inter-linkages between textual and socio-political realities of the geopolitical world. At the outset it is important to state few definitions that are imperative to this research. These definitions are borrowed from scholars in reference to their relevance in the framework of the present study.

Popular- The word 'popular' originates from Latin word '*popularis'* which means belonging to the common masses or the public. Earlier the term had legal and political connotations and till late 16th century it was used in reference to policy than as a condition. There was a gradual shift in the meaning and it started to be seen from the point of view of people, generally referring to something that is widely favoured or well liked (Williams 1976: 236-238).

Popular Geopolitics- "Geopolitics that is formed within the artifacts of transnational popular culture, whether they be mass- market magazine, novels or movies." (O' Tuathail and Dalby 1998: 4).

Discourse- "They are a set of background capabilities, an ensemble of rule by which reader\listeners and speakers\audiences are able to take what they read and construct it into a organized meaningful whole" (Tuathail and Agnew 1992: 193).

Border- Over the time there is a gradual shift in the conceptual meaning of the term border. Border is now understood more as a phenomena and a lot of emphasis has been stressed on the performance or the functional aspect to it. The following definition of border\bordering is best suited to this research. "Bordering reflects politics in many ways. It is not only the politics of delimitation/classification that comes into play. Bordering separates and brings together. Borders allow certain expressions of identity and memory to exist while blocking others. Respectively borders are open to contestation at the level of state and in everyday life." (Paasi 2011: 62).

Text- Following Barthes' post-modernist notion of text not just being a mimesis but as constitutive of reality, text is defined as "one that includes other cultural productions such as paintings, maps and landscapes, as well as social, economic and political institutions. These should be seen as signifying practices that are read, not passively, but, as it were, written as they are read" (Barnes and Duncan, 1991: 5).

It has already been discussed before, there are a number of non-conventional sites where geopolitics exists and is practiced; this research is one such effort to underline the geopolitical understanding of the readers and of the literary discourse. There is also an attempt to objectively examine the border related issues not only from inside but also from the perspective of borders.

The popular texts gives a sense of how and in what ways were the geographies and social underpinnings of politics surrounding the partition and creation of such controversial and disputed border being conceptualised, represented and interpreted. The study also directs itself to contemplate about the new order\disorder that prevails between the two states which has ignited the border politics. The scope of the study limits itself only to the India-Pakistan border and does not focus on other border

related issues such as India-Bangladesh. India-Bangladesh border is an important aspect of the geopolitics of South Asia but it requires a separate study to examine this theme. The present study has focused its attention on the dichotomies that have emerged from the bordering such as binaries of good\bad, safe\unsafe, terrorist\antiterrorist, enemy\friend, inclusion\exclusion and so on. The strained relation between the two sides of the borders has been continuing since 1947, in this entire border crisis the other is always perceived as an eminent danger to the overall security of the state at large.

The research attempts to look at instances in popular text of how the idea of perceived dangers and related identities get propagated through them. Some of the selected readings bring out the close view of the geographies and geopolitics of partition by highlighting the instances from everyday life of the people. They objectively project the plight on to the canvas of novels and short stories and to a large extent denounce, expose and reveal the political scenario that led to the creation of such stringent borders. Some of the writings reaffirm the idea that the other has always wronged us thus reifying the 'us' and 'them' differences. Popular text and fiction in particular is articulated in a number of ways. The selected texts include rhetorical imagery. It is the narrative power of the writers that makes use of plethora of metaphors and imageries to critically uncover and divulge various instances of geopolitics such as communal divide, diplomatic and realist intent, double standards, power dynamics, which laid the foundation of stringent relation between the two states. Thus there shall be an attempt to find out to what effect the border is re-imagined by the selected writings and also how far the writings are shaped by the border.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM\ QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESIS

On close scrutiny one can encounter several instances that are suggestive of the fact that borders and bordering saturates at different levels of society. The study problematizes this ubiquity of borders and focus on the representation of borders in literary discourse and in the process also investigates their enactment in everyday spaces. Through the medium of texts the study tends to demonstrate the disjunction between freedom, territory, sovereignty and identity that was been reinforced by drawing the border in the wake of partition. The research advances bordering as a geopolitical agenda and investigate the role of text in illuminating the border

geopolitics between India and Pakistan. It purports to demystify the expressions of bordering practices embedded in the social fabric that are reflected in the fictional and non-fictional writings.

History has been extremely significant in changing the course of post-independence political scenario of the subcontinent and the most crucial is the arbitrary drawing of the boundary between the two nation-states. The end of colonialism was accompanied by cataclysmic event that still has and will continue to be a bearing on the states and the people living in them. Do the written accounts have any role in creating the geopolitical imagination of the two sides of the border? The central research question for the current research is- How and in what ways do texts contribute in understanding the making, remaking and shifting of borders between India and Pakistan?

Some of the other questions which the study posits are as follows-

1) How do popular texts qualify as an important medium that informs geopolitics and geopolitical imaginations?
2) Does popular work such as novels, narratives and the like play any role in understanding the everyday geopolitics of borders?
3) How frictions of the past between India and Pakistan have mutated and shaped the present border?
4) How geopolitics is constructed within the popular discourse?
5) To investigate the role of discourse in shaping border abstractions.
6) To what extent does the representation of borders in the works of literature differ from the historical accounts?

The above mentioned questions provide grounds for a multifaceted and comprehensive analysis of the selected sample of popular text. The study is primarily 0interested in text as a socio-political representation. The selected literary works are approached from the perspective of borders and geopolitics. There is a growing interest seen in the role of popular culture in informing and also modulating debates about global politics. Textual geopolitics is perhaps one such manifestation that demonstrates how the national identity is both created as well as projected.

Hypotheses

Borders constitute both spatial as well as non-spatial attributes. The present study ventures to investigate the myriad ways in which the border between the two inimical neighbours gets concretised. The research relies on the popular literary texts as its primary source and attempts to understand the process of bordering and the way different sorts of borders are inscribed post partition. The underlying agenda of the project is to get into the deeper understanding of the process of 'othering' that continues to shape the geopolitics of South Asia at large. There are many nuances that escape the mainstream discourses and to unravel them it is crucial to identify those sites where they could be discovered. The dialectic of self and other gets translated not just through cartographically drawn boundaries on the map but there are multiple social and cultural boundaries that reify this binary distinction. Following three propositions have guided the course of the research and their validity is probed in the core chapters of the thesis.

- Literary discourses on border illustrate the materialization of the binary of 'self' and 'other'.
- Popular texts provide the heuristic for understanding borders as landscapes.
- Texts depict the manner in which geopolitics of the border between India and Pakistan is conceived.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODS

The nature of present research project is qualitative and exploratory in nature. Primarily the study shall rely on discourse analysis as the research tool. By employing this method the study seeks to critically evaluate the geopolitical reasoning as practice and try to bring out the essence of it in everyday life. Discourse as a field of enquiry is marginalized and is strongly criticised for its divergence from empirical and quantitative techniques. Discourse as an approach is put under the category of post-positivist research enquiry (Milliken, 1999:227). One of the distinct qualities of this method is that it is highly critical as an approach that questions and problematizes the premise before arrives at any result.

Of late this approach has started to be employed in a number of social science academic disciplines. For the present research this is perhaps the most suitable method of inquiry as it would facilitate tracing the geopolitical representations ingrained in popular text. There are a number of ways in which this method shall be instrumental in furthering the work; it will help in understanding the meanings and construction by analyzing different variations of chosen texts. Such an analysis would unveil layer by layer and also surface the truth that lies to the core of issues. Discursive interpretation is also relevant because it relies on the commonsensical notions that spread across a larger public domain as compared to the other esoteric modes. The study shall assume a pluralistic stand to distinctly carve out the 'us' and 'them' differences by looking at different levels and sublevels that on cursory look appear inconsequential but have an important role in informing the geopolitical understanding.

Another important characteristic of this study shall be its constant engagement with historical detailing and the present understanding. Though the study is not entirely historical but it shall engage in tracing the contemporary geopolitics of border and bordering by going back and forth to the literature on independence, colonialism and partition of 1947. The border issue in question is a product of historical realities of the past which have directed the present geopolitics. Apart from this, as already mentioned above, the study focuses on few selected text that include the writings of famous Urdu writer Sadat Hasan Manto, Salman Rushdie's novel *Midnight's children*, *Train to Pakistan* by Kushwant Singh, *Amritsar to Lahore* by Stephen Alter and *The Footprints of Partition* by Anam Zakaria.

In order to develop a comprehensive understanding, text from different times and different genre from five different writers have been selected. This not only gives variety but is also significant in getting disparate perspective from critical point of view. The selected literature is diverse in the sense that it covers a wide array of the issue under question. It not only includes short stories, novels but also narratives which could try and balance out fiction and facts. In addition, the study also includes Secondary methods such as collection of archival data, visits to libraries of various institutions, organization and government departments.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The first chapter is the introductory chapter that includes thorough review of existing literature. The chapter has aimed to establish a synthesis between the key parameters of the study namely- Critical and Popular Geopolitics, Borders, Discourse and Textual analysis. The major highlight of this chapter is that it has attempted to show how border and bordering practices are situated at the very core of the geopolitical reasoning. The confluence of the disparate themes is crucial for the present research and the chapter attempts to justify the relation between them. The chapter also pronounces the purpose of the study and the primary research questions that the study has undertaken in the subsequent chapters.

The thesis comprises of four core chapters that focus on diverse subject matter. The central theme of the second chapter is discourse analysis and there is an attempt to establish a link between discourse, texts, critical geopolitics and borders. It justifies studying borders through textual analysis by locating it under the broader umbrella of discourse and discursive interpretation. The chapter made use of poststructuralist scholars such as Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida to validate different arguments on power and discourse. The cultural turn in social sciences brought a new surge in various academic disciplines. This was further accentuated with the adoption of critical theories that remodelled the scholarship by renouncing the existing narrow ideas. The renewal drive proved advantageous as there were advances towards new and better methodological and epistemological developments that worked to strengthen the existing over all oeuvre of the disciplines. This exercise is self appraising because the disciplines and its practitioners were identifying the loopholes, rejecting and simultaneously rectifying their subject matter by embracing critical reasoning.

The second chapter lays the foundation of the entire study as its main objective is to establish the coherence between discourse, geopolitics and borders. The chapter proceeds by discussing the concept of discourse, the applicability of critical discourse analysis and the correspondence between geopolitics and discourse. Last two decades have witnessed increasing scholarly affinities towards adopting discourse methodologies; the chapter discusses the suitability of adopting it as a research tool and invoke ideas from scholars who advocate its usage in critical geopolitics and

border research. There is an effort made to vindicate the subject of inquiry- border as a discursive construction by establishing that border is a landscape. Expanding the scope of textual analysis, the later part of the chapter also engages in the significance of performativity, everyday life and emotional geographies which constitute an important dimension of border related discursive investigation.

Chapter three of the thesis is on borders and it discusses the changing nature of border and border studies through various theoretical frameworks. Last few decades have been very decisive in the progression of border studies. In the late part of 20th Century border related research was limited to the role of it as a boundary line. The studies were narrowly focussing on the agendas related to boundary typology, cross border trade, militarization, securitization and the likes. The advent of globalization also brought new dimensions in border researches but the initial inferences such as the notions of borderless world were strongly criticized due to their logical inaccuracy. The chapter has tried to illustrate the relevance of the sociological turn in border studies that demands to understand borders not just as political entities at the level of the nation-states but also other important intersections of border that make them pervasive. Diverse and contemporary interventions in the field of critical border studies scholarship are critically engaged at length.

The adoption of critical approach in border studies diversified the scope of the discipline and there was an increasing trend in the researchers undertaking more sociological dimensions of the study that were previously overlooked. Borders are no longer only a subject of political geography, geopolitics or International relations. The interdisciplinary approach has proved to be advantageous for the academic growth of the discipline. There are countless intersecting themes pertaining to borders that a myopic approach restricted by any particular disciplinary boundary would have yielded unfounded results. Many scholars have opined that it is not possible to theorize borders and rightly so because every border has a unique history of formulation, evolution, sustenance and naturalization. Going by the assertion of borders being socially constructed, in order for the borders to perform its exclusionary function it is important for them to get naturalized and this naturalization of borders is done through discursive processes in socio-political realms. Any theory in this regard will lead to futile results as there will be problems in replication and duplication.

Chapter four has two parts to it, the first section deals with the historicity of partition while the latter part deals in the representation and interpretation of India- Pakistan border in the fictional texts. Any discussion on India and Pakistan is incomplete without looking at partition. The chapter has tried to understand the act of partition as a political process and briefly attempted to critically evaluate the partition of India. It also establishes that the entire exercise of partition is in itself an othering practice. The various dimensions considered include- the role of AIML and the Congress party, the geopolitical imagination that translated into the creation of Pakistan, Jinnah's schemes and negotiations, the ir/responsibility of the retreating British power and the blunders made by the Boundary Commission under the leadership of Radcliffe.

The second section of chapter four entails the discussion of literary representation of partition related bordering practices. This part begins with the detailed analysis of Midnight's Children by Rushdie. The gradual progression towards the palpability of the divide between India and Pakistan is explored here. It is followed by Khushwant Singh's novel *Train to Pakistan* which invokes the works of border scholars like Chris Rumford' Chiara Brambilla and others. The main focus of this section is to show how bordering has penetrated the everyday spaces of inter-personal realm and it refutes the traditional belief that borders are only present at the edges of state territory. The second work of fiction chosen for this study comprises of Sadat Hassan Manto's short stories. The theme of everyday encounters with borders and border consciousness and its enactments in mundane life of the people continues to resonate in this part as well. Stories such as *Toba Tek Singh*, *Dog of Titwal*, *The New Law* are included in this section. An important revelation of the scrutiny of this section is although Manto's writings are a work of fiction they were inspired by reality to a great extent.

Chapter five is based on the travel accounts and narratives from four generations. This chapter is also arranged into two sections. The first part discusses the theoretical background that links border to these select writings based on travelogue, interviews and narratives. This chapter has taken forward the scholarly views of authors of the paper 'Interventions on rethinking the borders in border studies' and proposed the significance of 'people' in the understanding of border. With the critical turn and inclusion of everyday spaces in the discipline it is crucial to engage in domains that involves people. Issues of cross border migration, partition, arbitrary drawing of

boundaries, borderland communities and the likes has impacted the people at large. Another important theme explored in this chapter is about borderscapes. There have been various interpretations of the term 'borderscapes', after briefly reviewing the work on this concept the thesis has tried to invoke this idea in the travel accounts of Stephen Alter and compilations of Anam Zakaria. Looking at the borders through travel accounts and narratives gives a distinct lens of analyzing borders. The chapter dwells on to the real experiences and encounters and highlights how discursively borders are continuously getting perpetuated in the ordinary lives of the people.

Memory is another important factor that this chapter has looked at. Often memory is labelled as an unreliable source but the research has tried to justify how cataclysmic events such as partition and holocaust cannot just hinge on the documents and material either issued or reviewed by the state and allied authority. In events such as these individual memory plays a significant role in understanding the nuances that usually remained sidelined in the meta-narratives.

CHAPTER TWO

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS\ DISCURSIVE INTERPRETATION IN CRITICAL GEOPOLITICS AND BORDER STUDIES

The research is primarily concerned to map the imaginative geographies of the border between India-Pakistan through various texts. The principal aim of the study is to investigate the different mechanisms through which the meaning of the border is created, recreated, fixed, subverted and contested. It constitutes a comprehensive study of a socially constructed reality called border and the continuing bordering that exists at different levels. This academic exercise focuses on the disparate manner in which the borders are discursively constructed and also maintained and different ways in which they shape the socio-political and geopolitical reality of India and Pakistan.

For the purpose of this research it is extremely crucial to comprehend the concept of discourse. The chapters that follow in this thesis borrow and rely on discourse and this makes it imperative to address this concept at the very outset. Discourse as an approach is one of the many ways of apprehending the world and its realities. Discourse is both a means of making sense of reality as well as a reality itself. The chapter aims to relate the concepts of discourse, border, geopolitics and texts to provide justification to the approach adopted in understanding borders through select texts. It also attempts to uphold the view that discourse analysis is one of the means of critically engaging with borders. The concept of discourse is employed here to decode the enactment, percolation, diffusion and reification of borders in everyday spaces. The following section is an attempt to conceptually analyze discourse from varied vantage points.

2.1 UNDERSTANDING DISCOURSE

A number of disciplines from humanities and social sciences have embraced discourse studies as part of their critical inquiry. During the second half of the 20th Century, with the progression of different disciplinary offshoots in social science, collectively as a branch of knowledge there were linguistic and cultural turns in the subject matter which also included a discursive turn as well (Angermuller,

Maingueneau and Wodak, 2014: 1). As a coherent research agenda discourse is progressively evolving in a wide array of researches. Discourse as a concept constitutes an important part of poststructuralists, postmodernist and postcolonial studies in social science (Muller, 2008: 323). Other than these theoretical strands discourse theorizing is also popular with scholars dealing in feminism and social constructivism (Milliken, 1999: 225, Muller, 2010: 2). A poststructuralist perspective examines how the subject matter as well as subject actors are a part of and is shaped by the discourses and texts (Gregory, 1989: ix). Discourse is a framework that constitutes a number of signifying practices; it involves range of practices and representations through which meanings get established. It is a medium that helps us to make sense of the world around us. Drawing from the constructivist understanding, in discourse analysis meanings are constructed through the system of signification (Barnes and Duncan, 1991: 8, Milliken, 1999: 231). The series of varied practices included in a discourse helps to decipher the relations between diverse phenomena; they help to understand the manner in which identities get constructed and concepts gets instituted in social and political domains. Through discourse one can get into the depth of social realities by investigating myriad modes in which realities are produced and get construed. Discourse determines the course of social and political outcome and thus carves the contours of the world. They do not just mirror reality they simultaneously construct them as well.

It is difficult to define the boundaries of a discourse in the sense that there is no clear-cut demarcation of what practices constitute a discourse and what lies beyond it (Mill, 1997; 62). According to Oxford dictionary, discourse originates from a Latin word '*discursus*' which means running to and fro, it also mentions that the word comes from a French word 'discour' which simply means a speech. While tracing the etymology of the word, Sara Mill differentiates between the general connotations of the term discourse from its theoretical meaning in academics. She too confirms that it is difficult to arrive at a precise definition of discourse and adds that out of the varied theoretical interpretations, the disciplinary context in which the term has to be used can be helpful in determining its right explication (Mill, 1997; 3). Even within the disciplinary context there are a number of ways in which the meaning of the term is interpreted which makes discourse as a subject matter more obscure. From this it can be concluded that discourse is a heterogeneous concept which is understood and put

to use in a variety of different ways. There are several alternate exegeses that make it a plural conception. Several scholars have labelled it as a 'polymorphous' idea (Angermuller, Maingueneau and Wodak, 2014; 6). It cannot be compartmentalized into a fixed, all encompassing meaning and it should never be conceptualized from a single body of work or institution. Discourse is an emerging research approach but there are a number of scholarly projects that already have and are making use of this research program in order to understand the social and political realities.

The underlying assumption of a discourse is that every action and object becomes meaningful due to the historically prescribed norms and rules. Discourse does not occur discreetly neither it is self contained and ahistorical. Broadly discourse is a part of semantic studies but the process of meaning making relies upon a series of representations, practices and enactments that direct the course of political, social and cultural realities and their multiple manifestations. Discourse works as an agenda setting tool that decides what lies within the ambit of legitimacy and what lies outside of it. It is a yardstick that ascertains the meaningfulness and meaninglessness of statements, arguments and debates (Painter, 1995: 23). Discourse constitutes both symbolic as well as material elements in its making. These two elements are very different yet they do not occur independently within a discourse. Discourse translates into material manifestations but discursive processes are the basis of the material existence. Discourse determines social realities and it enables to find out the diverse manner in which social practices both construct as well as contest these social realities (Howarth, 2000 ;8). In the same chain of events it is likely that a particular idea, conception or episode is looked at from a different angle and defined differently. The conflicting, contrasting and competing manner in which the world is represented becomes the basis of differentiating one discourse from the other. Apart from hegemonic discourses the other lesser known discourse is termed as 'contestatory' discourse (Kenny, 1991: 179). The two discourses exist at the same time but the voice of contestatory discourse is subdued by the dominant voices of the hegemonic discourse. This overpowering of one discourse by the other results from the power struggles.

There is an inherent relation between power and discourse. Power shapes discourse; it has significant role in concretizing a certain idea and formulation of particular discourse. There are several means through which the dissemination of ideas is

controlled. The ideological production of discourse is important in this regard. The desired goals and interests are realized by embarking onto the emotional geographies that gradually get structured as dominant discourse by a plethora of representations and practices. The civic sphere is the site where power is sustained. Hegemonic values are inculcated through cultural dominance and regulation of the collective behaviour of the civilians. Hegemony is not just created ideologically but also through rewriting and orchestrating the ordinary everyday life (Sharp, 2003: 476). Institutional as well as cultural practices reinforce the coveted ideas. Both coercive and persuasive power is employed in varying degree to establish a discourse and make it hegemonic.

In some way discourse derive power from the iteration through which it gets wide acceptance (Painter, 1995: 23). When a large number of people, institutions and activities start indulging and contributing towards a particular idea then the likelihood of the legitimization of that idea escalates. This over-familiarity makes the discourse act like a trope for everyday life. Discourse may be framed to meet the desired interests and purpose of a group or an institution. Painter declares that the people involved in the dissemination of the discourse at times may not be even aware of the interests they are pursuing (Painter, 1995: 23). The hegemonic discourse provides justification to several other practices that further the purpose and simultaneously subjugate the voices of dissent. This is how realities get socially constructed and the world is understood in a number of different ways. Discourse as a post-modernist project believes that there is no absolute truth and the world is subjective in nature.

The primary goal of a discourse analyst is to investigate the intersubjectivities constituting the world. There are several social practices and agents on which the understanding and interpretation of these subjectivities is contingent upon. For Fairclough discourses are "ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world" (Fairclough, 2003; 124). Going by this definition there can be a number of different ways in which the world is represented which will automatically lead to parallel discourses depending upon how one perceives the world and the different experiences that have led to the construction of such notions regarding the world. Different representations of the world lead to construction of different ways of understanding reality and constructing meanings. It becomes important to take into consideration the contrasting and competing nature of

different discourses vis-à-vis a particular issue. "Discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather is seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions" (Fairclough, 2003; 124). Thus every discourse may try to bring some change in the manner in which the world functions and may solicit a different response.

2.2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Michel Foucault (1972, 1984) has been one of the stalwart scholars who strongly influenced the field of discourse analysis. Foucault's work has been taken as a reference point in many studies which have resulted in varied interpretations of the term and sometimes there are a range of overlapping and contrasting explications that surrounds critical discourse analysis. Other than Foucault, another scholar whose work is widely utilized in critical discourse analysis is Gramsci and his concept of hegemony. Gramsci recognized the role of public persuasion in establishing hegemony (Gramsci, 1981: 80). Masses can be persuaded by several means, the most widely used is how media is used a propagandist tool. Media is an institutionalized setup that has the power to manipulate the contents in order to meet their desired goals and meet certain ends. The success of the propaganda depends on how well is it able to address the sentiments of the target group. It is far from objective truth but is designed to evade contestations. The suggested meanings are made to resonate with the principles laid down by the discourse.

There are many ways in which social sciences approach their research and one such means constitutes employment of discourse analysis. Primarily discourse analysis focuses its attention on the apparent and the actual changes that have occurred and continuity that is maintained in the due course of time. There are no predefined methods or set procedures on how to undertake and approach critical discourse analysis in humanities and social sciences (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 6). Critical praxis is at the heart of the studies that approach researches through discourse theorization. It includes methods, techniques and methodologies in tandem with the critical approaches. Invoking critical exploration not only make the academic endeavours of studying discourses more rigorous and engaging but they enrich the body of knowledge and root them in more concrete and realistic understanding.

The primary task of critical discourse analysis is to bring the hidden sites of various forms and abuse of power to the mainstream epistemological debates. The onus of the critical bend is not just limited to expose polarizations, differences and inequalities but also to suggest alternate means through which equitable reproduction and representations of discourses could be maintained. It brings about awareness and creates consciousness of the ways in which power is enacted at various realms. The interplay of power and dominance is often very complex; it is so closely absorbed in the discourse structures that it is difficult to challenge its ostensible legitimate representations and validations. Critical discourse analysis not just locates the situated instances of dominance; the analyst also is involved in the exercise of resisting those practices (van Dijk, 1998). It becomes very obvious that it is difficult for the analyst to investigate the diffusion of power in the interlinked social, political, economic complexities.

Studying discourse from a single disciplinary stream is insufficient in comprehending the diversity with which discourse gets constructed. Therefore, Critical discourse analysis advertently assumes a multidisciplinary perspective in their discourse theorization. Multidiciplinarity facilitate in approaching the problem from a wide range of subject positions and provides alternate perspective too. Integrating several disciplinary approaches to address a common issue also curbs the problem of arriving at lopsided results and partial analysis.

Critical discourse analysis also advocates the integration of micro and macro levels of social structure in order to comprehend the behaviour of the actors of socio-political changes. With special attention to micro levels critical approaches take into cognisance the taken for granted nature of this realm and strongly uphold the inclusiveness of everyday, routine social life in critical inquiry. There is also a close link between the micro levels and discursive practices. The core theme of discourse examination and different modes of reproduction of such practices repeatedly occur in the micro spaces which often gets sidelined through overarching nature of dominant discourse of macro levels. Undermining the role of micro units in discourse analysis leads to singular and partial understanding which is incongruent with the very objectives of discourse analysis. Through critical discourse analysis, the process through which ideologies get translated into physical actions can be examined.

Another distinct feature of Critical discourse analysis is that it not only focuses on the construction and repeated reproduction of various discourses rather it also draws distinction between the dominant and other parallel, alternate and subdued discourses. It sometimes also itself acts in counter-hegemonic ways and compete with the existing modes through which hegemony is constructed. Dijik contends that the practitioners of Critical discourse analysis take explicit positions (Dijik, 1998: 352). The analysts also challenge the widely popular existing hegemonic beliefs which augment to the proliferation and dissemination of dominant discourse.

The research work is a subject matter of popular geopolitical reasoning of looking at borders through texts. It is necessary to critically engage with the different dimensions of this study. The scholarship on geopolitics, particularly critical geopolitics has borrowed from discourse and has used the concept as a useful framework. The next section of the chapter examines the association between the discipline of Critical Geopolitics and its ontological grounding in the concept of discourse.

2.3 GEOPOLITICS AND DISCOURSE

Within a relatively short span of disciplinary trajectory of geopolitics there were major changes in the very scope of the discipline. Geopolitics is generally divided into two time phases namely- during the world wars and post cold war. The body of work produced during the first phase is now put under the category of traditional or classical Geopolitics while the later developments post 1990s are popularly termed as Critical Geopolitics. The foremost idea behind the resurrection of Geopolitics and replacing it with Critical Geopolitics was to liberate the discipline from the clutches of static, linear, deterministic and redundant geographical assumptions. It came to the realization of many scholars that the most important disciplinary duty of the subject was to study different ways in which the world is evolving and is constantly in a state of becoming. Geopolitics could no longer be complacent towards different modes of production and proliferation of socio-political and geopolitical realities of the world. By drawing out a contrast between the two kinds of geopolitics Muller alleges that the traditional geopolitical understanding was limited to creating, controlling and organizing spaces through language while critical geopolitical reasoning identifies that power inhabits and flows through all realms of socio-political practices. He further states that after the importance of power has been acknowledged the primary

task of Critical geopolitics is to deconstruct and rethink the dominant assumption of the fixation of spatial imaginations associated with power (Muller, 2008; 323). Foucauldian idea of power-knowledge is paramount in recuperating and redefining the foundation of the discipline.

The role and power of language in shaping and constructing the world was for very long ignored in the geopolitical analysis. The proponents and practitioners of Critical Geopolitics have directed themselves in discovering how the world is inscribed in its entirety. It was the interest of the discipline and its scholars towards the sociological and cultural aspects of (geo)politics that drew them to approach geopolitical problems through discourse theorization. The multiple inscriptions of the world are made intelligible in the discipline through discourse. Still it is felt that the discipline has not intensively pursued and engaged itself enough in discourse analysis (Muller, 2008; 323). The lack of definite methodologies discourages many from undertaking discourse as their research project.

"Conceptualizing geopolitics as an interpretative cultural practice and a discursive construction of ontological claims, it foregrounds the necessarily contextual, conflictual, and messy spatiality of international politics" (Kuus, 2010). Spaces are continuously evolving and in the process creating history. In geopolitics the changing nature of the spaces can be examined by looking at the role of power in the inscription of the changing space. It is imperative to investigate how spaces have been written and rewritten have, who writes them? And how are they naturalized? "Arguments about the discursive construction of social reality remain flat unless they illuminate how this process is shaped by specific political agents" (Kuus, 2010). Cultural geography suggests that the language of a discipline which is its discourse should never be seen as a priori and neutral. According to Sharp, "geography is not an order of facts and relationships 'out there' in the world awaiting description, but it instead is created by key individuals and institutions and then imposed upon the world" (Sharp, 2003: 474). Critical geopolitics does not just limit itself in exploring the dominant key actors with whom the power lies; it unravels the power hierarchies and asymmetries through which the pre-given, passive state of micro geopolitics is created.

Critical geopolitics included within its ambit a renewed interest in power and this rethinking of power in geopolitical and geographical studies emanated from

fascination with Michel Foucault's genealogy. Power emerged as an integral constituent in geopolitics because it proved to be an essential tool in comprehending varied manner in which (geo)political spaces are discursively created in different geographical realms (Kuus, 2010). Rethinking power and embracing it in the discipline helped critical geopolitics to realize that it is not a politically neutral form of analysis. The field undertook the task of identifying and critically analyzing the materialities of power that shaped the contours of the socio-political landscape. An interesting revelation of the disciplinary surge forwarded by critical geopolitics is that territoriality is not the only form of existing spatiality.

Nigel Thrift has criticised the new trends in Critical Geopolitics of understanding the world politics and its geopolitical realities to be discursively created (Thrift, 2000; 381-385). He expresses his discontent with the representation and representationalisms that pose problems in comprehending how variously power is put to use in the world. Discursive interpretation through textual analysis according to some may at times result in only a partial portrayal of geopolitical realities leaving behind those parallel realities that were either implicit or have been unable to qualify for texts, narratives and mainstream debates (Mamadouh and Van Dijkink, 2006; 357). Paasi also warns that textual strategies such as critical analysis, discourse analysis and deconstruction often take place 'at distance' and 'out of context' (Paasi, 2013; 217). Critical exercises should essentially situate their framework in a specific context and should refrain from having a bird's eye view. Viewing things from a distance will thwart to focus on hidden sites of geopolitical practices and will again push back the discipline to its traditional approaches.

Sharp rightly point out that the agents of geopolitics be it media or politicians are storytellers, their primary agenda is to reiterate their ideas and present their stories to the audiences by consciously devising it in such a manner that they are laden with the hegemonic cultural values (Sharp, 2000; 334). The advantage of deploying cultural factors is that they make their ideas more attractive and readily acceptable and the audiences automatically are persuaded to get influenced by them thus fulfilling agent's embedded geopolitical intent. The repetition of the geopolitical motives through various media from different sources serves an important purpose of naturalizing them in the eyes of the masses leaving less scope of negotiation.

Megoran in his research on Ferghana Valley boundary dispute has addressed the geopolitical issue between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan through an ethnographic methodological approach (Megoran, 2004, 2005, 2006). Ethnography is a research method that purports to understand how a particular social, political or cultural landscape is constructed in its entirety by analyzing different means through which people make sense of their local settings. Megoran has emphasized the increasing relevance of ethnographic participant observation as a potential research tool of investigation. He maintains that in addition to the textual analysis ethnographic tools as suggested by him have better prospects of including and focusing more on the nuances of everyday politics at the local level which critical geopolitics vouches for. He further differentiates between the 'emic' and 'etic' categories and believes that ethnographic method is more attuned to the internal elements and intrinsic nature of a particular cultural setting (Megoran, 2006: 626). As methodological tool ethnography is preferred when the object of analysis is complex, it is devised to comprehend the intersubjectivities that are often difficult to scrutinize with other qualitative techniques. It is a suitable method of examining the politics taking place in the private lives which often does not qualify as a potential field of investigation for being routine. Critical geopolitical analysis is open to methodological pluralism and embraces the importance of ethnography in researches as advocated by Megoran.

The under-representation of women in text is something that should not be ignored in discursive studies. Thrift makes an appeal that "critical geopolitics needs to be 'repopulated' by the women who turn out to run such large parts of its apparatuses" (Thrift, 2002: 383). There is lopsidedness in the number of females pursuing geopolitics as compared to their male counterparts. This picture becomes more evident in the statistics of the journal publications. It was only since 1980s that there has been an increasing impetus given to feminist underpinnings in academic disciplines. It is generally seen that geopolitics as a discipline is loaded with hyper masculinity and has long undermined the role of women. Espousing feminism both as a philosophy and as way of approaching geopolitics will make the subject sensitive towards gender related political issues and ameliorate its status to a more inclusive domain. Discourse is not just defined by what it includes but also by practices that are consciously or inadvertently cornered from falling within the framework set by it. It will not be incorrect to point out to not just underrepresentation of women but also to

the absence of the perspectives from the global south. The existing body of work that has been contributed to the discipline of geopolitics has been majorly produced by western scholars.

The resurrection of critical geopolitical reasoning was aimed at including the marginalized issues in the mainstream debate. These voices of critical fervour and dissent coming from within the discipline not only put a check but prevent the subject matter from faltering and strengthen its analytical claims and methodological base.

2.3.1 Discourse methodologies in Critical Geopolitics

Discourse analysis is not amongst the conventional methodologies of conducting research and therefore there are very few scholars in social sciences that undertake such a study. It is often attacked for its lack of empirical verifiability and also for not having sufficient theories to testify its findings. However, there are many academicians that prefer discourse over other methods. Milliken calls discourse analysis as a post-positivist research methodology (Milliken, 1999: 227). In order to strengthen the methodological base of the discipline there were increasing demands from the scholars to include progressive methodologies, range of research methods and different voices not just in political geography but also in human geography at large (Lowe and Short 1990, Crush 1991). There are many scholars in Critical Geopolitics that are methodologically relying on discourse analysis for investigating diverse themes. David Newman has stated that discourse analysis is one of the better methods of dealing with the subject of construction of geopolitical identities (Newman, 2000). Scholars such as O' Tuathail have admitted that the "problematic of geopolitics is a discursive, con-textual one that inevitably forces one to address questions concerning the politics of signification, the interpretative politics of reading and writing" (O' Tuathail 2005: 113). Although discourse analysis is becoming increasingly popular as a methodological approach but the heterogeneity of this concept prevents the practitioners across social sciences to propose any definite way of doing discourse in researches.

Owing to the obscurity and lack of defined procedures on how discourse analysis can be done, Muller has suggested that in Critical Geopolitics, discourse analysis can be approached along three central aspects namely- "the context of analysis (proximate and distal), the analytic form of analysis (post-/structuralist and interpretive

explanatory) and the political stance of analysis (involved and detached)" (Muller, 2010; 4, Muller 2013; 55). The diagram below illustrates the three dimensions of discourse in critical geopolitics as proposed by Muller. It also demonstrates the methodological contrast between the traditional analysis in geopolitics and the emerging trends of critical geopolitics.

Figure 2.1 The three core dimensions of the concept of discourse and its use in critical geopolitics
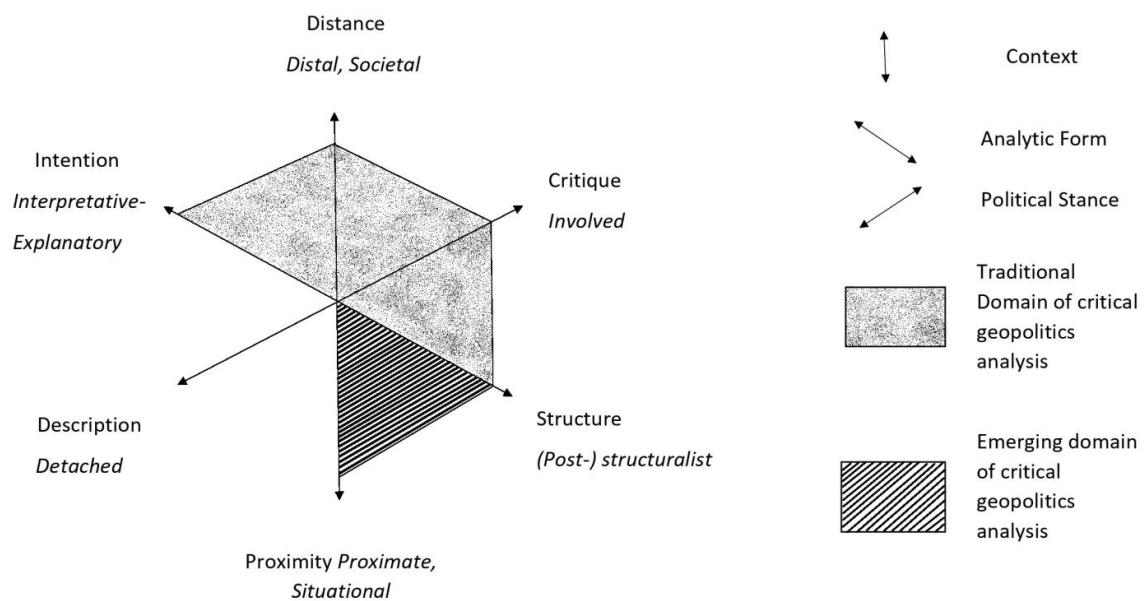
Source: Muller (2010: 5)

It is already been argued in the preceding sections that the epistemological basis of discourse theorization focuses on the social construction of meaning. Within a particular discourse, creation of meaning is not only a contested construction it is also very fragile in nature (Angermuller, Maingueneau and Wodak, 2014; 3). Thus, it becomes imperative to foreground the geopolitical reasoning in a specific context as there are multiple direct and implied, temporary, semi-permanent and permanent meanings that can be derived out of an idea, issue, concept or an event. Out of the multiple competing meanings, it is context that helps to identify the most appropriate meaning that would qualify or best suit discursive inquiry. Within discursive formations, the construction of meaning depends upon a plethora of factors. It is not just determined by who and how of its enactments but the most important element is the ways in which it becomes compatible with the already existing wide signs,

symbols and understandings (Painter, 2015: 13). According to Van Dijk, context is the "mentally represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse" (Van Dijk, 1998: 356). The potentiality of a discourse is derived from it being situated in a particular context (Shapiro, 1992: 39). Specifically with regard to Critical Geopolitics the range or the limits of the analytical exploration is determined by the very context. Context act as a tool that aid the researcher in making a value judgment. All social, cultural and political phenomena and their intricate outcomes can be made intelligible only when their part is correctly contextualized. The background against which something becomes more meaningful is provided by the context within which it is placed. It wouldn't be wrong to say that the communicative power of a discourse is contingent upon its underlying context.

Borrowing from sociologist Emanuel A. Schegloff (1997), Muller has tried to differentiate between two types of context: the proximate context and the distal context. Proximate Context is the immediate setting or surrounding within which an interaction or an exchange takes place. On the contrary general brackets of caste, gender, nationality, race and other cultural and political indicators are categorized as distal context. Discourse analysis within Critical Geopolitics requires both proximate as well as distal context.

The escalating attention and interest of the discipline on the everyday mundane practices demands that critical analysis within geopolitics include those sites that are part of the ordinary lives and were often sidelined by the conventional disciplinary engagements. Such academic engagements need to employ proximate context as the leitmotif to comprehend the diversity and specificities of everyday life. Muller points out the close association between ethnographic researches and how the object of analysis in these researches is recognizably situated in proximate context. Ethnographic studies would make sense of how discourses are mirrored, performed, reiterated and dealt in within the personal realm of specific situated practices (Muller, 2010:6). Such disciplinary exercises of embedding the research in proximate contexts would give Critical Geopolitics an opportunity to ward off the criticism leveled against it of being at a distance and out of context.

The intellectual tradition of early geopolitical discourse is replete with studies that approached problems from a distance. Most of the traditional works in the field of geopolitics were largely pertaining to the distal context. The oeuvre involved grand strategies of world politics, the power play between the great players, the dynamics of war, peace, threat and security. The approach towards all the above stated agendas made an attempt to understand the geopolitical discourses through the traditions of geopolitical decision making, the enunciation of ethnic and national identities and the geopolitical culture of state behavior and also of many supranational organizations and institutions. Issues pertaining to high politics of statecraft, traditions of foreign policy and the interstate interactions in the international arena were all scrutinized through distal context analysis.

As far as context analysis is concerned privileging any one approach over the other would be a wrong practice and will prove to be non productive for the progress of the discipline. Geopolitical developments need to be tapped through proper contextualization, depending upon the issue in question both proximate and distal as well as a combination of both these contexts can be recruited to get into the deeper understanding of geopolitical realities.

The second dimension suggested by Muller is the analytic form of analysis. There are two ways in which this category of analysis is realized. The first is through the interpretive-explanatory framework. The interpretive-explanatory analytic form is an approach that attempts to decipher and encapsulate the geo\political representation by analysing the experiences, knowledge and the norms that govern the nature of these representations. It is the most commonly employed position in the studies that involve textual analysis and it often involves exploration of the underlying geo\political motive. One of the significant characteristics of this form of analysis is the primacy of the agent through which meanings are constructed. By rejecting the view of passivity of the agents this analytic form includes focus on the activities of various agents in their contribution towards geopolitics, its enactment and dissemination by them.

Discourse studies differ a little from the hermeneutic approaches that are widely used in social sciences and in textual analysis. While the latter is restricted to content analysis and constitute a linear process of interpreting the texts and extracting direct influences whereas in discourse analysis the exercise becomes more rigorous and

critical because it involves a focus on the intersecting and competing apparatuses through which meaning mediates and gets established.

The second type of analytic form of analysis is the one that applies structuralist and post-structuralist ideas in their inquiry. This technique of doing discourse departs from content interpretation and agents and directs its attention on the process and procedures through which reality gets constructed. The difference between the two types of analytic form is while the former focuses on the different meanings of reality the latter probes the different ways in which the discourse itself gets established. Muller states that the (post-)/structuralist analytic approach is not sufficiently utilized by the practitioners of geopolitics and refers to Hakli's adoption of this analytical strand in his 1998 study titled 'Discourse in the production of political space: decolonizing the symbolism of provinces in Finland' (Muller, 2010: 7-8). Hakli has tried to trace the various processes through which institutional space in Finland got created.

Since there is no standard procedure on how to do discourse in social sciences and in critical geopolitics, the two types of analytic forms with their focus on agents and the process like the two context can be used together in dealing with discourse studies. Both forms can even supplement each other in doing discourse. Understanding the plurality of meaning will augment the studies that deal with the modes of operation of the meanings.

The third dimension proposed by Muller is the political stance. The world is an ensemble of power and politics over the changing geographies. The socio-cultural spaces are ontologically political and the politics in social is enacted through power. The traditional literature on geopolitics viewed geography separate from the social, cultural, political and ideological realms. But in fact, few academicians validate that the scholarship on geopolitics has always been deeply entrenched in ideology and been highly political in nature (O' Tuathail and Agnew, 1992; 192, Kuus, 2010: 683). From the relative position, the geographical imagination to geopolitical decision making and policy formulations, all these activities are intrinsically political.

Studies related to discourse in not just critical geopolitics but social science in general cannot escape the question of politics. Reading of politics through discourse analysis enhances the critical approach and helps in directing attention towards distinctions,

social inequalities, authority, dominance, immanent power differentials, social antagonisms and other subjectivities. It is the political dimension of discourse that problematizes and critiques the existing hierarchical arrangement. It paves path for engaging in critical discourse analysis with particular interest in the manner in which discourse controls social and (geo)political realities.

The above discussed model of dealing with discursive interpretation as proposed by Martin Muller gives some direction as to how to approach geopolitics through discourse theory. It highlights important elements that are significant while dealing with a range of geopolitical problems. The discussions in the previous chapter have already demonstrated how border qualifies as the subject matter of the critical geopolitical reasoning. The next section attempts to collate border studies with discourse against the trope of critical geopolitics and tries to establish the significance of understanding the concept of border through discursive interpretation.

2.4 DISCOURSE AND BORDER STUDIES

There are many recent interventions in the field of border studies that have formalized the new development in the discipline as Critical Border Studies. Critical underpinning questions the fixity of border. Cognizance of the change in the nature of border that renewed the interest of many scholars is a result of looking at the counter hegemonic ways in which borders exist and operate. Thus, there are increasing demands from the academicians to rethink borders methodologically, epistemologically and ontologically. The overlapping theme that links discourse with border studies is the foundational assumption that meanings are constructed through social practices. Discursive formations of border configurations are made real by the discourse.

Social practices dispersed at all the levels from state behaviour to individual attitude have a huge role to play in determining the nature of spaces, construction of identities and shaping of borders. One of the distinct features of borders that also attribute to its complexity is the fact that border and social order both are supplementary to one another. Borders are not just relocated or dislocated through social practices they are also decisive in shaping the course of the social reality. On viewing borders from the perspective of social constructivism, a very different understanding of border could be realized. Contrary to the classical statist understanding where borders were situated at

the margins, social construction via discourse theory points out that borders construct a social field through which inclusiveness and exclusivity is determined. The issue in question is a socially constructed, historically contingent, political as well as a real present day reality called the border.

Border is a bricolage and it becomes necessary to comprehend the diverse themes that lead to its creation and maintenance. Discourse helps us in deciphering how border becomes a mode of thinking that directs the way and determines the actions of subjects in the given social circumstances. There is a huge role of discourse analysis in enriching border studies as it acts like an enabling tool that establishes a vital connect between the spatial and the cultural practices of border and bordering (Rosello and Wolfe, 2017: 2). The process of concretization of borders is clearly a discursive one. The functional role of the border as a membrane or as a gateway and as restrictive or enabling depends on the power structures through which authority of the border appears to be legitimated. The legitimization of borders is a continuous process that needs to be maintained. The maintenances of border occur through socio-political processes that are not just material but also discursive. More so for the barrier function of the border to be sustained it is necessary for it to overcome the efforts made towards subverting it. In cases of violation and defiance the border is legitimized through coercion where the required state apparatuses are employed.

It is also noteworthy that critical border studies and critical geopolitics both are coaxial and discourse is the common theme that runs across them. The thesis has made an attempt to critically understand the discursive nature of border by looking at it through the lens of popular geopolitics. The most crucial and fundamental themes that the research purports to investigate are- where is the border? Who makes them? How are they sustained? How and who do they impact? Bauder suggests a methodology which mediates between the dialectical of physical and symbolic borders to be better suited for approaching border configurations (Bauder, 2011: 1128). Thus, the answers to the above and many more such pragmatic questions can only be arrived through discursive interpretation of borders.

The need to problematise border from an alternate perspective has been consciously done through discourse analysis because it is only through discourse that the very existence of the alternate understanding of the border could be recognized. It is been

remarked that "the materiality of border line is a fiction" (Amann, 2015: 16). Claims like these are impossible to be made in the absence of a discursive understanding of reality. Brambilla observes that the classical means and methods of dealing with border were incompetent in tackling the ethical and normative concerns. According to her, this inability of border studies is the core epistemological blind spot of the discipline (Brambilla, 2014: 16, 18). As a method of analysis discourse again proves promising as one of the core agendas of critical discourse analysis is to keep the ethical questions at the centre of the critical inquiry. One of the foremost proposition of the present research is discourse is not just the means of finding the multiple meaning of border it is also a method of theorizing about border.

Newman alleged that in spite of realizing the importance of interdisciplinarity in border studies the writings in the field still suggest that scholars have not totally embraced this idea (Newman, 2006: 173). Similar views are reiterated by other authors that express their resentments on the obsession with territorial epistemology in border research (Albert, et.al., 2001, Parker and Vaugham-Williams et al., 2009, 583). Studying borders as discourse prevents border scholars from this folly irrespective of their disciplinary background. Looking at borders from multidisciplinary perspective is also advantageous because it helps to comprehend the multiplicity and polysemy[2] of borders in different material and symbolic forms. Like any other discourse, borders are also heterogeneously constructed and therefore variously understood. The plurality in the manner they are implied across spaces, realms, scales and spheres imparts them the multitudinous ways in which they create their intelligibility. Critical border scholars have recognized that borders have multiplied not just in form but also in function and practices (Brambilla, 2014: 15). Multiplication of borders in form diversifies the ways they get enacted and these results in wide range of border functionality and its dynamism.

The meaning of the border is dependent on the nature of the function it performs. Approaching borders through discourse analysis and looking at them as systems of signification also helps in understanding how they are structured in terms of binaries of 'us' versus 'them'. The semiotic perspective on borders underlines an important

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[2] Etienne Balibar in the book 'Politics and the Other scene' published in 2002 referred to borders as poylsemic entities. Balibar's proposition implies that there is no single, fixed meaning of the border because they have diverse roles to play and hence their behaviour is not the same for everyone.

aspect which is the provisional character of borders. The understanding of the shifting course of the meaning of the borders, their transient nature, their ephemerality and duality becomes clear by looking at them semiotically. Signs and symbols that represent borders are variables whose meaning is predicated on the actor and context. Semiotically borders can be considered as ambivalent (Amann et. al. 2015: 18). It further highlights the conceptual relativity and contingency of borders where they derive their understanding from not just what they are or what they include but also from what they aren't and what they exclude. The wide range of symbolic and material border results from the dynamic interaction between border perspective and border consciousness. The English translation of Audehm and Velten's work states "that differences should be understood as results of discursive and social processes that possesses a performative latitude, and not as hierarchic essence from whose fixed structures bordering emerge" (Amann et.al. 2015: 18). Discourse enables to discover not just numerous border representations but also focuses on border as representations. Studying borders as discourse bridges the gap between the asymmetries of practices and representations.

One of the principal tasks of discourse analysis is that it differentiates between the hegemonic beliefs and practices from the alternate ones. The application of this feature of discourse studies is widely recognized in critical border scholarship. Hegemony is never pre given it is consciously established and produced through multiple practices. Similarly hegemonic views of border consciousness and othering are constructed and it is through repetitive exposure to the disparate practices diffused within society and otherwise that the status quo is perpetuated. There is coexistence of different border discourses but the power structuring quells the perspective of competing discourse.

Critical border scholarship has well directed its attention on the abstract idea of borders far from being a line to a mental frame that differentiate domains (Amann et al, 2015: 15). There are many ways in which the idea away from the linear notions of borders was arrived at. In this regard, one of the cardinal themes which the following section explores is to understand borders as landscapes.

2.4.1 Borders as Landscapes

The term landscape is one of the most fundamental concepts upon which the edifice of the majority of geographical investigation rest. Many earlier geographers believed that landscape is the description of land and landforms while geography is the study of landscapes. This understanding of geography still stands but the concept of landscape has widened its scope. The modified meaning of the term not just refers to the visual reference of the places and spaces but also includes wide array of perceptions and senses. In the discipline of geography, landscape is taken to be a cultural phenomenon that occurs when humans interact with their external milieu. Landscape is "an environment that has been modified, cultivated, enhanced, or exploited through human activity" (Gieseking et.al., 2012: 255). Major difference between the classical and the new meaning of the term landscape is that previously landscape was assumed to be a pre-given, while later understanding rests on the assumption that landscape is a dynamic cultural entity that is continuously evolving and impacting other objects and events in space.

Very early, geographers understood that the concept of landscape is not just confined to things that are seen but also what can be perceived beyond visibility. Cultural geographer Denis E. Cosgrove in his book 'Social formation and symbolic landscape' has dealt with the concept of landscape and its significance in geographical inquiry in great details. He opines that landscape is a means through which one can see the world and make sense of it; therefore landscape is not something that can be seen in a vacuum. The meaning of landscape is understandable only in the specific context within which they exist. Cosgrove traces the trajectory of the meaning of the term landscape and notice that between fifteenth and early parts of nineteenth century, landscape was understood in close association with art and scenery. The word was envisaged as a response (experiential and emotional) and referred to as sensibilities towards the world.

The sensibility quotient of the landscape relied on the faculty of sight as a means through which the reality was understood. Later the artistic usage of the term was retained in the landscape studies but an important addition was the emphasis on cultural production of landscape. The expansion of the meaning of the term both as a way of seeing the world and as cultural production site demands that the idea of

landscape becomes an object of scrutiny in academic researches. The artistic and the literary underpinnings of the term landscape were not denounced but scholars believed that the artistic dimension is one of the important aspects of comprehending the polysemity of landscape. Recognizing the multiple meanings, Cosgrove suggest that the concept of landscape is a complex assemblage that deals in an ideologically charged cultural product (Cosgrove, 1984: 11). This contention by Cosgrove again calls for recognition of cognitive dimension of landscape that shapes and impacts the reality.

In Political Geography and particularly on border scholarship per se the utilization of the concept of landscape is not a recent development. Geographers such as Hassinger, way back in 1932, analyzed the manner in which state influences the landscape (Dell'Agnese and Amilhat Szary, 2015: 6). With special reference to literature on borders, Derwent Whittlesey in 1935 while analyzing the relationship between central authority and landscape remarked that borderlands are justly controlled by the state in order to maintain security (Whittlesey, 1935: 87). Likewise, there have been many geographers who have theorized about border related phenomenon through the lens of landscape. Stephen B. Jones (1937) examined how cultural differences in the borderland do not occur organically but are politically induced by the presence of a boundary line. John Augelli talks about the fuzzy nature of the allegiance and identities of the inhabitants of those living in the borderlands (Augelli, 1980: 19). Victor Prescott in his book- 'Political Frontiers and Boundaries', appeals to take into account four broad themes vis-à-vis border and landscape. According to him- boundary should be seen as a cultural unit, the impact of boundary on economic activities and on the overall landscape should be investigated; the complex interaction of boundary and borderland community constitute an important dimension of the border examination, while the dynamic link between boundary and state policy should also be undertaken (Prescott, 1987: 159-174). Thus it can be seen that the intersection of the concepts of landscape and border has always intrigued geographers. It is not only the contemporary scholars that are attempting to study borders through landscapes but this practice is continuing since early twentieth century.

Minghi and Rumley observed that the nature of the above listed works by geographers on boundary and landscape was highly descriptive and was limited to classification and illustration of the physical characteristics of the boundary. They complain that the

previous researches were inclined so much towards description that there was an absence of analytical and critical approach towards the dynamism of configurations. These scholars further suggest that in order to tackle the problem of descriptive methods boundary researchers should get attuned to the methodologies adopted by cultural geographers who employ the symbolic attributes of landscapes to analyze the socio-cultural and political processes (Rumley and Minghi, 1991: 4). John House with respect to border landscape makes an observation that the previous literatures on this theme looked only at the visible aspects and there is a need for the scholars to also examine the dynamic interaction of other not so visible factors that affect and shape border landscapes (House, 1982). There are many border expressions that are beyond visibility, they are those configurations that require not just vision but other sensory apparatuses as well.

The above discussed attributes of landscape denotes its close resemblance with the contemporary context in which the concept of border is understood. Unlike the earlier published works where the relationship between landscape and border is analyzed the present research argues that border and landscape should not be studied as separate entities, rather it contends to study borders not through landscape but as landscape. In line with Cosgrove's thought Barnes and Duncan also maintain that just as text, landscape is a socially and culturally produced reality (Barnes and Duncan, 1992: 6). Thus just as text is read and interpreted the landscape here in question- border is also construed and understood.

The juxtaposition of border and landscape is advantageous for the growth of border studies as a discipline. Such an exercise is fruitful because it helps the discipline to overcome the shortcomings levelled at it earlier. It buttresses the evolution in the nature of the meaning, the situatedness and the dynamic functionality of borders which Critical border studies indulge in. Landscape is a multifaceted concept and there are many aspects of it that are not easily comprehended. Several landscape scholars have apprised of any simplistic understanding of the dynamic interaction between landscape, ideological framings and social enactments (Duncan and Duncan, 1988: 123, Kenny, 1991: 177). In this sense border is also a complex landscape which exists in a variety of social, religious, political, cultural and ethnic spaces. The existence of borders in these spaces can be identified only by closely analyzing the signs, images, symbols, inscriptions, practices and representations that repeatedly

enact borders and may not be formally institutionalized. One very pertinent example of the symbolic border is the Iron Curtain. Iron Curtain is a non spatial boundary between the erstwhile Soviet Union and its satellite states with the West and its allies.

Figure 2.2 Iron Curtain
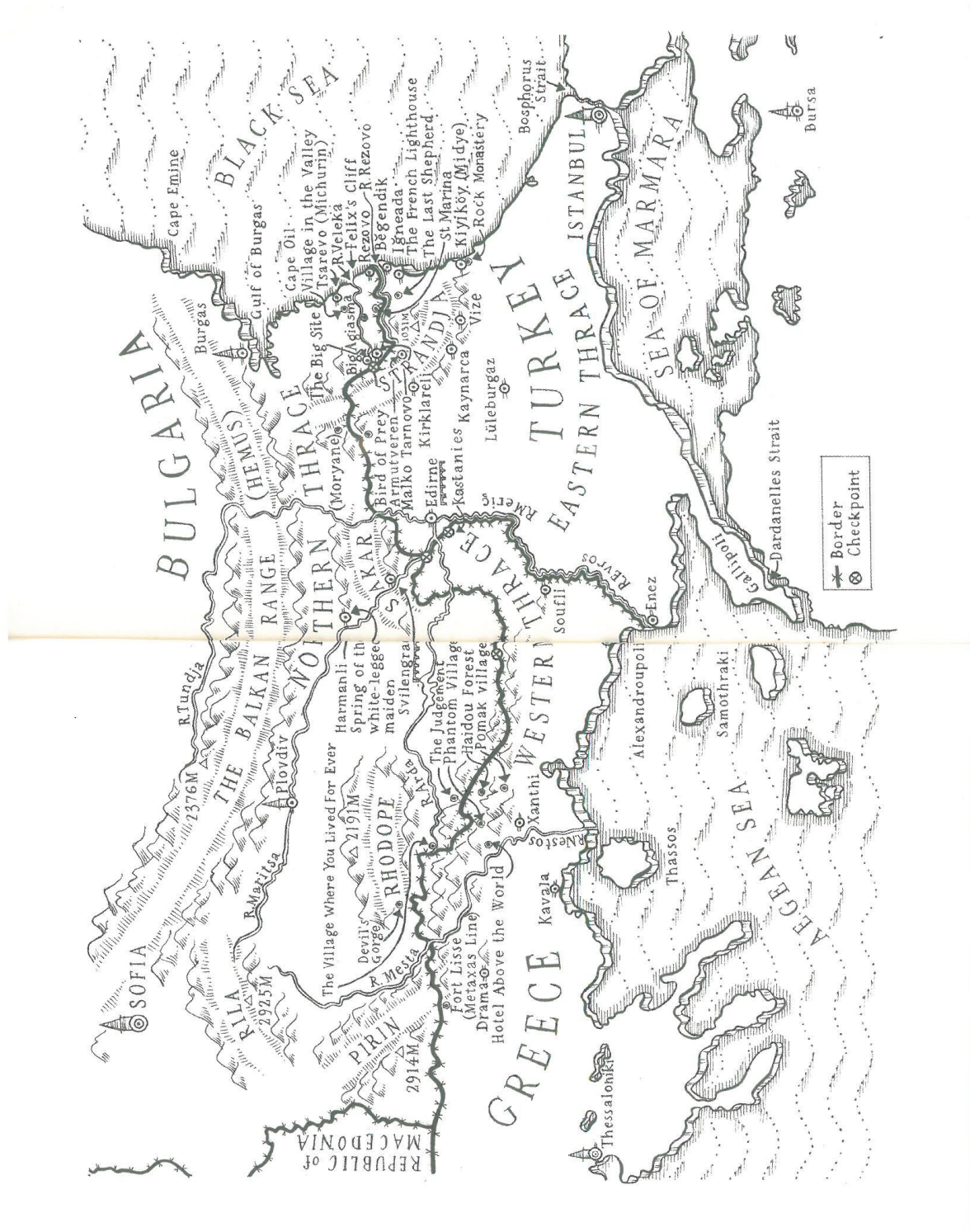
Source: Kapka Kassabova (2017)

It is supposed to be a line that differentiates the countries that signed the Warsaw Pact with those that were members of NATO. In the reportage titled 'Border' author Kapka Kassabova (2017) provides vivid illustration of the borderland between Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey. In one of her accounts, she visits the estuary near the Veleka River that marks the Europe's southernmost Iron Curtain. Kassabova comes across a handwritten note that reads "here on 21.9.1971 two men began their Calvary" (Kassabva, 2017: 88). Probing further the author finds out that the note referred to two teenage German men who were detained while they were trying to cross the border. The risky venture of these men was buttressed by a strong urge to attain freedom and was furthered by the GDR manufactured maps that projected false ideas about the borders.

The performance of border duties and border related works such as crossing in the above case, do not just create border consciousness they also simultaneously create an awareness of the abiding border norms. Borders may or may not have an architectural quality or physical manifestation that has concrete visibility; they often also exist as mental framings that are created to serve certain purposes. Borders like any other landscape are constructed and designed; they supposedly serve the purpose of organizing people and their lives.

Owing to such ontological changes few scholars like Meining, Gold and Burgess proposed to extend the concept of landscape to study the everyday life (Meining, 1979, Gold and Burgess, 1982). Such propositions are essential in exploring the intangible and beyond visible characteristics of landscape. It creates avenue for comprehending the psychological and cognitive dimensions of the impact of border landscapes. Landscape can also be seen as imagination through which individuals are able to form the conception of the world and reality. It is true for borders as well that the metaphorical borders are often based on the imaginative geographies through which consciousness regarding 'us' versus 'them' is derived. Landscapes as imaginations impacts the manner in which certain notions are framed and later becomes the basis for identity and identifications. Landscapes in that sense intervene with the way spaces are conceptualized in the minds. In the understanding of Jackson "as landscape is a composition of spaces it is also a composition or a web of boundaries" (Jackson, 1984 [2014]: 259). Analyzing borders as landscapes facilitates to locate multiple levels on which the border functions. There are a number of border

representations and practices both material as well as symbolic that are specifically designed to perpetuate certain ideas. These ideas stemming from varied practices are responsible for shaping geopolitical subjectivities at large.

Imagined spatial categories and distinctions on which the mental borders are constructed also have a role in the production of material manifestations of border and bordering practices. Border as landscape emphasizes on the different means through which the geographic distinctions and spatial categorizations are imagined. From the perspective of geopolitical and geographical imagination, there is an important link between landscape and discourse. The categorical distinctions of spatial imaginations are often contrived and circulated through dominant discourses by those in power. The discourse provides framework by accepting spatially constructed distinctions and naturalizing it through disparate exercises and practices via different agents.

Burgeoning diversification in the body of work on border studies has resulted in the development of new concepts and tools. Originating from the dynamic concept of landscape, the contemporary scholars have devised the concept of 'borderscapes' to critically engage with the processual shifts and nuances of borders. The theme of borderscapes is discussed at length in chapter three and five. The next section attempts to investigate the link between texts and discourse and its relevance in the understanding of borders.

2.4.2 Discourse and Texts

The etymology of the term 'geography' suggests that it comes from Greek *geo* which means the earth and *graphien* meaning to write (Barnes and Duncan, 1992: 1). Geography often is mistakenly referred as writing of the earth rather the correct interpretation is that geography stands for 'earth writing'. Geography is not something which is pre-given, already existing out there but a dynamic process through which the earth is continuously been written and rewritten (O' Tuathail, 1996: 1-2). As a sub-discipline, 'geopolitics' is also understood on similar lines. It is seen as verb, a process through which the world is continuously been scripted and reconceptualised by spatializing dangers and carving of boundaries that differentiates ours from theirs. The study of text is at the very core of the discipline and it is as useful in border studies as in rest of the branches. Any object can be treated as text provided it has some symbolic reference attached to it.

Texts are one of the primary units of analysis in discourse theorizing because they play a key role in structuring reality. They are vital sources of information and the knowledge provided by the interpretation of texts also becomes a source of social value. Text and discourse are not synonyms but they have a symbiotic relation. Texts and discourse both are interdependent on each other. Discourses not just create texts they also get impacted by the texts. Muller holds the view that it is discourse that establishes the link between texts and politics (Muller, 2013: 54). Discourse also helps in understanding the link between the social practices and their textual representations. It is commonly seen that different texts pertaining to the same social reality often vary in the discursive mode that led to the creation of these texts. Since discourses have no physical existence, they are present as set of capabilities and their impact can be felt only after analysing speeches, documents, activities and Texts (O' Tuathail, Agnew, 1992: 193). Texts are the indicator of social change; they capture the spatial-temporal transitions and make them understandable.

It is difficult to attribute any objective meaning to the word text. In discourse theory the meaning of the word 'text' is not just limited to written documents and scripts it follows Roland Barthes notion of text that refer to a range of things from writings, scripts, paintings, maps, sketches, landscapes to a plethora of other cultural productions (Barnes and Duncan, 1992: 5). Lemke states that "every material written text is also a visual meaning-artifact, and verbal meanings frequently depend critically on the co-occurrence of visual forms" (Lemke, 2003: 131). Going beyond the linguistic dimension of texts and taking it to be material, semiotic and as well as ideational, the present research is trying to explore the intrinsic link between the textual processes of border representations and the social processes through which borders get established in our societies. It is not assuming that texts are mimesis and they are an exact reflection of how reality is but they are seen as constitutive of how bordering takes place at various realms in everyday life.

Following proposition by Der Derian and Shapiro the thesis also maintains that the meanings of the texts can be independent of writer\author who write them (Gregory, 1989: xix). Discursive interpretation of the texts traces the meaning not just from author's perspective but relies on discerning the meaning to be culturally and socially embedded. After the text has been created it goes beyond the control of its author (Pickles, 1992: 211). Meaning of the text is not always fixed. It is impossible for the

interpretation of texts to escape the externalities. Very often texts are seen through the prism of prevailing trends that are fashioned by the dominant discourses. Since discourse is the socio-cultural frame that intervenes with how reality is conceptualized, it can be an enabling or a limiting tool through which the meaning of the text is derived. The subject positionality as well as the positionality of the author producing the text is important dimension to be considered in discourse analysis. There are possibilities where the reading of the text may depart sharply from the actual intent of the author and is interpreted in accordance with the reader's existing beliefs and perceptions about the world. As discourse analyst the researcher has to take cognizance of the fact that while analyzing texts and discourses they are themselves indulging in making meanings.

As discussed in the above paragraph, geographical studies have long been examining landscapes as texts. This view is also popular with the cotemporary critical border scholars who investigate borders as texts. "Borders are traces, that is to say, they are a form of writing- and thus they are also texts to be read" (Schimanski, 2015: 91). Kurki highlights the significance of looking at borders through artistic interventions, literature, symbols and borderland cultures. She believes that undertaking such cultural researches is extremely promising because it paves the way to comprehend the territorial and metaphorical universal human understanding of borders (Kurki, 2013: 1066). The select writings and their depiction of border and instances of bordering is considered as landscapes and more precisely borderscapes with the aim to decode and reinterpret the dynamism of the border landscape practices. Social practices make use of texts, therefore the function of the text hinges on the social practices (Lemke, 2003: 130). The suggested meaning of the texts is carefully formulated and made to overlap with the agenda set by the discourse. Very often, few texts also act as rhetorical devices; therefore they should not be approach as simple, naive, indisputable entities.

The cultural production of border is an extremely complex and intricately interwoven socio-cultural and political phenomenon; their interpretation requires disentanglement of a plethora of factors that are responsible for the making. Texts do not exist in singularity and hence it is imperative for its analysis to simultaneously co-determine the other embedded texts. At times there can be variability in the inherent meaning of the texts, the intent with which it is constructed and the manner in which it is actually

understood. Thus, owing to the complexities in the meaning of texts, one needs to carefully look at the intertextuality embedded in them (Barnes and Duncan, 1991; 5). Texts are highly layered in nature, and intertextuality to some extent helps to detangle the intricate web of meanings constituting a given text and also drawing a contrast between the intrinsic meanings with the implied ones. It is vital to approach text through intertextuality because it brings to the fore the nested expositions of the texts and also evaluates the degree of neutrality exhibited by them. Intertextuality is "the process whereby meaning is produced from text to text rather than as it were between text and the world" (Rylance, 1987: 113). Through intetextuality the historical, social and cultural contingency of meaning becomes more intelligible. Reading text through intertextuality can also expose the alternative and competing discourses from which the text draws its meaning (Harley, 1992: 247). It is difficult to isolate a given text and this is where their socio-cultural context becomes highly significant. Schimanski has equated intetextuality with the process of bordering (Schimanski, 2015: 95). He establishes that bordering is intertextual because their meaning is derived from the old texts and themes that form the backdrop on which the new conceptualizations are framed. Following this it can be argued that meaning\s of the text keeps changing; their dynamism and flexibility can be understood by the means of contextualization and understanding how the meanings are predicated on other abstract and real schemes.

Pickles borrowed from Roland Barthes' concept of 'denotive' and 'connotative' message of art and applied it on the interpretation of propaganda maps (Pickles, 1992: 220-222). Barthes's idea is important in textual analysis because it directs the attention of the analyst to not only the material polysemy of the text but it accentuates the other vital intangible components of texts as well. Denotion is the literal meaning of the text while connotation underlines its emotional and cultural dimension. Barthes idea stands true for borders as well. The interpretation of borders includes the understanding of both denotive and connotative aspects. The socio-cultural meaning of the border embarks upon its emotional sensibilities where it can mean a range of different things from fear, memory, trauma, separation, loss and an escape to a benign bond, an association, a transition and so on. Border is as much an emotion as it is a marker of state sovereignty. The subjectivities of border and

bordering processes draw from its symbolic significance while its material manifestations are clearly conveyed through its denotive component.

"Text is also an appropriate trope to use in analyzing landscapes because it conveys the inherent instability of meaning fragmentation or absence of integrity, lack of authorial control, polyvocality and irresolvable social contradictions that often characterize them" (Barnes and Duncan, 1991: 7). Texts sustain the knowledge about the world. Texts live the reality and also in the process create it through the ways in which they are accepted, contested, distorted and circulated. Multiple meanings of the text is created by the process through which it is been circulated and the way it gets interpreted. The meaning of the text is never a singular construction, and it is discourse that enables to comprehend multiple notions that constitute a reality. It not just informs about the variability but also how certain meanings are momentarily created and later completely dissolved. Metaphorically, discourse analysis directs our attention to the cacophony of the many voices concealed within the texts that are mellowed down if not always muted due to the dominant meaning. Texts have no meaning without a discourse. Discourse as a template is the source from which the text derives its meaning.

The most widely adopted means of dealing with texts is through Derrida's deconstruction. The basic purpose behind adopting deconstruction in textual analysis is to reveal the hidden, parallel and under-recognized meanings of the texts. Deconstruction advocates the acknowledgment of the silences and contradictions in the meaning of the texts. The agenda, intent, myths and the use of power becomes explicable through deconstruction as the method of analysis. Another important function served by this approach is it reveals the rhetorical dimensions of the text (Harley, 1992: 243). Every social reality is multifaceted and deconstruction challenges the normative assumption of naturally occurring nature of reality. Deconstruction is a textual tool to reason out the meanings of the text. Derrida believed that meanings are made intelligible through binary opposition or the contrasting structuring of what the text is not.

It is already been stated above that text here has broader connotations, thus textual analysis is not limited to just the interpretation of the text. It is important to critically evaluate and scrutinize the discursive texts (Pickles, 1992: 194). Dealing only with the

interpretation of text is an inadequate exercise that would be restricted to analysis of textual rhetoric and ideological premise (Hakli, 1998: 335). This can be eschewed by indulging more in the contextual reference of the texts and also by critically looking at disparate practices and processes that contribute to the discursiveness of texts.

It is noteworthy that textual analysis includes not just the linguistic references but also the non-linguistic forms of expressions that constitute a given text. Looking beyond representation and scrutinizing the way reality is enacted is a better way of doing discourse analysis. It is suggested that as a unit of analysis landscape is difficult to examine and needs to be hermeneutically analyzed (Pickles, 1992: 223). Hermeneutics is a preferred technique to deal with the multifaceted nature of texts. Pickles also warns that the interpretation of text should be carefully done so that the meaning of the texts is preserved and derived from the text without projecting another meaning onto it (Pickles, 1992: 225). With respect to the investigation of borders, looking merely at the border representation is insufficient in comprehending the complexities that border unfold.

While suggesting innovative methodological approaches to study borders, geographer Anssi Paasi maintains that the amalgamation of various levels of analysis with the theoretical frameworks such as nation, state, nationalism and identity theory at different spatial levels provides expansive field for researches in the discipline of borders (Paasi, 2011: 15). In this regard he identifies the relevance of textual approaches in the field of border studies and proposes how different kinds of foreign policy texts, media related texts and various popular texts such as cartoons, writings, pictures, novels, films etc can be explored to investigate the phenomenon of bordering (Paasi, 2011: 16). In the similar vein, after proposing to treat borders as writings and bordering as intetextuality, Schimanski further suggests that the reading\analysis of borders is significant and it should include a combination of hermeneutics and phenomenological approaches (Schimanski, 2015: 96). In order to capture the nuances of the border well it is essentially required to focus attention on how it gets translated both materially as well as symbolically. Synthesizing border interpretation with phenomenology becomes crucial in unravelling the intersections of the varied ways in which border materializes.

2.4.3 Analysis of practice (performativity)

The thesis has made an attempt to examine the construction and the socio-cultural impact of the ways in which the vocabularies of differentiation and to some extent also association has positioned people of India and Pakistan in the larger debate of their geopolitical rivalry. The engagement with texts is not just limited to identifying instances of border and bordering and their exegeses, it includes different aspects to locate the nuances of bordering by closely reading the practices of people, their behaviour and response. It has primarily focused its attention on everyday life and the practices of ordinary people to fathom the intricate web of bordering occurring at micro level of social and interpersonal realms. Fairclough has argued that textual analysis is a part of discourse analysis but he also warns that it should not be equated as the only way to undertake discourse based studies; according to him discourse analysis is not just a linguistic analysis of texts (Fairclough, 2003; 3). The focus of the research is to trace the enactment of borders at various social and personal realms.

The term performativity was popularized by Judith Butler in her discussion of how sex is not just a norm but also a regulatory mechanism of controlling the bodies. According to her "performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate "act", but rather as a reiterative and citational practice by which the discourse produces the effects that it names" (Butler, 1993: 2). Butler's notion of performativity and its materiality is not just true in the case of gender but can be applied to a plethora of socio-political realities that shape the world. Talking of borders in particular and understanding them as a socio-cultural construct, the fixing of the meaning of the border has a direct bearing on its performativity. It was Ashley who directed the attention to investigate the how of borders rather investigating its where and what. According to him- "How, by way of what practices, by appeal to what cultural resources, and in the face of what resistances is this boundary imposed and ritualized" (Ashley, 1989: 311). The pattern of the enactment and iterations of borders result in its reification and appropriation. As remarked "the virtual potentials of borders and boundaries must be performatively actualized in concrete operations on material bodies" (Shields, 2006: 233). Performativity is the medium through which the constructed reality gets naturalized.

Borders have not just multiplied; they also get proliferated while being communicated. Proliferation of border depends on their performance in different realms by range of actors. Borders sometimes are so ingrained in the day-to-day life that they are being actively practiced and pursued without the agent being aware. Individual border experiences and encounters are often part of private spaces that seldom get coded or translated in dominant texts. In order to get into the deeper understanding of the cognitive enactment of borders, attention needs to be paid to border thinking[3]. The process of othering and creation of categories and binaries happen through enunciation. The work of enunciation is done by agents and institutions that establish the categories and maintains the discourse (Mignolo, 2013: 134). Border configurations both material and symbolic are communicated through practices performed by various agents. A person crossing the border is performing as much function as the agent of state controlling it at the check post. In everyday life borders are entrenched through actor's repetitive acts of differentiation and exclusion. The agency of local actors is as important as state actors that perform border functions or are impacted by them. Borderland is one such zone which is replete with instances where the locals are employed by the state to unofficially contribute towards the 'borderwork'. The transnational organized criminal activities also exemplify how the locals indulge in different types of bordering activities. There are many different ways in which people in their routine life ascribe to cultural differences through which they indulge in exclusionary practices. These sites of border reification are often overlooked as banal but their contribution to the process of bordering cannot be ignored as they form the basis of ideological borders. The impalpability of such borders does not qualify them to be any less of a border.

The concretization of mental construction of borders through group affiliations and sense of belonging are historically dependent on cultural organization. Within a cultural landscape mental borders are carried forward as legacies because they continue to be discursively and repetitively being reminded, recited and re-established by the dominant discourses without being challenged much. The cognitive framing of the border is not necessarily a resultant of a personal experience it is often a consequence of an acquired categorical arrangement that already exists and is

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[3] 'Border thinking' is a term coined by Walter D. Mignolo. He believes that the category called the 'other' has no ontological existence. The meaning of the other is created discursively by the same process through which the same is constructed.

continuously been institutionalized and naturalized through recurrent practices of diverse agents. In few instances the border structuring is so concrete that it is difficult to dismantle them so easily.

Culture is intrinsically fluid, for cultural categories of borders to be sustained it is important to continuously resurrect the edifice of differentiation, while simultaneously dismissing alternate understanding. Discourse through disparate semiotic, symbolic, material and cultural practices enunciates them both spatially and psychologically. Cultural expression of borders validates their existence more in the everyday spaces. In social realms borders may not appear to be as hard as political boundaries but in reality they are so diffused in the social fabric that they compliment the spatial boundaries and cannot be easily breached. Socially diffused invisible borders can only be traced through closely reading the rituals, symbols and performances (Kurki, 2014: 1061). Social borders are culturally hybrid and this account for their rigidity and permanence or quasi fixity.

There is a unique association between border encounters and socio-cultural experiences. The complexities of such border interactions are better expressed through artistic genres (Kurki, 2014: 1064). There are several instances of border enactments both in political as well as social spaces the subtleties and nuances of which are captured by authors of various texts which are depicted in their writings. "The border-crossing narrative (as manifest in travel writing, exploration narratives, captivity narratives, autobiographical writing, migration literature, etc.) can thus be apprehended as performative renegotiations of nations and their narration, as well as the border itself" (Rosello and Wolfe, 2017: 2). Borders are variously performed through technologies, exclusionary practices, forging of identity, disciplinary actions, documentary procedures, illegal means, cross-border trade and travel and many such activities. Discourse appeals to not just look at the representations of reality but also on the embodiments and performance of these represented\under-represented realities.

2.4.4 Everyday life, Emotional borders and their Invisibility

In recent times, a lot of impetus has been put on to include aspects of everyday social practices in researches particularly in the field of geography and critical geopolitics (Paasi, 2000, Dodds, 2001, Dowler and Sharp 2001, Megoran, 2006, Dittmer and Gray, 2010: 1665, Cowen and Story, 2013: 343). The underlying discursive features

of discourse analysis that include semiotics offer a better possibility of dealing with the politics of everyday life. The linguistic and the cultural turn of 1990s initially were limited in their scope since they focussed more on the elite discourses. They were obsessed with 'high' politics practiced by bureaucrats, academicians, journalists and presumed the absence of politics in personal spaces and hence politics in the personal realms could never qualify as potential field of academic inquiry. The 'big stories' of nation-states often interfere with interaction across borders. These 'big stories' undermine and overpower the 'small stories' that result from everyday encounters with the border in the daily lives (Brambilla, 2014: 25-26). In the words of Paasi "a study of "everyday-life geopolitics": the joys and sufferings of people, and the meanings of identities and boundaries—i.e., categories that are not only large-scale geopolitical questions but have their foundation in local practices, and contested meanings emerging from everyday life" (Paasi, 2013: 217). Everyday life is centred on the routine activities performed by the ordinary people that are often missed out from the mainstream scholarship.

Dittmer and Gray assert that it was feminist deliberations that debunked the long held idea that only public is political while private is apolitical (Dittmer and Gray, 2010: 1666). As far as border studies is concerned, the manifestation of borders in day to day routine life was never denied but they were never rigorously engaged and explored as a potential subject matter in border research. It was realized much later that borders influence the subjectivities of the quotidian life and there is a need to indulge in such studies in order to capture borders in its entirety. Critical border scholars realized that it was not sufficient to just accept the ubiquity of borders but there was a dire need to include them in their research objectives as well.

The ubiquity of borders is not just restricted to the material and physical existence. The attention to bordering in everyday life paves the way for metaphorical and symbolic border abstractions. Border configurations are no longer limited to the visual manifestations. Rosello and Wolfe aver that categories like neighbourhood, communities and distinctions such as safe and secure versus dangerous and risky denote that border consciousness exists beyond the five sense organs (Resollo and Wolfe, 2017: 5). With the realization and inclusion of micro level and personal spaces in border studies it became a *sine qua non* to include psychological dimensions of border sensibilities.

Everyday spaces are replete with border sensibilities that have no physical visibility but at cognitive level these invisible border configurations determine the basis of a plethora of binaries. No study on borders can be complete without addressing the important aspect of emotion and affectual underpinning that are associated with the impacts of bordering practices on the subjects. Any study dealing with everyday essentially needs to invoke the ideas of affect in them (Dittmer and Gray, 2010: 1667). There is also a close relationship between invisible border consciousness and border performance and practices. The invisible border sensibilities shape the visible border performance, they condition the course of action and various bordering practices are predicated on them. Embedding the discursive understanding and textual analysis of borders in affect provides a strong ontological base to border discourses. The dynamics of border configuration from critical geopolitical perspective indicate that the dominant discourses on borders are often loaded with affective nuances. Investigating the affective underpinnings in border discourse also becomes important because border is not just a socio-political entity it is also an emotional reality.

The chapter has grappled with the important dimensions of text and discourse and has attempted to discuss their applicability in the interpretation of borders. It has also discussed the aspects of post structuralism against whose backdrop the research is fore-grounded. After justifying the theoretical epistemology here, in the next chapter, the thesis ventures to discuss various discourses on borders that are relevant and that overlaps with the overall theme of the research.

CHAPTER THREE

DISCOURSES ON BORDERS

"What is a border, when dictionary definitions fail? It is something you carry inside you without knowing, until you come to a place like this. You call into the chasm where one side is sunny, the other in darkness, and the echo multiplies your wish, distorts your voice, takes it away to a distant land where you might have been one" (Kapka Kassabova, 2017: 4).

Massive progress has been made in the field of border studies in the last three decades. This has revamped the interest and brought an overall surge in the discipline. Present day scholarship on borders has expanded its scope manifolds by including diverse theoretical and disciplinary perspectives within its ambit. Disparate intersections are now welcomed in border research. This interdisciplinary approach has enriched the subject matter and enabled the scholars and practitioners to grapple with the complexities of borders extensively. It is necessary to contemplate, why has border gained so much attention, glare and eminence from all directions. This chapter is an attempt to critically evaluate borders as research object and trace their historical and contemporary relevance. It examines the intrinsic nature of borders, analyzes the existing literature and also discusses the trends in the contemporary scholarship on border studies.

Before venturing into the conceptual frameworks and recent debates in the corpus of border literature, it is important to elucidate few terminologies and clarify certain doubts. Although the term boundary and border are used interchangeably in academic writings and pieces, the two concepts differ in their implication. 'Boundary' is derived from the English word 'bound' which means limitation, the history of whose origin can be traced in the Latin word *bodina\butina* and its French equivalent *bodne*. As elaborated by the political geographer David Newman, who looks at boundary from a politico-legal perspective, boundary refers to "the line, demarcated and implemented by a government" (Newman, 2003: 126). Although, Newman talks about boundary to

be a line, it is only on the map that boundary appears to be in linear form. A more appropriate definition of boundary is, "it is a vertical plane that cuts through the airspace, the soil, and the subsoil of the adjacent states. This plane appears on the surface of the Earth as a line because it intersects the surface and is marked where it does so" (Glassner and Fahrer, 2004: 73-75). The political boundary which is discussed here is established through an organized set of procedures that includes- boundary definition (description of the physical landscape and formalization of treaty), boundary delimitation (the process through which the cartographers plot the boundary with precision) and boundary demarcation (means through which boundary is marked on the ground after it has been delimited) (Glassner and Fahrer, 2004: 75-76). Talking of borders, this word finds its origins in the French term *bordeure* which means the edge. Stating Newman, border "is the area or region in close proximity to the line within which the development patterns are clearly influenced by its proximity to the boundary" (Newman, 2011: 126). Boundary is a broader term that includes all the processes that distinguish one realm from the other while the term border is a type of boundary that politically divides territory into different states. Hence borders subsume boundary.

Going beyond the binary understanding of borders as real/ideal or material/abstract, Shields has conceptualized borders along four spatiotemporal coordinates which he calls 'registers of boundaries'. These are namely- concrete, virtual, abstract and probabilistic (Shileds, 2006: 225). With concrete he means the physical dimension of the border which has material existence. Virtual refers to the mental abstractions through which border impacts the life and the living without itself being tangible. In abstract form borders exists as inventories, passport entries and other identity documents through which it gets indirectly institutionalized on a day-to-day basis. Probabilistic borders are those practices through which the potential risks are evaluated in order to regulate entry\exit. Shields makes an appeal to see the proposed registers as dynamic categories within which borders mediate (Shields, 2006: 225-226). The scheme suggested by him is illustrated below by two diagrams called the ontology of boundaries.

Figure 3.1 The Ontology of Borders

	Real	Possible
Ideal	*Virtual (2)* status, interface, intangibles, knowledges of citizenship, identities sense of (in) security	*Abstract (3)* rhetoric, representations, theories amd concept of the border, information flows
Actual	*Concrete present (1)* Fense, gate, actions, bodies, goods, danger . . .	*Probable (4)* percentage outcomes, trends risk . . .
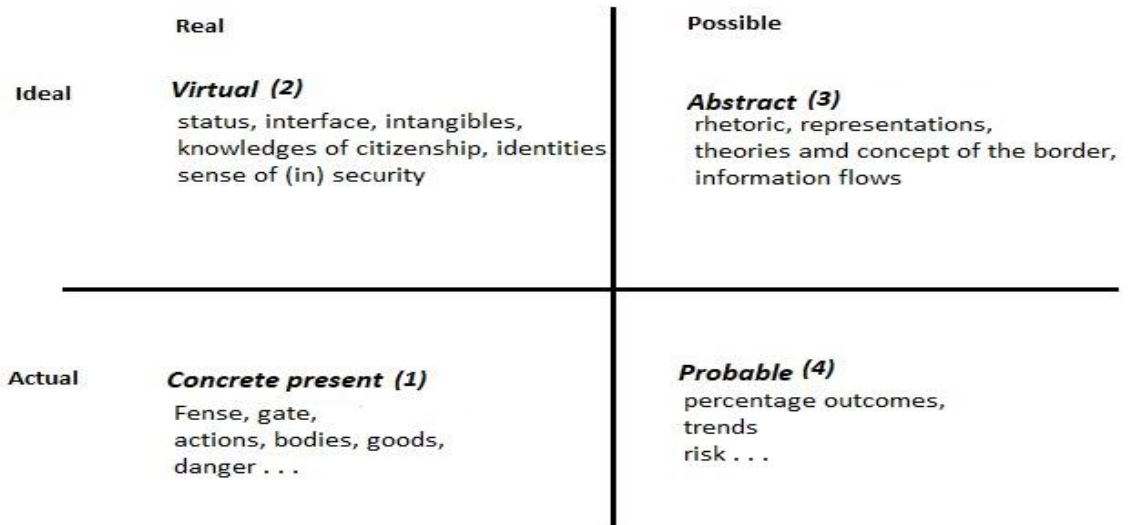
Figure 1   Ontology of the border

	Real	Possible
Ideal	*Virtual* (ideally-real) Dividing effect categorical division	*Abstract* (possible-ideal) concept, indicator cartographic convention . . .
Actual	*Concrete present* (actually - real) line on a map, marker, welcome signage	*Probable* (actual-possibility) predictable Limit
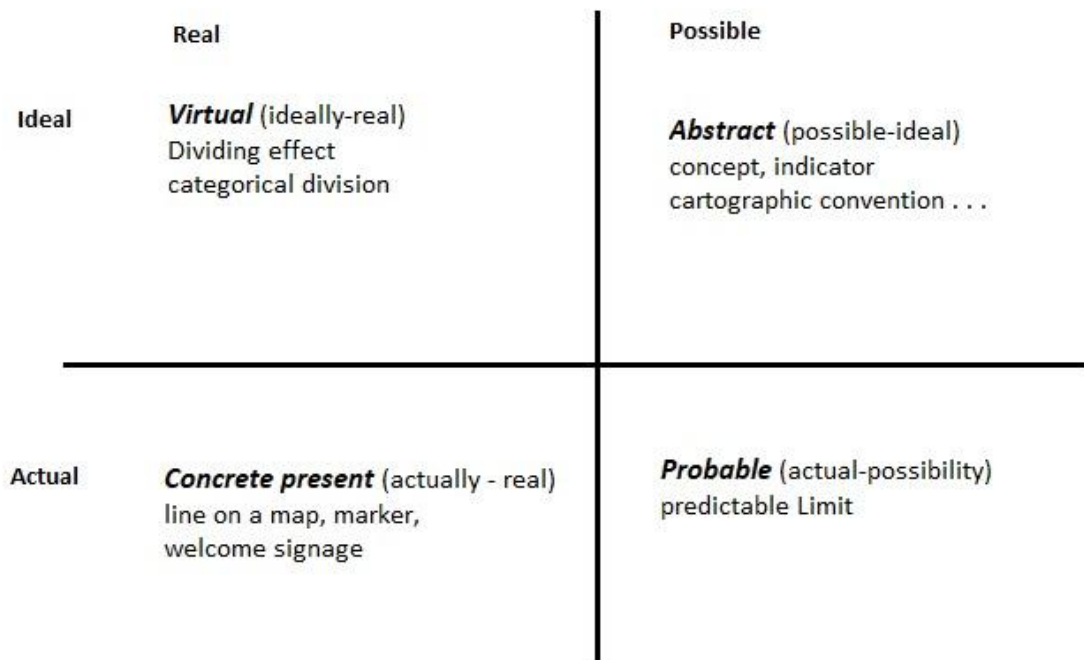
Figure 2   Ontology of boundaries

Source: Rob Shields, (2006)

3.1 ARE BORDERS EVERYWHERE?

Etienne Balibar's (1998) most axiomatic assertion that led to the revolution in the study of borders was the idea that 'borders are everywhere'. It is crucial to get into the deeper understanding of the idea of the ubiquity of borders to comprehend the recent developments in the discipline of border studies. Balibar's statement divulges the complex nature of borders and reveals how borders have intertwined themselves with the world. It makes way for rethinking various other dimensions of the border such as taking cognizance of their presence at multiple scales, looking at border from diverse perspectives, their diffusion in the socio-cultural realms etc. Borders are so pervasive that they are encountered, transgressed and sometimes even trespassed at all levels. It is remarked that Balibar's idea directed the attention to those provenances which were traditionally never thought to be a subject of border inquiry (Cooper, Perkins and Rumford, 2014: 17). With the progression of the discipline and its successive expansion, Balibar's dictum is getting increasingly validated. His contribution to the field of border studies is duly credited and acknowledged. In the words of Rumford- "Balibar is the non-geographer who has done more than anyone to challenge geostrategic assumptions about the nature of borders" (Rumford, 2012: 889). This declaration undoubtedly led to a paradigmatic shift from earlier narrowly conceptualized, linear understanding of borders to a wider comprehension of borders as discursively constructed reality.

The advent of globalization under the neoliberal policies led to drastic transformations that brought momentous changes in the economic, political and social arrangements in international, national and local spheres. Policies like economic liberalization, free trade, privatization etc were in full swing and different forms of economic integration were taking place within the world. As a collective model the forces of globalization ushered a paradigmatic shift in almost all fields of inquiry. All academic disciplines were impacted by these changes and it became imperative to address the issues with a nuanced approach. With greater flow of capital around the globe there was a supposed march towards not just the global market but also global citizenship and governance. In wake of such resurgences, the state sovereignty and territorial integrity were believed to be at stake and consequently state borders started losing their significance. There is no denying the fact that the new world order had taken over the world stage

in early 1990s but it is important to investigate and critically analyze its impact on the border restructuring.

The direct deductions that were drawn from the advent of globalization were that borders have become a thing of the past and with this dissolution of borders there will be a greater flow of people, capital and goods in the world (Ohmae, 1990). It was strongly believed by some that new economic configurations shall lead to a reshuffling of power which will result in the erosion of borders and this shall further impact state sovereignty.

Globalization led to integration in the sense that economic dependencies multiplied manifold and in spite of asymmetries there was acceleration in exchange of all sorts. The results of globalization were not limited to connectivity and flows; they have sown the vicious seeds of inequality and developmental differentials. The intensification of economic, socio-cultural and political interaction at the world wide level has led to greater exchange and associations. However the impact of it on state autonomy and borders in particular was not something sudden. By embracing the neoliberal framework it was clear that there will be long term robust changes which states need to adapt in order to keep pace with the new global trends. Borders too were affected by globalization led changes. It is imperative to analyze the realignment of borders with the same.

The readjustment and adaptability of borders to the new world order is vital for understanding the progression of borders in general. Increasing flows and networks in terms of socio-cultural interaction, trade, commerce, governance and new boost in information and technology succeeded in creating a global consciousness that was previously not found. The manner and speed with which globalization was spreading across the world compelled researchers and policy makers to vouch for extreme views such as decline of nation-states, end of geography and a world without borders. Global networking, regional associations, forums, multiplying social movements at first appeared to challenge the primacy of state with its direct bearing on the state borders.

The drastic changes in reorganization of spaces all across the globe and the assertion of new levels such as global, regional, glocal and glurban which were less popular earlier, made it look like that the nation-state bounded by boundaries have been

replaced by fluidity, and the restricting character of borders was disappearing. It was the internet connectivity that led to the advent of a new space that in spite of having a virtual existence made real exchange and inter-linkages possible. The rapid increase of e-commerce, e-governance and the likes transcended the traditional way in which the cross border interactions used to happen. The neoliberal changes were laying foundation to new spatialities that were totally dependent on network and connectivity; they were opening a gateway to new kind of spaces that were different from the earlier held essentially state centred spatialities. The virtuality of internet provided the avenue for a non-territorial space that was in opposition to the neatly defined, territorially bound space within which the economics, politics and society earlier interacted. These changes were functioning globally and their nodes of operation were multiple. This consequently led to the reterritorialization of the existing spaces. The nature of power, territoriality, boundedness, spatiality all were impacted and transformed in the wake of these global changes.

There were definite changes in the reconfiguration of the way borders operated before globalization and their functioning post globalization. Accordingly there were many geopolitical adjustments made with reference to the new world order. It is however preposterous to answer that the world is being transformed into or can exist scans borders. As the geopolitical environment further unfolded it became very clear that instead of world being characterized by borderlessness there are multiple types and kinds of borders that are functional at a plethora of levels, nation-states just being one amongst the many. The omnipresence of borders and their material, apparent and virtual existence at multiple scales is felt at many levels and even in the routine lives. The congruency of the state border with the state territory and the imbrications of boundary line across different sorts of differentiations is extremely important for the recognitions and implications of state borders. The primacy of state border remains in a world with so many different borders because they are orderly regulated, institutionally systematised units that have global recognition. The alternate set up of borders that functions on ad-hoc basis recognizes state borders and operates through them, they may transcend them for a while but they do not invalidate their existence (O' Dowd, 2010; 1036).

Globalization led to the drastic changes in the pattern of movement, mobility, transactions and flows. Nevertheless the idea of 'borderless world' that was

popularized by the advent of globalization could not sustain itself for long and faced scathing attacks. The international arena is a gated community that permits and restricts selectively while borderless world is just a rhetorical expression which has very little credibility in its claims. European Union was often inaccurately seen as the typical case of borderless thesis with the easing out of travel within the member states and common currency measures. Very soon it was discerned that EU is just another instance of shifting of the border. Thus it was realized that the world is not borderless but it is a bordered world that we live in (O' Dowd, 2010: 35). The critical response to the borderless discourse and rejection of it was partly responsible for the renewal in the discipline of border studies (Newman, 2006: 143). "The border does not disappear when international trade is liberalized properly speaking it is a condition of trade being international" (Parker and Adler-Nissen, 2012: 782). The porosity and permeability of borders do not qualify for their obliteration. The process of globalization has multiplied the channels of inter-linkages and greater flows that require more borders to be erected than dismantled. Amidst the permeability of boundaries to the flow and exchange of capital one can still find the relevance of sanctions, trade barriers, custom checks, embargos and other similar regulatory mechanisms that disprove the borderless idea even in economic sphere (Newman, 2006: 146). As observed, globalization has led to the diversification in the concept of territoriality in the sense that there are innovations in the way borders are managed and controlled (Laine, 2016: 467). Globalization in no way is antithetical to the ubiquity of borders, the geopolitical balance between securitization and transnational flow has utilized borders as a tool to exercise control and regulate global exchange.

The border narrative that developed after the rejection of borderless thesis has at times been referred to as the renaissance of border studies. The outlook towards borders changed a great deal post the globalization wave. In academia, scholars recognized the dynamic character of borders and began comprehending it alternatively. Borders were now viewed as not just sovereignty markers but they were also seen as processes, practices perspectives, symbols, institutions, categories, ensemble and a number of different things. The spatial fixity associated with borders was critically addressed and alternate structuring of border vis-à-vis religion, beliefs, culture, society etc was delved upon. The conceptual transition of having multiple outlooks to solve and address border related issues evolved by the realization of an important

truth that the construction\formation of border is an ongoing process. Subsequently, rethinking of border politics in terms of their dynamism became one of the core agenda of the discipline of border studies. In this regard, it also crucial to focus on the pragmatic practices of everyday life that contributed to the creation of a plethora of borders all around.

3.2 INTERROGATING THE WHY OF BORDERS

Why are borders needed? If we ponder over the utility of borders, the most fundamental reason that one can think would be that they provide protection. Things are guarded when they are under threat and in order to keep the potential danger at bay there is a need to build walls or to create bounded selectively permeable spaces that permit only the desired and prevent the rest. Borders were originally conceptualized to ensure equilibrium and peace but this has seldom been the case. Mostly the periphery has been characterized by a zone of activity because of the negotiations, territorial conflicts and differences over territorial claims. Borders ostensibly are the edifice of pacification; they are built to ensure peace and security of the territory they circumscribe. Fortification was a means of defence in the times of kingdoms and princely states.

Borders in the olden days existed as transition zones usually marked by some physical feature such as a river, hill or mountain ranges etc. They were actually frontiers, they were not very neatly marked but their purpose was to differentiate between territories and to separate ecumenes. Frontiers are described as "a politicogeographical area lying beyond the integrated region of the political unit and into which expansion could take place" (Glassner & Fahrer, 2004; 72). The shift from frontiers to borders and boundary line is parallel to the transition from monarchies to nation-states. There were no well demarcated boundary lines to ancient kingdoms and empires. The boundary of the king's estate was changing and not clearly defined. It was modern nation-states that led to the emergence of the boundary. It was the survey procedures and mapping techniques advanced by geographical explorations that focused on the spatial aspects of the territories which accentuated the need to mark the territory with more accuracy. Boundary drawing became a function of state because a definite territory gave impetus to proper control and facilitated effective administration. Such a system of bounded territory made it easier for the state to collect taxes, maintain

order and exercise control with authority. Linear boundaries became an effective medium of exercising sovereignty. The concept of frontier is gradually getting obsolete and it is getting replaced by a more dynamic idea of borderland (Newman, 2003: 127). The notion of borderland has more contemporary relevance; it is a zone where bordering practices are overtly visible.

In one of the review articles written by Agnew it was remarked that "boundary studies has long been one of the most torpid sub-fields of political geography; largely oblivious to theorizing about geographies of political identity and the spatialities of power" (Agnew, 1996; 181). There were new epistemological fault lines in the study of borders and this required the discipline to expand its scope and pry on the neglected unexplored avenues. The new critical bend in the discipline inspired by postmodern and poststructuralist practices gave new scholarly impetus and facilitated the researchers to revitalize border studies. Burgeoning scholarly engagements regarding the borders show the shift in the focus to (re)bordering (Newman, 2002; Kolossov, 2005; Walker, 2006; van Houtum, 2005). Borders have undergone great deal of institutional and conceptual transition not just in terms of the way they are understood but the diverse manner in which they impact politics, geography, sociology and economics of the world. In has become difficult to arrive at a precise all encompassing holistic definition of the term border. Border is now broadly understood as a concept as much as an entity.

3.3 DIVERSIFICATION IN THE NATURE OF BORDERS

The classical literature on borders suggests that they were only conceptualized as a dividing line, the scope of which was limited to the State's sovereignty and power. The most traditional meaning of border is based on the territorial and spatial claim of it marking the limit of state's extent, as democratic institutions and border being the expressions of power beyond which state's sovereign rights cease to exist. Conventionally and also ideally borders are those establishments that work as organising principles, one that regulates the territory and apparently brings geopolitical inter-state order. It is not that these conventional meanings of borders have become completely redundant and should be repudiated but they are definitely not the only way of looking at and defining borders. The scale of nation-state has long enjoyed the only frame of reference of analyzing the borders. Critical border studies

challenges this tradition and appeals to dispense the exclusivity of nation-state (Rumford, 2012: 888). Balibar proclaims that ontologically borders do not just exist as a boundary between two states, rather there are a number of divisive political and geopolitical practices that reproduce, sanction and relativize their existence (Balibar, 2002; 79). Political borders that exist as boundary lines on a piece of map and as fences or barricades on the ground are just one of the many forms of borders. One important indicator of the shift in the approach towards borders is that the neologism developed in the course of contemporary researches such as borderlands, borderlanders, borderscapes, networked borders, diffused borders, borderities etc cannot be cartographically plotted as it used to be with the linear understanding (Cooper, Perkins, Rumford, 2014: 16). There are many other invisible forms of border that can be found anywhere and everywhere (Balibar, 2002; 78). . The tangible, palpable and visible borders that are situated at the edges of the state territory and also within the state are just one out so many of the material manifestations of the border. The epistemological expansion of borders beckons to go beyond cartographic expressions and device alternate mapping techniques.

The evolution of borders to its contemporary form was gradual and its roots are embedded in human nature itself. The very understanding of borders evolved in societies with the inception of the sense of property and its ownership, a sense of possessiveness and when human became proprietorial vis-à-vis the physical space. It is a general human tendency to look for commonalities and similarities and segregate those that are or appear to be different. Assimilation between people within and across groups does not come instantaneously but is contingent on a number of factors. This inclusive and exclusive tendency has been the ordering principle on which societies have functioned. A lot of it was also based on geographical factors such as physical distance, race, language, cultural beliefs and practices, religion and the likes. Boundary drawing, borderization (Soguk, 1999) or bordering in general is practiced whenever the external is perceived as an imminent danger or if there is no acceptability of those who differ on any grounds. As societies evolved there were many distinctions that surfaced such as civilization vs. barbarism, patrician vs. plebeian, affluent vs. underprivileged and colonizers vs. colonized and many more. These differences deepened and laid the foundation to 'us' vs. 'them' distinctions of all sorts.

The hierarchy of spaces has always been and continues to be the ordering principle for societies. Concepts like equality and egalitarianism have been reduced to mere utopian ideas that certainly are implausible and farfetched. Hierarchy privileges the top tier and facilitate them to rule over the others. Construction of hierarchical spaces can be attributed more to anthropogenic than natural factors. There has been overlapping of several spaces and many of these spaces are temporarily created to meet immediate interests and often these spaces are differentiated with the rest by the means of borders. The nature of border changes and there are many instances where borders are of temporary existence. This ephemerality of border or its transitory character is also seen in combination with virtual borders. It is important to note that in spite of borders at times being virtual, their implications are actual and real which creates long term differences. The in\visibility of the borders is the not the determining factor of their efficacies (Rumford, 2012: 887). Invisible borders create visible effects that have serious political, social and spatial ramifications.

3.3.1 State border vs. other forms of borders

The contemporary pluralistic understanding of border varies sharply with the traditional understanding that was primarily statist in its approach. The world is represented as a politically differentiated whole wherein borders play a very crucial role as an institutionalized divider of these politically differentiated spatial units. The network of inter-state system and its working rests on nation-state ideals. Nation-states often become the point of reference while discussing various border related configurations. They with all their material and biological resources are competing with one another and trying to maximize their national interests. Borders have become an effective medium through which states pursue their strategic dreams, regulate exchange and also impede certain flows. It is a normal practice to equate all sorts of borders and bordering in terms of the boundaries of nation-state where the sub categories are subordinated under the larger canopy of state boundaries (Hakli, 2001). A cursory reading of the classical works on border studies so far would show that borders co-evolved with the State. Do border predates States or do States predate border? The discussion on state and border entails a lot of other subsidiary yet crucial concepts such as territoriality, sovereignty, identity, power, governance and the like. Viewing borders from this lens is primary and fundamental approach adopted by the

practitioners of IR and other politics related disciplines. In fact it was also elaborately dealt by geographer Friedrich Ratzel in his popular 'Theory of State'.

Rumford makes a significant point when he argues that in spite of the shifting discourse on the contemporary scholarship in border studies the primacy of national borders is still maintained. He believes that the proprietorship of borders still lies with the state (Rumford, 2013: 268). The physicality of border mostly in the form of fencing and militarization is established and recognized only in the light of its relation with state and territory. Out of so many meanings and understandings of the term border the most commonsensical idea about borders is that it is something that separates one political unit from the other, thereby dividing the two sovereign states. No doubt that this definition is myopic, and not holistic. It projects borders to be linear and static, it considers only one level of analysis and ignores the wider and the in-depth sense of what this term actually denotes, yet it is partly true and is the most common understanding. Political boundary derives its legitimate power from its association with the state whose territory it encircles. State borders impart legitimacy to the polities and they help in institutionalized ways of communication that take place in the world (O'Dowd, 2010). It is the territorial boundaries that objectify spaces. It has already been mentioned in the previous section that the sense of bordering and boundedness existed before the societies formally got organized into a politically ordered structure in the form of modern state. It was Rousseau who asserted that the very foundation of civilized society began with territorial possession of a piece of land and by claiming it by the means of a fence. It can be deduced further that the fencing of this grabbed land not only laid the foundation of civilized society but also with it began the process of bordering by excluding (Rousseau, 1997). On excavating the historical lineage of borders it becomes crucial to understand the significance of territory but the evolution of the modern state has automatically strengthened and made borders an important political and social entity that cannot be escaped. In this regard the peace treaty of Westphalia (1648) is considered to be a watershed as it was this treaty that compelled the sovereign states to demarcate their borders and organize their territory in terms of strict, clearly defined and definite boundaries.

The normative arrangement of non interference in the internal politics and policies within the sovereign territory of a state is predicated on boundaries. It is these

physical boundaries that are responsible for the antinomy of national vs. international spaces that forms the basis of IR, global politics and international trade. The treaty fostered clarity, distinctiveness, regulation through delimitation of the extent of state territory. The intent of treaty was to maintain order through borders but there was a flip side of this. The territorial possession and boundary drawing were not utilized to just maintain order but in the garb of border and boundary delimitation bred negative ideas that discounted humanity at various occasions and led to massacres and disintegration of societies.

3.3.2 From Border to Bordering Practices

In the book 'Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness' published in 1996, Paasi presented a new outlook towards borders and argued that within the discourse of boundary producing practices, borders are processes and institutions that are reaffirmed symbolically and materially (Paasi, 1996, Paasi, 2001: 13). Newman also urges that the research on borders should focus attention on the process of bordering rather than on border per se (Newman, 2006: 148). Seeing borders as a process rather than an entity facilitates in focusing on different manner in which borders materializes both on the ground as well as in the minds. Since then, the term 'bordering' has gained currency in the recent interventions in the field of border studies. Along the same line of thought Schimanski makes a pertinent remark when he writes that border "is not just an effect but also a cause" (Schimanski, 2015: 94). In simple terms bordering refers to the processes through which borders are established, perpetuated, reified and also disassembled and eliminated. It is only when the preoccupation with the statist perspective on borders is relinquished that the approach of viewing borders as an entity will transform to seeing them as a process. Bordering also refers to the procedures that are instrumental in sustaining the borders envisioned by the state. The understanding of bordering is not just limited to rebordering it also includes debordering of places and spaces. Bordering constitutes a wide spectrum of activities which includes- border making, border sustaining and also debordering within its ambit (Parker and Addler-Nissen, 2012: 777). Few scholars have looked at the bordering process as a means of maintaining spatial order with special attention to the discursive ways in which the differences of 'us' versus 'them' are concretized (van Houtum and van Naerssen, 2001: 125). There are a myriad of informal and formal contemporary practices that are resorted to by different state and non state agents to

perform bordering. It is observed that some of these practices are not theorized vis-à-vis border discourse (Parker and Assler-Nissen, 2012: 774). Political, social, cultural, economic, psychological and symbolic all practices of differentiation and association are included in the broader term called bordering. The diverse nature of bordering makes it essential to look at it from varied vantage points. The processual shift from border to bordering is indispensible as it emphasizes on the dynamism of borders rather than considering them as pre-ordained fixed categories. Border may be a universal phenomenon, omnipresent in different forms but there is no common border experience. It exhibits a great variety of functions and thus impacts different subjects differently.

As mentioned above the making and remaking of border is just one aspect of the bordering process. Bordering may not be able to provide any reasonable solution to deal with the complexities associated with borders but through it the intricacies of border definitely become intelligible. With respect to state bordering activities there are several axis such as territorial, legal, economic, cultural and linguistic that are perpetually maneuvered to synthesize together to obtain desired bordering ends (Parker and Adler-Nissen, 2012: 786). The inscription of borders utilizes different planes because of the incongruence between the territorial borders with the socio-cultural proximities with those on the other side of the boundary line. As pointed out by Rumford, bordering also refers to the challenges posed to the fixity[4] and unfixity of the process by which borders are perpetuated (Rumford, 2013: 270). He further discerns that "the relationship between the fixity and unfixity is an unstable one" (Rumford, 2013: 270). There are no specific rules that govern borders; flexibility is the underlying principle on which it works. The functionality of the border is transient in nature and it is the political interest that directs the course of the border functionality. Border oscillates between fixity and unfixity and is utilized as a tool to meet the desired ends. Bordering is not an independent process and its contingencies are varied. It is a process that impacts people's being in the world (Rosello and Wolfe, 2017:3). The plurality of border functionality is responsible for the wide range of materiality that borders manifest. However with regard to border flexibilities it is

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[4] Homi K. Bhabha explains the concept of fixity in the context of colonial discourse. For him fixity is the ideological process through which the 'other' is constructed and otherization is pursued. Fixity is the inflexible and rigid conceptualization that is concretized through iteration of certain ideas and practices (Newton K.M. (1997) Homi K. Bhabha: 'The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse'. In: Newton K.M. (eds) Twentieth-Century Literary Theory. Palgrave, London).

noteworthy that the malleability of borders does not just lie in the hands of the state and its authority rather there are a plethora of non-state procedures that displace the fixity of the borders. The range of border configurations from fixity to unfixity makes them dynamic, multifaceted and multidimensional.

Border scholars should take cognizance of the fact that it is not just borders that are everywhere but borders exist concomitantly with bordering, so bordering is as pervasive as the borders. There are many ways in which inclusion and exclusion takes place and that contributes to the proliferation of the process of bordering. Bordering which Shields calls as the 'soft operational culture of a border, is a repetitive process through which borders are continuously established and not physical infrastructures like fences, walls and border-posts that are the bedrock of the subject of border studies (Shields, 2006: 226). Bordering generates a range of effects, but the most primary consequence of boundary creation is that it creates two subjective domains that are in contrast with one another. This essence of bordering is maintained irrespective of whether the border is acting like an obstruction or it is facilitating an interaction. The qualitative difference created by border construction continues to be the leitmotif even while it is performing an integrating function.

Border crossing is another type of bordering process and this process denotes transition. It involves change in status, for instance the spatial movement while crossing a territorial boundary, several categories such as tourist, migrant, refugee, guest, traveler, foreigner etc are levied on the border crosser. An important aspect of bordering is that it carves out not just spatial but temporal spaces as well. (Shields, 2006: 229). Resonating with the views of Shields, Schimanski also expresses that the crossing of border is not just a spatial but also a temporal phenomenon where the border crosser as well as the border both experience transition from one condition to the other (Schimanski, 2015: 47). The inflexibility in the nature of borders warrants it to be continually fixed and this temporary fixation of borders affects the border crosser by creating a transitory passage.

At times borders are self operational and often times they rely on different agents to carry forward the business of bordering. As discussed above in order to perpetuate the process of bordering it is crucial to persistently engage in drawing, redrawing, erasing and changing borders. The activity of executing several border related tasks not just at

the physical sites but all throughout by the range of actors is also a distinct aspect of the bordering process. According to Rumford, "the role of citizens (and indeed non-citizens) in envisioning, constructing, maintaining and erasing borders" is 'borderwork (Rumford, 2008:2). It is important to investigate the significance of the idea of 'borderwork' in the contemporary border discourse.

The shift in the approach of studying borders from the uni-dimensional and unidirectional stance to the multiperspectival broader standpoint directs attention to previously unnoticed spheres of several sorts of border enactments. One of the major highlights of Rumford's concepts is that it advances an idea that includes not just the state pursuits towards bordering but gives equal credence to the role of citizen and ordinary people in their contribution towards borderwork. The case of Texas-Mexico surveillance is one such example. There are several cameras that are installed near this border and anyone with an internet connection can police the activities happening at a stretch of 1254 miles of border through a web camera access (Luscombe, 2009). Borderwork is a broader postulation that does not always conform to the democratic systems and principles or mechanisms of humanitarian aids. These services are very much a part of borderwork but they are not the only kinds as there are several illegal practices such as cross-border illegal trading, drug and human trafficking etc that are also covered under the purview of borderwork. The concept of borderwork has broad connotations but simply put, it focuses on the border related activities without prioritizing the nature of the business and irrespective of who does it. Thus the above discussion comes to an important inference that borders can never be a finished product, they are always an ongoing process.

3.3.3 Multiscalar Nature of the Borders

In semi-permeable or more rightly selectively permeable societies both territorial and non territorial borders are used as tools for objectifying spaces whenever desired. It is on the principle of exclusionary practices of bordering that the world functions and there is duplication of this function of border at different levels. State borders are such a phenomena which are as much national as local and in some cases they are also international (Paasi, 2011: 15). There is no denying that the term border is associated with exclusion, segregation, compartmentalisation, separation, fortification defence, protection and so on. Apart from these borders circumstantially also establish connect

and act as an effective mode of linkage. Keeping these adjectives intact the scale of borders and their location, spatiality, functionality has metamorphosed so much so that the resultant object in question has become robustly hybridised.

The diversification, diffusion, dispersion, dislocation and decentralisation of the border happened because in recent decades it was well realised that border is that common denominator which is experienced by all. Majority of shift is also contingent upon the functions performed by borders. The recent non traditional meaning is drawn directly from the myriad of roles that borders play in its dynamism at international, national, local and also at the level of an individual. The multiple approaches to the study of borders do not make it complex, but such a multispectral approach is quintessential so that various aspects of border and respective bordering can be better understood. All the different roads adopted by diverse academic disciplines vis-à-vis border studies lead us to the same destination of understanding borders in its multiplicity.

The diffusion of borders has imparted them with many dimensions that make them complex entities. The dynamism of borders is not just restricted to a single scale or level but can find place at multiple and at a combination of levels. The efficacies of border at different scales transform their nature without being noticed. For instance, in the case of India-Pakistan border, for the post-colonial politically induced displacement of population, the meaning of the border straddles between physical barriers of a boundary line to the emotional border of animosity. The global networking of flows has also led to the rescaling of the borders. Mutliscalar perspective is essential so that the socio-cultural, symbolic, emotional as well as spatial and political aspects of all border enactments could be comprehensively grasped.

In order to have a thorough understanding of borders it is imperative to view borders at all the three levels of analysis- international, national and individual. Border embodiments are visible more at the unit level in the everyday life of the people who experience border in their daily dealings. The unit level has often catered less attention as compared to the national and international levels especially in the fields of political geography and International Relations but critical geopolitics scholarship has always vouched for a bottom up approach. The physical border usually assumes

primacy and becomes the governing principle of the functioning not only at the level of state and inter-state but to a large extent at the unit level as well.

With regard to the multiscalar nature of borders, it is crucial to discuss two vital themes postulated by Chris Rumford here viz. - vernacularization and cosmopolitanisation of borders (Rumford, 2007, 2012 and Cooper Perkins and Rumford, 2014: 16-18). These two concepts are structured around the premise that the work of regulating, controlling and managing of borders is no longer just the duty of state agencies and departments but borders are worked upon by different non-state and supra-state actors too. In other words bordering is practiced at multiple levels, the border configurations occurring at the scale below the nation-state are termed as vernacularization while the one above the nation-state is the cosmopolitanization of borders. Europe is the quintessence of the case of cosmopolitanization theme characterized by increasing connectivity and relatively unrestricted mobility. However Rumford clarifies that this does not imply that European world is without borders rather it denotes the diffusion of borders throughout the spatial extent of the EU (Rumford, 2007: 328). Balibar observed the transition in the changing landscape of Europe and expressed that Europe is transforming into a borderland which is characterized by a reversal in the relation between territory and the border (Balibar, 1998: 220). European borders are going beyond the scale of nation-state and familiarizing the border crossers with the act of bordering. The idea of cosmopolitan borders in case of Europe is also a model of reordering wherein the porosity within the EU is on the rise while the permeability beyond the 'Fortress Europe' is getting more stringent.

On the other hand, vernacularization of borders implies the shift of the bordering activities away from the state enterprises to informal and non-state sectors below the scale of nation-state. As expounded by Rumford "the vernacularization of borders refers not only to a neglected "bottom-up" dimension but to a more general appreciation that borders can be utilised for a variety of purposes" (Rumford, 2017: 276). The idea of vernacularization is more visible in the borderlands areas where for the borderland community border is a local phenomenon. There are many instances where due to the physical proximity to the border people prefer to send their children for school education across the border than within their own sovereign space.

Vernacular bordering instances are part of the quotidian life where bordering experiences is localised and a routine work.

3.3.4 Border Dichotomies

There are three different types of dualism that are generally seen in borders, namely-dualism in their nature, form and function. In terms of the nature, borders can be integrating or differentiating, they can be material or symbolic in their form while functionally they can be restricting and facilitating movements. According to the conventional wisdom, borders are the means of separation and tools of differentiation that divide territories and create binaries of different kinds. Borders still continue to pursue the function of creating distinctions but the trends in border functionality suggest that border also perform the function of connectivity. As remarked- "borders not only join what is different but also divide what is similar" (van Schendel, 2005: 44). It is also argued that the function of integration does not just happen at or near the state boundary it also takes place at sites away from the border or borderland and is termed as 'non-proximate connectivity' (Cooper, Perkins and Rumford, 2014: 21).

A border even when situated at the edge performs simultaneous and dichotomous functions of association and dissociation; it both integrates as well as differentiates. It supposedly homogenizes the diverse region within a political territory irrespective of the differences in terms of Diaspora, race, ethnicity, language, religion etc thereby making an effort towards the amalgamation of discrete units. At the same time it distinguishes the citizens from non-citizens, nationals from non-nationals separating the others and restricting their entry. Physical border acts like a sentry of a citadel that performs the duty of protecting its territory from anything and everything that not only could be a potential threat but does not belong to or fit the state defined normative structure of permissibility. Borders as institutions are supposedly created to bring stability and provide security (Paasi, 1998: 75), but this is also true that there are many instances where borders are contentious and have led to social and political instability in the region. The duality of borders can also be seen in relation to the question of identity. Borders forge a common identity from above and work towards eliminating those identities that are uncertain and ambivalent (van Houtum and van Naerssen, 2001: 126). Such a differentiating practice reinforces distinctions and in extreme cases may also lead to antagonistic relations. Often there is a contradiction

between what do present borders aim to intercept and what they actually deter. It is questionable how well is the border able to perform this function because there are several discrepancies and cases of illegal trading of goods and services across borders that has been prevalent as a huge industry of transnational-organized crime. These activities directly attack the territorial sovereignty of the state and consequently render border as well as sovereignty as contested issues.

"The purpose and ambitions of present borders are less absolute and more negotiated" (Shields, 2006: 232). The conceptual changes in border have imparted dynamism to it and the same border may perform varied functions. It may act as a strict mode of exclusion while also as smooth corridor for entry and exit. The paradox of borders is clearly visible vis-à-vis economic exchanges and cross border trade where border withholds its barrier functions and becomes a permeable membrane for the transit of goods, technology, information and commodity. Seen in terms of the factors of production Bauder rightly points out that borders permit capital but they inhibit the labour (Bauder, 2011: 1127-1128). Whereas the same border strictly exercises its barrier function and becomes non-porous to undesirable asylum seekers, refugees and other migrants. They provide security and protection by exercising force and coercion towards the other i.e. they enable by disabling. Border as instruments of homogenization of a particular areal population is often contradicted by multilevel associations that take place outside the national level. Yachin attributes this dialectical trait of borders to the modern man and his surroundings (Yachin, 2015: 65).

3.3.5 Borders and Perspective

One of the most widely referred pieces by John Agnew on 'territorial trap' makes a strong case and condemns the most commonly held notions that state is the only container of the society (Agnew, 1994: 68). Although Agnew's contentions were well received and even convincing yet the obsession with the state as the starting point was not something that could easily be done away with. The statist standpoint puts more emphasis on what Paasi calls the inward oriented attributes (Paasi, 2001: 14) and largely ignores the other possibilities of border configurations. There is a need to seriously reconsider the belief that borders are not only located at the state periphery and their only function is not just to separate one realm from the other. In order to comprehend the ontological multiplicity of borders it is crucial to adopt various

stances to comprehend its disparate peculiarities. There are multiple ways of looking at an issue, problem or an object and borders is one such reality that warrants to be looked at from varied vantage points. Borrowing the concept of 'aspect-seeing' propounded by philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein[5], (which talks about the vitality of determining various dimensions while examining an object) Bauder has ventured to underscore how the concept can be utilized in understanding the conceptual heterogeneity and multidimensionality of borders (Bauder, 2011: 1127). Aspect seeing also has an important side of context related to it, consideration of context in the analysis of border helps in interrogating the contradictory nature of borders towards different subjects.

It is crucial for border scholars to acknowledge the fact that national state boundaries are only a suitable reference point (amongst many) for looking at the border (Donnan and Haller, 2000: 11). In order to avoid any partial understanding, it is important to consider not just the statist perspective but to pay equal importance to alternate approaches of analyzing borders. Rumford poses a very thought provoking question in this regard, he problematizes and beckons to see like a border versus to see like a state. He further elaborates on his proposition and highlights the difference between seeing from borders and seeing from the state. He opines that seeing like a border does not means that one situates her\himself outside the border and has an inward gaze neither does it means that the positioning is such that the border is analyzed from a watch tower. Seeing from a border refers to carefully identifying and looking at the instances of bordering diffused within the socio-spatial and socio-cultural lives (Rumford, 2012: 896-897). He also warns that seeing like a border should not be misunderstood to be a perspective from the marginal domains (Rumford, 2012: 897). Seeing like a border is a viewpoint that is devised to capture the plurality of borders without prioritizing any single vantage point.

Reading borders in a way state portrays them will only demonstrate how borders are been used by the state and its authorities in establishing control and cordoning off the territory. It is opined that seeing borders from the perspective of the state is an undemocratic exercise (Bauder, 2011: 1133). The two concepts of democracy and

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[5] In order to illustrate that there can be several dimensions to an object Wittgenstein presented the famous rabbit-duck picture that can alternatively be seen both as a rabbit and a duck at the same time. He also coined the term aspect-blindness to denote the incapability to look at some aspect.

borders are largely antithetical to one another since the former is rooted in the idea of inclusiveness while the latter is based on differentiation and other exclusionary principles. Borders may widely be established as tools of governance by the state but that cannot discount the fact that on several occasion borders might be used by other agents for carrying out activities that are incongruent with the norms laid by the state. Seeing borders from the borders open avenues to focus attention on those provenances where borders have always been operational but never noticed. With increasing impetus on bordering procedures seeing like a border gives an important stance of identifying diffused bordering practices in different domains. As discussed earlier, there are some borders that do not have concrete physical existence. Such borders can be traced at the level of abstractions but they are widely present and impact life. A significant dimension of 'seeing like a border' is that it directs attention to these non-physical manifestations of the border. Rumford writes that "seeing like a border leads to the discovery that some borders are designed not to be seen" (Rumford, 2011: 69). This alternate perspective reveals how bordering is exercised in disguised form without being visible.

Rumford's proposition of an alternate outlook towards borders underlines the importance of perspective in border studies. His suggestions have congruencies with the ideas advanced by critical border scholars. However, bordering is practiced both by state and non-state actors and for understanding borders in totality both these perspectives should be taken into consideration.

3.4 BORDERS AS AN INTERDISCIPLINARY OBJECT OF ANALYSIS

Traditionally borders have always been studied under the sub-discipline of political geography and the trend continues still but there have been great deal of mutation in the methodological approach. "The history of border studies is as long as political geography itself" (Paasi, 2013: 213). By now there are varied disciplinary ways in which borders can be conceptually addressed and approached. This multidisciplinarity arises by virtue of borders being so pervasive and dominant in the everyday life and thus they become an important question to be addressed across disciplines. Borders cannot be studied in isolation with any singular approach. The scope of border studies is not just limited to the conventional scholarships it has expanded much beyond and single disciplinary approach is likely to overcome the nuances of borders and

bordering. As far as the functionality of borders is concerned, broadening of the scope of the subject and crossing of the disciplinary boundaries is necessary for the growth of border studies. Scholars should be mindful of the fact that liminal changes may dismantle structures that have been assumed to be fixed (Albert, 1998: 63). The simple reasoning that can justify this attribute of border studies is that border affects all and everyone. It impacts individual and societal spaces and is largely responsible for the inter-state dynamics. Borders are historical in their inception, political and geopolitical in their relevance, geographical in their creation, technical in their practice, biopolitical in their approach, philosophical in their understanding and psychological in their impact. Borders are not created instantly, they are historically contingent, they are discursively circulated, their production is circuitous and with their varied and diverse representation they become complex, hybrid and difficult to objectively interpret.

The multifaceted nature of borders invites scholars from diverse academic fields to problematize them and grapple with its complexities. Unlike the traditional pattern where borders were primarily studied under the domain of geography, political scientists and International Relations, today scholars from across social sciences and humanities are engaging with this theme. Invoking ideas from multiple disciplines is a necessity for the disciplinary growth of border studies at large. Yet it is argued that the interdisciplinary character of the discipline has made the theoretical discussion on borders more complex (Brunet-Jailly, 2005: 634). It is near impossible to disentangle disparate concepts that entail the collective understanding of borders. Hence an interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary approach is the most suitable way to deal with border related issues.

The epistemology of borders is no longer restricted to objective reasoning. The inclusion of non-spatial attributes of borders within the ambit of border scholarship demands the subject to include subjective interpretations. One of the major thrusts towards interdisciplinarity comes from the advent of everydayness in the border literature. Everyday spaces are ideologically framed. They involve psychological and cognitive configurations and it is difficult to grapple with these aspects of borders through traditional means. The diagram 2.2 drawn below, demonstrates how the subject of borders is an object of analysis in different branches of geography. It also

illustrates geographical themes and concepts that are closely related with the concept
of boundaries.

**Figure 3.2: The Manifestation of Boundaries in Some Subfields of Human
Geography**

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

- State, nation, sovereignty and territoriality
- Nationalism
- Territorial trap
- Critical geopolitics
- Ecopolitics
- De/re- territorialisation
- Cross-border regionalization
- cosmopolitanism

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY

- Cross-border interaction
- Regionalization/regionalism
- Spaces of flow/space of places
- Disappearance of border/state
- Annihilation of space

BOUNDARIES AT VARIOUS SCALES

CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

- Politics of identity
- "national culture"
- Ethnicity, "race"
- Gender, sexuality
- Refugees, immigrants
- "otherness"
- Cyberspace
- Hybrid-identity
- Supranational identities (peace, environmental, women's movements)

REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY

- Regions as social constructs
- Regions as historical processes
- Demarcation of regions
- Regionalism
- Regional identity
- Regional consciousness

Source: Paasi (2005)

3.5 THE DYNAMISM OF BORDERS

In general the understanding of border gets continuously modified because the nature of border in itself is dynamic. The dynamism in borders arises because they are polysemous and they are constantly getting relocated. The most cliché example which often springs up in the discussion of the changing characteristic of borders is the case of European Union. Border configurations within the EU illustrate the simultaneous easing of the boundary regulations within EU and hardening of the borders towards its external edges (Paasi, 2011: 16). However, it is not just the nature of border that undergoes transformation, there are instance where the spatial boundaries of the state also get modified. One such case is of the international boundary between India and Pakistan. There were some discrepancies in the boundary around the Great Rann between Kutch in India and Sindh in Pakistan. Lack of consensus and dispute over the limits of the land led the matter to be presented before a tribune in the year 1968. Following abjudication, there were few changes in the boundary. An area of around 950 sq. km. near Dhara Banni and Chhad Bet was given to Pakistan (Prescott, 2008: 121).

Borders and the related bordering practices inherently have malleable, fluid and flexible character, there can be rigidity in its enforcement but the rigidity is not intrinsically driven rather it is governed from the external political and sociological conditioning. For an inclusive comprehension of border complexes it is imperative to understand the border nuances from various vantage points and to critically analyze them through not just one disciplinary approach but a combination. Borders are found at multiple spaces that are an overlap of socio-political, socio-economic, technological and psychological domains where borders get constantly negotiated. The kind of border proliferation to numerous realms strongly supports the idea of developing an alternate imagination about the way border functions impact the socio-political spaces at large. Functionality of borders has expanded in it range from institutional and official settings of a boundary to informal everyday personal spaces.

Borders have both material as well as symbolic manifestations and to understand borders holistically scholars need to grapple with both these forms and analytically fathom not only the range but border footprints as well. The diffusion of border made borders hybridized and a unilateral approach where they are scrutinized under strict

disciplinary compartments is degenerative. It will give erroneous results and will create border fallacies. The exigencies of transforming border dynamics demands scholarly engagements that involves a dialectic intercourse between the border imaginaries with their material manifestations. The present chapter aims to put forth various different discourses that are relevant vis-à-vis borders.

The state and form of borders is now very different from what they earlier were so it becomes important to analyze them historically and it is equally important to discern their gradual evolution. There is a lopsidedness that can be discerned in the prevalent research on Border Studies. The research on borders is bourgeoning but the body of work in this field focuses its attention more on the border dynamics and border configuration of the west. There is a remarkable difference in the border experiences and encounters of the global south with that of the western world. Events like 9/11 attacks, European Integration, trade-security dilemma and trade agreements have dominated the body of literature and present research in border studies. The border related issues of the global south have a very different trajectory and the complexities associated with them vary a great deal with their western counterparts. Border complexities and the political unrest in various parts of the postcolonial world is a direct consequence of the imperial ordeal. There are more acute instances where the superimposed line on the ground has disrupted the normal course of socio-political and socio-economic life of the people. The vicious trap of the postcolonial borders is resonating in the cartographic anxieties[6].

3.6 BORDER, TERRITORY AND TERRITORIALISATION

Traditionally the concept of borders is conjoined with the concept of territoriality and from this lens borders are the by-product of territoriality. Borders give expression to territoriality (Leimgruber, 1991; 4) and in Sack's opinion border is the medium through which territoriality gets easily communicated (Sack, 1986; 32). According to him territoriality is "the attempt to affect, influence, or control actions and interactions (of people, things and relationships) by asserting and attempting to enforce control over a geographic area" (Sack 1981). The territorial arrangement of the world is

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[6] The term 'cartographic anxiety' was used by Sankaran Krishna in his article titled 'Cartographic Anxiety: Mapping the Body Politics in India published in 1994. The term was originally used by him in the context of various representational practices that construct the meaning of India and the struggles over the question of identity and survival.

conceived as a labyrinth of borders which when represented on a globe or a map gives a kaleidoscopic view of the colourful patches of landmass scattered all over the sphere. Borders are the site of osmosis, a kind of liminal space where an established or imposed homogeneity encounters the constructed external and their segregation by filtering them out and labelling them as undesirable. Border delinks the world and it reconstructs space by creating a discrete set of political territories.

On tracing the disparate ways in which the border and bordering evolve it is important to understand the relation between border and territory. Territory is an important requisite for the existence of physical boundaries. In this regard it is paramount to understand the concept of territorialisation of spaces. Territory is a subset of space, all territories can be spaces but all spaces may not be a territory. Space is more a subjective term than territory. Territory is the sphere of operation in which certain authorities regulate and rule the common population through different practices of power exertion. It is interplay of space and power where a certain area is being controlled and organized through ostensibly institutionalised set of practices and exercise of power. It is that space where community of people and societies that constitute the population of a particular state live within a spatially defined and confined area. This organized space has some spatial extent and it is border that defines the expanse or magnitude of a territory. It is remarked that "without borders, there is no territory" (Shields, 1992: 225). Talking strictly in terms of a political border, border and territory give meaning to one another, they are concomitant i.e. there will be no territory without a border and no border without a territory.

Territorial rearrangements have always determined the course of the new boundary creation and it facilitates in mapping the jurisdiction. Stuart Elden (2013) in his book 'The Birth of Territory' writes about Raffestin's views that "territory is generated from space, through the actions of an actor, who "territorialises" space (Elden, 2013; 5). He further writes that "a territory contains a mix of political, geographical, legal, technical, practical, and relational question" (Elden, 2013; 16). If we shift our focus to the edge of a state's territory then it becomes visible that the border too is a compound mix of the very same ingredients out of which a territory is carved out. This establishes a very organic relation between territory and border and this interlink is build by territorialization. Territoriality is the political manoeuvring through which territory exists in its present form. Events from history clearly indicate that the politics

that was being practiced in the earlier times was largely centred on territoriality. It was more about territorial expansions, conquests, annexation, takeovers and setting up of colonies. This territorial fervour was not limited to imperialism and colonialism; it has percolated to modern ages too and is diffused in our social structures and sub-structures. The overseas territorial possessions that are till date withheld by the erstwhile colonizers are the remnants of covet of the powerful states and their territorial dispositions. The control over a territory is established through territoriality which determines the very nature of the territory. A territory without undergoing territorialisation and without defining its outer limits loses its significance as a political entity. In Foucauldian understanding territory though is geographical but its primary and defining characteristic is that it is a judico-political entity. This judico-political trait which imparts legitimacy to a territory, depending upon which the territory gets projected on a map, it at times get divided and also disputed upon.

On considering state as an apparatus and a container of power, it is the border that differentiates this apparatus from the other apparatuses in the system of state and it is the territory that this apparatus encloses within itself. The supreme aim of the state is to govern the territory that is under its jurisdiction and it is the political boundary that defines the sphere and marks the end of state's role and rule. But it is not as easy as it appears because borders are not so objective in their division; they are not the neutral differentiating categories. The very nature of international politics is territorial. Territoriality often becomes a limiting factor in the sense that it tends to restrict certain activities by transforming fluid spaces into compartments of restricted exchange. The dispositif[7] of the territorial demarcation is exercised through various state agents and state apparatuses that prevent them from being questioned regarding their legitimacy. The most direct and visible instances of territorial dispositif can be seen in instances of cross border migration, infiltration, refugee crises and problems of immigration etc. Border in such cases act as a resistance where it tends to territorializes the sovereign territory through terror and coercion.

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[7] 'Dispositif' is the term coined by Michel Foucault. It refers to an ensemble of various practices and mechanisms that collectively employ power in varying degree and proportion.

3.6.1 Border and the Question of Sovereignty

Border and sovereignty are closely related in the sense that both are experiencing similar trajectories and both are deriving their present status from the set of representational practices that reify the binary of inclusion and exclusion. Traditionally sovereignty was considered to be the foci of the state formation and the classical understanding of it was premised on the fact that sovereignty is absolute, fixed and final (Morgenthau, 1948). The traditional understanding of sovereignty is ill-equipped to decipher the geopolitical order and world politics of contemporary times. The new developments, overlapping authorities, political interference by non-state actors along with other state's interventions in the domestic politics have debunked the above mentioned notions about sovereignty.

There are several challenges posed on how well are the states able to exercise absolute control and authority in the internal affairs of their territory and to what extent is this authority respected and upheld. The efficacy of territorial sovereignty is based on its power to make and apply rules that are recognised by its population with its territorial integrity acknowledged by the international community. Sovereignty depends not just on the loyalty of the population but mutual recognition of other states is also an important requisite of sovereignty which makes it relational. There are sovereignty differentials in the world, not all states are alike and some states exercise more sovereignty than the others. Agnew calls this 'sovereignty deficit' which has its direct bearing on the power inequality (Agnew, 2005: 438). Imperialism of the past and hegemony of the present shows that the sovereign rights are not just confined to the state's border and this gives way to such sovereignty deficits. The extraterritorial reach of the powerful states to spaces and places beyond the purview of their legit political boundaries has defied the conventional, canonical notions about the state sovereignty. It forms the basis to reconsider the territorial, spatial and statist undertones on which sovereignty was grounded.

Under the current trends it is certainly visible that sovereignty is issue specific and is definitely divisible (Agnew, 2005). It is argued by Brown that the states still remain the chief actors but this altered nature of their sovereignty will be viewed as the symbol of state's diminishing power and influence. In order to conceal the weakening of sovereignty and restore their primacy, states have indulged themselves in building

walls around their territories. "If the Wall is a bid for sovereignty, it is also a monstrous tribute to the waning viability of sovereign nation-states" (Brown, 2010; 34). The construction of walls all around the world may appear to be an expression of the state power but in reality they are exaggerated and superficial ways of fostering state supremacy and in its guise preventing the diminishing state sovereignty from getting revealed (Brown, 2010;24). Sovereignty is elaborately and exuberantly performed by erecting these superstructures and thereby creating a kind of political\geopolitical rhetoric of intensified state framework. Building walls do not necessarily reinforce sovereignty and make them appear as powerful mechanism of state functionality. The prodigious walls can be architectural sites but they may not succeed to re-establish absolute sovereignty and these structures breed popular anxieties in the masses about the eroding sovereignty. Modern walls have transformed their roles; they focus their attention more on the movement across the territories and have departed from their goal of separating the sovereign, legal and political domestic spaces from the international realm. Ideally their primary work is to provide protection and interdict threats and violence coming towards the sovereign territory. The new walls instead of keeping a check on violence are using coercion towards the locals in the borderland; they claim to restore peace and security by the means of violence. The excessive walling and fencing sometimes becomes ineffectual in keeping a check on illegal enterprises as they might give way to alternate routes where such activities could be carried out (Brown, 2010; 34,37). Hence they are staging the sovereignty that they themselves undermine.

3.6.2 Border and the Security Discourse

The geopolitical thrust on security has directed strategies on building more walls and constructing more fences in order to guard the territorial and non territorial integral spaces from ostensible dangers. The shift towards State border enforcement and the project of constructing walls was radicalized after the apparent shrinking of the world to an integrated global village and this became more visible after the 9\11 terrorist attack in the US. Hardening of borders and installation of strict and sophisticated system of control and surveillance by means of fence and wall has become a global phenomena. Bordering by means of fortification has surely assumed course in the international sphere that is undertaken by many if not all. The impetus by the nation-states to indulge in building walls and the programme of wall proliferation in the

wake of securitization has been called as 'teichopolitics'. The term teichopolitics[8] refers to "the global trend towards hardened borders" (Rosiere and Jones, 2012; 219). A detailed understanding of these walls clearly shows that they are a lot more than just built-up structures.

Typically, however, those walls consist of much more than a barrier built on masonry foundations. They are flanked by boundary roads, topped by barbed wire, laden with sensors, dotted with guard posts, infrared cameras and spotlights, and accompanied by an arsenal of laws and regulations (right of asylum, right of residence, visa). We understand the word wall in the broadest sense, as a political divider that comprises complex technologies, control methods, legislative provisions and "securing the border" discourse (Vallet and David, 2012: 112).

It is crucial to evaluate the result of such hardening. What purpose do these walls serve? Are they just security barriers? If yes, then are they actually able to curb activities that pose a threat to the state's security? The new trend of hardening of borders differs from the traditional function of the borders in the sense that previously borders stood as the legal emblem of state sovereignty; there is sharp retreat from this notion in the new walling programme. The new physical barriers work as enclosures that put a check on the movement of people and goods across borders. Do states indulge in walling as a means of naturalizing and reinforcing the process of bordering both on people living inside and outside of the territory? In Brown's terminology these walls demonstrate post-Westphalian world (Brown, 2010; 21). This escalating tendency of hardening borders is hardly able to serve the actual cause of its creation.

The said purpose of this elaborate restructuring is unable to create insularity that they claim to provide. Trans-organized criminal activities, smuggling, trafficking, terrorism and other illegal enterprises have become so robust that walling the terrestrial borders will be insufficient to deter it. In Rumford's views these activities are using borders opportunistically for financial profits (Rumford, 2012; 898). The new fences are creating asymmetries as they act as bridges to the elites and the privileged while a barrier to those poor workers and labourers for whom border

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[8] The word 'teichopolis' is derived from Greek word tiechos which means for 'city wall'. It was first used by Ballif and Rosier (2009) and later in 2012 it was used by Stephane Rosiere and Reece Jones in their article 'Teichopolitics: Re-considering Globalization through the Role of Walls and Fences' to describe the construction of walls and hardening of borders in the world.

crossing was a source of employment and a means of their sustenance and livelihood. The sheer failure of this walling project forceses to question their motives and emphasizes on the need to launch more viable remedies of restoring global peace and security. Walls are erected as mere iconographic edifice that are only symbolic, less remedial in their occupation and serve less purpose. The symbolic and the material meaning of these walls are incongruent and they tend to perform inconsistent and contrasting functions. These mythic border structures are controlled by state to perform border theatrics where borderland becomes the amphitheatre to the act.

3.7 BORDERS AS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCT

Borders do not have any primordial existence; they are the makings of the humans. Amitav Ghosh in his travel book, 'Dancing in Cambodia, at Large in Burma' rightly expresses that- "all boundaries are artificial: there is no such thing as a 'natural' nation, which has journeyed through history with its boundaries and ethnic composition intact" (Ghosh, 1996: 49). Even the earlier geographers were aware that boundaries are not a naturally occurring phenomenon, as noted "a boundary does not exist in nature or by itself. It always owes its existence to man" Kristoff, 1959: 275). Along the similar lines, anthropologists Hastings Donnan and Dieter Haller have also argued that "state borders are neither natural nor absolute, but rather artificial and problematic" (Donnan and Haller, 2000: 9). Within the contemporary academic discourse viewing borders as a social construct and a discursive reality is largely a post-structuralist idea.

According to the idea put forth by van Houtum and van Naerssen "borders symbolize a social practice of spatial differentiation" (van Houtum and van Naerssen, 2001: 126). There is a growing realization amongst the border research community that even the material manifestations of borders are deeply situated in the social expressions which cannot be disregarded. From an entirely sociological standpoint Georg Simmel asserted that "the boundary is not a spatial fact with sociological consequences but a sociological fact that forms itself spatially" (Simmel, 1997: 142). Novak tries to problematise borders, according to him "any definition of borders is in itself a representation of the social; any representation of the social rests on a conceptualization of borders" (Novak, 2016: 4). Following this, Novak posits a thought provoking question by asking whether the social gives meaning to the spatial

or is it spatial that informs the social aspects of the borders (Novak, 2016: 4). There is a symbiotic relationship between social and spatial, both these are conjoined together. Borders are established as exclusionary devices, be it material or symbolic. But is it the binaries like us\them, here\there, inside\outside that are responsible for the creation of borders or borders have created them? Borders definitely reify these distinctions but it is very difficult to contend if they are a product of bordering or is border their consequence.

The idea of social constructivism resonates in the views of the leading border scholars David Newman and Paasi who believe that state boundary are not fixed, pre-given and naturally occurring features that are situated at the state edges but they are a socially constructed and discursively formulated socio-political reality (Newman and Paasi, 1998: 187). In spite of the knowledge of the instability and flexibility of borders, the general trend is that borders are usually taken to be fixed and therefore they are complied with and taken seriously. With regard to the fixity\unfixity debate Jones asks to investigate the cause of the apparent stability (Jones, 2009: 175). On focusing more on the process through which borders are created rather than on the taxonomic approach that only looks at the way border materializes is more likely to provide better chances of investigating such aberrations.

The study of categories have become an important theme in social sciences and humanities, and after the diversification of the concept of borders there is a lot of parallelism in the subject matter of the two domains. Bordering practices work on the exclusionary principles by compartmentalizing the world into different categories. Categories of occident\orient, men\women, privileged\downtrodden, capitalism\communism etc have always been a subject of inquiry in postcolonial studies, feminist discourses, economics, International relations and other disciplines.

Reece Jones directs our attention to a very pertinent question when he argues that if all categories are socially constructed then why is there difficulty in going beyond these categories (Jones, 2009: 175). Jones infers that the issue is not with the categories but the manner in which they are differentiated by the boundaries and how they are understood and mentally constructed. In his views the boundaries of categories are not fixed rather they are inchoate (Jones, 2009: 175). His remarks resonate with what Newman suggested that instead of studying the categories per se

the researches should look at the way these categories are constructed in the first place.

The arguments discussed in the second chapter find relevance in understanding borders as a social construct. The ordering of life through categorization and boundary making at different levels is done through discursive procedures. By means of control and regulation of movement the topographical borders fixate the territory which continuously produces places in spaces (van Houtum and van Naerssen, 2001: 126). The world is made intelligible by means of classification and after cataloguing things under different labels the limits are set to determine what lies inside and outside the category in question. It is by means of drawing boundaries that categories are given definite meanings. Categorization is a dynamic process that gets dictated by a plethora of factors. Philosophers Deleuze and Guattari (1987) have propounded the concept of deterritorialization and reterritorialization[9] that explains the shifts in the way the nature of categories changes. Categories are not all inclusive there are several things that lie outside the binary oppositions; organizing world in strict compartments is not always viable as bordering takes place at different levels.

Drawing attention towards the conceptual construction of boundaries in the mind, it is important to consider how geographies of fear are created and installed. The presence of a boundary impacts the behavioral pattern of the individuals. The cognitive categories cannot be elided when talking about social construction of borders. The affective aspects and emotional ramifications of making, remaking and unmaking of boundaries are often bypassed by the conventional boundary discourses. However such emotional geographies are often engaged within the popular discourses such as fiction writings, poetry, theatre, films and exhibitions etc. The mental construct of borders can be investigated through emotive issues and also by probing the affective archives of the individual memory that shape their cognitive contours. Schimanski avows-

"The work of border delimitation, whether it be technical or non-technical in its approach, involves looking into the archives, whether they be the physical archives of

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[9] The concept of deterritorialization and reterritorialization was originally propounded by Deleuze and Guattari in the book "A Thousand Plateau. Capitalism and Schizofrenia" published in the year 1988 from the perspective of psychoanalysis. The concept in the context of borders is used to denote transition.

state governments, the archives of popular memory, or the metaphorical archive of the soil and water themselves" (Schimanski, 2015: 95).

Schimanski's idea of comprehending borders through archives alludes to the argument forwarded by Paasi (1991) that contends to study boundaries and their meanings as a historically contingent reality (Newman and Paasi, 1998: 187, Paasi, 1998: 79). Boundaries of today have deep roots in socio-political fabric of yesterday. It is important to trace the historical embeddedness of borders which reveals the foundation from which different bordering practices emerge. Archaeological approach is also significant in exploring the rigidity of certain divisive ideas that forms the basis of cognitive categorizations and prejudices for the 'other'.

Landscape is understood in the way it is perceived (dell'Agnese and Amilhat Szary, 2015: 7). From the lens of border aesthetic borders are considered as landscapes and therefore it can be inferred that the knowledge of borders is dependent not so much on what it is but how it is perceived. This directs our attention to the symbolic materializations of borders. Symbolic borders are defined as the "differences or conceptual oppositions between concepts, values and subjectivities" (Schimanski, 2017: 159). Symbolic borders are culturally produced mental and social constructs that can have both physical as well as non spatial manifestations. Borders are socially and politically legitimized through spatial and non spatial routines.

3.7.1 Border and Identity

The concepts of border and identity are inextricably conjoined with one another. Scholars have rightly opined that borders do not just lead to the construction of identities they themselves get created by them (Newman and Paasi, 1998: 198). Identity is a means of perpetuating the idea of one's existence through selfhood. Who one is, is often contingent on who one is not. The linkage between identity and boundary emanates from the fact that both are social constructions that work on the principle of difference and exclusion. Borders and identities both co-produce and mutually reinforce one other. Borders like identities are fluid in nature and as discussed earlier there are constant efforts to fix them through discursive practices. Borders need to be perpetually re-established and during the process they make the identities more pronounced. Identity becomes a contested issue when there is strict enforcement of identity in only geographical terms.

In post colonial societies, nation-states were modelled on the politics of differences. Ideological predilections were predicated on religious identities which further created binary distinctions and became grounds for territorialisation of spaces. Under nationalistic aspirations, religion as the marker of identity undermined other social means of identification. This led to the hardening of one identity and erosion of other linguistics, cultural, regional and other identities that became a yardstick for belonging and non-belonging of communities. The idea of nation is also an invented myth. Anderson rejects that national identity is something to have attained by virtue of being born in a particular place. He argues that it is neither the birth right nor the geography that ascertains national identity rather nation he believes is an 'imagined community' and national identity an inculcated category that is perpetually made to pander the nationalistic goals of the people (Anderson, 1991). Thus there is no organic existence of identities, it is an acquired attribute. Once the national identity is created it governs the lives of the population in spatial terms.

The territorial identity forged by the nation-state always requires an outsider for the construction of its own being. Geopolitical imagination plays a significant role in shaping the contours of emotional geographies by infusing nationalistic fervour and implanting values that enunciate the categories of self and others. Popular culture is one such media that supplements the process of othering and reinforces hegemonic beliefs and ideas to further the differentiating agendas. They are important tools which are employed to perform the task of transforming the flimsy abstract nature of identity into concrete and durable reality. Nation building project alludes to the boundary drawing practice through which spaces are homogenized and imaginary communities spatially superimposed by simultaneously creating an inside and an outside.

3.8 Theorizing Border?

The conceptual evolution and burgeoning contemporary researches in the field has given rise to an array of postulations and conceptualizations on borders. Although boundary has always been a subject matter of geography, few scholars feel that it was an under-theorized concept in the field of human geography (Sibley, 1995, Paasi, 1998: 69). Departing sharply from the traditional outlook which was limited to territorial obsessions and typologies the current undertakings are rooted in plausible

reasoning and have theoretically borrowed extensively from a wide range of humanities and social science disciplines. Juxtaposing concepts from social theory for the purpose of analyzing borders is a new trend in the border scholarship and more justifiably so because they equip the researcher to address the nuances of borders well. Borders have assumed primacy in social theories, the dynamism of debordering and rebordering have become cardinal in understanding socio-political developments so much so that theorizing social agendas is akin to theorizing borders (Rumford, 2006: 155). Conceptually borders are so intertwined with social, political, anthropological, economic, legal and even technical procedures that it is essential to adopt multidisciplinary approach while dealing with them.

As discussed earlier, borders operate on a wide spectrum of scale, ranging between individual to the supra-national levels, this again makes it difficult to tackle borders from a single framework. State borders at times work not just at national level but they also function as a local phenomenon (Paasi, 2011: 15). The functioning of the border at intermediate levels between national and individual and national and international make them complex to theorize. Bordering practices do not operate in isolation but they interfere with each other's working. Even in terms of defining what borders are, there is lack of consensus and all the suggested definitions of borders appear correct in their own right. For such a plural, heterogeneous, multifaceted and multidimensional concept it is practically less viable to formulate any adequate and fulfilling theory that could be all encompassing. Newman laments that there is no appropriate theoretical framework that could be employed to read the boundary phenomenon (Newman, 2003:134). He felt the need to have a theory that could be used to understand the process of boundary and bordering rather than the boundary consequences.

No two borders are alike, every border is different and they all have unique experiences. The problem of duplicating the border theory on other border issues and instance is also a huge hurdle in theorizing borders. Such pessimism is also reflected in the view of Bauder who opines that borders cannot be conceptually seen from a single coherent stance (Bauder, 2011: 1127). Paasi proclaims that there can be no general theory of borders that can be well founded in all the bordering instances (Paasi, 2011: 27). A general border theory is not just improbable in the case of symbolic and ideational borders but even for physical borders the idea is a far-fetched.

With roughly a little less than 200 politically organized states situated in different parts of the world and constant probability of the number going up because of rampant sub-nationalism, it is likely that there will also be an escalation in terms of boundary disputes and skirmishes. The security related affairs and the political and economic interdependence also make the border issues highly complex. Borders neither functions in isolation nor can they be studied without taking other related factors into consideration. For a bricolage like border, there is no universal theory that can be espoused to approach it holistically.

This chapter has encapsulated important discourses on border. It has emphasized the changing nature of borders and discussed its various dimensions. The concepts discussed here are relevant for the overall theme of the chapters that follow. The next chapter is thematically divided into two sections. The former examines the partition of India while the latter looks at the representation of partition in fictional texts.

CHAPTER FOUR

PARTITION AS AN OTHERING PRACTICE AND ITS LITERARY REPRESENTATION

In order to understand the present day complexities associated with India-Pakistan border it is extremely important to excavate various aspects that led to the making of this border. The complex border between India and Pakistan of today carries within it history of several borders whose roots could be traced much before 1947. It has already been established in the previous chapter that border should necessarily be scrutinized as a process and this processual progression of border construction both materially and discursively cannot be arrived at without examining various events that accreted and resulted in the division of British India into India and Pakistan. It was mentioned by Paasi that "territories and their boundaries are historically contingent" and these historically contingent boundaries facilitate in understanding the politics of identities construction and otherness in the society (Paasi, 2013; 218). The chapter has taken cue from Paasi's proposition and has tried to look at the language of integration and differentiation through geohistory of partition and textual analysis of select texts.

This chapter seeks to analyze the select literary texts to understand not only partition of 1947 but the ensuing bordering that followed then onwards. Literary texts on partition are extremely vital sources of understanding history because they give us a detailed outlook towards how the othering seeped in Indian society. It also weaves the transition of the kind of othering from pre-partition to post-partition times. The irreconcilable differences were not created instantaneously but rather were a result of a protracted process which largely goes missing from the historical accounts and historiography of partition. Non-literary partition texts that are often based on major events from history ignore the minor details and are highly selective in its content. The conscious or inadvertent omission and the selectivity in both literary text and historical account of partition are labelled as 'schizophrenic approach' in critical discussion (Harrison, 1991; 96). The nuances of the psychological impacts of partition and the everyday dealings involving human emotion, individual insecurities and struggle with identities are beyond the scope of history books and documents to

envisage. Literary representation also succeeds in capturing the subtleties of partition and highlights the gradual progression of the manner in which the factions within the cultural realm became more stringent. History books and other official documents are narrow in their perspective. They are generally obsessed with high politics of the dominant players and provide a partial outlook on the transition from unity to division. "Fiction on the other hand, has provided an intense window on the personal experiences of 1947, dramatizing graphically the impact of partition on everyday life" (Gilmartin, 1998; 1069). For a holistic study it is extremely crucial to take into account the immediate and the long term repercussions of the vicissitudes of the protracted partition on everyday life of the people. It is not just about a single event but the entire series of events that culminated into the partition of 1947 and it is imperative to comprehend these from different vantage points.

There are two parts to this chapter, the first part attempts to understand how and under what circumstances did the border between the two states in question was created and would foray into the geohistory and geopolitics of partition. The second part deals with the selected fictional texts that include Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981), Sadat Hassan Manto's partition tales and Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* (1956). Before discussing the historiography of partition of India it is important to understand partition in general. It is not just Indian-subcontinent that experienced partition but there are many states scattered around the world that went through vivisection of their territories. Some of these include Palestine, Ireland, Yugoslavia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Serbia, Croatia and few others. The next section discusses partition as a subject of geopolitical inquiry.

4.1 PARTITION: A POLITICS OF OTHERNESS

The word 'partition' originates from a Latin word 'partitri' which means divided into parts. Partition actually means identifying the 'other' amidst 'us' and doing away with this identified other. Critical geopolitics as a disciplinary approach views partition as a means rather than an end. Partition is something that is arrived at through either consensus amongst the involved parties or through force, persuasion, negotiation or pressure and sometimes even a combination of these. The real cause of partition is not the perceived, imagined and real differences just as religion in the case of India and Pakistan but rather it is a decision which is undertaken through dialogue, debate and

mediation. "Partition is a consciously developed and deliberately deployed spatial strategy of eliminating real or imagined differences – a method preferred over other methods, including 'mutuality/consociation/power sharing" (Gregory et.al., 2009; 520-21).

Figure 4.1: South Asia 1947
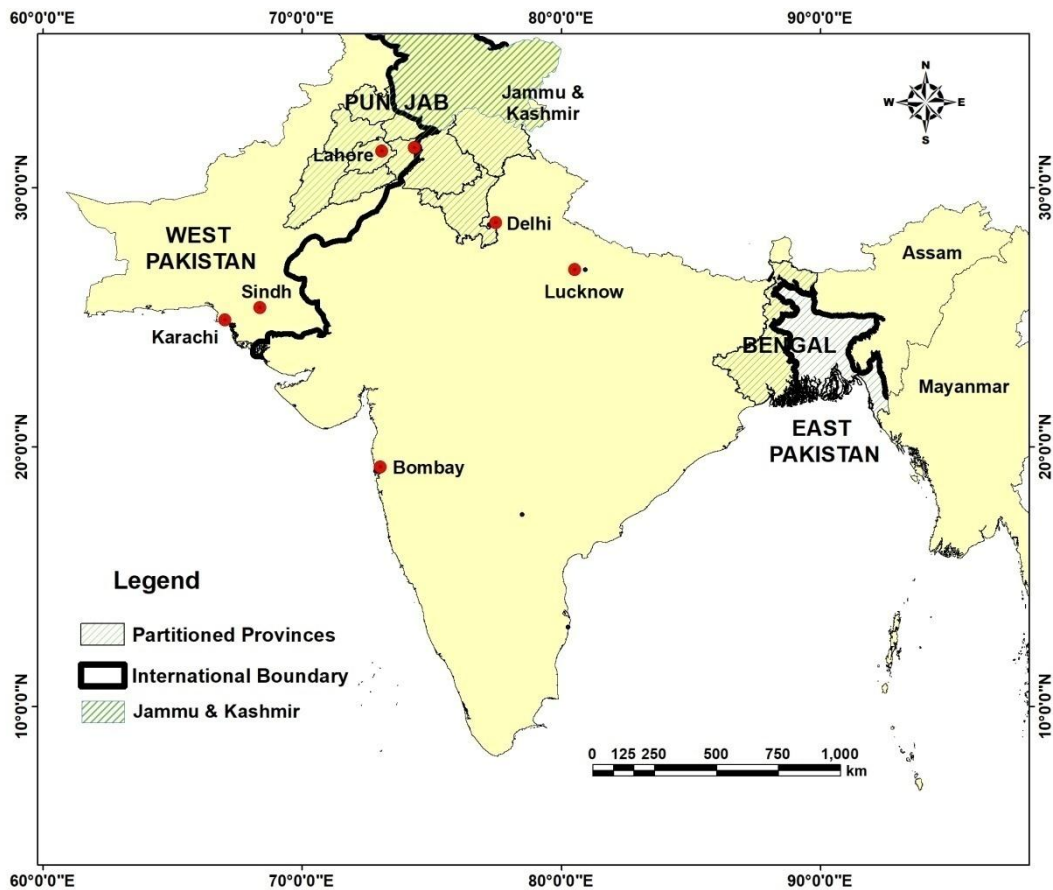
The political geography of the world is a result of long struggles and clashes with the ultimate goal of establishing control and exercising power over a given territory and population. Empires of yesterday often partitioned territories in order to strengthen their rule and establish control over the land and its people. The obsession with territory and power continues to be seen in modern day politics as well and partition is one such political event that exemplifies territorial obsession of acquiring places and administering control. Partition is not just a political phenomenon where a piece of territory gets split into parts and new states are created, it is not even just a change in geography rather it is also about regions getting divided, families getting separated,

the psychological trauma of dislocation as well as disruptions in the socio-cultural landscape. It is a complex phenomenon where integration and differentiation goes hand in hand. Partition entails an entire gamut of struggle for existence and survival, of displacement and relocation, of chaos and peace, of friendliness and enmity, of expulsion and admission, inclusion and exclusion, of creating new identities by forgoing the existing ones or overemphasising on any one out of so many others. One of the characteristic features of partition is that it is a plurality of act that collectively becomes part of a larger event called partition. This plurality is not just restricted to the ensemble that partition is, but is also reflected in the understanding of the event, for one party it could be a watershed that marks the freedom but for the other it may be fracturing of territorial integrity.

It is not a single event or a person who is responsible for partition to take place but a series of events that build the grounds for partition and concretize the idea on the mind and materialize it on the ground. Partition is characterized by the interplay of events and things like homogenized group identities and affiliation, loyalties in terms of religion and ethnicity that are often resurfaced to ensure the kind of separation intended for. After dismantling the ideological framing of groups and individuals the organization of society and the cultural landscape starts to get affected in the form of fragmentations. The most fragile social ties are the ones that show the earliest signs of the partitioning which gradually snowballs and seeps into different levels, layers and strata. Often the micro politics of differences metamorphoses into macro politics of partition in the presence of active catalyst of divisive nature. All sorts of dichotomies like minority-majority, black-white, privileged-deprived, rich-poor, strong-weak and many others are used to enforce segregation at the societal level which later gets hyperpoliticized and is manifested at the level of state and territory .

The coexistence of a multicultural, secular society that existed with all its differences is the first to experience blow in the wake of partition. The section that happens to fall in the category of minority on the basis of any cultural factor gets threatened and there is mass insecurity that drives them to look for a sense of belonging and brotherhood. The common ground on which partition is justified generally happens to be the social differences be it religion, ethnicity, caste, language and other cultural features. The intolerance towards diversity and plurality is what paves the path for the ensuing partition. Often the societal differences are further grounded in need to acquire a

given territory in order to legitimize the cause of calling for partitioning. The appeal to masses towards group homogenization and establishment of a separate political and social unit are further strengthened by repeatedly underlining and also at times accentuating the marginalization of a particular community or a social group in a multicultural society. These societal differences not only become the reason that drives partition but to a large extent it also assumes a primary factor that legitimizes partition in the eyes of those who vouch for it.

Partition is not a sudden declaration rather it occurs in stages and is often characterized by continuity. The continuity of partition is maintained by concretizing the 'us' and 'them' differences through animosity and antagonistic attitudes towards each other. The new sense of us that is being constructed is premised not only on the primary homogenizing factor but a majority of it is contingent upon the contrasts of the others. 'Us' and 'them' are relational and are not just characterized by a linear relationship rather 'us' and 'them' both supplement one another. Us and them cannot exist and defined without each other thus both become each other's facilitator. The differentiating factors outweigh the integrating ones and are instrumental in conditioning of the people at large. Factors such as commonalities, shared past, shared values or any other similarity gets subjugated under the dominating factor that is crucial cause of partition. Once the two parties formally agree on partition the most important step is to reach a consensus which is seldom arrived at. The negotiation continues and it is very likely that the parties involved do not settle and remain dissatisfied.

Another important feature of partition is that it involves violence. Mass killing, loot, rape and atrocities of various kinds are commonly seen when there is disintegration of territory and most of it is intentionally orchestrated to create valid grounds for retaliation, intensification of rift and also for justifying the ideological reasons to separate. Klein argues that "states rely upon violence to constitute themselves as states, and in the process impose differentiations between the internal and external" (Klein, 1994; 38). Violence becomes an important tool of legitimizing exclusion it is augmentative and provides grounds to reason out social segregation which in the process is transformed into political separation. There have been very many instances of partition around the globe and the pattern of how partition proceeds. Various factors that led to the separation of polities remain more or less similar in almost all

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the cases. Partition is largely a bordering practice that happens in three important stages, first there is ideological framing, second is political negotiation and last is territorial disintegration. Similar views are expressed by Ivekovic who states that "partition as a matter of principle, the first of which is the division of humankind" (Rada Ivekovic, 2005; 15). Since partition is based on the homogenizing principle and politics of assimilation, it is characterized by simultaneous association and dissociation. The homogenizing principle of partition leads to exclusionary practices of creating asymmetries, where the other is often suspected and constructed as hostile. Samaddar maintains that the politics of partition has a direct relation with the politics of otherness (Samaddar, 2005; 7).

It is extremely important to historically analyze major political events and there dynamism to comprehend the postcolonial transitions and creation of not so benign borders in South Asia. The next section of the chapter discusses various events that led to the deepening of the faction between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and critically attempts to understand how these religious differences became so robust that they led to the creation of a separate state altogether. The rejoice of India becoming independent was accompanied by the fiendishness of partition which completely altered the geopolitics of the entire South Asia and the region is still struggling hard to combat some of its unresolved and intractable issues that seem never-ending.

4.2 REFLECTIONS ON THE PARTITION OF 1947

The struggle for independence ended on an extremely tragic note and freedom from the British rule in India was earned by paying a heavy price of vivisecting the Indian Territory on communal lines. The partitioning of the British India was not a sudden decision; the seeds of it were already sowed and fossilized by the imperial regime in the form of divide and rule and were instrumental in not just creating factions but building staunch mutual hatred in a land full of cultural and ethnic diversity. There is substantial and relevant prehistory to the 1947 partition and this history is rooted in almost two centuries of colonial rule. The cause and effect are contingent on one another; they maintain a continuity that weaves the string of events contributing to history.

The policies adopted by the British were always inward-looking and often provincially communalize the politics in India to establish control and strategically

exercise their power. The freedom movement and the demands to end British rule gradually transformed into transfer of power to two independent sovereign nation-states. The nationalistic fervour that was fuelling the struggle for independence and uniting people for a common cause was interrupted by multiple dialogues and their competing authorities over administering power and organizing spaces. It was only in the final decade of the British rule that the demands for creating Pakistan began taking shape and in the due course crystallized into realization of territorial disintegration. For Imperial rule it was not the interest of the people, communities or any particular political party that was taken into account but even till the very end their intent was geopolitically driven by the fact that theirs should be the least possible damage that resulted in absolute indeterminacy of Indian politics during and after the colonial rule. From divide and rule to divide and quit the damage done by the colonial rule during this span led to the creation of history that is mired in blood that stains the cultural landscape of South Asia forever.

The larger question is why was India partitioned? Was it the imperial rule, or was it the political parties namely All India Muslim League and Congress? The failure of power sharing arrangement between the AIML and the Congress led to many complexities in the transfer of power. Leaders like Jinnah, Nehru, Gandhi, Patel and many more were the forerunners of the independence movement. How did the agenda of the movement shift? Were the demands of separate Muslim land always there? What was the role of the British officials- Linlithgow, Wavell, Mountbatten in shaping the course of the event? Were there any other forces, factors, persons or events that resulted in fragmentation of the India? Samaddar critiques the politics of partition by making a relevant point that nobody seems to take the responsibility of partition yet all agree to accept partition as the ultimate solution of conflict resolution (Samaddar, 2005; 6).

The period from late 1930s to 1947, the so called penultimate years of British rule is climacteric in this context, since it is during this period that the demands for Pakistan started to be raised and the question of Muslim minority was brought to the centre stage of Indian politics wherein even the provincial politics started to revamp along the communal lines. The last decade before the transfer of power and India gaining independence and even the period much after, revolved around the medley of religion and politics. The communal discord became so unfaltering that very soon the

ideological differences got transformed into the geopolitical rivalry and finally resulted into division of societies in the name of religion.

The very inception of the idea of creating a sovereign state for Muslims was still in its embryonic stage in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The communal award of 1932 given by British Prime minister Ramsay MacDonald had given separate electorate representation for all the major religious communities, scheduled castes, forward castes, Anglo-Indian and European communities etc. This act in a way was instrumental in aggravating the societal differences on the basis of religion and caste that were already there in Indian social milieu. Separate representation also helped to transform religious identity to a political identity which later became strong enough to change the political geography of South Asia.

It was the Government of India Act of 1935 that required election to happen in the provincial legislature. The British introduced this act in order to make the party winning the majority form ministries in the provinces. Though both the Congress and the League were not satisfied with the recommendation made in this act yet they both agreed to contest the provincial elections since this act was putting an end to diarchy and there was some effort towards the participation of Indians in decision making processes and governance. Since the Congress and the All-India Muslim League were two major parties at national level besides several other regional and provincial ones both Nehru and Jinnah started strategizing and making serious efforts towards winning of the provincial elections. The result of the 1937 polls shattered Jinnah's aspirations and proved the popularity of the Congress amongst the masses. Muslim leaders in the provinces were sceptical in cooperating with the league because they were not willing to forgo their provincial autonomy whereas in order to secure ministerial seats many political leaders entered into an alliance with the Congress. However the elections proved to be vital for Jinnah from the perspective that it did not only help him to understand the major domains on which the league had to work further but it also eventually resurrected Jinnah as the voice of Muslims at the all India level.

There were many lessons to be learnt by the League from the failure at the elections to turn them into their political advantage. In spite of being in majority the League didn't fare well in the provinces of Bengal and North West. It was on the recommendation of

Iqbal that Jinnah directed his attention towards these provinces. The league also understood that in order to gain mass popularity it was necessary to not just concentrate on a few educated rich upper class Muslims but to also include the common Muslim population. As a result of this realization not only the membership of Muslim League was opened to all Muslims but the membership fee was also sharply reduced[10]. Jinnah understood that it was important for the league to gain maximum support as any clique within the party would have been an obstacle in realizing its political ambitions. He also tried to appease the Muslim majority provinces by giving its members greater say in the AIML, likewise many temporary settlements were made by the League to strengthen their party's all India status. In no time the domestic politics of India witnessed a new era where the League and the Congress were at loggerheads. Nehru believed that the Congress was a secular party and thus it represented all the people living in India irrespective of religion, caste, creed, race and other socio-cultural differences.

There are many spheres in which the Congress and the League were antithetical to each other. The foremost is about political representation. By reiterating the question of minority the League under the leadership of Jinnah obdurately pursued its ambition of making AIML as the sole party representing all the Muslims in India while the Congress advocated its secularity. Another important point of difference was the political structuring- Congress desired for a strong unitary centre whereas the League was not in favour of this arrangement. The League wanted a federal structure wherein the provinces would have their respective governance. In addition to this there were also clashes in the political interest of the two. Jinnah till very late was unable to gauge that the colonial rule will soon come to an end and British would leave India and go. The political goals proposed by the league somewhere always presumed the rule of the crown. Congress on the other hand stood firm on its anti imperialist agenda and always emphasized on '*poorna swaraj*' or the complete independence.

As the difference between the League and the Congress widened, the league perceived Congress to be communally prejudiced and having associations with Hindus while in Congress's eyes Muslim League became a communal organization.

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[10]The membership fee of AIML was brought down to only two annas and this was even lesser than the membership fee of the Congress. For more see Ayesha Jalal, The Sole Spokesman Jinnah, Muslim League and the demand for Pakistan,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

On the other hand the communal tensions were gaining momentum in the general public domain as well. There were linguistic disputes where the league alleged that the Congress was trying to impose Hindi and undermining Urdu amongst the masses. Similarly there were controversies regarding the song Bande Mataram[11] and hoisting of the tricolour as the national flag. The League condemned the song as according to leaguers the song was anti-Islamic and tricolour was "an expression of narrow communalism of the majority community" (Singh, 1987: 33). Communal propaganda was accelerating and there were many such cases of communal clashes and unrest where people had become extremely intolerant and there were frequent disputes over idol worship, cow slaughter and the likes in different parts of India.

By 1946, the political differences between the Congress and the League further escalated on the question of forming an interim government. The AIML's working committee had disapproved of entering into the interim government upon which Wavell the then Viceroy of India on the recommendations of cabinets reluctantly asked Nehru to form a coalition government on negotiations with Jinnah. With few disagreements on the issue of provincial grouping the Congress accepted the plan and submitted its proposal where two seats were left for the League to fill, however since the chances of Jinnah agreeing to the proposal were bleak the Congress was also prepared to enter the government without leagues' participation. Already there was communal unrest in many parts of India and the situation worsened when the prospects of interim government without the League came out in public. On 16th August 1946, Jinnah declared 'Direct Action' (Jalal, 1985; 216) in response to the likelihood of interim government to be formed by the Congress. Direct Action resulted in mass violence in Calcutta which is known as Calcutta Killings of 16-20th August, in these five days of rioting there were massive killings and a state of chaos and lawlessness prevailed in the entire region. Finally by 13th October, the League decided to enter the interim government (Singh, 1987; 194). The decision of the League to enter the government did not put halt to the communal violence, situation exacerbated and more such cases were reported in different parts including Naohkhali and Tippera in East Bengal many districts of Bihar like Patna, Chhapra, Jehanabad, Gaya, Munger and others spilling over its effect in UP as well. There were organized

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[11] The Congress Working Committee officially declared this publically that the first two verses of the song Bande Mataram were associated with their freedom movement and the content of these two stanzas are such that they do not hurt any religious sentiments and could be sung.

criminal activities like brutal murders, loot, rape, arson, forced marriages and conversions that magnified the Hindu-Muslim rivalry manifolds (Singh, 1987; 195-198).

4.2.1 The Pursuit of Pakistan as a Geopolitical Imagination

Geopolitical imagination refers to the conceptualization of certain plan and design which determine and guide the future course of action towards realization of a particular geopolitical ambition. The political progression in the form of actions and strategies that moves towards fulfilment of the desired goal is buttressed by the geopolitical imagination and this imagination leads to the framing of the meanings and relations of the political purposes. French Scholar Yves Lacoste asserts that "The role of ideas even mistaken ones, is crucial in geopolitics because it is they that explain plans and as much as material data, determine the choice of strategies" (Lacoste, 2000; 122). It is difficult to pass a judgement whether the idea of Pakistan was a mistaken one or not but it was the pamphlet of 1933 written by Choudhary Rahmat Ali and his companions that proposed that Muslims living in the provinces of Punjab, Afghan, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan should be given a separate federal status taking into account their religion, culture and history. Similar views can also be traced in the presidential address by Muhammad Iqbal in December 1930, famously known as the 'Allahabad address'. The Pakistan resolution of 1940 made by the Muslim League in Lahore put forth their demand of a sovereign territorial space in North West and Eastern India to be given an independent status. It took a little while for a symbolic idea of Pakistan to get transformed into political movement.

The Muslims of South Asia were a heterogeneous community that belonged to diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The categorization of people on the basis of religion, particularly Muslims was a constructed category, it was a product of colonization (Zamindar, 2007; 3). By recognizing the followers of Islam as a constitutional identity, the colonial rule succeeded in defining them as a separate political entity. It is important to investigate what did the idea of Pakistan mean to the Muslim community. The idea of separate homeland was certainly strong and amidst fragile political climate this idea became powerful enough to persuade the Muslims of its legitimacy. The geopolitical imagination of Pakistan which was based on the moral and political ideals of Islam created a mass consciousness in the Muslim community

in India. By reinforcing the idea of maintaining religious distinctiveness of Muslims in British India, the idea of Pakistan was able to draw attention of many followers of Islam throughout the country. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that the centre of Muslim nationalism was concentrated in the areas of United Province and Bihar which were the Muslim minority provinces and less support came from Muslim majority provinces which also got reflected in the provincial elections of 1937. AIML's demands of Pakistan were strategically made to be the collective demand of the entire community. The most attractive theme of Muslim nationalism that appealed a large number Muslim population was that in the League's movement they could find hope towards preservation of the rights and interests of the Muslims. The demands for Pakistan were impetus in creating political consciousness which further helped the League in discursive legitimization of their decision making and political negotiations with the Congress and the colonial rule.

The advocates of two nation theory and other like-minded people were mostly the upper middle class, educated Muslims for whom the question of greater participation in governance and representation was of utmost importance. Both Jinnah and Iqbal earlier were enthusiasts that stood for the freedom of India from the colonial rule and it was only in the last decade before decolonization that the demands for Pakistan and a separate Muslim homeland started growing. Though a larger part of the Muslim community was getting attracted towards this idea but there were many who flatly rejected and did not support the cause.

The shift in demands from political recognition and representation to the territorial redistribution and creation of a separate state on the basis of self determination was swift and organic. This transition of Pakistan as an ideology to Pakistan as a geographically contiguous nation-state is the product of geopolitics and communalism that plagued South Asia during decolonization. Lacoste remarks that "as the majority of geopolitical representations are linked in a relatively obvious way with the ideas and principles, a number of intellectuals and in particular brilliant philosophers are concerned about them" (Lacoste, 2000; 125). Jinnah and other leaguers were reinvigorating the feeling of brotherhood by embarking on the question of identity based on religion. The cry for Pakistan was employed and serious efforts were made

towards expansion of the League in provinces and rural areas[12]. Mass propaganda was been worked upon to mobilize more and more people for the cause. The student politics of Aligarh Muslim University was also mobilized to popularize the league and its agendas. Thus, the endeavours made by the leaguers were reaping fruitful results as even in provinces those seen not sympathizing with league's ideologies started to be perceived as traitors to Islam (Singh, 1987; 127, 132). For common masses the appeal for Pakistan appeared to be promising in the sense that they thought it would help them to assert their collective in a Hindu dominated land. Demands for Pakistan were also looked upon as propitious means to revamp strong sentiments towards reviving Islam in the present age. It is mentioned by Anita Inder Singh that governor Clow conceded that British also contributed to the development of the idea of Pakistan because earlier they had duly accepted it when it was put forth by the League in the constitutional proposal of 1942 (Singh, 1987; 143).

4.2.2 Jinnah's dilemma

Project Pakistan of Jinnah's vision and making, by mid 1947 surely developed territorial and geographical ambitions. It was clearly reiterated by Jinnah that Muslims by virtue of their common religion constitute a different nation within India and thus he became one of the foremost advocate of two nation theory demanding sovereign status to Muslim territories. To transform the discursive differentiation of the Hindus and the Muslim into spatial bordering of India and Pakistan was not only an extremely difficult task but also involved ambiguities and uncertainties the stakes of which were unimaginably high. The escalated inter-communal frictions along with the changing dynamics of politics had already made visible the inevitability of Pakistan. The penultimate stage had been reached where the homeland for Muslims was no longer an abstract proposal but it had reached a state of becoming that required its stalwarts to give their demands a final geographical and political shape. Amidst scepticism and uncertainty the geopolitics as well as the domestic politics during that time was unfolding in a manner that carved a road that was leading towards partitioning of British India.

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[12] Liaqat Ali Khan who was the general secretary of the AIML in 1944 was working towards publicizing and increasing the popularity of the league and its agendas. One of the means adopted by him included sermons in mosque.

The direct action adopted by the League exacerbated the communal tensions due to which Jinnah had to yield to the proposal of entering the interim government which by many Muslims was viewed as an act of duplicity and projected League to be deviating from their Pakistan ambition in exchange of the position in the government. Jinnah had many times put forth the idea of claiming undivided Bengal and Punjab as Pakistan which due to its demographic pattern was seen as a far-fetched and impractical claim. Jinnah himself doubted the viability of such a claim due to which he emphasized on acceptance of Pakistan in principles first and thereafter ascertaining its boundaries, extent and shape. Nobody including the leaguers knew what Pakistan actually meant, "Pakistan meant all things to all men" (Singh,1987; 243). Similar views are expressed by historian Joya Chatterji where she writes that "there were almost as many images of Pakistan as Jinnah had followers" (Chatterji, 1996; 226). Even after the prospects of Pakistan became inevitable Jinnah deliberately kept the demand vague and unspecified. The possible reasons for keeping Pakistan undefined can be that Jinnah was struggling to reason out possible means of dealing with the non-uniform population distribution of Sikhs and Hindus in Punjab and Bengal and he was still expecting a Muslim state confederation with the non-Muslims which would help him escape partitioning these territories. There are two divergent views amongst the scholars about Jinnah's political vision of Pakistan. One group believes that till very late Jinnah himself was not for partition, he demands were for self-government for Muslim in the Muslim majority regions. It was when his proposal of a confederation with a weak centre and strong autonomy given to the provinces was not materialized that he started pursuing Pakistan. However in the last stages Jinnah wished Pakistan to be within the Commonwealth after the transfer of power as then the newly created Pakistan could have relied upon Britain for its growth and development. In the end, Jinnah was not satisfied with the Pakistan that came out of boundary commission and he called it a 'maimed or mutilated, moth-eaten Pakistan'.

4.2.3 The role of the British in Partition

Within the long span of imperial rule in India there were drastic political, social and economic changes that determined the course and pattern of decolonization. Out of so many reasons that were responsible for the partition of India, one of the most primary causes were the divisive way in which the British Raj governed and hurriedly left India without proper conflict resolution. The inevitability of Partition did not develop

at the time of the conception of the very idea of separation but this was a consequence of the political manoeuvring, decision making and passivity of the various stakeholders that were managers, successors, claimants, mediators and arbiters of the governing structure. Chaturvedi raised a very thought provoking question by asking "whose territory was being partitioned in 1947?" (Chaturvedi, 2005; 106). The multiethnic and polymorphic India with social and cultural plurality did not just contained two nations which Jinnah proclaimed but had within it a whole range of diverse India that have been concomitantly existing before and during the rule of the Raj. Partition entails series of fragmentation of mind, people, perspective, polities and finally territory and the Imperial rule had a huge role in sculpting the manner in which the communal consciousness in the minds bred.

The construction of religious polarity and cultural liminality was the underlying principle which was reflected in the British political vision and decision making during their rule. The centrality of religion and the Hindu-Muslim binaries in particular was the instrument employed by the Raj to establish and sustain their control in India. Though multiple religion and complex caste system existed in pre British times as well but the compartmentalization of religious identities and communal categorization where religion becomes the ordering principle was the product of the colonial construct. Religious identity was used to foster communal antagonism by formally making provisions of separate electorates for Muslims. This was formally done to underline their distinctiveness and marking them out as separate entity. Another act that further contributed to the deepening communal differences was census[13] enumeration practiced by the British. Such an exercise brought out a clear cut demarcation between the social local spaces which were earlier obscure and oblivious to the concept of minority and majority. It created mass awareness about the headcounts in digits and acted as a defining tool that separated one community with the other. "The creation of knowledge about population allows for a mode of governing that separates the act of ruling from individual actors, making organizations independent of particular settings or individuals. The state's dominant imposition over

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[13] Sanjay Chaturvedi (2005), Mushirul Hassan(2000) and R.B Bhagat (2001) point out how through various bureaucratic exercises such as Census enumeration and creation of separate electorates the British were following the policy of divide and rule. Religion was employed by the Raj as more than faith to use it against
the people of India. Such policies emphatically constructed discrete categories of Hinduness and Muslimness in the common masses that gradually contributed to the process of othering.

territorial space is vindicated through the exercise of the law and through the bureaucratic creation of subjectivities that allow for a self-justifying mode of governing" (Rajaram and Grundy- Warr, 2007; xiii). Governance and bureaucracy through such activities creates categories that damages the inter-communal social bonds and objectifies group and community affiliations. The administrative power was strategically used as a method to construct spaces of legitimation in which religious beliefs were apparently acquiring political stratification which jeopardized the cultural unanimity.

The manner in which the political conditions were unfolding in the years preceding partition was already anticipated by the Raj and its officials. Partition related apprehensions such as the impracticality of ascertaining geographically contiguous territory in the Muslim majority provinces with considerable number of Hindus and Sikhs; prospects of population displacement in large numbers and the likelihood of civil war like conditions were also foreseen by them. They also predicted that separate Pakistan was not absolute solution to the issue of communal tension[14]. Initially the British preferred to give India a dominion status so that they could have an access to the army. The intention was to continue to preserving their great power status and maintain their hegemony in the international sphere. One of the foremost concerns of Imperial power was to safeguard their military interest in the region and preserve the defence system of the Commonwealth. They were in favour of keeping India united so that they could exploit its manpower and other resources and make it their administrative base, owing to India's strategic location, such a strategy would have helped them to maintain their control in South Asia and this would have also ensured proper communication with other British colonies. To quote Anita Inder Singh:

> "The practical logicality of a withdrawal into Pakistan did not appeal to British defence chiefs. Pakistan would be in two halves, and the forces need to defend it would be as great as those needed to defend India. Pakistan had insufficient resources for defence, the cost of which would fall on Britain. All alliance with Pakistan might push the Congress into a defence treaty with the USSR and the Britain position in Pakistan and in Europe could be endangered. The

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[14] Anita Inder Singh in her book "The origins of the Partition of India", (1987) p 159 refers to 'The memorandum by Cripps, 18 April 1946, p305.

Britain would also have to contend with minorities in Pakistan, who might act as a fifth column" (Singh, 1987; 152).

The British assumed an extremely complacent attitude and there were several administrative inadequacies during the Calcutta riots. No effective steps such as taking the help of the army and imposing of curfew well in time, actions to thwart Suharawardy's (the then chief minister of Bengal) decision to release rioting Muslims from the custody were taken. There was disagreement in the opinions of British officials in India with the Cabinet sitting in London. Wavell evaluated the situation and expressed his views of phased withdrawal along with fixing the date of British departure from India so that in the interim period the major hurdles in the transfer of power could be sorted but the cabinet did not approve of Wavell's suggestion. These conflicting views led to the removal of Wavell as the Viceroy who was succeeded by Lord Mountbatten. Under the leadership of Mountbatten the ultimate motive of the departing imperial power was to ensure smooth sailing for the Raj without much concern for the state of Indian affairs. The 3rd June plan by Mountbatten is of special significance because it was in this plan that Radcliffe award was announced, it officially declared the provisions of the division of the provinces of Punjab and Bengal. Initially there was not much objection to the plan and finally the political decision of partition (accepted by Nehru, Jinnah & Sardar Baldev Singh) was been formally taken and announced. According to the proposed plan there was suppose to be a referendum in Muslim majority provinces and in Punjab and Bengal the provincial assemblies were suppose to decide by a simple majority whether to form a new constituent assembly or to continue with the existing assembly and stay united with India. There was a unanimous decision by the Muslim majority provinces to be part of Pakistan. Following this the colossal task of partitioning the two provinces and determining the boundary line between them was given to the Boundary Commission. It is important to note here that Mountbatten very strategically played the game by having referendums and votes before the determination of boundary. Had the situation been the other way round where the boundary line was presented before taking the decision the picture would have been very different.

The 3rd June plan of Mountbatten specified that the criteria that would be taken into account in deciding the boundary includes the geographically contiguous areas of Muslim and non-Muslim majority and other factors. It was the undefined nature of

'other factors' that later became a bone of contention in ascertaining the boundary. There was difference in opinion regarding the issue of contiguous territory. It was not stated in the plan whether the contiguity would be considered at the level of district, thana or tehsil (Yong Tan & Kudaisya, 2000; 85). There was growing speculation and anticipation regarding the boundary especially in those areas that were most likely to get affected by the division. As a result of which several petitions, plea, bids and formal representations regarding the discernment of the boundary were submitted to the authorities. Partisans were trying to express their respective apprehensions and were making appeals to be considered on the basis of other factors if not otherwise. Chaturvedi aptly points out that as soon as the boundary line started taking a definite shape the factor of communitarian unity was down played by the factor of territorial gains. Various attempts made to revise the provisions on the pretext of economic significance or at times not so valid claims clearly indicate the primacy of territory and personal interests over group affiliations (Chaturvedi, 2005; 127). Radcliffe was aware that the task with which he is entrusted involved more than physiological barriers and geographical difficulties. Mountbatten judged the likely reaction on the Radcliffe award therefore purposely in order to ward off the responsibility he announced the decision of the boundary commission two days after the independence.

4.2.4 A Geopolitical Appraisal of the Partition of 1947

The last decade before 1947 witnessed an altered wave of struggle and took geopolitical and ethnopolitical turn. Earlier it was India versus the authoritarian imperial rule but later the colonial rule assumed the role of a referee in the division of the Indian subcontinent. The mass movement of the Indians to get rid themselves of the foreign regime somewhere got a setback when the political dynamics changed and soon the faces of rivals appeared to be replaced by the ones who earlier were in the same team against the colonizers. Variance in the understanding of partition stems from which side of the state border one comes from, because endings for some can be beginning for the other, thus each has their own versions. Divergence also emanates because after almost seven decades the understandings of partition relies not on memory but more on the competing national discourses and since the interstate relations are not so benign, the perspective on partition are often embroiled in stereotyping the other.

There are four different aspects of the partition. The four facets of partition being *azadi* (freedom), *batwara* (division), birth of a new nation-state (Pakistan) and tragedy. There are several lopsided accounts about partition, where the focus is primarily on independence and freedom struggle. At times within much celebration of free India or free Pakistan the partition issue is subsumed, writings on partition are loaded with such biases where there is overemphasis of nation-state, nationalism, and communalism (Yong Tan & Kudaisya, 2000; 15). Partition for Pakistan is the pathway of transition when a nation got transformed into a state. There is an intricate link between the concept of nation and partition. The idea of nation becomes strong enough to foster a unitary feeling, it find its vindication in oneness and an idealist world where homogeneity appears to be the panacea to all problems. Talking in political lexicon Samaddar exclaims that partition is that political transition that fails the concept of democracy. He believes that the transition called partition attacks democracy because it strips it from its intrinsic nature and divorces it from the kind of space it provides that promotes voicing of perspectives in a federal setup (Samaddar, 2005;4). Partition of India revolved around and in the process was shaped by a plethora of factors. From a political perspective, it was interplay of the colonial, ethno and geopolitical complexities. These were further buttressed by the issues of statehood, nationhood, nation and identity. Along with them factors such as hegemony, authority, self determinacy, sovereignty and territoriality collectively determined the course of this historical transformation.

Sovereignty was the basic premise on which the demands for separate homeland for Muslim were based. Sovereignty is the most conventional canonical on which statehood is constituted and therefore in the case of Pakistan it also became the basis for transforming Muslim nationhood into statehood. Supposedly sovereignty is believed to restore international order but on the question of partition the purpose served by sovereignty is reversed, far from maintaining order it rather became the cause of disruptions that destabilized politics and society of South Asia. Critical geopolitics considers sovereignty as a contested means of representation since the representational practices of sovereignty have binaries of inside/outside as its underpinnings (McConnell, 2013; 112). Ivekovic recognizes that it is when sovereignty percolates to the lower levels of identification within the state that it starts to create fractures (Ivekovic, 2005; 12). Ivekovic's point holds true in the case of

partition in India where the idea of sovereign Pakistan through various means of mass propaganda and communal violence entered the psyche of Muslims that created a popular willingness and agreement of the common masses to stand in solidarity and allegiance with the demands.

Mass mobilization was an indispensible precursor towards Pakistan project which was not attained instantaneously, as it is already mentioned that many of the Muslim majority region and sub-regions till very late were not willing to be a part of Pakistan. It was through judicious political manoeuvring that religious sentiment created a feeling of Muslim brotherhood amongst the diversified Muslim population that gradually led to the concretization of nationhood and finally got translated into statehood. Though ostensibly religion was the foremost catalyst in making partition happen it is imperative to critically analyze to what extent it was instrumental and how was it used as a tool. It is important to note that at the time of partition some 40 million Muslims were left in India and at that time they constituted the largest minority in a non-Muslim state. Had communitarian lines been the sole criterion of partition, taking into account the interest of nearly 40% Muslims that were still left in India the partition would have not occurred at all (Jalal, 2013; 5). These compelling facts distinctly indicate that other than religion there were many more hidden factors that led to the partition.

The societal and community politics is more intricate as it is society that forms the bedrock of the state formation upon which the impact of violence is also greatest owing to their prominent yet bottom most position in the political hierarchy. The complexity of community politics functions on a constant effort of othering. There is a general pattern of identifying homogeneity in the plurality of spaces and the ones falling outside the sphere of the homogeneity are identified as other and this is how the binaries begin to develop. Cultural fragmentation within the state works on the principle of inclusion\exclusion where dissimilarities are made to appear significant to validate exclusion of a particular group or community. Group assimilation is socially constructed by selectively focussing on only the desired criterion while neglecting the rest and thus first marginalizing the other and at times also eliminating them. The continuity and congruency of a homogeneous social group which is demanding separate homeland often relies on the degree to which they are able to discontinue and dissociate themselves with the constructed other. Factor of othering holds prominence

because it is this othering which is often represented as a threat that helps in reinforcing unity within the group. Partition creates several fragments in the society which has long term ramifications reflected in the reorganization of political and societal spaces of both India and Pakistan.

Time has a crucial role to play in partition. Since partition is the culmination of a plethora of factors and events, it generally takes a longer duration to reach such a stage. The political developments that took place in 1940s were all contributing towards the making of an unforgettable history. The differences that sprang during those times were difficult to resolve and as time progressed they became totally intractable where nothing but partition seemed to be the most viable option for the decision makers. Time assumes prominence because in the case of partition it isn't a healer rather it makes relations irreversible and situation perennial. The aftermath of protracted partitions is more severe and they generally generate a series of partitions[15]. Prolonged partitions are not only created by concatenation of events but also lead to a spill over effect. Together they become instrumental in bringing permanent change which Samaddar describes as construction of a 'permanent other' (Samaddar, 2005; 6). The complexities become rigid over time and that leaves bleak chances for any sort of reconciliations. After being partitioned the either sides of the border engage themselves in establishing the permanent other which in itself is a constructed reality. Samaddar expresses similar views and calls such partitions as long partitions however he clarifies that with length he does not allude to the duration of time but the manner in which the politics of otherness has been operational in various political and social decision making processes (Samaddar, 2005; 7).

Duration of time also has a prominent role to play in India's partition. The haste with which the Britain withdrew and transferred power and Radcliffe's hurriedness in determining the boundary between India and Pakistan brought with it several social and political insecurities. Radcliff admitted that one of the major reasons for his inefficiency apart from the lack of knowledge was the paucity of time (Yong Tan &

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[15]In 1947 Indian landmass was divided into India and Pakistan. Pakistan had two parts the territory that got dismembered from Punjab was the West Pakistan while the one that was created by dividing Bengal was East Pakistan. The two Pakistan were geographically not a contiguous and were separated by huge stretch of Indian Territory. Due to tyranny of distance there were obvious administrative difficulties and finally on grounds of self determination East Pakistan became independent as Bangladesh in the year 1972.

Kudaisya, 2000; 93)[16]. Britain's expediency at such a critical juncture of Indian politics and their reluctance in resolving the deadlock resulted in holocaust in several regions of India. "When no time is given, it is war. War means immediacy of a result wanted and imposed now" (Ivekovic, 2005; 20). The civil-war like situations that were created then were a direct consequence of the arbitrariness and hastiness with which in less than two months the cartographic boundaries were drawn. Zamindar also argues that it was a 'long partition' and she rightly holds the bureaucratic violence of arbitrarily drawing boundary to be responsible for nationalizing identities and the making of modern South Asia (Zamindar, 2007; 2). The ensuing hostilities in South Asia owing to the administrative negligence towards the princely states created permanent troubles and damaged the India-Pakistan relations in the times to come. Decolonization carries with it the chronicles of long partitions and in such complex cases there is no one who could be alone held responsible and take accountability of the partition issue.

Scholars believe that partition is no absolute solution and post partition there is departure from the expected outcome. "The partitions, once achieved, in the quest of a 'pure' national state, in numerous cases of pluri-ethnic or pluri-national societies, generally don't solve the problems, but reproduce and multiply them (by the number of states) in time and in space (Ivekovic,2005; 18). Jalal also reiterates similar views when she writes that partition though is a defining moment, it is neither the beginning nor the end rather it has increased the problem of Muslim identity manifolds (Jalal, 2011; 4). In the same vein it is written that partition could not succeed in solving the issue of communal disputes, instead it had accentuated the problems of minorities (Yong Tan & Kudaisya, 2000; 8).

4.4 REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PARTITION

Partition created countless number of borders both materially as well ideationally. It took many fragmentations to make India and Pakistan of 1947. The above section focussed on the constitutional historiography of partition and attempted to (geo)politically engage in excavating the history in order to explore the process of

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[16] Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya in their book "The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia" 2000 refer to Sunil Khilnani's work "The idea of India" (1997) and mentions Radcliff's note to his step son in which he writes "Nobody in India will love me for the award about the Punjab and Bengal and there will be roughly 80 million people with a grievance who will begin looking for me. I do not want them to find me".

border making. Historian Gyanendra Pandey questions the historical accounts of partition and identifies major distinctions between the manner in which historians see 1947 and the popular understanding of the event. He argues that nationalism has separated violence and partition. The popular understanding views partition as one of the most tragic and violent events whereas history to a large extent disregard or consciously sideline the severity of damage and looks at it as a structural change in the domestic politics of India (Pandey, 2001; 7).

There is a mark difference in the manner in which the stories of partition are told in the historical narratives with that in the fictional accounts. Does partition based novels and other writings just by falling under the genre of fiction make them less real? Are they exaggerated works of fiction? Fictional writings especially by those writers that have lived through partition (Khushwant Singh and Sadat Hassan Manto in the chapter) are reality based and do not indulge in illustrating mythical history of the nation-states. These works have duly acknowledged partition as a horrific experience and have focussed on levels other than the nation-state that give their writings a different vantage point. Historiography in general is extensive in nature; it focuses more on the timeline and investigates the events, movements, decision making, key actors, and developments to encompass historically relevant major occurrences such as the partition. Body of literature from history has largely ignored the everyday spaces of local life while discussing partition (Gilmartin, 1998; 1069). Chronologically arranged discreet events encapsulated in a book many a times fail to convey the true meaning and essence of partition. Fictional accounts both in the form of written and visual content have been able to capture the subtleties of partition in relatively better and a realistic manner. "A historical portrayal of the human tragedy that was India's partition through an innovative exploration of stories, memories, and histories can creatively trespass across the border between fictional and historical narratives" (Jalal, 2013; 3). The heavy blow brought down by the partition in the quotidian life of the ordinary people, the multitude facets of the impact of partition in the social sphere and other postcolonial transitions have been very minutely observed and succinctly captured by creative writers and film makers which the historians have been unable to do. In Jalal's opinion it is the disciplinary conventions that prevented the historians from indulging in the more sociological and psychological dimensions of the tragedies of partition (Jalal. 2013; 3).

As a creative form of expression fiction in a way facilitated people to articulate and vividly communicate the consequences of partition on people. For a comprehensive understanding, the objective analysis of the major partition episodes alone would not suffice and it is equally essential to closely look at the psychological impacts of the partition as well. There are many lessons to be learnt from the events of 1947 and Alok Bhalla urges to refrain from producing celebrative narratives of the same (Bhalla, 1999; 3119). The serious subject of partition should be engaged with utmost sensitivity because the readership of such work is a generation for whom these writings would prove to be the source of knowledge of an important past. Biasness in approach would lead to distortions in history, and it is incorrect to live in historical amnesia. Bhalla also suggests that just like many fictional accounts, historical writings should maintain a double vision that invoke a thought provoking stance in the readers so that they are able to look at the events in an impartial way and are also able to condemn the shortcomings (Bhalla, 1999; 3119-3120). There is a pressing need to understand the pitfalls of our own political and social structures.

Most of the fictional writings are not just based on secondary sources but have stem from the personal plight, familial history, memory and sometimes even firsthand witness of the horrors of the partition. Bhalla identifies an important distinction between the fictional and the historical narratives, according to him the latter unlike the fictional works always ends in the definitive outcome. He further writes that the endings of fictional accounts vary a great deal, "while some manages to find their way out of the realms of madness and crime, others either mark out the emotional and ethical map of our times with indelible lines of screams, ash, smoke and mockery, or crumble into shocked silence" (Bhalla, 1999; 3120). Some historians\sociologists have distinguished between the academic writing and the fictional accounts (Menon anional and Bhasin, 1998: 7). They opine that fictional accounts should be seen as the social history of the events of 1947 and thereafter.

The next part of the chapter purports to establish a link between border making and literature by analytically looking at the fictional accounts of partition. It has already been established in the above discussions that partition was a concatenation of events. To what extent did these divisions enter the society and disrupt the everyday life is important to explore. Partition literature provides an opportunity to comprehend the reifying of societal borders. Social boundaries are the preconditions that get transpired

into the actual divide. The matrix on which the material borders get calibrated can be better understood by tracing the pre-conditions and the ideological movements that led into the construction of such differences. The macro history of partition has its own place but it is also crucial to examine the other meanings of partition outside the historiography in the micro-history of ordinary people to understand its impact on them. The selected literature is significant because they facilitate in apprehending the dispersal of border, they help to discover bordering at molecular levels of city, community, locality, village, neighbourhood, family, social bonds, interpersonal interaction and the likes. The readjustments with partition created multiple borders at multiple sites and for a comprehensive knowledge of the India-Pakistan border, it is necessary to decipher the micro politics of everyday life. The kind of literature produced by these selected authors is likely to be alive in present times and it mirrors the socio-political conditions prevailing in mid 20th Century in India. From this perspective they become a remarkable source of information which cannot otherwise be found in history books. These texts are a means to familiarize oneself with the process of concretization of borders in the cognitive map of different social structures depending upon their own encounters during and post partition.

4.5 DISCERNING BORDER THROUGH THE FICTIONAL DEPICTION OF INDIA'S POLITICAL HISTORY

There is a symbiotic relation between nation and border. In order to understand the creation of India-Pakistan border it is imperative to consider carefully various events and examine the pre and postcolonial political and social progression of India that led to the making of Pakistan. How did the border between the two states gain political expression? In *Midnight's Children* (1981) Salman Rushdie has tried to demonstrate the modern political history of India by redrawing India's history into literature. The novel is a postmodernist work sculpted in the tradition of magic realism. It embarks upon diverse themes such as imperial legacy, postcolonial politics, social antagonism, sectarian conflicts, gender binaries, class inequalities, identity, romantic nationalism, regionalism, sub-nationalism, dismemberment of territories and other such themes that equip in understanding modern India. The novel holds prominence because having been set in a historically specific time period it illustrates the connection between the socio-cultural and the political life of the community in totality. Here an attempt has been made to employ the novel as a tool to dig deep into the socio-

cultural roots of separation and boundary creation. Anderson defined nation as "an imagined community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1991; 6). Border is a necessary requisite for the concretization of this imagination and there is an attempt made in this part of the chapter to investigate the imagination (of nation) through the imaginary (Midnight's Children).

4.5.1 Fiction vs. Reality

As mentioned earlier, having being designed in the genre of magical realism, *Midnight's Children* follows the tradition of unnatural narratology[17]. Saleem Sinai is an extraordinary baby who is born with some supernatural powers, which the author terms as the gift of midnight. Keeping the guise of autobiography intact, Rushdie narrates India's political history almost three decades before and after the independence. Schimanski makes a point that often in literature the temporal border is about the life cycle and the transition of various stages from birth, adulthood, aging and death (Schimanski, 2006: 55). It is noteworthy that Saleem's autobiographical narration as well as his communication both is unnatural (Buchholz, 2013; 338). Yet it will be wrong to say that Rushdies's work has no semblance with reality. The novel is a blend of unnatural narration and mimesis that obscures the boundary between real and unreal. It is very clever on author's part to combine political historiography of India with autobiography of Saleem and his conscious decision of representing it through metafictional narration. Stating Linda Hutcheon's (1989) views on *Midnight's Children* Buchholz writes that Rushdie through his historical unnatural narratology has attempted to problematize the very historical epistemology (Buchholz, 2013; 342). The apparent concealed visibility of historical events along with fantastic fictitious artifice does not undermine the alternate lens offered by the author. Rushdie himself admits in the introductory pages that were added later in 2005 that for the Indian readers the novel was realistic and it was akin to a history book. However, in the book *Imaginary Homelands* (2010) Rushdie admits the factual errors that he either inadvertently or knowingly made vis-à-vis historical details in *Midnight's Children*.

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[17] Unnatural Narratology is a type of narrative fictional writing that sharply departs from conventional realism. It employs preternatural and fictitious events and objects to narrate episodes.

Midnight's Children is inspired by Rushdie's own life which is evident from the parallel between Saleem's life with that of the author's. Rushdie's grandfather hailed from Kashmir and Rushdie himself was born in the then Bombay in the year 1947 a little more than a couple of months before 15th August 1947 and post partition he migrated to Pakistan and stayed there as Mohajir before moving to Britain. He makes it clear that this novel was based on his own memory and he writes- "what I was actually doing was a novel of memory and about memory, so that my India was just that: 'my' India, a version and no more than one version of all the hundreds of millions of possible versions" (Rushdie, 1991; 10). Upon viewing partition as a practice of othering, the lived experiences of partition in the form of private memories offer a great opportunity to closely witness the inconveniences and readjustments of the bordering in the public realm.

Though it is difficult to objectively categorize the process of border making but broadly it can be divided into three heads namely- conceptualization\imagination, modeling and transformation. The main objective of this section is to identify the instances of imagination and modeling in order to understand how border get reified and manifested leading to the creation of two separate political entities. The novel is chronologically structured and has three parts to it. The first part covers the period between 1914-1947, part two includes 1947-1965, while part three discusses the period from 1965-1977.

Saleem Sinai is the central character of the novel whose birth is of great significance because he was born at the stroke of midnight on 15th August 1947 which coincidently also happens to be the same time when India officially gained independence. Following Saleem's life, the novel establishes a close connection of India's evolution as a nation with the events occurring in Saleem's life.

> "I had been mysteriously handcuffed to history, my destinies indissolubly chained to those of my country…. Soothsayers had prophesied me, newspapers celebrated my arrival, politicos ratified my authenticity" (Rushdie, 1981; 3)

Since the first part entails the period prior to 1947 the author begins with Saleem's family history. Saleem's Grandfather Adam Aziz, a doctor by profession returns to

Kashmir after obtaining his degree from Germany. Rushdie describes Kashmir of 1914 which is very different from Kashmir of today. He writes-

> "In those days there was no army camp at the lakeside, no endless snakes of camouflaged trucks and jeeps clogged the narrow mountain roads, no soldiers hid behind the crests of the mountain past Baramulla and Gulmarg. In those days travellers were not shot as spies if they took photographs of bridges, and apart from the Englishmen's houseboats on the lake, the valley had hardly changed since the Mughal Empire for all its springtime renewals…" (Rushdie, 1981; 5).

The contemporary geopolitical climate of Kashmir makes it hard to imagine the scenario described by Rushdie. It is important to understand how pre-partition India made sense of the world given the plurality of religion, community and regional disparity that has always been a defining feature of the country. In the first few chapters the novel progresses its way through different phases in the independence struggle and describes the political climate and refers to Rowlatt Act, Gandhi's *satyagraha*, Martial law regulations of General Dyer and the massacre of Jallianwala bagh.

Salim Sinai's grandfather settles in Agra where independence movement is in full swing. The desire and the demands for a separate Muslim homeland was not uniform in the community. Saleem's grandfather, Adam Aziz loathed the Muslim League and despised Pakistan movement (Rushdie, 1981: 55, 455). There were many like Aziz who could never sympathize with the idea of Pakistan and chose to be in India instead of migrating. Even within the family the opinions were divided on this issue. Major Zulfikar would often urge Saleem's father Ahmed Sinai to opt for Pakistan. Sinai refused to emigrate and stayed in India. Rushdie has also provided details of colonial legacy through Methwold who is in a way taking pride and trying to justify the colonial rule. While conversing with Ahmed Sinai Methwold tells him that "you'll permit a departing colonial his little game? We don't have much left to do, we British, except to play our games" (Rushdie, 1981: 126). Rushdie has fused nation and narration to make his readers comprehend the unmaking and remaking of the post-colonial societies of India and Pakistan. Rushdie writes-

"[….] a new myth to celebrate because a nation which had never previously existed was about to win freedom, catapulting us to a world which, although it had five thousand years of history, although it had invented the game of chess and traded with Middle Kingdom Egypt, was nevertheless quite imaginary; into 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 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" (Rushdie, 1981: 150).

The author has critiqued the utopian wholeness that the newly created polities vouched for. The above section alludes to the perpetual divisibility of India as a nation. Diversity is at the actual identity of India. The tide of nationalism is less sustainable if it fails to encompass Indian pluralism. The author has equated the cracks on Saleem's body with various ruptures that were attributed to India by the history.

Rushdie allegorizes the division on the religious lines and writes that "suddenly everything is saffron and green" (Rushdie, 1981: 153). Although there were large number of Muslims who chose to be in India still they became a minority. The Indian Muslims also had several anxieties that had seeped inside their psyche. The news of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination had disturbed large number of people. Amina (Saleem's mother) too was worried but she got relieved when she heard on radio that it was a non-Muslim who murdered Gandhi. "Amina, however, was full of the light-headedness of relief, she was rushing dizzily up the long ladder of relief…'Why not, after all? By being Godse he has saved our lives!" (Rushdie, 1981: 197). The tumult of partition and the memory of violence exacerbated the Hindu-Muslim divide. There was undue suspicion and geographies of fear had percolated to everyday spaces at large. The desire for independence was instrumental in consolidating people from different communities. The inter-community differences were pushed aside and overpowered by the immediate crisis. Leaders like Gandhi advocated unity in diversity. Gandhi is still revered by many in not just India but also abroad. Rushdie succinctly critiques the conditions that are antithetical to the teachings of Gandhi and

he writes- "[…] in my India, Gandhi will continue to die at the wrong time" (Rushdie, 1981: 230).

The animosities had deepened to such an extent that the people of two sides started demanding war. In one of the Midnight's children conferences the members expressed-

"Let us declare ourselves to the world, so that all may glory in God- courage- we should invade Pakistan!-and cowardice- O heavens, we must stay secret, just think what they will do to us, stone us for witches or what-all'; there were declarations of women's rights and pleas for the improvement of the lot of untouchables; landless children dreamed of land and tribals from the hills, of Jeeps; and there were, also, fantasies of power. 'They can't stop us, man! We can bewitch, and fly, and read minds, and turn them into frogs, and make gold and fishes, they will fall in love with us, and we can vanish through mrrors and change our sex… how will they be able to fight? "(Rushdie, 1981: 317).

Extreme sentiments were inculcated in people of either sides such as- "Pakistan is a stain on the face of India!" (Rushdie, 1981: 321). Referring the people of East Pakistan- blackies, (Rushdie, 1981: 397). The term 'Hindu' was an abuse and so was homosexual (Rushdie, 1981: 403). Many such insinuations pointed by Rushdie illustrate the widening rift between the two sides. Sinai's family migrated to Karachi, Pakistan. Much after the partition there was relocation of population. Karachi being a port city, its population multiplied four times due to the influx. Gradually the relations between India- Pakistan deteriorated to the extent that the borders were closed.

Rushdie's novel serves many functions. It creates subaltern consciousness and shows the deplorable state of affairs post decolonization. The analogy between Saleem Sinai and the nation is underlining two things. It is projecting the body as a nation while at the same time highlighting the fragmented nature of this body. The problems of neocolonial politics were brought down by the book. There are many missing links in the academic writings, the novel does not bridges those gaps but has managed to provide the patter of modern history. It is important to look at the discontinuities of the past to understanding the complexities of today. The book refers India as 'myth ridden' (Rushdie, 1981: 278). The myth making fictitious exercise continues to establish the idea of statehood which is furthered by different bordering practices.

4.6 TRAIN AND THE DISPLACEMENTS OF PARTITION

In order to comprehend the making of post partition border in spaces of everyday life and practices it is important to delve into social and cultural landscape of micro units and Khushwant Singh's *Train to Pakistan* provide us with the opportunity to understand partition as transition by showing the readers the contrast between before and after the border got established. The author's personal ordeal and his observation of the vicissitudes at close quarters give a very realistic recital of the manner in which India got fragmented.

The novel is based on the theme of the miseries of partition violence, dislocation, dispossession and transfer of population on either side of the border. The story is set in a small village named Mano Majra located near the newly announced border between India and Pakistan. In the beginning of the novel Singh describes Mano Majra as the 'oasis of peace' (Singh, 1956; 2) which, till then largely remains unaffected by the spill over effect of communal riots and rampant killings that were happening in other parts of Eastern and Northern India. With the aid of his story the author has attempted to make his readers comprehend the constitution of border and the readjustments at the local level. He has shown the transition from the state of belonging to the non belonging that the Muslim community felt after being unwillingly expelled out of their native village. The disintegration of highly integrated community of the village also conveys how various identities that individuals carry are malleable and they often get framed by the dominant political climate. These identities do not exist independently but are contingent on a plethora of factors. There is a very thin line between inclusion and exclusion, and at a given moment any particular identity out of so many that people have can become the factor for expulsion. Religion is a social reality, it is a belief system but very often due to politicization it gets reduced to a form of identification. Through the case of Mano Majra the author has very succinctly tried to bring out how religion can be used to disrupt life and pose great challenges to the quotidian life. From an understanding of border aesthetics the rural background against which the story is spun outlines the penetration of border at micro levels and also its proliferation in the remotest of areas. The author repeatedly alludes to Delhi and attempts to show how the decision taken at the centre by the political elites is made abiding upon the locals at the periphery, who are mostly ignorant to the serious repercussions of partition. Although the novel

highlights diverse subjects which are of special significance to sociological enquiry but here the chapter particularly focuses on border related encounters, experiences, performativity and their impact on the rural society.

The demographic composition of the village comprised of about seventy families with the moneylender's (Lala Ram Lal) as the only Hindu family while there were equal number of Sikhs and Muslims in the village. The occupational structure of the village was primarily dependent on agriculture; the Sikhs were the owners of the land and the Muslims were mostly tenants. By focussing on the communal harmony in the village the author writes that irrespective of religion and caste the village inhabitants also had a common local deity to which every one revered. There is no use of exaggeration by the author in delineating the cohabitation of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus in the village. Mutual respect for each other's religion is an important aspect of multicultural society. It is not a utopian idea where people belonging to different sect\religion live together as a community. There are possibilities of scuffles but in a village community the familiarity and kinship are often place dependent and the social bonds within these spaces are carved out of inter-personal interactions which may or may not be based on religion. The social configurations of Mano Majra is an archetype of rural India of 1940s characterized by the primacy of spatial identity defined by local community over other forms of existing identities. Gilmartin refers to Gyanendra Pandey's study on Mubarakpur and makes a similar point that identity at the local levels in India is contingent on a plethora of social and political orders. The societal fabric of the communities is often determined by categories like class, status, hierarchy and interests than religious differences such as Hindu\Muslim (Gilmartin, 1998; 1073). The relationship between Imam Baksh the mullah at the mosque and Meet Singh the priest of at the Gurudwara were cordial.

Very subtly Singh addresses an important aspect that is often missing in the dominant discourses on partition. Majority of literature on partition recognizes only Hindu, Muslim and Sikhs to be the primary sects and often ignore the identity of others whose numbers were significantly large. Singh writes:

> "There are few families of sweepers whose religion is uncertain. The Muslims claim them as their own, yet when American missionaries visit Mano Majra the sweepers wear khaki sola topees and join their womenfolk in singing

hymns to the accompaniment of a harmonium. Sometimes they visit the Sikh temples, too" (Singh,1956; 2).

The Scheduled Castes variably known as Dalits, Harijans etc often remain under-recognized, Singh shows how discrimination was part and parcel of Indian society and certain identities such as these remained neglected. There were many other socially constructed exclusionary practices that internally divided India into many parts than just the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh divide used by the colonial powers. The marginalization of a certain social section points out to many ways in which ethnopolitics works at the level of state and society. The caste and religion based stratification in Indian society with visible differences not only fractured the social fabric but also gave immense scope to the foreign rule for them to consummate their policy of divide and rule with ease. Amongst so many parallel notions about India within India, represented by various 'tans' such as Pakistan, Azad Punjab, Bharat mata, Akhand Bharat and several others there was also an 'Acchutistan' which represented the imaginary homeland for the untouchable community in India (Chaturvedi, 2005; 106). By giving reference to the sweepers of Mano Majra and depicting their uncertainties, Singh is trying to show how their marginalized status is considered normal; he is also questioning the identity crisis that certain sections go through.

The villagers are mostly illiterate and naive; they do not have much knowledge regarding the political turmoil that followed due to the division of India. Scholars like Frances Harrison have condemned Singh's portrayal of the village to be ignorant about independence and partition. In Harrison's opinion the novel is overtly historical and the author has attempted to falsify some facts. He objects to the fact that the location of village near the border and the presence of the railway line along which the killings happened do not justify the politically ignorant inhabitants of Mano Majra (Harrison, 1991; 100). However, it is imperative to pinpoint that the peripheral location of the village, lack of connectivity and distance from the main centres of independence movement are major factors responsible for Singh's caricature. The author has not depicted the villagers to be totally oblivion to the political developments of regime change and division but has showed their lack of clarity of these matters. Urban areas were main centres of violence in Punjab and post partition major hostilities sprang up from those areas that experienced exodus.

Many studies have established that mass propaganda in the form of biased reporting, circulation of inflammatory pamphlets and photographs, blame games and involvement of press and administration were the chief causes of escalating violence in those times[18]. The lack of ability of the villagers to read and write and physical isolation provides vindication to the incomprehension of the villagers. Mano Majra was a close-knit rural society where all were closely related and their loyalty to the village was considered to be of utmost importance. When political worker Iqbal arrives in Mano Majra the villagers get inquisitive and upon learning that he is an educated, foreign return social worker, they asked him several questions like-

> "What is happening in the world? What is about Pakistan and Hindustan? ......Why did the English leave?" (Singh.1956; 51)

> Iqbal: "Why, don't you people want to be free? Do you want to remain slaves all your lives? After a long silence the lambardar answered: 'Freedom must be a good thing. But what will we get out of it? Educated people like you Babu Sahib, will get the jobs the English had. Will we get more lands or more buffaloes?' 'No', the Muslim said. 'Freedom is for the educated people who fought for it. We were slaves of the English, now we will be slaves of the educated Indians–or the Pakistanis.' (Singh, 1956; 51&52)

> Juggut Singh: "'I hear we have our own rule now,' he said. 'It is Mahatma Gandhi's government in Delhi, isn't it? They say so in our village.'" (Singh, 1956; 64)

Most of the villagers were uneducated and perceived the recent changes at the political front as formidable. Whatever little information they had of the decolonization, government change and creation of Pakistan was transmitted to them orally. The remote location of the village and lack of connectivity prevented it so far from the communal unrest that had plagued rest of the country. The author sets the story in the times when there were communal savageries being carried out in most of the places in Punjab the effect of which was rippled out to other places too. The immediate effect of partitioning of Punjab and mass resentments of the people that got

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[18] Ilyas Chattha (2013) in her article "Partisan Reporting: Press Coverage of the 1947 Partition Violence in the Punjab" has shown that press had an important role to play in the spread of violence. Prejudiced provocative material was widely circulated during those times and at many places the local police, politicians and press were also involved in outspread of riots and communal tensions.

translated into the acts of violence is well illustrated by Singh. The sense of freedom and independence from the tyranny of the colonial rule for Mano Majra is obscured by the sense of loss and their exposure to brutal violence. Freedom does not carry much significance for them because of their marginalized status or their backwardness. Their ordinary mundane life remains detached until the division of territory. The novel also underlines how physical attributes and name becomes symbol of identity. Iqbal's profiling at the police station as either Mohammad Iqbal the Muslim or Iqbal Singh the Sikh indicate that religious identity assumes significance and becomes the basis of bordering.

> Jugga to constable: "'You must have many prisoners in the police station these days,' he stated. 'No, not one' answered one of the constables. We do not arrest rioters. We only disperse them." (Singh, 1956; 70)

The story adeptly encapsulates the post colonial transition and the administrative collapses that existed during that time. The failure of the state apparatus and their inefficiency in establishing law and order and to curb communal riots is been portrayed throughout the novel. The above quote from the novel depicts that the people of the village are not ignorant of the unrests but rather they have been unable to internalize the fact that their own village could also get impacted upon by such turmoil.

Out of the so many aspects of border politics, one important expression is the feature of visibility. Visibility has a prominent role in politics; it works as a tool to foster public compliance and imparts assertiveness to the border. In a newly created border the adaptability of people is facilitated when they get exposed to greater visibility. Visibility gives them a realization and helps them to get acclimatized to the change. "Public visibility is the precondition for active political participation and citizenship" (Brambilla &Potzsch, 2017; 76). Visibility endorses an expression of constant reminder and the material existence of border also becomes an essential means to stimulate its construction in the minds. There are myriad ways in which borders can make their presence felt. It is been argued that border sensing goes beyond our five senses. Public display of border is necessary for the borderlanders in order to comprehend the new spatialities, it helps borders to enforce themselves and it is also a means of establishing control. Building of walls, fences, border post, fortification,

militarization and so on contribute to border aesthetics, it makes border participatory in nature and create a border landscape. Like borders, border visibility also follows the principle of selectivity it imposes restrictions of only the undesirable and permits the desirables. This kind of landscape that emanates from border visibility has both psychological and material effects. They shape local mobility by imposing restrictions and appear to be a preventive cordon against threats.

> "A unit of Sikh soldiers arrived and put up tents near the railway station. They built a six-foot-high square of sandbags about the base of the signal near the bridge, and mounted a machine gun in each face. Armed sentries began to patrol the platform and no villagers were allowed near the railings" (Singh, 1956; 81).

The village witnessed the transition of their *genre de vie* from a free space to a restricted zone, such barricading create subjectivities in the villagers. It inculcated a sort of social, political and psychic othering by means of limiting and curtailing mobility.

The peace and the harmony of the village got disrupted when the ghost train, carrying around thousands corpse of Sikhs and Hindus came from Pakistan. The spectacle created feeling of immense fear and consternation in the fellows of Mano Majra. Meanwhile the magistrate could envisage the likelihood of a reaction from the Sikhs. The arrival of the Sikh refugees who came from Pakistan further created concerns for the local police. Hukum Chand (magistrate) orders for trucks to evacuate Muslims from the village to be taken to refugee camp so that the probability of killings or riots could be terminated.

> "When it was discovered that the train had brought a full load of corpses, a heavy brooding silence descended on the village. People barricaded their doors and many stayed up all night talking in whispers. Everyone felt his neighbour's hand against him, and thought of finding friends and allies." (Singh, 1956; 124)

> "Muslims sat and moped in their house. Rumours of atrocities committed by Sikhs 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 streets to be raped in the market place. Many had eluded their would-be ravishers by killing themselves. They had heard of mosques being desecrated by the slaughter of pigs on the premises, and of copies of holy Quran being torn up by infidels. Quite suddenly, every Sikh in Mano Majra became a stranger with an evil intent. His long hair and beard appeared barbarous, his kirpan menacingly anti-Muslim. For the first time, the name Pakistan came to mean something to them-a refuge where there were no Sikhs." (Singh, 1956, 127-128)

The arrival of the ghost train led to a grave transformation in the socio-spatial fabric of Mano Majra. This train was a virulent attack on the consciousness of the people that shattered their existing belief and exposed them to the horrors of partition. The village up till now had escaped the carnage of violence that had engulfed other parts of Punjab. The rumours of inter-communal atrocities which the villagers had earlier bypassed resurfaced again and created an existential threat amongst them. An atmosphere of paranoia settled and it began to sow seeds of defence if not attack. From the perspective of borders it can be reckoned that the process of bordering through territorialisation of fear had already set in motion in Mano Majra. Bordering led to socio spatial bifurcation of the village community on the basis of religion, where mutual affection got transformed into mutual suspicion. The compartmentalization of two communities resulted in diluting the collective territorial identity of the people as Mano Majrans. Border began to create binaries by interfering with the way people organized their social lives. It started mediating in construction of their identities by perpetuating the religious differences. The cognitive structuring of mind was dismantled and overshadowed by the dispersal of fear and threat against each other. The cohabitation of the people as collective community irrespective of their religious affiliation was under serious jeopardy. The political scenario, rumours, administrative fall outs, coming of Sikh refugees, belligerents like Malli and his gang members all were contributing in constructing spatial differences. The collective 'we' of Mano Majra got segregated as us and them by constant production and reproduction of an enemy picture. Violence created spaces of insecurity and converted the harmonious place into a fragile zone where group identities characterized by cordial relations got subdued by more robust religious identities.

The Sikh residents of the village were facing the dilemma as to whose side should they take. The homeless Sikh refugees that had come from Pakistan were staying in the Sikh temple and had a vengeful attitude which posed threat to the Muslim residents. The tradition of the village pressed upon the loyalty towards their fellow villagers. All the neighbouring villages had already been evacuated by the Muslims and they had all gone to chundunnugger refugee camp. Imam Baksh stressed on his territorial identity and stated that he was born and has his roots in the village and has nothing to do with Pakistan. After much contemplation Lambardar reluctantly announced that the Muslims should go to the Chundunnugger refugee camp. The admission of Sikh refugees and the relocation of the Muslim population to refugee camp show how forces of exclusion and inclusion became operational in the village. The expulsion of the Muslims established that religion has a profound role to play in constructing identities; it dominates and becomes supreme factor for organizing a group that often subjugate other forms of associations.

The situation worsened all the more when the river brought with it carcasses of mutilated women, children, men and cattle which was followed by the arrival of another ghost train. The savage spectacle of bloodbath and slaughter had horrified and perturbed the people. They could hardly do much and like silent spectators they were witnessing the fatalities of partition. There were two strangers who came to the village, they were charged with vengeance. They desired for retaliation and instigated the villagers by calling them cowards. They also informed people of the massacres happening in places like Rawalpindi, Multan, Gujranwala and Sheikpura. Their harangue made the villagers uncomfortable but still it succeeded in convincing many of them to support these men in the conspiracy of killing trainload of Muslims who were going to Pakistan from the refugee camps. Many villagers raised objection to the ploy as it also involved the Muslims from Mano Majra but ultimately the ruffians advanced their plan.

> "For each Hindu or Sikh they kill, kill two Mussulmans. For each woman they abduct or rape, abduct two. For each home they loot, loot two. For each trainload of dead they send over, send two across. For each road convoy that is attacked, attack two. That will stop the killing on the other side. It will teach them that we also play this game of killing and looting". (Singh, 1956; 157)

Hukum Chand could very well gauge the situation; he decided to release Jaggut Singh the dacoit and Iqbal from the custody. Jaggut Singh was in love with Imam Baksh's daughter Nooran and it was quite predictable that he would make all attempts possible to save the killings that were going to happen. As Hukum Chand envisaged Juggut Singh sacrificed his life and prevented the plan of massacre from getting executed and "the train went over him, and went on to Pakistan" (Singh, 156; 190).

Viewing from the lens of border it can be stated that Khushwant Singh portrayed a rural set up and demonstrated the manner in which border were conceptualized, internalized and performed by the non state actors in ordinary lives. His rendering shows the progression of border construction through various elements of violence, conspiracy, displacement and deportation. From a cursory political outlook border seem to be created through boundary delimitation procedures but Singh's work provides an alternate perspective and shows how borders are constructed through socio-cultural practices. Border scholars have devised the term border work and according to them border creation is not just a state enterprise there are many local actors within the state's territory that are involved in making of borders (Johnson & Jones, 2014; 5). They emphasizes the need to focus on such non traditional actors in order to understand the border politics in everyday life and spaces and through 'Train to Pakistan' the research locates and identifies the diffused participants of bordering in order to get a deeper understand of the post partition border dynamics. The superimposition of random boundary lines does not necessarily conform to the socio-spatial and interpersonal spatialities and border in such cases behaves like instruments of separation. The communities are often subjected to divisions because personal identifications are unable to match with border enforcements. These fragmented communities succumb to the new order but struggle to make adjustments with the new border configurations.

In Mano Majra the author depicts negotiations with places, spaces, people and politics and in the process how borders got culturally produced. The eviction of village Muslims to refugee camps implicate that the formative stage of border making at societal levels begin with social alienation. The theatrics of identity politics relies upon mutual hatred and violence is the most potent tool to breed enmity towards each other. Violence leads to ontological structuring by creating absolute intolerance towards heterogeneity, it also beckons retaliation and this leads to cycle of further

violence. The enactment of repeated violence makes the binaries more distinct, it creates multiple ruptures whose implications lead to irreversible changes. Singh's work has masked itself in a cloak called fiction. Punjab experienced large scale displacement of people and series of killings before and after 1947. The author foregrounds his story in historical facts and encapsulates the state of post colonial society, role of propaganda, failure of bureaucratic system, role of local goons, institutionally organized violence, religious polarization and other important elements that characterize India of those times.

Border scholars maintain that debordering and rebordering occur simultaneously (Rumford, 2006; 157) and the novel also highlights how societal actors are engaged in negotiations where they accept few over rejecting others. Bordering gets triggered due to political reasons and it results in long term political and social changes. The inhabitants of the village were unknowingly engaged in redrawing and rearranging borders that were imposed to them from the top. Thus Singh's novel mirrors the post partition border construction at the level of community and vindicate the fact that borders are diffused throughout the society.

4.7 LOOKING AT PARTITION THROUGH THE VIGNETTES OF MANTO'S WRITINGS

Taking forward the point made in the beginning of this chapter, as far as the subject of partition is concerned one gets to see great disparity in the way this issue is been addressed in literature and popular culture and the manner in which the historians have addressed it. It has been remarked that there was not much written on partition even in literary world in the period that immediately followed the partition and some of the works that were produced were restricted and they often focussed on just the historical facts (Harrison, 1991; 94-95). Sadat Hassan Manto's renditions are an exception rather than a rule in this regard.

The famous Urdu short story writer though extensively wrote on diverse subject matter ranging from politics, nation, colonialism, revolution, prostitution and many others but it was partition stories that gained him recognition all over the world. Most of his work was either a critique or a response to the hollow dogmas of the society and they fearlessly exposed the societal ills. It is indispensible to consult the corpus of work created by him on partition related research because his writings have captured

the microcosm of partition more closely than even the journalistic and historical accounts. In spite of being a work of fiction Manto's depictions are more real and it succeeds in mirroring the society in the most honest and brazen way possible. The most distinct feature of his renditions was the non-partisan and impartial way in which they were crafted, they have been carefully picked from within the interpersonal layers and they speak about even the darkest of the subjects without passing any value judgement. His writings translated the most real life issues and the characters of his stories were mostly from the everyday life of the ordinary people. The credibility lies in the fact that his writings are able to give expression to the most ineffable human encounters that although are well absorbed in social surroundings yet not completely acknowledged or corroborated by society. The most fundamental basis of partition finds its place in the differences that breed in the various levels of mundane life of the people (Basu, 2018; 75). Manto was far ahead in acknowledging the urgency to depict various grey areas of our living spaces which were so deeply absorbed in the psyche that they were not recognized as aberrations or anomaly. His portrayals provided a different perspective to look within and to scrutinize self by placing oneself outside and making us critically examine our own dealings and doings in the society. The contemporary critical approaches vouch for the inclusion of everyday public and private domains, the importance of this was realized by Manto some six to seven decades well in advance. He truly was ahead of his times and as a responsible writer his foresightedness made him create some of the most timeless and thought provoking works that was enmeshed in human emotions and experiences. "His acerbic wit and humour and his pitiless irony are the weapons he uses against the spurious idealism and hypocrisy that vitiate social interaction" (Asaduddin, 2003; 11). The next section is an attempt to examine Manto's work through select short stories that are knitted on the larger motif of partition but primarily addresses the varied understanding of othering and divisions in the interpersonal social realm that led to the widening differences between India and Pakistan in the minds of the people.

4.7.1 Madness and Partition

It is impossible to encapsulate the partition related trauma in a single book; there are several events and episodes that constitute the partition experience one such subject is the mental hospital at Lahore. There are many aspects of partition that have gone unnoticed because they have not found due place in the mainstream discourses.

Neither the textbooks nor historical archives could holistically cover the social distress the population and their offspring went through. In a shocking revelation made by psychiatrists Sanjeev Jain and Alok Sarin it has been reported that one of Manto's most renowned short stories '*Toba Tek Singh*' is actually based on historical evidences (Jain & Sarin, 2012; 4-5). Partition of 1947 was much more than the splitting up of British India, creation of new polities and transformation of geography. As described by Ismat Chugtai in her book:

> "It wasn't only that the country was split into two-bodies and minds were also divided. Moral beliefs were tossed aside and humanity was in shreds. Government officers and clerks with their chairs, pens and inkpots, were distributed like the spoils of war. Those whose bodies were whole had hearts that were splintered. Families were torn apart" (Chughtai, 2015).

Butalia expresses her revulsions when she writes that the word 'partition' and their Urdu and Hindi interpretations as *taqseem* and *batwara* are inadequate terms to define the tragedies of 1947 (Butalia, 1998; 360). It was a compound heterogeneous event that has different meaning for different people. *Toba Tek Singh* (originally published in 1953) in its most satirical tone talks about one such offbeat instances of partition that in spite of being real did not cater much attention in the non-fiction writings. The story approaches the theme of partition in the most outlandish way and highlights that the border that was created in 1947 was not just a single event but a protracted process that led to some of the most devastating experiences from humanity's perspective. The opening lines of *Toba Tek Singh* read as follows:

> "Two or three years after the partition, it occurred to the governments of Hindustan and Pakistan that, just as they had exchanged civilian prisoners, they should exchange the lunatics confined in the asylums as well. In other words, Muslim lunatics interred in the asylums of Hindustan should be sent to Pakistan and the Hindu and Sikh lunatics confined in the asylums of Pakistan should be handed over to Hindustan" (Manto, translated by M. Asaduddin, 2003; 212)

It is confirmed by Anirudh Kala and Alok Sarin in their essay 'The Partitioning of Madness' that after the exchange of prisoners in April and October 1948, there was an exchange of around 450 mental patients from West Pakistan to Amritsar Mental

Hospital on 6th December 1950 with 233 Muslim patients that were sent to Lahore (Kala and Sarin, 2018; 20-23). The governments of India and Pakistan came to a realization after 3 years and 4 months of partition that after the division of property and other assets the people in custodial care also need to be partitioned.

Manto describes the scene inside the asylum where the mentally ill patients are perplexed by the uproar about Hindustan and Pakistan and the news of the exchange. One of the Muslim lunatic of the asylum who regularly reads the newspaper was asked 'what is Pakistan?' to which he replied "It's a place in Hindustan where they make cut throat razors" (Asaduddin, 2003; 212-213). Similarly a Sikh inmate enquires from his fellow Sikh friend why are they being sent to India? They can't even speak their language. To which he gets a reply "I know the language of Hindustooras. These Hindustanis are devils…. (Asaduddin, 2003; 213).

The fall of the event was so unforeseen that people were still struggling to find out the meaning of Hindustan and Pakistan. The sudden imposition of a boundary line cut across people's mind and their lives. The question of religious identity took precedence over all the other identities. In Punjab the cultural identity of people as Punjabis was more important but vivisection of territory along the religious lines compelled people to redefine their identities as Hindus, Muslim and Sikhs forgoing other linguistics, spatial and cultural identities. The chaos, bewilderment, confusion and scepticism in the inmates were commonly shared by those living inside and outside of the asylum.

> "However, they did not know a thing about its actual location and its boundaries. That is why all the inmates of the asylum who weren't completely insane were thoroughly confused about whether they were in Hindustan or Pakistan. If they were in Hindustan, then where was Pakistan? And if they were in Pakistan, then how was it possible since only a short while ago they had been in Hindustan, and they had not moved from the place at all?" (Asaduddin, 2003; 213)

Along with the political landscape the drawing of the arbitrary line transformed the socio-cultural ethos of so many places that found them falling on either side of the border. The confusion of Hindustan and Pakistan was the most fundamental problem that became the primary reason of identity crisis in the people. On viewing it on a

larger canvass this change affected the lives of so many who found themselves to be on the wrong side of the border. The perplexity and the disorientation depicted by Manto through the conversation of the people living in the asylum are universally applicable to the partition scenario.

The story further describes how an inmate named Mohammad Ali announced himself as Mohammad Ali Jinnah which provoked a Sikh to declare himself as Master Tara Singh. In order to avoid the scuffle between these two the asylum authorities shifted these two in solitary confinement. This segment of the story again seems to be inspired by a real incident the accounts of which are mentioned in the 1945 report of Lahore Mental Hospital. Two patients living in the hospital named Maula Bux and Santokh Singh were found to be dead due to violence (Kala and Sarin, 2018; 17). There were many other patients who were trying to grapple with the new changes brought down by the partition but the central character of Manto's story is a Sikh lunatic named Bishen Singh.

Bishen Singh hailed from a well to do family and was living in the mental hospital of Lahore since fifteen years. He had not at all slept for the past so many years of his stay in the hospital and would often mutter gibberish: "Opar di gurgur di annex di bay dhiana di mung di daal of the laltain" (Asaduddin, 2003; 215) Although his name was Bishen Singh he was always referred as Toba Tek Singh which was his native place. After the issue of India and Pakistan began Bishen Singh's family including her young daughter who was a regular visitor migrated to India. Following partition, he would often ask his fellows and everyone around where was Toba Tek Singh in Hindustan or Pakistan. On the final day of the transfer and exchange of lunatics between India and Pakistan, Bishen Singh refused to cross the border and ran towards the Pakistan side in search of Toba Tek Singh and stood on the no man's land. Just before the sunrise Bishen Singh shrieked loudly, collapsed and fell on the ground. Manto writes: "Over there, behind the barbed wires, was Hindustan. Over here behind identical wires lay Pakistan. In between, on the bit of land that had no name, lay Toba Tek Singh" (Asaduddin, 2003; 220).

4.7.2 Women, Violence and Partition

The historical material available on partition is partial because it lacks feminist historiography in them. It becomes difficult to find women related issues in the

discourses on partition. Even official records have very little to offer in this regard (Menon and Bhasin, 1998: 10). However Manto has given due place to women and they have often been a central character in his stories. His writings are an important source of acquiring information about the extent to which women have been the victims of communal violence. One such poignant tale is The Return (*Khol do*).

During partition in order to facilitate displacement of population there were some special trains that were introduced between India and West Pakistan (Zamindar, 2007: 34). In one such train were travelling Sirajuddin, his wife and daughter, Sakina. The train left Lahore and was attacked on his way before it reached Mughalpur in eight hours time. Many lost their lives and others were injured. Sirajuddin when gained consciousness found his wife dead and at once started looking for his daughter. Sakina was nowhere to be found and Sirajuddin stumbled upon a group of eight men who were apparently rescuing women from Amritsar and bringing them back to the refugee camps. Sirajuddin gave her daughter's description to them and the men assured him to get Sakina back. Finally the men found Sakina but they did not hand her over to Sirajuddin. One day Sirajuddin saw four men carrying a girl to the camp hospital who was found unconscious near the railway tracks. Sirajuddin followed the men and finally found Sakina lying on the stretcher.

> "The doctor looked at the prostrate body felt for the pulse. Then he said to the old man, pointing at the window, 'Open it.' The young woman on the stretcher moved slightly. Her hands groped for the cord that kept her *shalwar* tied round her waist. With painful slowness, she unfastened it, pulled the garment down and opened her thighs.
> 'She is alive. My daughter is alive,' Sirajuddin shouted with joy. The doctor broke into a cold sweat" (Hassan, 2011: 10).

Similar to the above tale, stories like- *Colder than Ice* (*Thanda Gosht*), *Bitter Harvest*, *The Assignment* and few of Manto's sketches like *Out of consideration*, *Losing Proposition* have underlined the way in which women had been impacted by the political decisions. The vulnerability of women body to violence was used as the object of vengeance. *Bitter Harvest* portrays a gruesome depiction where rape was reciprocated with rape. Manto has not just managed to pen down the most ghastly realities of partition but he has simultaneously challenged the masculinity in society.

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The inter-community socialization before the drawing of the boundary was in absolute contrast with the vindictive attitude later. As encountered by scholars, describing the inter-community relations before partition, one of the interviewee told them that "roti-beti ka rishta nahin rakhte the, baki sab theek tha (we neither broke bread with them, nor inter-married, but the rest was fine)" (Menon and Bhasin, 1998: 12).

The nature of border is gendered. There was considerable social distance between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims as a result of which there were very few instances of marital alliances. Nevertheless these differences translated into savageries only when the territorial divide was realised. Gender is not a local phenomenon (Sharp, 2010: 1666). In fact it is an incorrect exercise to assess gender in terms of scale. Studying border as an everyday practice helps to grasp the extensive range within which the border politics operate. It is as much local as global. As remarked by anthropologists "studying border demands a translocal perspective, a view from one state to another" (Hasting and Dieter, 2000: 8). The translocal perspective helps to understand the materialization of borders in the interpersonal realms.

4.7.3 Raising the identity question

The redrawing of boundaries in 1947 brought irreversible changes which exacerbated the political and social conditions. The two post-colonial societies were unable to readjust and realign themselves with the transformations. As early as 1948 two newly independent states entered into a war against each other due to the conflict over territories. Manto in his story *Dog of Titwal*, describes a scene from the valley where the two armies were fighting. Employing a stray dog as the metaphor for refugee, Manto illustrates how the soldiers of either side were questioning the identity of the dog and trying to speculate whether it was a Pakistani or an Indian dog. One of the soldiers compares the dog to a refugee and commands the dog to prove its identity.

The story demonstrates the post-colonial transition where boundary drawn on religious grounds differentiated people on multiple fronts. Identity became the primary marker of one's existence. It enunciates the dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion. Through *Dog of Titwal*, Manto alludes to the struggles of those who returned to their homes after crossing border and encountering unexpected

uncertainties. As founded by Zamindar[19], in 1948 there were countless Indian Muslim refugees who wanted to go back to their native place (Zamindar, 2007: 79). In order to curb the influx of the returning Muslim population the government of India introduced a permit system.

Thus the dog in Manto's story is analogous to the refugees whose status was in limbo. They were neither accepted in their native lands nor were they received well in their imaginary homeland. Both Pakistani and Indian soldiers were testing the allegiance of the dog. The later part of the story describes that amidst firing from both sides the dog was trying to escape from bullets and run for life. Ultimately one of the bullets hit the dog, the firing stopped and the soldier exclaimed that it was a dog's death for the martyred dog.

Boundaries were drawn in great haste and there was no blue-print to partition. From humanitarian perspective the political decision was an abyssal failure. Post-partition, the two societies became most vulnerable to the cultural and political shifts. The restructuring of identities by attaining new and forgoing the existing ones made the people most vulnerable to borders. Manto's stories are a repository of the social historiography of partition that fails to qualify as archives in the government library. His short stories have captured the zeitgeist of partition like none other. He never wrote from a distance and his perspective is important to have an unbiased understanding of the post-colonial history of India and Pakistan.

The current chapter is grounded in historical underpinnings. The selected works of literature have portrayed how various events in the history of partition unfolded. Historical approaches contribute significantly in getting a detailed understanding of the complexities of borders. Social history provides a dialogue between the past and the present. The ruptures of today have robust bearing on the fault-lines of yesterday. Social historical accounts are important because they enable in dealing with the real reasons. After a detailed analysis of the initial phase of boundary creation the next chapter discusses the relatively recent aspects of India-Pakistan border configurations.

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[19] Zamindar writes that according to Indian High Commission in Pakistan by mid-March 1948, around thousand Indian Muslim Refugees were going back to their homes per day. The statement is also supported by the evidence of this report in the local newspaper in Delhi that says that around two- three lakh Muslims had returned by May 1948 (Zamindar, 2007: 86).

CHAPTER FIVE

UNDERSTANDING BORDERS THROUGH TRAVELOGUE AND NARRATIVES

Traditionally borders were understood to be immovable entities that were politically made and cartographically drawn to demarcate state territories. Critical border scholarship challenges this notion and counter posited that borders do not just divide global spaces they have a massive role in shaping the social life. In order to comprehend the heterogeneity of borders it is imperative to address the myriad ways in which borders assert and reassert themselves both in the minds and on the ground. By taking Balibar's (2002) assertion of ubiquity of borders further Paasi avers that borders are not just found at the edges of the state territory or near the border areas but they are omnipresent all around our society (Paasi, 2005; 669). The realization of addressing sociological underpinnings in border scholarship has broadened the epistemological scope of the discipline.

The interdisciplinary edifice on which critical border studies is founded facilitates researchers to approach alternate methodologies in order to investigate border-related problems in its multiplicity. Scholars Johnson and Jones (2011; 62) have put forth a coherent agenda to approach the complexities of the border. They have suggested analyzing borders through the concept of place, performance, perspective and politics so that borders could be scrutinized holistically. This integrated agenda of investigating borders is advantageous to fathom the multiscalar, multidimensional and polysemic nature of borders. The intricacies of the border and bordering practices taking place in visible/invisible social layers necessitate such intelligible research frameworks that galvanize multiple themes together to decipher borders.

A geographical inquiry has always embarked on spatialities and this renewed spatialization will help to locate the sites where bordering takes place. Parker and Adler-Nissen (2012: 781, 793) have directed our attention to variegated planes of inscribing border in the lives of the subjects and it is vital for the expansion of critical border studies to investigate such instances of bordering.The current chapter makes an attempt to examine the diffusion of India-Pakistan borders in everyday spaces by

analyzing travel account given by Stephen Alter (2000) and the narratives compiled by Anam Zakaria (2015). In Paasi's opinion narratives are an important source to understand communities and their outlook towards the constructed other. He further maintains that narratives are not just a representation of these communities but they are also the mechanisms through which the community's understanding of border is framed (Paasi, 1998; 75). Public narratives pertaining to the question of the nation-state, cultural encounters, inter-community interactions and the likes are significant because a detailed examination of their idiosyncrasies equip border scholars to unearth the provenances of border thinking and it also helps to understand the society-border dynamism. Paasi also believes that alternate theoretical perspectives arriving at understanding the sociological processes of bordering through textual analysis are also a potential means of comprehending borders (Paasi, 2005; 666). Similar views are expressed by Newman who believes that border narratives constitute an important resource to understand border and various perceptions regarding borders. Borders are represented in numerous ways through media, images, art, cartography, music, literature etc and these resources are a rich means of comprehending the social construct of borders (Newman, 2011; 20). Cultural practices qualify as an important source to engage in conceptualizing border sensibilities; they inform us about the deeper meanings that people belonging to a particular group make use in their relationships with those living on the other side.

Travel accounts and narratives are an important product of material culture; they constitute different elements of emotions, affect, attitude, experience, memory, perspective etc that forms the basis of people's conceptualization of socio-cultural distinctions. They are crucial for comprehending the process of identity building occurring at the individual and group level. Studies based on such accounts help to understand the contrast between a statist outlook towards the problem of the border and societal frame of reference. The present chapter is an attempt to invoke the nexus of place, performance, perspective and politics through the writings of Alter and Zakaria to show the similarities and the differences that exist between the two sides post partition.

Critical border studies have repudiated the fixity and immutability of borders in the form of a line and endorse that border enactment, border materialization or simply bordering is the primary concern of discipline's critical engagement. Moving forward

with the rejection of steadiness in the border and focusing on bordering, there is an apparent change in the scale on which border operates. The traditional linear approach of studying border was only centred at the scale of the nation-state but the broadening of the scope of border literature demands to harness the critical engagements of the discipline at multiple scales. There are both upward as well as downward shifts in the scale of the bordering process. The upward or the top-down progression is called as 'cosmopolitanization' of borders and the downward movement or the bottom- up approach refers to the 'vernacularization' of borders (Rumford, 2008, Perkins & Rumford, 2013; 270). 'Cosmopolitanization' refers to the institutionalization of bordering taking place at the level higher than nation- state, while 'vernacularization' is the process by which non-state actors and ordinary citizens\non citizens contribute in various capacities towards bordering (Rumford, 2007, 2008, 2012, Cooper, Perkins & Rumford, 2014; 15). The role of supra-national structures as well as localization of the bordering practices both are equally important dimensions of critical border studies that researches are undertaking. The chapter makes use of vernacularization theme and explores the extent to which ordinary life of the people in India and Pakistan is interwoven with the mundane practices of bordering not just at and around border areas but in the heartland as well. The diagram below demonstrates five important dimensions that are significant in studying the dynamism of borders.

Figure: 5.1: The Epistemology of borders
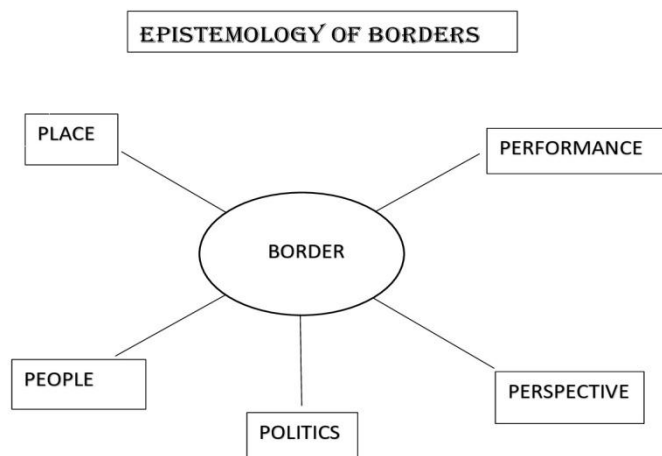
5.1 IDENTIFYING THE WHERE OF BORDERS

Out of the four Ps identified by Johnson and Jones first is 'Place'. The place does not just denote the physical location of borders; it also refers to the presence of border, bordering and border thinking which is reflected in the cultural practices of the people. The presence of border is so much infused in the everydayness that it has become hard to distinctly acknowledge their presence. Borders in different form are encountered on a daily basis; it can be at the airport, signpost, check post, biometric scanning and several other sites like these. These borders are so absorbed as part of our everyday lives that one doesn't perceive them as actual borders. Enforcement of such everyday borders through various state and non-state agencies and their repeatedly performed actions are continuously naturalizing them.

The material borders in the form of a line on the map or a fence on the ground are only a visible form of border existence. There are many hidden, partially visible or invisible sites that are occupied by the border and often their existence is not directly seen but definitely felt. Borders do not necessarily have an independent existence, more so in the case of diffused borders, their actuality and survival is dependent upon the practices that take place around them. Soguk opines that there is no announcement to such borders "they are camouflaged and concealed in other forms. Culture, race, class, gender are all appropriated as camouflaged in the reproduction of borders creatively and resourcefully in unexpected places and surprising form" (Soguk, 2007; 285). Everyday life has no escape from the impacts of the non-conventional bordering sites.

The functional nature of the border has not undergone any transformations; it continues to impose restriction and behave as membranes that determine the acceptability and rejection according to the prescribed norms. It is pointed out that the work done by the borders no longer overlaps with their form (Amilhat Szary and Frédéric Giraut, 2015; 4). In the contemporary age, borders exist in multiple forms and have occupied safe havens in disparate spheres of political, sociological, economic and technological formal as well as informal places and spaces. The multiplication in the places where border performs its function calls for a renewed effort in deciphering these unidentified places of border enactments.

What makes border multi-scalar? It is the close association of borders with the place that is responsible for its multi-scalar existence. Tuan has argued that places itself exist on a varied scale; the spectrum of place's scale is extremely broad. On one hand, a place can occupy a definite zone in a small area and on the other it can be as vast as the entire world (Tuan, 1977; 149). Similarly, borders and bordering happens at the level of individual and also at supra-state level giving borders countless sites for its sustenance.

Another important attribute that makes the factor of place more significant is that the impact of a sovereign border is felt in different places situated far away from the actual boundary. The sphere of border functionality has expanded to such an extent that border practices can easily be located in places distant from the borderlands. Thus there is a need to concentrate on places that lie beyond the periphery of states in order to comprehend the different ways in which spatialization of bordering takes place in the everyday life of the people. Border and place are intertwined because through bordering the spatial geography like nation-state, regions, Borderlands and even everyday social life of a village or a city gets institutionalized. Human existence is materially placed in a system of nested hierarchies from local to global and at all these levels borders are important markers within which the dynamism of social, personal and political is performed (Soja, 2005; 34). The routine spaces of day to day interactions are replete with borders and one needs to identify them and deeply investigate their short and long term impacts.

5.2 THE FUNCTIONALITY OF BORDERS

The multiplicity in the location of borders in so many different realms diversifies the manner in which border perform their functions. "Reconceptualising borders as a set of performances inject movement, dynamism, and fluidity into the study of what are otherwise often taken to be static entities" (Parker and Vaughan- Williams, 2012; 729). Few scholars have proclaimed that there are a number of different ways in which borders are "enacted, materialized and performed" (Johnson and Jones 2011, 62). The vital question here is not just what does a border do but also how do border perform their multiple functions. To dig deep into the 'what' and 'how' of border performance, context is an important dimension that needs to be taken into account. From a typical understanding of borders it can be said that the foremost function of

the border is that it separates one political realm from the other. It is an instrument to distinctly mark politically organized territory; it determines the limit of sovereign spaces. Irrespective of the nature of the border be it material or discursive the principal function of the border remains unchanged. Border (both tangible and intangible) assume different roles, it can behave like a regulator, a filter, a selective membrane, a bridge, a linking thread, a bulwark against a threat, a network, an interface, a means to organize space, an exclusionary device, a force of resistance, a mechanism through which connectivity could be established or a channel through which domains could be differentiated. Cooper, Perkins and Rumford have called border an "engine of non-proximate connectivity" (Cooper, Perkins and Rumford 2014, 20). The disparate functions performed by borders largely depend on the agency, subject and context in which bordering is taking place.

Agency here is the actor performing the border function, which can be an individual, a group, a community, a representative of a state\non-state body, an institution or any other in\formal organization. Agency can also be an inanimate object like a wall or a gateway. While the subject here refers to the person or a situation in which the impact of bordering is felt. The same border can function differently on different subjects. The difference in border functionality does not just apply to those lying on the opposite side of the border but also to the ones on the same side (Donnan and Wilson, 2001: 24). This differential functionality of borders stems from the context in which it is operating. Context also determines the extent to which a border could be rigid or permissive. The diversified functions of border discussed above are all governed by power.

The essence of bordering lies in who exerts power on whom. Border enforcement not just relies on coercive means but often persuasive power is also used to foster border regulations on groups and people. The underlying power in all sorts of border enactments creates a seemingly dualistic plane which governs the approach of border and nature of their performance. Border asymmetries arise because border simultaneously performs two functions of deterritorialization as well reterritorialization (Deleuze and Guattari 1988). The combined effect of these two coupled functions produces border irregularities; it is differential as it unites by separating, possesses by dispossessing, includes by excluding and establishes

continuities by discontinuing. Thus border performance is a complex ensemble of multiple forces, actors and agents that construct distinct border realities across space.

5.3 BORDER PERSPECTIVES

The nature of the border is such that it behaves differently towards different subjects. The discriminatory character of the border becomes apparent when under similar conditions, border permits one and restrict the others. Rumford acknowledges the fact that "borders mean different things to different people" (Rumford, 2008; 2 and 2012; 894). Since border enactment is not uniform, it creates a varied understanding which is hinged on the kind of border dynamics one gets exposed to. As a response towards this dissimilar conduct of border, there are multiple perspectives that develop in the due course. The nature of borders makes them a 'perspectival construct'[20] (Brambilla, 2014; 22). Actors are confronted with a range of border experiences, each distinct from the other thereby framing diverse outlook towards them. Schimanski highlights a very significant feature of borders; he has rightly remarked that the border is not just an effect but it a cause too (Schimanski, 2015: 94). Border after getting established begins to reaffirm the very ideas that are responsible for their construction and this way the entire process of bordering is continually pursued. For a better discernment of borders, it is incumbent to look at borders from various vantage points to avoid any lopsided or biased understanding.

Typically the most dominant border perspective that is commonly held is the statist outlook towards the border which for very long was perversely pursued by practitioners of various disciplines. The state as the only frame of reference to look at border-related issues provides myopic vision and is restrictive in many ways that do not qualify as a coherent approach. It has been challenged by the exponents of critical border studies. As stated- "Studying border demands a translocal perspective, a view from one state to another" (Donnan and Haller, 2000: 8). There is a contrast between how the locals view a border and ways in which governments see the same border (Newman and Paasi, 1998; 195). A borderland is a typical case where different outlooks towards a border are clearly visible. The socialization of the borderlanders and their cultural assimilation across the boundary line often contradicts the norms

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[20] The term 'perspectival construct' was used by Arjun Appaduarai (1990, 296) to describe the suffix 'scapes'. The multiple perspectives according to him are formed due to the involvement of multiple actors that are situated in different historical, linguistic and political realms.

laid down by the state. In a few cases, the borderland communities discount the nationalistic ideas and attribute greater importance to cross-border social interactions. While at others there is a preponderance of state authority and where they claim to be the only container of society, thereby putting a check on such social intercourse. In order to comprehend the border in its entirety, there should not be privileging of any one perspective. Since borders are embedded in the societal matrix, there are a number of ways in which borders are experienced and impacted upon; each of these border encounters develops a unique understanding which consequently formulates the outlook towards them.

Knowledge about borders remains incomplete if different perspectives are not taken into account. Talking of the unit level, it can be said that every individual map the world differently, for them they are located at the centre while the rest of the world surrounds them. Through individual mapping both citizens and non-citizens place themselves in various parts of the world beyond nation-states, which may or may not conform to their Cartesian location. There is a need to concede to this social reality which constitutes an important dimension of bordering practices. Often, what lies on the other side of the border is obscure and there are many imagined notions about them. Generally, the understanding of the imagined other is associated with danger, fear, uncertainties, anxiety and so on but still there is a hidden desire to know the unknown. This idea of the other as a perceived danger is socially constructed and is instrumental in creating consciousness in people's mind. It is the manner in which the 'other' is perceived that determines the cognitive distance with those living on the other side of the border.

It has already been widely recognized that border exists everywhere in different forms, this directs attention on the disparate ways in which borders act and work. The selectivity of borders forms the basis of multiple perspectives towards them. History and historical accounts are also important factors that influence the border perspective. For instance, the partition of British India and its various historical versions act as the leitmotif that structures the present day Indo-Pak border configurations. Borders do not necessarily and always act as an impediment; they might also play a role of a facilitator and help in establishing a link between either side. The border between the U.S. and Canada is one of the peaceful borders of the world and it is often referred to as a zone of interaction (Konrad and Nicol, 2008: 32).

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Perspective is also closely associated with conceptualization. How one perceives has a direct bearing on how one conceptualizes. Borders that exist in the form of social boundaries are created through the process of condensation of disparate experiences and perspective has a chief role to play in the concretization of these social borders. The structuring of the border perspective is discursively created through border encounters that affect cognition and develops into border consciousness.

5.4 BORDERS AND POLITICS

In addition to the three Ps (Place, Performance and Perspectives) discussed above border scholars have suggested that the fourth P which is important in studying borders is 'Politics' (Johnson and Jones, 2011: 62). Borders are culturally constructed political entities. The entire gamut of border-related activities from boundary delimitation, to militarization, trade and mobility across borders and other conventional\nonconventional bordering practices are all political in nature. Owing to the genesis and their functionality, borders can never be apolitical; in fact it is impossible for both material and symbolic border to function without political implications. Paasi believes that the process of bordering mirrors politics in different ways. The political trait according to him is not just limited to boundary classification but is also evident in the interplay of identity and representation (Paasi, 2011; 62). It is politics that makes the question of borders contestable.

The most fundamental factor that makes border political is- 'power'. Power is the language of borders and the matrix of the border and bordering is structured on it. Borders are the marker of control which is established and sustained through power. Borders not just make use of persuasive power but they often rely on coercive power in order to regulate. Borders are constructed to deal with the struggle of spaces across scales. Borders are enacted through the use of power not just at the hand of state actors but also by others. From imposing restrictions via check posts, frisking at the border crossings, the militarization of borders, building of walls and fences and even visa regulation procedures all these activities involve the direct exercise of control, and power. Power and resistance to power vis-à-vis borders is also a common phenomenon. The network of illegal activities and transnational organized crime subvert the state regulations, defy borders and still coexist along with it.

The underlying power is not just confined to formal state borders it is equally true in the domain of informal politics and extends up to the banal practices of everyday life. The materiality of border irrespective of the kind of spaces both interpersonal and public and political domains are a consequence of the way power operates. Borders are essentially political and it is impossible to isolate the two from one another.

5.5 THE FIFTH 'P'

The researcher would like to suggest the addition of another P which has gained currency in recent times and needs to be focussed while dealing with borders. The fifth P should be 'people'. Borders are as much about you and me as they are about here and there (Mol and Law, 2005; 637). It is crucial to include 'people' as part of border studies because the social bordering takes place on and through them. Individuals and communities not only participate in the process of boundary creation they also get largely impacted upon by such changes. Scholars have recognized the significant role of anthropological focus in understanding different ways in which identities are played out and get affected vis-à-vis borders (Donnan and Wilson, 2001: 1). By taking individuals into account there will be greater engagement of previously unnoticed othering that has been taking place in socio-political realms. The cultural aspects of the border that remains relatively under-theorized can be tackled well by including the dimension of people. Critical border literature has emphasized the inclusion of the local sphere, mundane and banal practices to trace the instances of bordering, and people constitute an important aspect to study such detailed micro scale boundary constructions. Many scholars have stressed the need for a bottom-up approach which involves the ordinary people (Kaplan and Hakli, 2002 and Newman, 2011: 15). The contemporary studies on borders are centred on the premise that borders are culturally produced (dell' Agnese and Amilhat Szary, 2015: 4) and this makes it imperative to include people in border studies.

Balibar mentions that there is a difference in which borders work towards poor people from poor countries and their rich counterparts (Balibar, 2002: 82). The preferential treatment of borders by privileging a few and restricting the mobility of common masses makes these subjects a critical dimension of enquiry. Newman raises an important point for consideration when he asks "borders for whom?" (Newman, 2003: 22). In the same vein Rumford also highlights a similar point when he asserts that the

kind of bordering one gets subjected to depend largely on "who we are?" (Rumford, 2008: 4). Rumford's work on vernacularization of borders clearly underlines the significance of borders in everyday life. He discusses how borders work as a political resource for the people and different ways in which borders are contested and get institutionalized by them in their own versions (Cooper, Perkins and Rumford, 2014: 16). His concept of borderwork takes into account the role of ordinary people in making, remaking and dismantling of borders. According to him borderwork is defined as "the role of citizens (and indeed no-citizens) in envisioning, constructing, maintaining and erasing borders" (Rumford, 2008; 2, 2014: 15). Thus, along with place, performance, perspective and politics, people are an important aspect that is crucial while examining the politics of borders.

It is evident from the preceding section that abovementioned five Ps are vital for studying borders. They are also relevant with respect to the theme of this chapter which relies on travel accounts and individual narratives. The next section attempts to discuss a new conceptual framework which is recently been devised by critical border scholars in order to comprehend the complexities and intricacies of borders in a more concise manner.

5.6 FROM BORDER LANDSCAPE TO BORDERSCAPES

For the discipline of geography, the landscape has always been a pivotal theme that continues to be innovatively employed by practitioners in a number of different ways to understand the progression of the subject. This exercise is justified in its own right because landscape as an interpretative lens is best suited to capture the very essence of the discipline which has wide range of subject matter included in its purview. Carl O' Sauer (1925) coined the term cultural landscape to define geography as the study of the interaction between the physical environment and human culture. J. B. Jackson (1951) located the meaning of landscape in both material and symbolic vernacular life of ordinary people. The late part of 20th Century witnessed a cultural turn and the term landscape was again creatively used by scholars like Dennis Cosgrove (1984) who drew inspirations from Renaissance and saw the landscape as a way of seeing and representing the world. Likewise there are myriad ways in which the term landscape was variously used by human and cultural geographers.

On looking at the recent developments in border studies scholarship especially with the advent of critical border studies, there is a drastic shift in the manner in which borders are now understood. The contemporary border scholars, practitioners and researchers have succeeded in identifying the changing nature of borders, their dynamism and their complexities in varying proportion. The disciplinary expansion in border studies has facilitated to recognize the salient characteristic of the border which was largely ignored in the classical border literature. By rejecting the previously held flawed conceptualizations vis-à-vis borders and moving forward with due acknowledgement of border plurality in every respect the advocates of critical border studies have proposed the concept of borderscapes to approach the multiplicity of borders. After the border became a subject of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary inquiry it was necessary to have a comprehensive agenda to address wide array of border issues. The concept of borderscapes is promising in this light because it takes into consideration the dynamism in borders and the changing nature of its meaning and language in a different context.

What does borderscapes mean and how does it qualify as a potential concept for understanding border complexities? There have been many interpretations of the newly coined term borderscapes but it is important to critically investigate how well they fit to deal with the alternate border conceptualizations that have been developed in recent times. It has been argued that borderscapes is a tool that liberates borders from the clutches of territorial moorings and opens scope for alternate forms of socio-political possibilities that are more relevant in contemporary border research (Brambilla, 2014; 18). The borderscapes concept facilitates to understand the intricate link between different aspects of bordering that take place across place and scale. It helps to discern the complexities of border dynamism in different socio-political realms. In order to deal with the fluidity of border the instrument required should essentially be itself flexible and the concept of borderscapes is promising in meeting this criterion.

The word 'scapes' was popularized by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai who delinked land from scapes in the word landscape and formulated new lexicons in social science by using scapes and re-linking it with ethnicity, media, technology, finance and idea (Appadurai, 1990; 296). The purpose behind using the word scapes as a suffix was to emphasize the fact that these were not pre-given objective relations that had a

universal meaning instead they were dynamic and flexible concepts that should be understood to be contingent on a plethora of different factors that make them distinct (Appadurai, 1990; 296). Borderscapes also relies on a similar premise which Appadurai calls 'perspectival constructs' (Appadurai, 1990; 296). The term scapes when attached to borders add versatility to it making them into enabling tools that capture the myriad ways in which borders are conceptualized and materialized. Borderscapes helps to detangle the manner in which borders shape and they themselves get shaped by diverse factors in various spaces. The concept does not just restrict itself to those border enactments that are visible or mainstream but it also focuses on the hidden, disguised and the generally unnoticed sites where bordering manifests in different ways.

Borders do not exhibit a linear behavioural pattern; there are variations in the way they are performed. It is difficult to define any essentialized nature of the border. Borders are adaptable features. Depending upon the situation, its manifestations can take different forms and sometimes they even sharply depart from their usual nature. In many senses, because of its nature border prompts a cryptic response. Borders are so malleable that they can be put to multiple uses depending upon the context, actors and the operational forces. Borders at times can also be unpredictable. Through borderscapes the degree of variation in bordering can be analytically assessed. There are a number of factors that are responsible for diverse bordering patterns and from the lens of borderscapes one can look into the details of not just a particular aspect but also the intersection of multiple factors. Borderscapes conceptually are enabling in addressing borders from multiple approaches, scales and levels so that their multiple reflections could be better understood.

This chapter undertakes a detailed analysis of the representation of borders in the work of Alter (2000) and Zakaria (2015) and the notion of borderscapes is of vital significance in this regard since the selected texts helps us to closely see the variability of Indo-Pak border and its socio-cultural production in the society. The scope of the chapter is more than just a textual representation of different forms of border configurations. The main thrust of the work is on the wide range of border materialization in everyday spaces. The manifestation of the border is not limited to the fence that divides the territory rather there are multiple instances pointed out by Zakaria and Alter in their respective works that highlight bordering in unidentified

sites. Border concretization occurs through the reification of borders in everyday life and these texts aid in getting a deeper sense of the processes through which even the permissible has become forbidden. Taking cues from the analytical and conceptual tool called borderscapes the present work is an attempt to comprehend the intersection of state, society, religion, identity, memory and politics in shaping and reshaping of India-Pakistan border.

5.7 READING BORDERS WHILE CROSSING THEM

Johan Schimanski initiated an approach of looking at borders from a new light by conceptualizing border crossing as a reading exercise (Schimanski, 2015: 91). Crossing a border is an intriguing experience and more so when the border in question is a contentious one. It is a nuanced way of understanding the varied manner in which borders are inscribed. Crossing border is not akin to moving across places beyond the sovereign space of a state, it is something more than that. Generally, in such a process there is an intersection of several political, social and ideational myths and realities which otherwise are dormant. There is always a sense of unfamiliarity and often this is socially constructed through various modes and mediums. By travelling across the border one is able to know the unknown and through personal encounters, there is an evaluation of perceived notion with the experienced reality. In the course of this exercise of experiential learning some perceptions get obliterated while the others get more concretized. Traversing a border is an interactive process of witnessing both the state erected institutional mechanism of control, surveillance and security as well as socially constructed cognitive mental images which dictate the perception of those from the other side. Such type of border reading looks at the multiple dimensions of the border such as their spatiality, physicality and also the semiotics through which they are validated. Thus crossing a border is a unique process through which borders can be analyzed and interpreted.

The book *Amritsar to Lahore* (2000) by Stephen Alter is the first text that this chapter dwells on. This book is a work of non-fiction which consists of travel narratives, anecdotes and events which the author himself witnessed firsthand by travelling from India to Pakistan. The visits mentioned in the book include the cities of New Delhi, Mussoorie, Amritsar, Atari in India while Wagah, Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Islamabad, and Muree in Pakistan.

Figure 5.2: Stephen Alter's itinerary

At the very outset it is important to note that Stephen Alter conferred with Padma Shri is of American origin, he was born and brought up in India but currently is an American citizen. While growing up in the 1960s and 1970s in India Alter already had knowledge of the India-Pakistan relations and border problems. His earlier status as a permanent foreign citizen in India prevented him from visiting Pakistan. His personal interest in going to Pakistan was driven by the fact that his grandparents who came to India in 1916 as missionaries had spent a substantial part of their lives serving in western Punjab now in Pakistan. Alter's wife's family members also lived in Lahore and later moved to India post-partition and settled in Jalandhar as refugees. Alter chose 1997 to visit Pakistan which also happens to be the fiftieth year of India's independence and partition. He writes that this moment is unique to investigate the meaning and significance of the border and emphasized that the lines drawn by the colonizers needs to be revisited to explore how they still continues to act as a barricade and an impediment towards any rational dialogue and discourse between either side (Alter, 2000; 8).

Post partition, after the wave of migration ended the border between India and Pakistan assumed its barrier function and prohibited active cross border mobility. There were several people who had their close relatives and friends living on the other side but the interstate troubled relation and strict protocol prevented close ties from developing further. The biggest hurdle in cross border social linkages is procuring a visa. The first chapter of Alter's book describes the situation outside Pakistan's High Commission in Chanakyapuri, New Delhi where hundreds of people line up from early morning to evening just to get their visa application procedures done. The place is crowded with people coming from across north India including remote places and villages. With few exceptions many of these people are illiterate and most of them belong to poor Muslim families. Outside the consulate there are many touts who make money by filling the visa application forms of those who themselves could not. Sengupta describes this as "almost a hajj (Pilgrimage to Mecca) of another kind" where people spend their hard-earned savings and money to come to New Delhi in anticipation of getting their passport stamped (Sengupta, 2007; 31). There were many whose applications had already been turned down several times but they reapply so that they could meet their family members living on the other side. Alter writes "these travellers endure humiliation and frustration for a chance to reconnect with their families. Against all odds they defy the border that has divided the subcontinent since 1947" (Alter, 2000; 2). Being an American citizen now Alter managed his visa from the consulate in New York which was comparatively less difficult than what he witnessed at the consulate in New Delhi. The stark contrast in the visa regulation procedures clearly establishes that borders are differential; they privilege a few and exercise power by subjugating the ordinary people. Balibar has also referred to this unjust approach of borders towards some. According to him- "For a poor person from a poor country, however, the border tends to be something quite different: not only it is an obstacle which is difficult to surmount, but it is a place he runs up against repeatedly, passing and repassing through it as and when he is expelled or allowed to join his family" (Balibar, 2002; 83). The contention made by Balibar is clearly visible in Alter's account. The repeated rejection of the visa and the multiple attempts made by the people willing to visit Pakistan shows how the same border can be welcoming to some and limiting to others.

"As I wandered through the crowds, however, I felt for the first time the proximity of the border, even though it was five hundred kilometres away. It may be the broken glass at the top of the wall or the police picket standing guard, but a feeling of uncertainty and alienation was palpable in the midmorning heat. Despite the cheerful exhortations of hawkers selling roasted peanuts, channa, and pokoras, and the grinning cartoon characters painted on an ice cream trolley, most of the travellers seemed worried and pensive, waiting together in clustered group" (Alter, 2000: 3).

Borders are manifested in different forms and the complex procedures of visa regulations, immigration and customs etc are means through which states enunciate their borders. Each of these practices underlines the importance of borders and reinforces border consciousness in the masses. It is not just the fenced border that creates the realization of a border but the presence of a border in the above case is felt through official protocols that are followed in advance of the future travel across the border. Any discrepancies at this stage are liable to the disqualification of the application, preventing people from entering the sovereign state territory to which they do not belong. These practices are instrumental in differentiating us from them on the basis of citizenship identities. All types and kinds of border essentially have a border feeling attached to them. This border feeling is mostly characterized by uneasiness, fear, vulnerability, dilemma, apprehensions, nervousness, insecurity, anxiety, suspicion and also uncertainty and alienation which the author describes. In some cases border also incites extreme emotions like panic and distress which may get manifested into different forms of violence. The author's observation outside Pakistan's embassy reiterates the point made by so many border scholars that borders are not just on the edges of state's territory but they are also located within the state.

An embassy is a simulacrum of a border that functions exactly like the borders erected at the borderline. High securitization, patrolling guard and the inaccessibility signifies its close resemblance with a physical border. It is a prohibited zone which is guarded from all sides and even protected under the law. High Commission for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan like any other embassy is a restricted zone and the only way through which the applicants communicate with the visa issuing authorities is a small and narrow hole in the wall at shoulder height. Scholars Henk van Houtum and Stephen F. Wolf opine that "to a large extent a border can be considered a waiting act.

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A border causes a standstill, a distance and difference in time and space" (Houtum & Wolf, 2017; 129). For people standing in long queues outside the embassy in anticipation of visa, the border is definitely akin to waiting. They are subjected to exclusionary waiting and also to postponement by state formulated mechanisms for intending to enter a sovereign territory to which they do not belong. The author also describes the infrastructure of Pakistan's High Commission; he writes that the blue dome and the minarets are similar to the mosque and mausoleums in the other parts of Delhi. The architecture gives emphasis to the Islamic identity of the Pakistani state.

The first chapter of Alter's book discusses the changing political, socio-cultural and urban landscape of the capital city Delhi. The Delhi built by Edwin Lutyens was built adjacent to the old Delhi which was formally inaugurated in 1931 by the British (Yong Tan and Kudaisya, 2000; 195). With its new architecture, Delhi was a quiet and a colonial suburb of the old city. Following partition the Indo-Islamic culture of the city that was continuing since twelfth century was suddenly interrupted by the influx of Hindu and Sikh refugees coming from Pakistan and many Muslims abandoning the city due to war like conditions. Alter interviews the former chief metropolitan councillor of Delhi who recalls that-

> "While crossing the border on August 30 in 1947, the one thing that dominated our minds was that we all knew that we were coming to India but we did not know where we'd go from there. We were part of the lakhs of people who were forced to leave their homes from different parts of Punjab to save our lives. I was in my Austin Car which had to be abandoned at Wagah border….
>
> No doubt there was a sense of achievement of freedom but we did not know that the freedom movement would end up in the partition of Punjab and that we would have to leave our birthplace. But then the agony and pain of leaving the home town were shared by all. The pain is lessened if it is shared" (Alter, 2000: 1).

It was not just the pain that was shared most of the refugees have similar stories to tell. Partition of India was instrumental in creating a new kind of fear in the public domain. The uprooted refugees who came in search of shelter and protection, in some cases also had a feeling of communal revenge towards Muslims. Alter quotes famous

Punjabi writer Amrita Pritam (who also came to Delhi post-partition) that during those days it was a matter of survival for the people. The refugees were not left with much choice but to adjust with whatever place and source of employment they could manage. She remorsefully expresses that "we were exiled in our own country" (Alter, 2000: 10). The cataclysmic event of Partition compartmentalized the religious and cultural identity of the people at large. The idea of secularism on which the modern state of India was supposedly based was reduced to mere rhetoric. Individual consciousness was framed by the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh divide that previously was less pronounced. The author also refers to anti-Sikh riots which he himself witnessed as a resident of Nizamuddin East, New Delhi in 1984. He recalls that he had for the first time seen the banality of evil[21] to which he was until that day totally oblivious to (Alter, 2000: 19).

The author also mentions the film *Border* (1997) which he saw in Delhi, it was released on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of India's Independence. The film is based on the battle of Longewala between India and Pakistan that took place in the year 1971. Characterized by high melodrama and routine song and dance it portrayed the sacrifice made by Indian forces in defeating Pakistani invaders. The moral conveyed by the film underlines that border signifies the national integrity of a state and it is the foremost duty to defend it from any sort of external attacks and threats.

5.6.1 Contextualizing borders in places

'Place' has a lot of significance in the discipline of geography in general. In human geography, the place is not just understood in terms of the coordinates or as a differentiated unit of space but it has deeper cultural and political undercurrents. The idea of place involves a sense of perception and it is developed experientially. Places are materially constructed through a unique interaction of human activities and physical landscape. The place is also something that becomes the yardstick of distinctions such as belonging\non-belonging, inclusion\exclusion inside\outside. Places have profound symbolic and emotional meanings; they are the mainstay of

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[21] Political philosopher Hannah Arendt uses the term 'banality of evil' in her book Eichmann in Jerusalem (1936). This phrase was used in the reference of the bureaucrat Eichmann in Nazi regime. Arendt believed that the deeds committed by Eichmann within Nazi set up didn't include his motive. He was just performing his duties as an officer without truly realizing the wrong done. Alter in his analogy of the 1984 Sikh riots with the atrocities of the Third Reich is trying to convey that the perpetrator and the rioters were not ideologically driven but participated in it without evil intentions.

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identity, which communicates a complex history of events, cultural memories, and attachments (Gregory et.al., 2015: 5). Places are historically contingent and in the process of continuous change. They are never static and evolve temporally and spatially too. "Place is in constant motion, it operates as a discursively constructed setting" (Feld and Basso, 1996: 5). While in the state of becoming places keep creating memories.

According to the geographer Doreen Massey, places are peculiar sites of the intersections called power geometries. They are complex entities and an outcome of the dynamic interplay of politics, economics and society (Massey, 2005; 64). Since places are socially constructed they have a distinct character of their own that makes them all different from one another. This unique character of the place gives it its identity. The idea or a sense of a place is derived with the lived experience of the people and also through the representation of places in various media and popular culture (Jones et al, 2015; 97). Place involves a lot of subjectivities, and thus every individual experience place differently.

In order to examine the places, it is important to take into consideration Lefebvre's idea that physical spaces and social spaces should be studied together and not in isolation of one another (Lefebvre, 1991). The physical space becomes meaningful due to the social space carved out by the social practices. The role of social practices is immense as they are not just the defining character of a place; they also are responsible for the production of the spaces at large. For Michel de Certeau the practices of any place determine the manner in which various activities are performed within the place (de Certeau, 1984). These very practices of place are responsible for how space becomes a socially produced product. In this sense space is the social product of the social activities in a given space. The concept of 'place' is often distinguished from 'space' on the lines that the former refers to the physical and material manifestations while the latter connotes the materiality with meaning (de Certeau, 1984). However, places often transmute into and behave as spaces through the ways in which it is narrated and also through the meanings that get attributed to them via various activities performed (Wille and Hesse, 2015: 29). In the context of borders the transformation of places to spaces is of special relevance. Borders operate in different spaces like physical, territorial, spatial, ideational symbolic and psychological. They often mediate between these varied spaces and perform their

function of bordering. The centrality of place and space cannot be overlooked while undertaking studies on borders.

Next section of the chapter is trying to understand places by seeing them from the lens of border politics. How does sense of attachment to a place gets temporally and spatially transformed due to the erection of boundaries and creation of borders? Borders are sites of constant production that are also situated in places. Places cannot be seen in isolation, they are an intricate web of socio-cultural and political practices that not only define the place but places also give a spatial meaning to these practices. "Places are intertextual sites because various texts and discursive practices based on previous texts are deeply inscribed in their landscapes and institutions" (Barnes and Duncan, 1992: 7-8). The distinct identity of the place is dependent upon a number of factors such as the inhabitants of the place, their cultural practices, and collective activities. The close relation of the place with the society and its people and their activities make them part of the larger political and social encounters. What marks places apart? The differentiating factors could be many but two places are separated by the means of borders (both ideational and material). Drawing of the border and its enforcement can be one of the potential causes of the changing landscape of a place. The configurations of the border are enmeshed with the place of their enactment and the interrelation of the place, people and performance become the substitute for the impact of the bordering. The section that follows has made use of the Alter's itinerary to comprehend border and the process of bordering.

5.6.2 Mussoorie: Mountbatten and Brig. Yadav

Alter's journey begins from his birthplace, a hill station named Mussoorie. He has special sentiments attached to this place so before crossing the border he preferred to detour and spend some time in the place where he spent his childhood. He writes that "not only did he belong here but the place belonged to me" (Alter 2000: 29). Historically, Mussoorie is a significant town since the summer headquarters of the Survey of India is situated here. In order to establish control and govern a territory the most important requisite is to know it well. The imperialist intent of the British in India was pursued through surveys and maps

Extensive\intensive survey and data collection along with the dexterity in map making techniques favoured British in geographically mapping the territory and thereafter

realizing their geopolitical ambitions. "The study of the surveys and the maps which the British made in and of South Asia during the first hundred years of their ascendency is accordingly a British conception of what India should be" (Edney, 1997: 2). There is an intricate link between the cartographic practices and the geopolitical imagination of the British. The passion with which they got themselves involved in map designing suggested their long term strategy of defining the places from their conception and perception and later governing it too.

In fact Radcliff award of dividing the provinces of Bengal and Punjab in 1947 was realized within the short span of little more than a month with the help of these detailed surveys and maps prepared by them. Alter remarks that "locked away in one of Delhi's government bungalows, poring over his maps and charts, Radcliffe carried out his task entirely with pen and paper" (Alter, 2000: 31). Thus, from taking over India to transfer of power maps remained an integral part of the British rule in India.

Alter finds his grand parents' collection of old maps and charts that were printed before partition in his house in Mussoorie. The maps made during British Raj were very different from the political map of the subcontinent at present. Alter was able to trace all the places that he was going to visit in Pakistan but everything from rail route to Grand Trunk Road was represented within a contiguous area without any boundary line in between.

While in Mussoorie, Alter also availed the opportunity to interview Brigadier Hukum Singh Yadav who served as Mountbatten's ADC (Aide-de-Camp) and saw the transfer of power from the close quarters. During his initial service Yadav was also part of the regiment called Frontier Province which post-partition got absorbed into the Pakistani army. "Though an Indian patriot to the core, Yadav staunchly defends Britain's role in the division of India" (Alter, 2000: 33). The conversation with Brigadier Yadav is interesting because it helps in understanding a different outlook towards the partition and exit of British from India. In Yadav's opinion the army had a huge role to play in keeping the country united and also earning freedom from British rule.

> "If it hadn't been for the British Empire there wouldn't have been anything to partition in the first place,' he said. 'If you ask me, it was the army that gave India a sense of unity. The soldiers came from all across the country and when

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they went back to their villages they took the idea of India home with them'"
(Alter, 2000: 33).

"The British weren't afraid of Gandhi and his satyagrahis but when the army began to get restless, that's when they knew they had to leave." (Alter, 2000: 33)

Yadav recalls exclamation by one of the officers in Mountbatten's staff:

"The game's up dicky. We can no longer trust the Indian sepoy. If we don't leave now, it will be 1857 all over again...." (Alter, 2000: 33).

"A lingering fear of mutiny had always haunted the British in India and according to Yadav it led Mountbatten to accelerate the time table for Independence" (Alter, 2000: 33).

Yadav also tells that while in Frontier Force he had several Pathan chieftains as his friends. Although Brigadier still gets invitations from them for regimental dinners and annual celebrations, the hostile relations between India and Pakistan make it difficult to maintain any friendly ties with the other side. He fears that even the most innocent contacts with them can be suspected by the state and its agents. The political dynamics between the two countries is such that any association with Pakistan is not seen in a positive light. Even the friendliest linkages are generally misinterpreted to be dubious. On knowing that Alter was going to Pakistan one of his close friends in Mussoorie expressed that Alter must have started working for CIA that he is travelling to Pakistan (Alter, 2000; 40).

The next destination for Alter was Amritsar; he took this journey by a train called Golden Temple Mail which is still referred by its earlier name the Frontier Mail by some. Frontier Mail was launched in the year 1928 and it was one of the fastest long-distance trains during that time. It was also one of the first trains in India to be air-conditioned in the year 1934, it connected Bombay to the Afghan border at Peshawar enroute Delhi, Lahore and few other halts covering a distance of 2,320 kilometres in 72 hours (Thomas, 2007; 295). Post partition the last destination of the train became Amritsar and in 1996, the name of the train was changed from the Frontier Mail to the Golden Temple Mail. The above incident questions the fixity of borders and exemplifies the fact that borders also move. It also establishes what Newman said that

borders might shift and get transformed but they are not completely erased (Newman, 2011; 23). Border not just divided the land and the territory it also at times snaps the connectivity barricading mobility and linkages. Although Frontier mail was a product of colonial imagination it provided a vital link between important urban centres connecting the mainland with the periphery. The mayhem involved in the delineation of the border between India and Pakistan created intractable and irreversible change which deeply impacted people and societies along with infrastructures and other civic systems. Border construction is an interwoven process that has serious long term repercussions; it creates separations in diverse material and symbolic ways.

5.6.3 Amritsar: Partition and Religion on the ground

While on his way to Amritsar, one of the co-passengers Arjun Mehra, a gold merchant invited Alter to his place on encountering that he was going to Pakistan. Mehra's keen interest emanated from the fact that his family hailed from Sialkot on the other side of the border hardly hundred kilometres away from Amritsar. Arjun expressed that though he had never been to Pakistan but has a lot of curiosity to know what lies on the other side. Arjun's father, Randhir Mehta migrated from Pakistan post-partition and initially he was unwilling to talk about his past life in Pakistan. He visited Pakistan on a temporary visit to watch India versus Pakistan cricket match and also to Sialkot but the city was not how it was when he used to live there. After a while the father hands over an old decrepit document with words written in Urdu on it. Randhir Mehta says:

> "'That's my old ration card,' he said, with a hesitant smile. 'From Sialkot. Don't ask me why I've kept it.'" (Alter, 2000: 45).

Alter writes:

> "Yet for Randhir Mehta the ration card had a much greater significance; it was a record of the past, a faded symbol of identity, proof of his name, his family, his origins his reluctance to speak about partition came from a private sense of loss, and this document I held in my hands was probably the only tangible evidence he possessed of his former home" (Alter. 2000: 46).

There were many people like Randhir Mehta who were torn by the tumult of partition. The drawing of a new line determined the fate and disrupted lives of many. The ration

card was a reminiscence of what Randhir Mehta was some fifty years back which he carefully preserved with himself. The strict border regulations have engulfed the past and most of the relics are completely erased and forgotten. Mehta's silence over the question of partition is due to the fact that for all these years he must have forced himself hard to bury the disturbing past in the inner recess of his thoughts and any attempt to excavate it resurfaces the pain and the sufferings. The realization that what has been lost can never be retrieved prevents him from expressing himself on this issue but the old ration card that he showed to Alter conveyed more than what his words otherwise would have pronounced.

The most striking feature of Amritsar is the golden temple, the most revered shrine for the Sikhs. Since the birth of Sikhism, Sikhs predominantly resided in Punjab. The author mentions that it was only after partition that the Sikhs came to India in large numbers and settled in other parts of India and the world. The arbitrary construction of border divided the province of Punjab into East and West and many Sikhs found themselves on the wrong side of the border and their minority status in a Muslim state forced them to abandon their native places and flee to India. Alter exclaims that "the Sikhs felt betrayed and embittered by the events of Partition" (Alter, 2000: 49). The trauma and loss of people, property, land and their holy shrines including Nankana Sahib- the birthplace of Guru Nanak had a huge impact on the communal perception of the Sikh community at large. The division based on head counts privileged Muslims in western Punjab but there were around half a million Sikhs scattered over Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan and other districts had no option but to vacate and migrate (Yong Tan and Kudaisya, 2000: 101). Alter quotes V. S. Naipaul who also suggest that partition created a situation where Sikhs whose identity was entirely based on their religion started taking refuge in the militant traditions of their religion rather than in the peaceful preaching of Nanak and other Sikh Gurus. During this time onwards the Sikh had deep resentments which were accentuated during the Anti Sikh riots of 1984. The intense firing on the golden temple in 1984 and atrocities following the assassination of Indira Gandhi strengthened separatist tendencies in some of the Sikhs. "The army's desecration of the shrine led to widespread disillusionment and despair (Alter, 2000; 55).

Religion on the pretext of which the lines were drawn also happens to be an integrating factor. India and Pakistan are working towards building the Kartharpur

corridor on the occasion of the upcoming 550th birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev in the month of November 2019. The shrine of Kartharpur is situated in the village named Narowal, lies some 4 kilometres away from the India-Pakistan border in Pakistan. This shrine is religiously significant for Sikhs as Nanak spend the last 18 years of his life here. Islamabad and New Delhi have decided to make this a Visa-free corridor that would facilitate the Sikh pilgrims in visiting the holy shrine. The corridor is said to be linking Dera Baba Nanak Sahib in India to Gurudwara Darbar Sahib Kartarpur in India

5.6.4 Beating the Retreat: Performing border at the border

Alter goes to the Atari post to see the famous beating retreat ceremony that takes place at the border every day since 1959. The place is flooded with people from across the country to see the synchronized and coordinated ceremony of BSF from the Indian side and Pakistani Rangers from the other side of the border lowering the respective flags along with parades and commands. The author explains that beating the retreat is an age-old military tradition of signalling the termination of war for the day on the battlefield and also the burial of the dead before the sunset. He also expresses the irony that on one hand the two sides continue to fight in Kashmir while on the other hand they put up an elaborate show that is supposed to signify peace and mutual cooperation (Alter, 2000: 61). Alter describes the scene at the border as:

> "The ceremony began with one of the soldiers presenting arms and marching with vigorous strides to the gate and back. Orders were shouted in belligerent voices, the words virtually unintelligible. A soldier repeated the same manoeuvre, stamping his boots and marching with exaggerated goose steps. He was a Sikh his beard tinted orange with henna, while the first soldier had been a Hindu. Both men stood over six feet tall and were obviously chosen for their imposing stature and fierce demeanour. Across the border, we could hear similar commands being shouted and the clatter of hobnailed boots. This posturing continued for at least ten minutes until the gate at the border was finally thrown open. On the other side, we could see that an identical ceremony was being repeated by Pakistani Rangers, uniformed in black salwar kameez, with bandolier and rifles. The two separate audiences rose to their feet and peered across at each other like the supporter of opposing football

teams. All around me I could feel a bristling of patriotic sentiments as the two commanders came out to the gate and shook hands. At this point the spectators broke into applause and cheers. Two buglers played reveille and the flags were lowered in unison" (Alter, 2000: 61- 62).

Borrowing the concept of mimicry from Michael Billig where he defines it as "may be a way of 'doing' world politics in a seemingly 'similar' yet unexpectedly 'different' way" (Bilgin, 2008: 6), Joanne P. Sharp avers that mimicry does not suggest that the Other is making an attempt to imitate and become the same or is fundamentally any different, rather mimicry shatters the notions of such binary categorization of phenomenon. In the case of beating the retreat, the ceremony is an example of a close link between nationalism and border. The border ritual creates a strong sense of national space and acts as a symbol of national integrity.

A ceremony is a theatrical act where both the sides with the exaggerated display of their hard-pressed marches, combative tone commands and ceremonial handshakes along with the inordinately cheering crowd inflate patriotism by deriding the other. Rather than affirming the idea of peace and cooperation, the act seems more like an occasion where either side is trying hard to outdo each other. The BSF soldier and the Pakistan Rangers are seen vying but it is difficult to say for what. The ritual is a process through which a kind of border consciousness is created which enunciates their superiority over the other. Michael Palin in his travel documentary to this border comments that "it is a carefully choreographed contempt". Paasi also expresses similar views and writes that "the border guards organise a flag-lowering ceremony every day and behave like peacocks in front of their applauding national audiences" (Paasi, 2005; 669). This border can be enacted in many ways and the ceremony at the Atari-Wagah border is one such instance of border performance that arouses nationalistic sentiments in the spectators through the superficial and orchestrated display of valour and aggression. The entire act is so intense and charged with nationalistic fervour that after its completion the crowd leaves the place with the lingering feeling of bewilderment.

5.6.5 Crossing the border by a train

In order to experience the border better Alter opted to avail the train service that links Atari to Lahore to reach Pakistan. In terms of distance, Lahore and Amritsar are

roughly fifty kilometres apart but the train journey takes almost fifteen hours to cover this distance. It is important to note that those visiting India or Pakistan by a train are mostly people who come from the lower section of the society. The regulations are such that those crossing the border by train are subjected to greater scrutiny in terms of custom checks and immigration procedures. On his train journey at various check posts, the immigration officials warned Alter from taking the train because the journey involves a lot of time and tedious procedures are been followed.

> "A certain level of ceremony and procedure attends the arrival and departure of air travellers, but land borders are imbued with much greater significance and assertion of authority by each government along its borders is exaggerated and more apparent" (Alter, 2000: 68).

> "There was no logical reason for these delays, except harassment. The procedures and processes could easily have been completed in a fraction of the time it took. Instead there was a deliberate effort to slow us down, to stretch the process of crossing the border into a full day, as if to emphasize the political and cultural distances. The resulting sense of dislocation made the two countries feel much further apart than they actually were" (Alter 2000: 80).

The air travel between India and Pakistan is comparatively easier than the complexities involved in train travel. As Alter rightly points out this indicates class distinction (2000; 68) between the financially affluent and the penurious class wherein those who can afford luxury and comfort are privileged and undergo less severe border pronouncements than their poor counterparts. Such a practice clearly shows that the state through its agencies institute border on a targeted class of people and this selection is often based on economic status. Throughout the journey Alter's status as a foreigner proved advantageous to him. Contrary to what the Indians and Pakistani co-travellers went through, for Alter the transit was hassle free, there was separate a queue, without any rummaging of the luggage and the officers were lenient in their approach towards him. Alter observed that the officials in charge of the immigration exhibited subtle hostilities towards the fellow co-passengers as if they were defying their state by travelling to the other side. These procedures are not just

directed to check illegal activities and keep infiltration at bay but it is more of a disciplining act that domesticates people.

While the train moved from Atari to Wagah Alter observed the continuity of the landscape and the only indication of the border was the barbed-wire fence that ran across the fields. As the border approached the co-passengers reminded Alter to adjust his watch since India and Pakistan have a difference of half an hour. This signifies an important point that the border does not just lead to spatial divisions it also divides the spaces temporally.

Waiting is an important characteristic of border crossing. In the above case it is the intermediate phase between leaving one state and setting foot on the other territory. Waiting simultaneously reinforces exclusion as well as inclusion (Houtum and Wolfe, 2017: 139). The custom checks at Atari are again repeated at the Wagah, both are exactly similar processes just that at Atari the Indian officials are carrying out the procedures to let the passengers exit while at Wagah the Pakistani authorities are doing it to let them in. Thus people wait for both while being excluded in order to get included. The train journey is a complex exercise that makes people transcend multiple borders since the entire system is designed in such a manner that there are borders within borders. The platform at the Atari from where the train arrives and departs from Pakistan is divided by a steel mesh railing. After the train leaves the platform there is again a steel gate that blocks the railway line guarded by the BSF soldiers. The platform at the Wagah was again gated where the passengers de-board and took another connecting train to Lahore. As observed by Alter in this entire scheme there is a deliberate attempt made by the state authorities to delay the crossing of border to make the ordinary people realize that the place which they can see from their naked eyes is not easily tangible. The reinforcing tendencies at the border make it appear a lot more formidable than what it actually is. Border is not just a fence of barbed wire separating this side from the other side it is a differentiation that excludes us from them and here from there at multiple levels.

5.6.6 Lahore: The Transformation of a vibrant city

Lahore is one of the important ancient cities and partition was one event that created great upheaval that drastically transformed the socio-political landscape of the city. The savagery and the mayhem witnessed by Lahore during partition were much more

than the standards of partition itself (Yong Tan and Kudaiysa 2000: 175). There have been many ancient travellers who have described Lahore's multicultural and cosmopolitan culture in their accounts[22].Lahore enjoyed the status as the capital of Punjab for many years and during partition the city was plagued by the religious antagonism between the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims. The Muslims were in majority in the city but the collective population of the Hindus and the Sikhs was a little less than 50% during the time of partition. In terms of property and land ownership the stakes of non-Muslims were higher in this city (Yong Tan and Kudaiysa 2000: 175). After Boundary Commission's report declared Lahore to be a part of Pakistan there was a mass migration of Hindus and Sikhs to India while a large number of Muslims coming into Pakistan were absorbed in Lahore. In Alter's opinion, Lahore was "an intriguing blend of past and the present" (Alter, 2000: 88). The modern architecture and the bazaars were similar to those found in Delhi.

Language is an important factor that determines the cultural mosaic of a place. Alter observed that though the people of Lahore spoke Punjabi yet Urdu was more common. After Pakistan came into being, its government declared Urdu as the official language although it was then the mother tongue to only less than 10% of the total population (Alter, 2000: 91). There was a deliberate attempt to link Urdu with the Islamic culture and civilization in order to make it sink with the idea of Pakistan, a separate Muslim state. It is widely believed that language is an integrating factor and a common language within the state is likely to safeguard its unity. In 1947 newly created Pakistan made conscious attempts to restructure its national culture by creating consciousness amongst its citizen. This consciousness was created in a number of different ways and everyday practices wherein Urdu was supposedly a new symbol of nationhood used to create homogenization within the state. Thus in the newly carved out Pakistan the project of oneness was reinforced through one culture, one religion, one people in which the Urdu language had a chief role to play.

Post partition the city was entirely inhabited by the Muslims while the non-Muslims evacuated the place. The remains of the Sikh community can be traced in the Sikh temple that is situated adjacent to the Badshahi Masjid. The temple is built on the

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[22] Stephen Alter has referred to the work complied by historian Muhammad Baqir that includes travellers such as William Finch (1611), C.E Luard and H. Hosten (1629-1643), Jean- Baptose Travernier (1641), Niccalao Manucci (1667) among many others.

funerary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who ruled northern India in the 19th Century. The evacuee trust property board, a government body of Pakistan administers the temple and Sikhs pilgrims come to visit this shrine. However, since this is not a tourist place Alter was not permitted to go inside. Another site where vestiges of the past could be found was the Lahore Museum. There were miniature paintings from Kangara, images of Hindu deities Radha and Krishna, statues of Rama, Sita and Hanuman, a marble Shiva linga, Buddhist prayer wheels, life-size Gandhara Buddha statues etc among other things that were housed in the museum. Alter expresses that "the windowless galleries of the museum not only muddle the different eras of history but also serve as a vault that stores forbidden objects and images" (Alter, 2000: 104).

In ancient times, Lahore was an important cultural, social and political hub and therefore the city was enclosed by high walls to guard it against invasions. The ruins of the ancient fortification are still found in Lahore. The concept of the border though existed in ancient societies too but its nature was very different from the present day political boundaries. Post partition the significance of Lahore has transformed a great deal. The location of the city near the border makes it susceptible to a lot of imminent threats from the neighbouring nation-state which led to the decline in its erstwhile political primacy. Lahore of yesterday was situated at the cross road of multiple cultures but the political developments that led to the erection of borders succeeded in vandalizing its cultural ethos. The transformation in the cultural landscape and identity of the city due to bordering makes it conspicuous that border is capable of bringing a permanent change in not just political but also socio-cultural milieu of a place.

5.6.7 Peshawar: The border with Afghanistan

The next destination for Alter was Peshawar, one of the oldest cities of the world situated very close to the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. This city derived its name from a Persian word that means 'frontier city' while the topography of the region is such that it has always been considered as a fortress, across regimes and rules from the Mughals to the British. With sharp variation from the border crossing between India and Pakistan Alter witnessed a very different border pattern at the Durand Line. The first and the most important line of distinction is that contrary to the hard and impervious Indo-Pak border the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan is a lot

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more porous. Peshawar is more like a buffer zone inhabited mostly by mountain tribesmen *Pathans* and is locally governed and administered through a system known as 'Jirga[23]' (Alter, 2000: 115). The author had to take special permission from the local political agents to go to Khyber Pass and was escorted by a bodyguard who was carrying an AK-47. Alter writes that "The Khyber Agency is one of several autonomous tribal districts in Pakistan and the police are not permitted to enter these areas. The main highway is patrolled by tribal militia, called khasedars" (Alter, 2000: 124).

A distinct type of trade and commerce flourished in this region. The local markets according to Alter were flooded with electrical and other goods from Malaysia, Singapore, Japan and China. Most of the merchandises were illegally traded through a border outpost of Jamrud close to Khyber Pass. The author also observed many gun shops and arms factories that displayed a whole range of locally made guns and ammunition from rifles, pistols, pen guns, AK- 47 to grenade launchers. Since this place has its own system of governance, there is no license required for the weapons and this ensures their illegal possessions and circulations in the area. Alter observed that the honeycombed border provides multiple passages to infiltrate illegal goods including drugs and weapons. Durand line as a border fails to ensure securitization and the smuggling of weapons and other illegal trade is part and parcel of daily life in the region. One such instance of everyday breaching of the border is the smuggling of bicycles by the locals. As told to Alter one of the cycle smugglers said that the customs officials and the police are not resistant to such activities, in fact, they are implicated to such trade. They travel by bus to a place called Torkham and collect 2-3 bicycles from the warehouse that is situated on the other side of the border in Afghanistan and ride them back into Pakistan's territory. They risk their lives in the tough terrain for fifty Rupees per cycle that they earn from the dealers. Along with these Alter also found out that there is an active illegal drug trade of hashish and heroin that is been carried out in the region. Besides these, electronic goods like air conditioners, music players, refrigerators, television etc are also smuggled through the land route via trucks by bribing the custom officials.

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[23] Jirga is a traditional institution of tribal code and conduct which is locally formed in order to settle disputes in the tribal areas of Afghanistan and few parts of Pakistan as well. The Jirga system is particularly a Pakhtun practice and does not have any written set of rules and laws.

While touring around the village Landi Kotal in Peshawar Alter came across a place called Michni Kandao which had a signboard that read 'Foreigners are not allowed beyond this place'. It is ironical that the porosity of the border is limited to foreign made goods but not people who are foreigners. This border experience again reiterates the same exclamation that borders work differently for different people. From the perspective of legality and law the border is a hub of illegal activities but for the locals the same border is their source of employment. If we compare the Radcliffe Line with the Durand Line we can see that there were much greater surveillance and multiple checks on people crossing India-Pakistan border. There are strict legal procedures and even stricter enforcement where people are detained several times and penalized even for carrying commodities such as tea and *pan* (betel leaf) while at Pak-Afghan border posts the state agents are themselves involved in violating the laws. The standards that differentiate a Pakistani from a non-Pakistani are different from that which separates a Pakistani and an Indian.

5.6.8 Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Muree

After Peshawar, Alter took a bus to Rawalpindi and during his bus journey there were six police checkpoints, the officials were threatening the passengers with their rifles and checking the luggage. The route followed was along the famous Grand Trunk Road that is said to be built by Sher Shah Suri later rebuilt by the British. The road has historical significance vis-à-vis trade as it established a link between Central Asia and South Asia and till date it is known by the same name in India as well as Pakistan. Rawalpindi is a military cantonment and Islamabad lies just ten kilometres away from it. These two cities are more or less in contiguity just that Rawalpindi is an old city while Islamabad is a newly built, well-planned capital. Alter writes that wherever he travelled in Pakistan he very often came across signboards with 'PROVE YOUR IDENTITY' written on it. He expresses that although the very foundation of Pakistan was formulated on the basis of a Muslim identity, yet even after fifty years of its creation the people were still struggling with the question of identity. "There is no doubt in the minds of most Pakistanis that they are not Indians, but still the larger question, 'Who am I?' remains unanswered" (Alter, 2000: 148). Why is Pakistan still struggling with the question of identity? These instances of everyday bordering where individuals on a daily basis encounter such barriers clearly illustrate the diffusion of borders.

Another very important observation that Alter acknowledged throughout his journey across cities was the extent to which popular culture has led to the blurring of national boundaries. There are many socio-cultural practices that perpetuate the differences between India and Pakistan but entertainment is an exception rather than a rule. From Lahore to Peshawar and from Islamabad to Muree the popularity of Hindi films and television shows exhibited that entertainment has transcended the political and social ruptures between the two otherwise antagonistic neighbours. "Television and other media make borders all but obsolete and the fact that audiences in Islamabad or Delhi can simultaneously watch the same shows obviously helps to erase the artificial divisions of culture" (Alter, 2000: 153). At the time when Alter visited Pakistan, Hindi films were banned from getting released in cinema halls but they were widely available in the market through smuggled copies from Dubai and other places in the Middle East. The hotel in Islamabad where Alter stayed showed so many channels from India that was transmitted via Dubai or Hong Kong. On his journey from Peshawar to Islamabad the video coach bus played Hindi film actor Govinda's film with Arabic subtitles to which all the passengers were glued on. From cab services to the hotels and restaurants reception counters Alter noticed that Hindi songs are not only popular amongst the masses they are also liked by them a lot. Alter's personal conversations with people clearly showed their admiration towards Indian popular culture. Thus it is evident that for entertainment no borders exist, lets people forget their inimical sentiments and overrides the nationalistic feeling which otherwise creates staunch binaries of Pakistani vs. Indian.

Alter's visit to Muree was an emotional one since his grandparents spend a substantial part of their lives there and Muree both geographically as well as aesthetically resembled Mussoorie, his birth place. The author realises a strong pull towards these places where his parents and grandparents once lived and served. Alter compares his sentimentality, his emotions towards the place where his forefathers stayed to that with refugees. He explains that for someone like him who is of foreign origins, born and raised in India and now an American these bonds with the place are so full of emotions. He expresses empathies towards those who were compelled to migrate and forced to completely dissociate themselves from their ancestral lands, leaving behind their place of birth and their friends forever. The relationship between India and

Pakistan are so embittered that the majority of them do not even get the chance to even revisit these places that contributed so much to their beings.

The fourteen-day expedition which Alter took was full of surprises and excitement. For him this unforgettable journey helped to closely comprehend the not so benign relations between the two sides and unlearn the myths that dominate the common understanding. With every passport and visa entry in ledgers, with every check post, barricading and interrogation Alter witnessed how and to what degree do borders matter and are performed. The information collected by him while conversing with ordinary people and interviewing a few others Alter explored the individual beliefs and perception of the border from a different vantage point. He admits that till the time he had visited Pakistan he always perceived border to be an aberration, a random line that was drawn by the British in great urgency while decolonizing. But for Pakistan and its citizens partition holds more prominence than even independence. Border for them is meaningful because it is around them that they inscribe their *lebensraum*. They situate their very existence in their nation that urges them to preserve their identity in guarding their borders.

Alter infers that the line that decided the fate of Pakistan and India in 1947 shall always be disputable because for either side it connotes different meanings. India's dispossession is Pakistan's prized possession. This lack of consensus will continue to perpetuate the contentious nature of the border. India always looks at the border as a historical blunder, something that should not have happened but for Pakistan it is the source of their existence and identity from where they see their nation emerge. India will always look at the partition and the ensuing border as a discontinuity which for Pakistan is a continuity that defines their being. Can these competing ideas about the border be attributed to what Krishna calls a postcolonial condition? (Krishna, 1994: 517) He puts across a strong point that postcolonial anxiety is a condition where societies are struggling in the intermediate phase because of their unsteady state of being an erstwhile colony and a not yet a nation status (Krishna, 1994: 508).

In the India-Pakistan case there are more reasons for differentiation than integration. Religion that was the very ground for the birth of Pakistan also becomes the cause of bringing people from across the border together. The shrine of Baba Sheikh Braham\Sheikh Farid is unequivocally worshipped by the Sikhs, the Muslims and the

Hindus alike. The *Samadhi* is situated within the proximity of hundred metres from the border on India's side; it is guarded by BSF soldiers and it allows devotees from Pakistan to visit the shrine without any restrictions (Alter, 2000: 180).

Alter mentions that on a superficial level there are several differences that can be spotted between the two sides of the border but for him it seemed as if he never left India and was travelling within it. The continuity of both physical as well as cultural landscape prevented the author to compartmentalize the two places as distinct polities. For Alter who was raised in India even if he was visiting Pakistan for the first time, he experienced a strange familiarity and his status as a second country national did not create hindrance of any sort. But as far as social domain is concerned the book *Amritsar to Lahore* gives numerous illustrations that reveal the manner in which borders are lived by the citizens of either side as a socio-political reality. Alter's travel vignette helps to understand the territorialisation of bordering in the society and culture of either side. Processes such as tedious visa application, protracted train travel, multiple check posts, currency exchange, custom formalities etc is a deliberate attempt to intensify the divisive function of the border. They make things complex and re-pronounce borders by creating inward looking differentiated spaces through repeated othering. Alter succeeds in capturing the invisibility of border in the everyday life of the common people. He exclaims that "every border makes us a foreigner, no matter who we are" (Alter, 2000: 192). Alter made a historical journey and his book shares different political, social, historical and religious dimension that constitutes the making and remaking of Indo-Pak border.

5.7 MEMORY, NARRATIVES & BORDER

Before delving into the second text which is about narratives, this section of the chapter discusses memory. Memory is a part of the cognitive exercise. It is a mode of re-presentation (Huyssen, 2003; 3). Said observes that the representations of memory have profound underpinnings of identity, nationalism, power and authority in them (Said, 2000: 176). There are few events, sights and experiences that are particularistic while there are others which are shared by a number of people. Shared memories are collective memories; they are not easily forgotten and they get passed on from one generation to the other. Political memory, social memory and cultural memory can all differ depending upon whether they are collective or individual. These memories play

a huge role in shaping the outlook towards a variety of happenings. By examining individual memory one can get into a detailed understanding of events which otherwise is sidelined from the meta-narratives.

There is a unique yet important link between memory and bordering. Since borders are also socially constructed, memory assumes a prominent place in the establishment of borders. The entire trajectory of bordering rests on a plethora of events out of which some are repeatedly engaged with and get featured in different sorts of media while there are several others that are either deliberately excluded or gradually get expired. Memory is an important tool that prevents such embedded eventualities from getting lapsed. There are varied ways in which past is represented and remembered in the present such as texts, photographs, films, books, documents, internet sources and the likes but the reconstruction of past through memory and its representation as text in the form of narrative accounts is a distinct practice. Including memory various sources through which past are remembered generally work on the principle of selectivity. Memory relies on the lived experiences of people in a given circumstance. There can be variations in the national history and individual past and this past is itself a part of the larger history of the nation.

Post partition, India and Pakistan as independent states got engaged in state-making. In order to validate their existence and infuse nationalistic fervour in its citizen there were attempts made towards mobilization and celebration of their past. The past was monumentalized by if not completely eliminating then minimizing the disasters that partition brought. There was a conscious attempt to foreground a benign nationalistic tradition. The tragic past was euphemized and purposefully made to forget in order to give meaning to the present in the wake of ameliorating the social, cultural and political future of the nation. Said alarms that the memory based historical materials should be critically studied and not be mistaken as a neutral portrayal of reality. There are many historical accounts that are overtly nationalistic in its tone where the authors are driven by the allegiance towards their country construct a narrative that resonates with the larger nationalistic ideas making their culture and faith sound most appropriate (Said, 2000: 176). The border in question here is comparatively a recent one and even after seven decades of its creation there are several people on both sides of the border that not only first hand witnessed partition but also lived through border's various formative stages. It is asserted that the manner in which the past is

conceptualized entails memory without borders instead of national histories within borders (Huyssen, 2003: 4). Understanding bordering through memory is like excavating those multiple layers that are situated in the minds of individuals that do not find any places in nationalist rhetoric. The reality that is revealed through such revelations provides an alternate perspective of looking at past events. Few memories even disclose some of the unheard accounts and unbelievable truths that are important for the world to know.

From a methodological perspective often memory is not considered to be an absolutely reliable source because of the subjectivities and the issue of verifiability involved. Commenting on the recent surge in scholars who study the traumas of partition and other historical events through memory, historian Ayesha Jalal believes that memory has its own shortcomings in the retrieval of the past. According to her remembering and forgetting are congenitally linked with narration and it is extremely challenging to separate one from the other. She further mentions that the constraints of memory is not just limited to the selectivity of the content or the forgotten past but is also about accountability. She validates her point by comparing the partition of India with holocaust and exclaims that partition is more difficult and complex phenomenon because contrary to the holocaust the retreating power had renounced its responsibility and the miscreants and malefactors rampantly participated in the partition violence whereas in the case of holocaust it was an organized genocide planned by the authoritarian state (Jalal, 2011: 86-87).

Recollecting or making people remember a particular memory is one of the means of taking a journey back in time. Such an exercise involves deep probing which can sometimes be unwanted by the narrator. Probing about certain history through memory also gives an opportunity to compare the dominant popular knowledge about the incident with the stance provided by the narrator. The official discourses are often selective and a lot of relevant facts that tantamount to a negative impression of the state in terms of accountability and responsibility are deliberately filtered out. Narratives constitute memory; they are voices coming from an individual's personal experiences and it is crucial to document these unheard voices so that the hidden realities can come to the fore. Memory provides a continuum between the past and the present.

To unravel the intricacies of Norwegian-Russian and Lithuanian-Russian borderlands Kinossian and Wrakberg have employed the concept of palimpsest (Kinossian & Wrakberg, 2017; 90). Borrowing from them the present work also attempts to use the concept of cultural palimpsest to comprehend the mental borderscapes that are demonstrated by the compilation of narratives collected by Zakaria. Palimpsest refers to an ancient technique where the texts that were written on parchment were removed through bleaching so that they could be reused for re-writing. Often the erased text used to reappear after sometime giving rise to two sets of texts on the same parchment. Analogous to this ancient technique it can be argued that the present day borderscapes are a consequence of superimposition of several events taking place at different times that reappear and imparts borders their distinctness. The abstruseness of border is similar to the two sets of texts that become visible on the parchment.

The narratives assume great prominence because they work as those enabling tools that aid in comprehending the entangled and complex events that have led to the creation of borders and continue to reify borders in the present age as well. "Bordering is a process of tracing traces and tracing the trace of traces and so on" (Schimanski, 2015: 95). There are many social and cultural practices that have vestiges of borders in them. Memory is one such important tool that helps in tracing the traces of bordering. The present of borders impinges on its past and for India-Pakistan border it is pointless to divorce it from the realities of partition. Partition is the seed from which the Indo-Pak border realities germinated and it is futile to consider it inconspicuous. From an understanding of palimpsest, the partition is the initial text that was engraved on the parchment of South Asian geopolitics that repeatedly reappears and determines the contemporary as well as future inter-state relations and foreign policy. In terms of border dynamics too even after seven decades the events that took place in an around 1947 largely shape the cross-border interactions and the perception about either side.

5.8 DECIPHERING BORDERSCAPES THROUGH MEMORYSCAPES

Understanding bordering is an act of excavation. Schimanski holds the view that the reading of the border involves a thorough examination of the archives. In his understanding borders should not just be looked at through physical archives like documents but the archives of popular memory and metaphorical archives are equally

significant in the in-depth analysis of borders (Schimanski, 2015: 95). As part of the Oral History Project under the aegis of Citizen Archive of Pakistan (CAP) Pakistani researcher Anam Zakaria collected Partition interviews in and around Lahore. Out of around 600 interviews conducted by Zakaria during a span of three years, she has compiled some fourteen select interviews conducted independently in a form of a book titled *The Footprints of Partition* first published in the year 2015. As the subtitle of the book reads, it has narratives of four generations of Pakistanis and Indians and the book is a lot more than just partition. Zakaria's work is of great relevance to the present research because it helps to get into the deeper understanding of how and to what extent does the othering penetrates in the social fabric and mental imaginary of people living on either side of the border. Zakaria's work has chiefly investigated the different meanings of partition and the 'other' across generations. Through her interviews she has made an attempt to understand the contrast in the perception of the first generation people with the posterity. The narratives compiled in the book reflect bordering in everyday spaces and again establishes the axiom that borders are ubiquitous in nature.

5.8.1 *Azad Qaidi* /Prisoners of Border

The first narrative in the book is from an inhabitant of a border village in the Kasur district in the Punjab Province of Pakistan. Zakaria describes the physical landscape of the region and expresses-

> "Standing here at the border in Kasur, where the only visible lines of division are a distant wire or plants that would usually be found growing in people's homes, distorts the fine separation. One step backwards and we are safe, one step forward and we will have to face serious repercussions, landing up in another country, and that too an 'enemy state'." (Zakaria, 2015; 28).

There is a conscious effort from both the sides of the border to give it a formidable appearance so that border functionalities could be consistently maintained. The spatialities of danger are created in the case of the border where either side is perceived as an enemy state. Though physically the border had a contiguous landscape and topography yet there were many signs that made the presence of the border felt. Due to proximity to the border the signals are cut off and the mobile phones in that area did not work. Zakaria was also been followed by a person who she

suspects to be an ISI (Inter- Services Intelligence) agent. Spying is a regular feature in the borderland areas; it indicates the degree of suspicion and distrust for the hostile neighbouring state. As informed by the local villagers it was only in 1986 that this part was fenced, before that it was easy for people to sneak cross the border. The people of this village are mostly engaged in agricultural activities, they are only permitted to work within particular time durations and a proper record of their entry and exit is maintained by the Pakistani rangers. Another village called Padhana in Pakistan is situated right across an Indian village known as Nowshera where the farmers on either side are engaged in rice cultivation. In spite of the common dialect the law prevents the residents of these border areas to establish communication across the boundary line. Although they work in their respective perimeters, experience the same weather, do the same kinds of work but the strict border regulations and surveillance forbids them from even speaking to one another.

The respondent Naseer Ashiq tells Zakaria that the location of his village that happens to be only half a kilometre from the boundary line is a constant reminder of history, "where the home can overnight be taken and given at the whim of political and military movements" (sic.) (Zakaria, 2015: 27). Ashiq recalls that during the Indo-Pak war of 1965 the Pakistan Army took over some adjacent parts of the Indian Territory and in just over a night's time Ashiq's mother's ancestral home was included in Pakistan. After that, for the next few months Ashiq moved freely across several hamlets that belonged to India. The situation got reversed in the Indo-Pak war of 1971, the village was bombed and was taken over by the Indian forces and it was following the Shimla Agreement only after eleven to twelve months that it was returned back to Pakistan. Ashiq also admits that his association with India is not as strong as it was for his father Saraf Din.

During partition when Saraf Din migrated he was around fifty-five years of age. Though Saraf Din was a Muslim born to Muslim parents, he was adopted by a Sikh family and until partition he lived with them. Ashiq reveals that his father used to yearn for his Sikh family and for the places where he spent most of his childhood. He further informs that the village has a shrine located on the zero lines and every year on the third day of *sawan* (the monsoon month as per the Hindu calendar) under the supervision of the army, there is a *mela* (festive fair) that is organized which is attended by both Indians and the Pakistanis. It is ironical that the factor of religion

which was the primary reasons behind the creation of such antagonistic border here exhibits a contrary function and acts as a medium of integration. It was at this very *mela* that Saraf Din accidentally met family members from his Sikh family.

> "Later, I am to find out that there are many other such *melas* that take place across the country. At some of these, for instance at *Baisakhi* at Ram Thammam, in Kasur district, local Muslims and non-Muslims come together to celebrate, while at others, the festivals take place at the LOC or other lines of division across the country and Indians and Pakistanis come forward in celebration from both sides." (Zakaria, 2015: 23).

Even after his father, Ashiq and the Sikhs made conscious attempts to keep the relations alive but it was all in vain. Thrice his Visa was rejected by Indian High Commission and once the Sikh family had written a letter to them but since it was in Gurumukhi they were unable to read and understand the letter. As discussed earlier in the chapter even the language could not escape the divisiveness brought down by the border. The author who is from an educated, urban upper middle-class background was finding it difficult to comprehend the Punjabi dialect spoken by the villagers. She further states that in spite of her belonging to Lahore which falls in the Punjab province she was never encouraged to learn Punjabi since it is considered as an uncultured language, confined to rural areas and not fit for civilized people to speak. However the locals of these border villages speak Punjabi but are unable to read the script. There are several modes through which borders are inscribed in the domestic spaces by the state. Out of the several planes identified by Parker and Adler-Nissen linguistic sphere is one important domain which is often utilized to draw the border (Parker and Adler-Nissen, 2012: 783). As a cultural product, the common language is an integrating factor that creates synergies that go beyond the confines of a state which ostensibly is a threat to the project of national integration. The postcolonial socio-political landscape of Pakistan intensified its national consolidation where language played a significant role. The state constitutionally recognized Urdu as the official language and stymied the formal proliferation of other regional languages and dialects minimizing the risks of subverting border inscription. Linguistic commonalities are often solid grounds for the creation of soft internal political borders at the regional level. In order to prevent the possibility of the formation of any such

sub-state borders in the Punjab region the state saw the benefit in not promoting Gurumukhi as one of the recognized state languages.

The next narrative is about an old man Muhammad Rauf from *Ahmadi* sect who travels from Pakistan to Qadian in India as part of a religious procession (*Qadiani Jalsa*) to visit the birth place of Mirza Ghulam Muhammad (the founder of Ahmadiyya[24] Community). As stated earlier, India and Pakistan issue city visas to a maximum of five cities per visit. As a documentary requisite the traveller needs to have separate invitation letters from all the cities one intends to visit. Rauf was born in Putlighar in Amritsar and since partition he had never got the chance to visit his birth place again. The strict visa regulations & modalities prevented him from getting a visa for Amritsar. However, contrary to strict border directives at the India-Pakistan border Rauf's experience was a little different. The Sikh officials on the Indian side on seeing Rauf's passport which stated that he was born in Amritsar exclaimed

> "*Oye dekh, ye saada apna hai!* (oh look! He's one of own.)... *Oye Pathoo, oye dekh saada banda hai. Changi taran dekhi, koi kisi kism ki gal baat na hoey* (He's one of us. Make sure you take good care of him, no one should bother him)" (Zakaria, 2015: 36-37).

The warmth and the sense of belonging received by Rauf at the border post reminded him of a forgotten past. Border here acted as a 'place of memory[25]' through which Rauf was able to identify a part of him in a particular time and space. Rauf's personal memory was archived in the inner recess due to the external environment of his present world. It was due to riots that his family temporarily moved to Lahore in June 1947. The announcement of the partition completely dissociated Rauf from Putlighar and surrounding Amritsar. Zakaria highlights an important aspect of Rauf's narrative-

> "I found it strange that until his visit to the border, Rauf had almost forgotten his past in Amritsar, that he hadn't even tried getting a multiple-city visa. Was it only the Sikhs at the border that had pushed him to remember? Was it so

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[24] Ahmadiyya is an Islamic community which was considered to be 'kafirs' or heretical by some Muslims. In Pakistan since 1970s this community has been declared as non-Muslim (Zakaria, 2015; 32).

[25] Karen E. Till (2003; 297) suggests that places of memory are those socio-political sites and practices that create a material or symbolic space that serves the purpose of contesting and performing certain identities.

easy to forget? Or was that the only strategy the Partition survivors could employ in face of the loss and displacement that was thrust upon them? (Zakaria, 2015: 39)

After what Rauf experienced at the border, he bribed the bus driver to detour so that he could see more of Amritsar. The sudden outburst of emotions and nostalgia towards Amritsar shows that his personal attachment towards the place had become dormant because of the superimposition of the border and its distancing nature. He was forced to forget a part of his own identity, the materiality that would help him to keep his past alive was missing in his present world. Past can be remembered and kept alive in a number of different ways such as by building museums, maintaining archives, observing anniversaries, through written accounts and also through material possessions. Memory is contingent on a renewal process to stay alive; it needs to be repeatedly reconstructed. In the case illustrated above bordering detached Rauf from his past but border encounters helped him to recall them yet again.

5.8.2 Divided Homes

There are few cases where people often exclaim that they belong to India as much as to Pakistan. Next three narratives are about the sense of belonging to both the lands.

Shireen (born in 1930) and her ten years younger sister Amy belong to the Zoroastrian community (Zakaria, 2015: 57). Their parents got married in 1925, while the mother was from Bombay the father was from Lahore. When partition happened the family presumed that their community would remain unaffected so they continued to stay in Lahore but like so many, their mother originally from Bombay became a Pakistani overnight.

> "They were to become part of the changing landscape and character of Lahore; a witness to the millions of migrants pouring in from across the border, a spectator to the birth of a new state and then to its transition to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan" (Zakaria, 2015: 58).

The family had a lot of property in Bombay and post-partition the governments of both the states had begun to freeze the property of those who had migrated. The

family wanted to prevent their property from being declared by the state as the enemy property. Shireen being the eldest was sent to Bombay to take care of the possessions.

> "I ended up leaving Pakistan on a visitor's permit but entered India as an immigrant. What an irony, I think. Just as their mother had to become a Pakistani, while Bombay burnt in her heart, Shireen had to become an Indian, far away from her cherished Lahore. Both mother and daughter had been struck with the same fate; they were ruptured from their families, forced to take up new nationality, to have their identities moulded, no questions asked, no choice given" (Zakaria, 2015: 64-65).

It was in 1957 that Shireen came to India and it took three years for her to get an Indian citizenship. For the first year she stayed with her maternal grandmother in Bombay, later her training in western classical music as a pianist helped her get a job in Raj Kumar College in Rajkot. Later the city visa regulations prevented Amy from visiting her sister in Rajkot and they met after several years in Kabul. The hostile relations between the two states made the visa policy more stringent making the visits even tougher. Shireen believes that there is no place of emotions between the two states and after her retirement, it really became difficult for her to stay alone in India with his family on the other side. Partition impacted her life to such an extent that even now in her later days after so many years she still is torn between the countries. She stays with Amy in Pakistan on a visitor's visa; her poor health doesn't permit her to stay alone. Being an Indian national Shireen can go back to India anytime but she needs her sister to accompany her but Amy's visa has been denied thrice and they are still trying to get one. Shireen on having spent most of her time in India yearns to go back while Amy's attachment lies with Pakistan. It has been a traumatic experience for Shireen who has been grappling between family and state. She has equal affinities with both sides of the border. She complains of being trapped by the bureaucratic procedures that needs her to take permission to stay in her own home.

There are many instances and individual experiences where the border has had life-changing implications. One such narrative is the personal account of Tina Vachani where the border and bordering impacted her life so much that it brought irreversible changes to which she continues to readjust. Tina was born and raised in Karachi, Pakistan in a Hindu family who decided to stay back in Pakistan after the line divided

the two lands. For the initial few years, the family was not impacted by the partition and there were frequent visits of relatives between Karachi and New Delhi. In the year 1971, at the age of 14, after giving her class 10th examinations Tina visited her maternal grandparents in Delhi but she could never go back to Pakistan for the next 7-8 years.

Tina came to India in 1971 just before the war broke and East Pakistan got separated from its west wing. The then situation between India and Pakistan became so worse that Tina ultimately became a victim of this war. After the war came to an end, the family decided to naturalize Tina as an Indian citizen and she had to forgo her Pakistani nationality. Zakaria mentions that few questions still remain unanswered even after personally speaking to Tina herself such as- Why did Tina didn't go back to her parents after the unrest ended and conditions normalized? Nothing could be verified but there are several media speculations on Tina's case. Few say that because of their minority status in Pakistan the parents deliberately send her while others say that she was sent so that she could marry a Hindu and few others attribute it to the unstable political conditions in Pakistan. Whatever are the reasons, it took more than seven years for Tina to get naturalized as an India citizen and during this period she lost her father and could not even go for his last rites.

The sense of loss for Tina of relinquishing her Pakistani nationality, her sense of belonging, leaving behind her parents and brother, her school and her friends was appalling. During her naturalization years Tina's father through his contacts tried arranging for a meeting at the no man's land near the Wagah border but the authority on the India side did not let Tina to meet her family. All she could see from a distance was her father trying hard to pursue the Pakistani authorities at the border to convince the India counterparts to let Tina meet them. It was all in vain and that was the last Tina saw of her father. The futile effort towards meeting at the no man's land is a perfect case of what Schimanski calls- "the border crosses the border crossers" (Schimanski, 2006: 42). The border here has overtly exercised the power by acting as a barrier and preventing the rendezvous with the family. Borders as institution typifies the state itself. It is also assuming a form of human representation in the form of the BSF soldiers who are the state agents that are performing the antagonistic role of the border.

Tina's agony and her personal ordeal with the border illustrate the percolation of the border into private domains and the psychological impacts that it has on the lives of the people. Tina, now along with other co-founders runs a non-profit organization called Routes2Roots (R2R) in New Delhi. It is said to be the largest track 2 diplomacy programmes and a forum for cultural exchange between the two neighbours.

Not all migrations that happened during the time of partition were forced; some of them were also voluntarily undertaken in pursuit of the new Muslim homeland envisaged under the Pakistan movement and Mr. Siddiqui is one such case included by Zakaria. Siddiqui was born and lived in the Nagina village of Uttar Pradesh until he migrated. His family was closely associated with the Congress party with few members also being the M.P and minister in the government. Unlike his family, Siddiqui was a staunch Muslim leaguer and since the tender age of thirteen he was involved with its student movement. He recalls that he actively participated in the political campaigns and along with his other league friends would sloganeer-

> ""*Le ke rahenge Pakistan, bat ke rahega Hindustan*". (Hindustan will have to split, Pakistan must be created!) "*Maareinge, mar jayenge, seene par goli khayenge, Pakistan banayenge.*" (We will kill, we will be killed, but will create Pakistan).'" (Zakaria, 2015: 78).

Siddiqui also mentions that the ideological differences never intervened in the social relations of the village community of Nagina. The Hindu-Muslim ties in the village were very cordial back in 1947 and out of the total population of 30,000 Nagina was the home for around 12000 Muslims. The tales of pre-partition friendly Hindu-Muslim bonds commonly feature not just in narratives but also in fictional accounts. After a temporal gap of almost seven decades it is difficult to verify the validity of this widely held belief. Zakaria also holds similar views and in her opinion this utopian idea is highly debatable whether the life really was as amicable as it is generally portrayed or is it in hindsight that it appears to be so (Zakaria, 2015: 79).

It was in 1952 that Siddiqui at the age of 17 left behind his family, friends, Nagina and everything else for good. As a Muslim League volunteer Siddiqui used to help those who were making their way to Pakistan and was familiar with the procedure. By helping people cross the border Siddiqui indulged in border work, his contribution is

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what contemporary border scholars refer to as non-traditional actors doing border work away from the boundary line (Johnson and Jones, 2014: 5). He chose the Khokrapar route at Tharparkar, Sindh to cross the border as till that time there were less stringent requirement of documentation no visa procedures were been followed. From Nagina Siddiqui took a train to Delhi then to Rajasthan crossing Marwar and reaching Munabao, the last station of India.

Studies and reports show that a very large number of people particularly from the province of now Uttar Pradesh were migrating to Karachi via Khokrapar border. Figure 5.2 illustrates the route from Jodhpur in India to Karachi in Pakistan. Zamindar reveals an interesting fact that there were many Muslims that migrated to Pakistan during the partition began to return back to their hometowns in India due to the unstable political and social conditions (Zamindar, 2009: 81). In order to put a check on the influx of the returning population, the government of India instituted a permit system across the western borders with Pakistan in July 1948. As a reaction to the move made by the Indian authorities Pakistan too introduced a similar system by October of the same year and security reasons were stated by the government representatives. The introduction of a permit system was the first step towards the provisions of citizenship been initiated by the governments before the constitution was been formally formulated. The return of Muslims from Pakistan back to India and later the closing of the Khokrapar border by Pakistan were viewed as antithetical to the very idea of a separate Muslim homeland and principally against the spirit of Pakistan as a nation. The permit system was soon replaced by a more formally organized system of passport. Passport is an important travel document but it is also used as a proof of one's identity. The status of the passport was only made clear by the Passport Act of 1967 in India which stated that the passport is a political document that is not just required at the time of international travel but it also is evidence of citizenship (Zakaria, 2007: 162). Borders are established in a number of different ways, passport and permit systems were yet another means of concretizing the border. They became a distinguishing tool of separating the category of citizen from the non-citizens simultaneously marking the distinction between belonging and non-belonging.

Figure: 5.3: Route from Jodhpur (India) to Karachi (Pakistan).
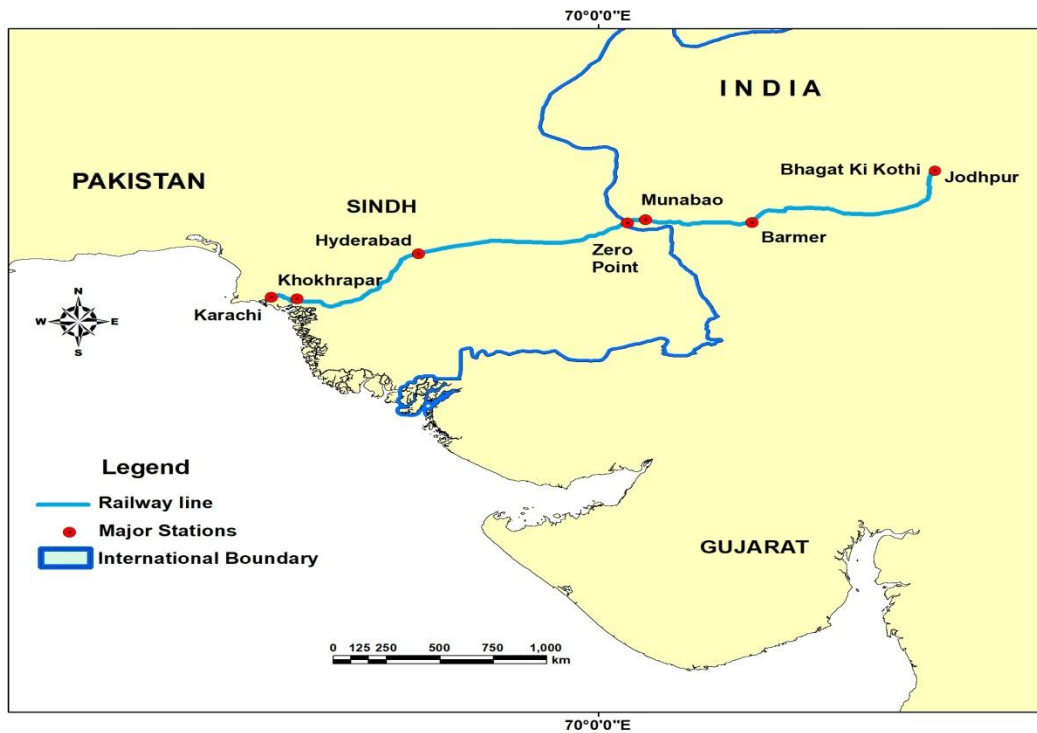
Siddiqui from a very tender age was pursuing the dream of his homeland and the propensity towards realizing this dream was so strong that he left everything else behind. The pursuit of Pakistan for him had immense symbolic significance around which he imagined his life and world. Homeland is a very strong integrating symbol for those who are displaced or are mobile (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992: 11). This case shows how identities get socially constructed through deterritorialization of the existing and reterritorialization of the new ones. One cannot deny the territorial fixity in the way Siddiqui conceptualized his homeland in his mind but the imagined community attached to an imagined place were more profound for him than his immediate milieu and family. The question of the border has a close association with the question of identity, by crossing the border and going to the other side Siddiqui's identity got transformed. He forgoes his existing identity and acquired a new one which he desired since long. After reaching Pakistan, Siddiqui along with several others stayed in the refugee camps near the border. By making refugee an official category and devising rehabilitation as a planning strategy the governments succeeded in making new nations and the border that divided the land, people, places and families (Zamindar, 2009: 3). The struggles of becoming a refugee by voluntary or

forced displacement and the difficult life of the camp and thereafter acted as a driving force of indulging in the making of the place of their imagination.

Zakaria writes- "There is no clear line for these people; it is difficult to decipher what they love more, where they belong more. This confusion is the only truth for them" (Zakaria, 2015: 84). It is noteworthy that Siddiqui's choice of his homeland doesn't discount his love for the family. For the first few years Siddiqui stayed in touch with them through the exchange of letters and after getting his passport made he visited Nagina in 1955 for the first time after migrating. Then onwards Siddiqui along with his children frequently visited his people in India. But these bonds could not be sustained for long and the bureaucratic hurdles came in their way. Obtaining a visa became a problem and prevented Siddiqui from attending his parents' funeral. He was not rueful of his decision of opting for Pakistan but he saw it as a sacrifice that he made for his country. Siddiqui continued to pay the price of his choice, in 1999 while he was travelling to India and was midway, the Kargil war broke, and he was rushed back to Pakistan by the authorities. Again in 2001, he had to cut short his trip because of the attack on the India parliament. Towards the end of the interview, Siddiqui calls his sister who is a minister in the government and stays in Chandigarh, India.

For Siddiqui, the home became more meaningful in a distant imagined place and the force of nationalism was cardinal in place making[26] from his perspective. The conception of his homeland rested on a political imagination where a state named Pakistan inhabits the land of pure for the followers of Islam like him. His story represents many others who followed suit and made similar sacrifices. They constituted a community of people who envisaged a pre-eminent common goal. For people like Siddiqui newly created state and its territory was the expression of their identity. The voluntary migration was a political decision driven by the cause in which he truly believed and dedicated his life. The personal attachment with his kith and kin was nowhere lost in realizing his homeland but border interfered time and again in reaching out to his own people.

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[26]The phrase 'place making' was employed by the historian Sumathi Ramaswamy in her book "Lost land of lemuria- Fabulous Geographies, Cartographic Histories" published in 2004. Place making as used by her, refers to the colonization of mind, imagination, aporias, conflicting use of power and resistance towards it in the times that is in strong grip of global forces such as capitalism, imperialism and postcolonial conditions (Ramaswamy, 2004: 5).

5.8.3 Border imaginations in everyday life

A thorough probing of the social practices of everyday life demonstrates how borders are deeply ingrained and imagined in the domestic spheres. This section of the chapter dwells on to show how seemingly inconsequential practices of everyday life holds immense significance and informs the ways in which border materialises in day-today life. Every day life as the site of bordering practice helps in identifying the alternate meanings of the border. Investigating borders in a non-traditional way gives a new perspective of understanding border as symbols employed by individuals and groups which differs from the conventional state-centric outlook towards them (Johnson and Jones, 2014: 6). The real understanding of the impacts of the border can be better grasped through the anecdotal references and narratives. They help in comprehending how are differences actually getting established rather than understanding border from a distance as a social abstraction (Newman, 2006: 154). The narratives compiled by Zakaria underscore the social distancing and the othering process between the people of India and Pakistan. The interviews that were collected by her through CAP are vital in understanding the concretization of borders in the minds and their reaffirmations through the banal practices of the quotidian life. Acknowledging her personal prejudices and hostilities about the other, the author concedes that some of the existing beliefs about Indians were totally dislodged after she started interacting with the first and the second generation partition survivors.

One of her respondents, Roshan Ara Bokhari the renowned Pakistani choreographer narrates her story and tells Zakaria that her family moved to Pakistan and initially they stayed in Lahore. She recounts how the city of Lahore changed post-partition, where she worked as a volunteer in the refugee camp. Roshan Ara was hardly thirteen or fourteen when she witnessed the carnage of partition from close quarters. Zakaria makes a special mention that the horrific stories of partition and traumatic encounters are the first reference that her interviewers usually made. The experience of partition was so emotionally charged that they overshadowed the happy memories and the benign realities were pushed to the subconscious. Oral histories are often about the manner in which the people have conceptualized about a particular event in their minds. Zakaria's personal experience with her grandmother's recollections was also similar. Zakaria's grandmother often told her about the atrocities done by Sikhs and Hindus on women but it was only through inquiring about her Hindu friends that she

told Zakaria about her close friends Rajeshwari and Uma. Further, Zakaria also found out that a woman member of her family was saved and rescued by Sikhs in Amritsar. It was astonishing for Zakaria that these anecdotes were so unpopular that even her mother didn't know about them. Identity is an important factor to be discussed in this context. One of the most striking characteristics of the post-partition transition was the change in identity. The new identity of being a Pakistani was constructed on an imagined space that was built on the idea of differentiating the present from the past in terms of pushing the memory of any socialization with the other into oblivion.

It is important to note here that the gory memories of the episodes of partition were instrumental in building the metanarratives that led to the social distancing between the two sides of the border. The stories of massacres and other wrongdoings were framed and represented as if only the other was indulging in violence while the side to which they belong was at the receiving end. The national identity of being an Indian or a Pakistani is erected on the socio-spatial differentiation that marks one different from the other. Zakaria's experience particularly with the young children and their perception about India and Indians underlines the discursive ways in which the mental borders are constructed. The border is directing the lives to a degree where the sense of belonging to a place, affinities with people, socialization and construction of social identities are governed by it. The homogenizing tendencies upheld by the border are often based on demonizing and constructing the other as an inimical.

Giving an account of Lahore's *Laxmi Chowk* (name of a locality), Zakaria tells that the place got its name from the *Laxmi* building and in earlier days it was a centre of Pakistan's film industry. Today the *Laxmi* building (named after the Hindu Goddess of wealth) is a relict of the past. It stands as a symbol of bygone times when the city had a large number of Hindus living in it. The author writes, "Once this area had boasted of a rich Hindu community but today the handful that remains have receded to the back alleys" (sic). (Zakaria, 2015: 244). The younger generation and even the youth of Lahore are oblivious of the Hindu reminiscence that was once an important part of the character of the city. The author also mentions that the newly renovated buildings match the modern architecture of Lahore. The social, cultural and also to some extent the infrastructural changes brought down in Lahore indicates what Sibley

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calls 'purification of spaces[27]' (Sibley, 1988, Falah and Paasi, 1995: 698). The collective identity is reinforced through territorial exclusivity. The modification of the cultural landscape of the city through burying of its former character and replacing it with a new identity is also a boundary drawing practice. Such an exercise is a nuanced way of furthering otherness.

There are several stereotypes that are tools which perpetuate bordering and categorize people as belligerent or benign depending upon the cultural heads such as religion and nationality. Zakaria shares the contrast in the perspective of the children of defence attaché who got posted to India. The kids did not want to go along with their father, they earlier expressed that they hated India. The younger kid inquired- '"*Hum India kyun ja rahe hain? Udhar tou kafir hotey hain... woh tou achey nai hotey.*'(Why are we going to India? Only infidels live there. They aren't good people.)" (Zakaria, 2015: 219). These notions of the children changed to a large extent when they stayed in Delhi for a few years. Zakaria came across similar instances while interacting with schools children. As part of the exercise when Zakaria circulated the picture of a Hindu deity in a classroom, a kid started crying and exclaimed that her eyes had sinned and now she would go to hell upon seeing the picture.

5.8.4 Inscription of borders through the school curriculum

At the launch of the CAP's Exchange-for Change programme, in a hall of more than 300 students between the age group of 10-14 years Zakaria posed a question to the audience- '"Afghanistan has *Pathans*! Iran has oil! China makes everything!' And what about our fourth neighbour, India?" (Zakaria, 2015: 221). The question was received with silence in the hall, upon repetitive attempts Zakaria writes-

> "A small girl nervously raised her hand and in a meek voice asked, 'Shahrukh Khan?' The others began to roll from side to side with laughter. 'He's a Pakistani, stupid! He's Muslim. Muslims can't be Indian,' said one child. Another overconfident student got up from the middle row and declared, 'India has nothing! They will all go to hell!" (Zakaria, 2015: 223).

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[27] D Sibley coined this phrase to denote the transformation of social spaces where boundaries are drawn in spatial and non-spatial terms by rejecting exceptions to superimpose homogeneity.

Likewise, the students expressed extreme hostilities and abomination which were also shared by their family, school authorities, teachers and the principals. On occasions Zakaria was prevented to conduct the programme in schools and was asked to initiate it with China instead of India. One of the head administrators said "I didn't realize how different those treacherous Indians were from the pure and innocent Pakistanis" (Zakaria, 2015: 224). In case of a relatively less permeable border with little cross border interactions, the population of the either side generally remains uninformed. The knowledge about other side often remains partial and inaccurate (Newman, 2006: 152). In the case of India-Pakistan, the spatial boundary has profound sociological implications that have deeply penetrated the cognitive frame of the populations at large. The mental landscape related to the border is buttressed through multiple exposures since the formative years of the childhood that become indelible in several aspects and are difficult to obliterate.

Perception has an important role in understanding the manner in which social categories are made intelligible. Values, belief, notions and other cognitive factors are framed and constructed socially and become an important yardstick of inclusion and exclusion. Stereotypical categorization of people belonging to different nations, particularly the so- called enemy states are not a consequence of individual cognition rather they are formed from collective ideological conditioning. Stereotypical beliefs often have emotional and symbolic undertones and they can also be political in nature. Socially shared stereotypes are the discriminatory tools that determine the biases against a particular group or entity. From the perspective of discursive psychology, socially constructed categories through which people categorize the world are not rigid schema that are cognitively created nor are they naturally occurring and uncontested rather such practices is discursively created (Augoustinos and Walker, 1998: 642). In the light of bordering practices, stereotypes are rhetorical constructs through which individuals are influenced and border thinking is supplanted which gets continuously nurtured by the external ideological resources and other institutions. As illustrated in Zakaria's narratives the border is reinforcing itself through social practices that are creating xenophobic fervour in the masses. The socio-cultural and institutional practices are reduplicating borders and making the category of the other more concrete.

Profiling of people according to their physical attributes is also a means of discursively creating socio-spatial categories and establishing of the border (Joseph and Rothfuss, 2014: 170). External appearances are used to form stereotypical views and strong negative sentiments are created on their basis. As written by the author, this is commonly seen in the case of Sikhs in Pakistan. The politicization of the fear vis-à-vis a particular community is another kind of social bordering through which categories of inclusion and exclusion is made more pronounced. Some of the views expressed by students regarding Sikhs are- "well our parents always told us that Sikhs were very bad, that they had tortured millions of Muslims,' he begins, 'And our teachers also said that Indians were arrogant and hostile people" (Zakaria, 2015: 225). The child recalls his Class 5 Urdu book that refers to Sikhs as-

> "*Woh bachchon ko talwar se maar diya karte the. Un k tukre kar diya karte the.* (The Sikhs would slaughter Muslim children with swords. They used to cut them up into tiny pieces), so we thought why should we talk to them? We are good people, they are evil. We would rather tear their letter than write a reply to them.'" (Zakaria, 2015:226).

Governments via state and non-state agencies and agents create the spectre of enmity and fear of the constructed other. Drawing from Foucauldian understanding it is said that it is in favour of the modern state to maintain the fear and its production in the population as this fear is used to establish control and maintain dominion over its subjects. States enact the biopolitics of fear by means of governmentality (Debrix and Barder, 2009: 400). The desired narratives are discursively created and also proliferated so that the production of fear is established as a legitimate reality. It is argued that the agents of the production of biopolitics of fear are not just state officials such as police, custom officer, security personnel etc they can also be doctors, teachers, scientists, legal practitioners (Debrix and Barder, 2009: 401) and in Zakaria' case education institutions such as provincial textbook boards. According to Paasi, "education in geography and history in particular typically produces and reproduces the iconography of boundaries" (Paasi, 1998: 72). The anti-India hateful content of the textbook is not just confined to the state-controlled provincial boards Zakaria mentions that the private schools affiliated with Cambridge Board that follows the British system of education also have state intervening in deciding the syllabus (Zakaria, 2015: 229). A study titled 'Education vs. Fanatic Literacy' by

NCJP (National Council for Justice and Peace) published a report that says that there is an escalation in the hate content of the textbook of Punjab and Sindh provinces. In Punjab there were 45 lines denoting hate in 2009 which went up to 122 by 2012, similarly in Sindh such content doubled from 2009 to 2012 (Zakaria, 2015: 231). Apart from these there are conscious efforts towards distorting the historical facts and glossing over those episodes that have non-Muslim rulers and regimes. For instance, the accounts on Indus Valley and Mohenjo-Daro civilizations which is supposed to be the archetype of multicultural and multiethnic society goes largely missing from the course books prescribed and popular in Pakistan (Malik et.al. 2014)[28].

Citing Hoodbhoy (2000), Chaturvedi confirms that the content of the school books of class K-V is laden with instances of Hindu-Muslim divides and struggle (Chaturvedi, 2001: 155). They have exaggerated accounts of dissimilarities while details of cultural semblance are advertently not even addressed. Nation-building is a continuous process for which social and cultural territorialisation is as important as political and economic progress. The practice of nation-building through reinforcing otherness tends to stabilize the transient nature of identity. State mechanisms use power to control the national spaces and exercise territoriality through various institutions. O' Tuathail and Dalby have also argued that nationhood is a conglomeration of the act that includes the creation of "nation-space and nation-time, the projection of imaginary community, the homogenization of nation-space and pedagogization of history" (O' Tuathail and Dalby, 1998: 3). As institutions borders concomitantly operates along multiple scales and "in a myriad of practices and discourses included in culture, politics, economics, administration or education" (Paasi, 1998: 73). The working of such an institution is a complex mechanism where institutions support each other in reproducing symbolic borders in the public (Paasi, 2003: 113). National sentiments and values are inculcated in the population which gets effectively buttressed by means of inscribing and reinstating fictitious categories of othering. This is an important aspect of the legitimization of borders where employing emotions and nationalistic feelings of fraternity and brotherhood are used to homogenize people as a community within the nation.

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[28]https://www.dawn.com/news/1125484 The article titled "What is the most blatant lie taught through Pakistan textbooks?" contributed by A. Malik, I. Riaz, H. Khuhro, A.H. Nayyar and R. Saigol published on 15 August 2014 in Dawn. It talks about selective and distorted nature of school textbook and its impact on the construction of Pakistan national identity. It also underlines how the education policy is contributing to the construction of otherness in the citizens.

In his study of Finnish-Russian borders, Paasi finds out that there is a direct relationship between the national socialization of population about the other and the school text books (Paasi, 1998: 82). The study also reveals that the inter-generation differences in opinions and identities are because of the dissimilarities in the spatialized memories. The difference in exposure to reality and social conditioning is an important factor that leads to inter-generational differences. The narratives compiled in *Footprints of Partition* unfolds that the younger generation is relatively more hostile towards the other than the generation that personally experienced partition. State endorsed naturalization of us versus them difference is accentuated by the polarization of knowledge. Students from a very tender age are introduced to propagandist content that (dis)orients them by breeding a fictitious suspicion for their neighbouring state. In this way the population becomes vulnerable subjects to the conservative ideas without having any objective outlook towards reality. Education is a channel whose purpose is to know the truth and understand that there is a reality that exists beyond the binary imagination of us vs. them.

State borders organize and define not just the political structures but also contribute to social fabrication. The demand for Pakistan build on two-nation theory continues to resonate in the mental map of many. The head administrator of a school approached by Zakaria for the purpose of student exchange with India rejected and rebuked her by saying that the exchange was antithetical to the Two-Nation Theory. Borders are also materialized through ideological framings that create rigid categories which are very difficult to placate. Place-making and legitimization of specific communities in spatial terms has often been a nationalistic agenda for governments and some political parties. Chaturvedi addresses the construction of otherness in Indian nationalist sources and cites Joya Chatterjee (1993). He discusses few othering traditions where Muslims were labelled as plunderers, invaders, foreigners and belligerents whose primary motive was to uproot Hindu civilization and replace it with Islamic culture (Chaturvedi, 2001: 155). Along the same line Chatterjee makes a critical remark when she writes that traditional Islamic legacies go largely missing in Indian history (Chatterjee, 1993). There are many instances where official bodies as institution utilize the power of their authority and position to concretize boundaries of us versus them.

The chapter has critically evaluated the role of the national educational curriculum and the archives of local memory in understanding the nuances of borders as cognitive frames and practices of everyday life. Narratives and travelogues are significant because they inform the manner in which borders are actually conceptualized and also are the indicators of how borders are lived in real life. It illustrates the diffusion of borders and the extent to which they penetrate the socio-cultural practices of society. Narratives contribute immensely in constructing meanings about self and the other. As research material they are also an important source of rare and detailed information. Paasi believes that narratives should be understood as discourses that impact the social spaces rather than as modes of representations (Paasi, 1998: 75). Borders are also ritualized through social imaginaries that act as background potential for reifying the politics of othering in the social and interpersonal realms. The chapter has tried to demonstrate the variety in terms of border functionality. Symbolic, ideational, physical, institutional, temporal and categorical etc are some of the border enactments that have been extensively been explored here.

CONCLUSION

The scholarship on borders is now reaching a just place in academia. Traditionally studied under the branch of political geography, the scope of the discipline was narrow and the subject matter was limited to boundary classification, inter-state border disputes and technicalities of border determining procedures. Even in the larger domain of Human Geography, where other fields were exploring new research agendas not many credible works focused on borders per se. Since 1990s there was renewal of interests in this area and scholars began to go beyond the classical approaches to investigate borders. State borders continued to take a centre stage but other alternate understandings of border were also taking shape.

Within the span of a decade the traditional methods became outmoded and were replaced by new interventions. The shifting pattern viewed borders not just as a spatial and territorial feature but they were focusing more on the other kinds of border manifestations. Gradually the subject of borders snowballed into a multidisciplinary research object which started to attract academicians from across social sciences and humanities. This thesis is a post-structuralist project that has looked at the border between India and Pakistan from the lens of popular geopolitics.

The end of cold war brought with it the downfall in the discipline of geopolitics. No novel concepts were advanced in the field and the applicability of the existing ones was also declining. The classical scholarships were becoming increasingly inadequate to grasp the changing landscape of international politics. Scathing remarks were levied on the reductionist epistemology of the discipline and it was assumed that geopolitics is on the verge of termination. The cultural turn in social sciences trickled down to the domain of geopolitics and inspired its practitioners to resurrect the foundation on more pragmatic grounds. Thus inspired by critical theory the resurgence led to the origin of critical geopolitics.

Critical geopolitics is a way of engaging with the geographical representation and practices that shape the contours of the world. Scholars of geopolitics have attempted to encapsulate three different paths along which geopolitical representations and practices are mapped. They suggest that geopolitical processes are manifested within

three genres. First, practical geopolitics that constitutes political institutions and state actors and departments, second, formal geopolitics comprises of academia, research and strategy institutes and third is popular geopolitics that includes mass media such as internet, films, cartoon, newspaper etc.

Out of the three tenets discussed above the research is premised on popular geopolitics to comprehend borders. Popular geopolitical reasoning focuses its attention on the role of mass media tools in understanding geopolitics as an everyday affair. Borders have diversified in terms of their meaning, scope and functionality. They are no longer seen only as cartographically drawn lines but are variously understood as a socially constructed reality. Studying borders under the rubrics of critical and popular geopolitics departs sharply from the conventional notions about Indo-Pak border. The study disparages the static understanding and has adopted a process oriented approach to examine the manner in which border unfolds in the quotidian spaces.

As mentioned earlier the study is theoretically grounded in the ideas advanced under the banner of post-structuralism. It is a qualitative and discursive interpretation of select work of fiction and non-fiction that traces the visible and invisible articulations of border configurations. One of the most vital concepts that the thesis indulged in is the idea of discourse. Discourse is the means of constructing spaces and making them meaningful. They are tacit references that determine the enactment of realities and later shape the subjectivities. From the perspective of borders, discourse based exercises are extremely crucial because they engage in deciphering the power\knowledge dynamics through which borders are instituted in socio-political realms. Discourse is the linchpin that connects critical geopolitics with border studies.

Borders are situated constructs, i.e. borders are contextually embedded and hence the understanding of borders demands plurality in its approach. Situated reasoning is essential in scrutinizing bordering practices because it unravels the legitimization of borders in unidentified provenances. The research hinges on the assumption that borders have diffused throughout the society and it has investigated the validity of this premise. Studying borders through discourse analysis proved advantageous because it enabled the research to comprehend the link between the spatial dimensions and the social practices of bordering. Border is not a fixed phenomenon, it needs to be

perpetuated and this is done discursively through various means. Discourse analysis problematizes the binary oppositions like us\them, inclusion\exclusion, here\there, belonging\non belonging that lies at the heart of boundary drawing practices. It denounces the hierarchy induced by such dichotomous distinctions.

The understanding of the world rests not alone on how it is, but also on how it is presented to us. Discourse analysis highlights the privileging of certain ideas and marginalization of others. With reference to borders, on one hand there are several agendas that are made to assume primacy while various crucial issues become subsidiary and remain unattended. The pre-eminence of state border has long dictated the corpus of work in border studies. Discourse challenges this and directs attention to the alternate perspective on borders. The thesis has critically ensnared the hegemonic as well as the counter hegemonic narratives on India-Pakistan borders.

The work relates with treating border as landscape. Landscape is the broader cultural phenomenon that informs the dynamic interaction of humans with the externality. Studying borders as landscape emphasizes not just the visible dimensions but also highlight the invisible aspects of it. Borders as landscape connotes two meanings. It is the way of seeing\observing while it is also the manner in which border realities are shaped. Both the meanings qualify and are contextually applied throughout the work.

There is no general model or any particular theory that encapsulates the range of variations in borders. The heterogeneity and idiosyncrasies of border prevents the scholars from devising any coherent theory. Nevertheless, inspired from postcolonial and post modern inputs there are many conceptual findings that have helped to enhance the analytical vigour in the discipline. There is lack of any theoretical framework in border studies per se but there are several conceptualizations that are facilitating in understanding the dynamism of borders. The changing nature of borders has given new impetus to the direction of research in border studies. Studying border demands methodological pluralism and the contemporary scholars have recognized this and are utilizing this in full swing. The present research is also a similar exercise. It is a popular geopolitical enterprise, drawing from literary texts, grounded in critical theories and borrowing from sociological and anthropological ideas to analyze borders.

The thesis has emphatically addressed and maintained the processual ontology of borders throughout the chapters. Focus on bordering processes helped the research to get into the deeper understanding of the way borders get constructed. During the process of research it was found that bordering is not an independent act, there are multiple factors that contribute to the bordering process. The nature of border is intrinsically flexible and it is the repetitive process of bordering that work towards stabilizing the intended meaning of the borders. The question of scale is one of the important dimensions of this study. The research verifies the plausibility of the postulation of borders being multiscalar. It shows that the scale of borders operates in a continuum. The same border can concomitantly be an international, national as well as a local phenomenon. Moving away from the level of nation-state the principle aim of the research was to examine the process and the impact of borders in the interpersonal and personal realms. The imploding of borders and their search in vernacular locations is closely associated with the process of bordering. The thesis argues that bordering is as ubiquitous as the borders.

By situating borders in quotidian spaces and understanding it as an everyday phenomenon the thesis divulges the importance of the social differentiation process that immensely contribute to the spatial separation. The territorial borders and social differences both are each other's facilitators. The rigidity or the extent to which a border is hard or soft can be discerned by analyzing the pattern of cross-border socialization. The ordering of life done by borders is not just restricted to surveillance at the border crossing, or control of mobility. Ordering of life is also done by controlling the population and conditioning the masses with notions that concretizes the 'us' vs. 'them' differences.

The efficacies of defining the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion find more relevance in social and cultural life of the people than at the margins of the state. The enunciation of belonging and non-belonging becomes significant for the maintenance of borders. There are places where vulnerability of subverting the differentiation functions of borders is high. The state exercises its power and puts a check on even the prospects of such activities. There are many mythical notions that are designed and made to float in the social realms. Geographies of fear are constructed and conscious efforts are made to increase the social distancing between the two sides.

Social fragmentation is a requisite for the sustenance of borders. The physicality of border in the form of barricade, fences, barbed wires and walls are partial and limited. To fully realize the bordering agenda it is crucial to have inviolable social barriers within the state. The othering processes is attained through cognitive categorization which is hinged on emotional and psychological than just political factors.

Taking forward the argument of borders being historically contingent, the thesis scrutinizes the Indo-Pak border in geohistoric context. In this regard, partition of 1947 is one of the significant themes explored in the research. The central argument is that the partition is an othering practice and a continuing one, the legacy of which can still be discerned on both side of the border even today. Viewing it as an act of bordering practice the research proclaims that it was not just a change in geography but a much larger transformation of the socio-political and cultural landscape of India and Pakistan.

The study does not reject the idea of Hindu-Muslim differences; neither does it project any utopian notion of peaceful coexistence between the two communities. The two religious categories are dissimilar in many respects but multiculturalism and heterogeneity has been a defining feature of Indian society. Last few years before partition have been decisive and there were multiple factors that led to the division. Most of the historical accounts on partition lack objectivity and are also partial in their approach. Partition is a gory reality and a crucial part of the history of South Asia. History is not just a discipline but also a responsibility through which rational reasoning can be inculcated in the coming generations. Non-partisan and non-discriminatory historical facts are indispensible for geopolitical stability. (Geo)political vision is the reference for the creation of political conceptualizations. Politics of representation has a huge role in determining the social barriers. Portrayal of history and its depiction in media impacts those at the receiving end. Oftentimes it even acts as a propagandist tool to pursue certain geopolitical ambition and influence people.

Partition as a theme has inspired many from the creative fields and different aspects of it have been explored in great details. The research infers that there is a significant difference in the manner in which partition is approached by historical accounts and through artistic interventions. Post-colonial restructuring and nation-building became

an important political goal in India and Pakistan. Creation of strong national identity and national space became a primary pursuit which was often embroiled in concomitant creation of otherness. There are instances where deliberate efforts have been made to provide favourable descriptions and euphemize malpractices of those belonging to one's own state while the other is portrayed as the malefactor. Post partition nationalism was characterized by reflexive temper that was accentuating the differences and creating polarities.

The research argues that the literary writings on partition and India-Pakistan border just by falling under the fictional category do not make them any less real. The corpus of historical literature on the theme is discreetly arranged compilation of various events and political decisions that largely ignored the aspect of human suffering and tragedy. There are serious gaps in these writings with lack of accountability. Some of the secondary sources have also suggested that there is distortion with the government archival material where few details and entries are missing from the records. Fictional writings are definitely less objective with the factual information but they surpass the historical material in capturing the emotional subtleties of this catastrophic event. Historians and Government records can easily ward off and defend their incompetence in dealing with the humanistic aspect of partition by calling it their disciplinary constraints. But it should be duly realized that any account of partition will remain incomplete if it fails to cover political, geopolitical, social, anthropological and psychological dimensions.

Events like partition should be carefully presented with utmost sensitivity and minimum distortions because they are an important source of information for the generations to come. Representation of partition should have moral undercurrents so that the mistakes of the past are never repeated in the future. Lopsided illustrations further the process of social differentiation. They are instrumental in creating stereotypes and augment the othering process. The socio-spatial consciousness of the population about those living on the other side of the border is sensitized by creating a mythical other. The thesis engages with the micro history of partition that has a close association with the borders of the present. The boundaries drawn in social spaces may not be as properly demarcated and delimited as the physical boundaries at the state edges. Boundaries at the micro level are concretized by means of creating

geographies of fear from the other and projecting an exaggerated sense of self victimization. In case of India and Pakistan, partition its memory and history often cultivate negative sentiments for the either side that reify borders in the minds. The mental maps are more difficult to transgress as they create a permanent other.

Fictional writings have captured the episodes of partition in great detail. Displacement of population and exodus that instantaneously changed the status of the people from citizen to refugee is one important theme. The thesis tried to comprehend the process of forced migration and relocation by analyzing the novel *Train to Pakistan* by Khushwant Singh. After the partition on religious grounds and following the submission of the report by boundary commission, there was an unexpected reshuffling of population at several places. The novel is based in a fictitious border village named Mano Majra that resembled many such villages that overnight found itself near the Radcliffe line. The disruptions caused due to the division of territory and the ensuing transformation of a diverse place with heterogeneous population to a mono-ethnicspace is scrupulously illustrated by Singh. The cartographic anxieties of rural India were very different from the urban populations that were informed about the impending doom. The unpreparedness and the social readjustments with the new political change and the differentiating function of a border has been the major highlight of this work.

The ordeal of partition is characterized by extreme cases of violence which the historical material and the academic writings were unable to properly encapsulate. One of the major gaps that can be identified is that there is a calculated attempt made to portray the state as a non-partisan actor.The role of state actors in furthering communal violence during and post partition is not given due place. In official records the primary cause of violence (mostly riots) is often attributed to the influx of refugees in large numbers. This is only partially true, as the nature of violence is often deliberately kept obscured. There were extreme events of violence such as rape, arson, murder etc that do not find detailed description in academic materials. *Train to Pakistan* has succinctly addressed the aspects of violence and has also demonstrated the role of state actors (officials such as Hukum Chand) and government departments in escalating the violence.

The evocative expositions of the ghost train and the foot convoy mentioned in *Train to Pakistan* is no exaggeration. Organized mass attacks on migrants, derailment of trains and mass murder were events of common occurrence. Singh has raised the issue of uprooting of families from their native lands and the uncertainties of forced relocation. Refugee crisis was one of the major side-effects of the religion based displacement. Singh has also touched upon the situation of the refugee camps which was replete with dispossessed and destitute people. He underlines the failure of the state authorities in being able to provide adequate facilities to the camps. Camps were instrumental in creating political consciousness among the people of their religious identities. The forced migration of the Muslim population of Mano Majra was a retaliation of Sikhs refugees coming in large numbers from Pakistan. The harrowing experiences of the refugees who survived violence coupled with the complacent authorities gradually culminated to the transformation of a religiously mixed society to a monolithic one. Singh has succeeded to bring forth a realistic representation of how the social geographies of places changed due to politically motivated upheaval.

Similar empathy is found in Sadat Hassan Manto's short stories. The author has challenged the dogmas of the post-colonial societies of India and Pakistan. Manto did not just represent the socio-political fabric of those times, he also questioned them. The study suggests that his fictional characters were often chosen from real-life and they were quintessence of the post-partition anxieties of the everyday life. Most of his partition tales are constructed against the background of violence. Through Manto's renditions the research has tried to discern the role of violence in the making of borders particularly in the micropolitics of the routine life. There are many stories that provide a realistic essence of different aspects of the communal disputes. *Resting Time*, *Double cross*, *Precautionary arrangement*, *Bestiality, Permanent vacation* and *Ritualistic Difference* are some of the sketches that have captured the inter-communal savageries. Intolerance and distrust were fuelled by the massacres, arson and other brutalities of riots. The contagion of violence led to a series of such activities from all the communities alike.

Stories such as *Khol do* (*The Return*), *Thanda Gosht* (*colder than ice*), *The Assignment*, *Out of Consideration*, *Losing Proposition* and *Bitter Harvest* are premised on the issue of rape. They illustrate the gendered nature of the border and

depict the body politics of the bordering process. Partition-induced Hindu-Muslim and Muslim-Sikh differences became so acute that the women of the rival community became their object of vengeance. Rape was reciprocated with rape, this created rivalries that reaffirmed the 'us' vs. 'them' differences. The subject of identity also finds great relevance in Manto's writings. Manto vividly illustrates how religious identities became instruments of territorialization of spaces. There are few overlaps between Singh and Manto's works. Both have alluded to the complacency of the state towards escalating violence of those times. In the sketch *Due Supervision*, Manto subtly insinuates the inefficiency of the military in curbing the violence. Like Singh, Manto has also depicted the episodes of train massacres, few of his sketches viz. *Tidiness, Modesty and The Return* have particularly referred to the killings on train due to the displacements. One of the important ramifications of the abrupt drawing of the boundary was the refugee crisis. This aspect too is very succinctly addressed by Manto.

In contrast with the author's discussed above, Rushdie's work is very distinct. Manto and Singh have depicted intense scenes in their novel and stories respectively. Rushdie on the other hand has outlined the political timeline of India from 1915 to 1965. His work gives a different vantage point as it underlines the myth-making process of nation building through narration.

The study primarily argues that borders saturate everyday life and in this regard the vernacular border thesis finds wide applicability throughout the chapters of the thesis. The core analytical agenda of the study has been to comprehend the border phenomenon in seemingly inconsequential practices of the quotidian life. There are several subjective border encounters vis-à-vis routine life which the study has attempted to scrutinize. Everyday life is a fertile terrain to explore the border as it unfolds distinctive characters of border manifestations. After understanding borders through fictional texts, the later part of the thesis explores borders by analyzing travel accounts and narratives.

Travelogues and narratives are a means to examine the socio-cultural underpinnings in the personal and public lives. The research has utilized suchillustrations as ethnographic tools in order to understand how border sensibilities play out in public life. One of the notable findings of this study is that the cultural practices and

individual opinions inform the extent to which borders are concretized in the minds. In contrast with the IR centric statist stance, this approach is culturally embedded and it provides an alternate frame of reference. The politics of India-Pakistan border is also an emotional reality; it constitutes several psychological dimensions that are imperative when dealing with it. The study highlights the manner in which the spatial boundariesare domesticated as symbolic borders through various institutional mechanisms. The research does not undermine the significance of the territorial boundaries rather it proclaims the relevance of the non-spatial boundaries which is relatively less theorized.

Amritsar to Lahore is a detailed description of the acts of territoriality though which people make sense of who they are. The book becomes an important source to understand that the borders are not naturally occurring features rather they are formalized discursively. Cross border travel is an important exercise to bridge the social differentiations and create amicable bonds between the neighbouring states. Alter describes the tedious documentary procedures and state inscribed bureaucratic protocols that create major hurdles in socializing with people living across the boundary. It can be inferred from Alter's personal encounter that borders are differential in their approach. As institutions borders facilitate the privileged and hegemonize the ordinary people.

The proposition of the ubiquity of the borders has been validated by the thesis at several points. The tiresome visa procedures and high rates of visa rejections enunciate the exclusionary function of the border. The border has been considered as a waiting act that creates differences in space and time. The study has traced the instances of bordering through different places travelled by Alter in his journey from India to Pakistan. A place is defined not just in Cartesian terms but through the unique interaction between the physical setting and the cultural activities. With reference to borders, place becomes the standard of determining the belonging\non-belonging and therefore an important reference of exclusion and inclusion. The sense of a place is continuously evolving and history, socio-political activities, collective memory and emotional attachments are its important determinants. Different elements shape the identity of a place which is reflected in the way places are represented and lived.

Border configurations are embedded in places and the bordering practices are ritualized in a manner that reinforces who belongs to it and who is an outsider.

Borders need to be performed in order to establish their immutability. One such act is the famous sunset flag-lowering event that takes place at the Wagah-Attari border between India and Pakistan. The ceremony is an overt act of aggressive patriotism where both BSF soldiers and Pakistan rangers are trying to outdo each other. The audiences are instilled with extreme nationalistic feelings which emphatically defines the national self and simultaneously creates a foreign other. Alter's work informs the importance of the border in the day-today lives and the diverse manner in which they are performed. His historic journey has represented the enactment of the border in social, political, cultural and religious spheres.

When considering border and bordering in cognitive terms, memory is one crucial dimension which cannot be overlooked. Memory can be individual remembrance or a collective consciousness. Borders find relevance in both these types. Borders are perpetuated by keeping the collective memory alive which is done through repeatedly revisiting the memory. Individual memory on the other hand can either be passively situated in the subconscious, forgotten or consciously remembered. With respect to India-Pakistan border, it is partition and the memory of this communal carnage that is often employed as a tool to further the differences between the two neighbours. For exploring borders through memoryscapes the research has relied on the narratives compiled by Zakaria. The book is preferred over other such compendiums because it is relatively new and covers four generations. There are two salient facets of *Footprints of Partition*. First, the opinion of the generation that actually experienced partition first hand was less hostile than the younger generation. The partition survivors have lived in the times when the political conditions were stable and communalism was not so acute. They had friendly relations with the people of other communities. Some of them even shared the same neighbourhood, went to the same schools and colleges and socialized at different levels. The younger generation on the other hand was not exposed to such cross-cultural interactions. The community level religious differences had mutated into the larger issue of different national identities.

Second, the cultural conditioning of the younger generation was enmeshed in the hegemonizing process of othering. Nation-building was premised on the othering

agenda and the boundaries between self and the others were instituted through various mechanisms. Classrooms became one such arena where the idea of homeland was instilled concomitantly with the idea of imagined other. Education is supplying material that is organizing and controlling the young minds. It is a means of inclining the population towards the coveted agenda. The learning process during the formative ages lays the foundation for the concretization of polarizing ideas about the other. Lack of personal interaction and encounters minimize the scope of unlearning the stereotypes and prejudices. Thus education as a geopolitical tool shapes the population and contributes towards spatializing the boundaries between self and the other.

The research looks at texts as an important source that informs the geopolitical dynamism of border politics between India and Pakistan. The routine life is replete with the instances of bordering. The familiarity with everyday life acclimatizes individuals with border configurations. Popular works of literature and non-fictional writings reveal a lot more than what the academic writings and historical materials do. On close scrutiny one can analyze how the hegemonic discourses of inclusion/exclusion and us versus them differences are perpetuated through various means. Borders have both physical as well as non-spatial attributes. The diffusion of borders is better understood by looking at those sites where the dialectic of self and other materializes and tends to inculcate the same sentiments in population.

The discipline of border studies is exploring innovative methods and tracing new paths to comprehend the dynamics of the border. Invoking ideas from critical theory, it is expanding its methodology, epistemology and ontology. The world is grappling with the border-related struggles. The critical inclination of the subject is making the discipline more holistic but there is lopsidedness in the scholarly interventions. The contemporary postulations are vital but border scholarship has preponderance of academicians from the west. The present study is a perspective from the global south that illustrates post-colonial border asymmetries. Although there are many studies that have looked at the issue of India-Pakistan border but most of them are either totally historical or have addressed the problem from the lens of International Relations. The research has utilized the ideas advanced under critical and popular geopolitics and traced the process of bordering through textual analysis.

The study of borders has difficulties involved in terms of security dilemmas. There are several bureaucratic hurdles that prevent scholars from procuring the relevant documents and material. Even the personal interviews and interactions are restricted where the interviewees are reluctant in sharing information fearing the security breaches. Such an exercise involves probing and also proper research ethics where the personal details are not revealed. There are also instances where the collection of material from the field is suspected. The hostile India-Pakistan relations pose great difficulties in conducting ethnographic survey and restrict travel to the other side of the border.

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