CHAPTER I

Introduction

History survives in accidents, catastrophes, massacres, bloodshed, mutilations and genocides. The incessant cries of the dispossessed, relentless agonies of the disenfranchised and the misgivings of power saturate the climate of history. The history of humanity is thus demonic and dehumanized; contrary to the Hegelian conjecture of history as progress, it inevitably arrives as a history of loss, a history that is dismembered, fragmented and far removed from the telocentric ideal of a unified homogeneity. This partition of Indian subcontinent is a seminal episode which has caused one of the greatest human convulsions in history. The British quit India bifurcating the country into two nations. The division of British India and subsequent creation of two antagonist nations was not just a surgical metaphor or dismemberment of territories; it created a fissure both in heads and hearts of millions of unfortunate displaced persons. The dark legacies of partition of 1947 has caste a veil of shadow on the lives of the people of India, Pakistan and subsequently of Bangladesh. The borders which were determined in 1947 and were redetermined in 1971 not only divided the nation and its histories but also created a void among the families, friends, kiths and kin. Partition has remained as an apocalyptic event which resulted violence, movement and also asserted the resettlement of refugees. On one hand, immediately after the World War II, the erstwhile British colonies were decolonized while on the other, their political liberation took to a fractured shape. The minority communities of Punjab and Bengal became the worst victims of partition. Millions of people were uprooted, thousands were brutally tortured and slaughtered and countless families were isolated in the tumultuous event of the partition. The partition of the Indian subcontinent uprooted from huge number of people from their ancestral homeland.

The schizophrenic moment of partition was not just a moment of National rupture but also brought about the strong traces of molecular fragmentations like partition from the perspective of family, neighbourhood, village as well as city. The shadow of partition was noticed among gender, communities, political parties and above all the among different organisations. ¹ Common people in general and women in particular
had made tremendous efforts for getting new identity. The pathetic saga of migrated women from East Pakistan who had to confront unpredictable and innumerable challenges of new life style or pattern of life across the border of Bengal. They had to traverse a long way riddled with hurdles. The thesis in question has tried to ventilate the saga of victimized refugees, specially the women who settled in the districts of North Bengal hailing from East Pakistan, were exploited and assaulted in every possible way. The researcher would like to focus on the lesser known images of the refugee women—identifying the latent violence on women in East Pakistan not only as victims but also survivors in this cataclysmic event. The focus is on the similarities and differences in the experiences of the refugee women from the East Pakistan to West Bengal as well as in North Bengal in 1947 and 1971 and their subsequent rehabilitation and resettlement.

According to Ranabir Samaddar, Partition is linked to a transition- a transition from colonialism to post colonialism, from nationalist secularism to communalism and separatism and also from united entity to vivisection. For Punjab exchange of population was made and thereafter the Hindus began to migrate from Western Punjab of Pakistan to India and the Muslims began to shift from East Punjab of India to Pakistan. But it was not peaceful and voluntary one. The pity of the whole thing was that in East Pakistan the chronic problem of Hindus remained unsolved, overlooked, neglected and uncared. In a word, no importance was attached to their glaring problem. Migration is a universal fact and a burning issue throughout the world. From India’s perspective the Refugee movement took place in both sides of the borders after partition. However, the social disturbances and political turmoil following partition forced people to escape from their homeland and to take shelter in various corners of India. The innumerable involuntary and unprecedented migration caused communal riots, massacres and atrocities of all kinds on both sides of the borders. The country was filled with huge number of refugees who were rendered orphans by the storm called Partition. This event caused the barbarity of most dreadful kind. Almost 12 million people were displaced and a million died. There was widespread sexual savagery and about 75 thousand women were abducted and raped. In West Bengal and more specifically in North Bengal the migration process got a new momentum in 1947. The socio-political canvass of North Bengal changed to a
considerable extent with refugee exodus. North Bengal became a destination of refugees of East Bengal. The fear of persecution and violence compelled a large number of Hindus to flock to Indian Territory in quest for shelter and security. The massive influx of refugees from East Pakistan to West Bengal was one of the major outcomes of the rapid growth of population.

The continuous process of migration had started mainly from 1946 in the event of the atrocious Noakhali disturbances and its continuation persisted even after 1971. There was no denying the fact and no shadow of doubt that being apprehensive of their future settlement and survival, they ventured towards India with the fair expectation to lead a dignified life in a peaceful and congenial atmosphere coupled with security and economic stability. They were forced to quit their motherland after the Partition of 1947 and subsequently during the war of liberation in Bangladesh (Mukti-Yuddha) in 1971. The long standing deprivation, exploitation and agony made the refugees confident enough that helped them to be triumphant in the task they had undertaken for the fulfillment of their dormant desire and aspiration. To cross the border was not an easy job. The migrants had to face copious obstacles to adjust themselves abruptly with the new situation alien to their culture and mode of living. The natural climate, the existing social traditions, rituals of daily life, pattern of livelihood and their dialect were by and large different from those of West Bengal. The refugees from East Pakistan were known as Bangal. Despite remarkable differences, the refugees, irrespective of men and women of East Pakistan, weathered themselves patiently, intelligently and continuously with the prevailing social system of West Bengal and in the long run brushing aside all adversities they got courage to face the hard reality. Subsequently they marched forward acquiring self reliance and came out with flying colours.

The thesis has primarily highlighted on the refugees of East Pakistan and special stress has been imposed upon the womenfolk who were treated to be inferior and insignificant. The unwanted, unrecognized and unidentified women were always kept in the darkness of oblivion. The women were treated to be nothing else but subaltern. In this respect the path breaking article of Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak ‘Can the subaltern speak?’ is worth mentioning. Spivak argues that the experience of the subaltern in expression is essentially mediated by the hermeneutics of representation.
Representation, as Spivak substantiates it, is politicized in its discriminative nature of inclusion and exclusion, in its relentless endeavor to segregate between the useful and the redundant. As such, within the paradigm of representation, the subaltern experience is mediated reality, carefully governed by the symbolic order of language. What is more, the represented reality of the subaltern often becomes a discursively formulated truth, which is not essentially contingent/coherent with the lived reality. Kristeva, in her formulation of the choric, alludes to the essentially phallogocentric nature of the symbiotic order of language and speculates that the possibilities of a true and unmediated expression of the feminine lies not in the established contours of the symbolic order of language but rather in the spontaneity of the ‘semiotike chora’. The ‘semiotike chora’ (Revolution in Poetic Language, Kristeva argues, is essentially an order of expression that is precultural and prelinguistic. The feminine, in its alienation from the symbolic order of language, characteristically places itself in the sanctified ritual of representation called ‘semiotike’, where recollections and renderings of trauma, mutilation, violence and other experimental realities become the medium of expression for the subjugated and violated selves. It is the non-systematic and spontaneous renderings of such experiential realities through which the feminine subaltern can affirm her agency.

Memory, as a discontinuous and incoherent schema that exists as an essential prerogative to history, is that semiotike through which the repressed self seeks expression. The hermeneutics of history has often been suspicious of the authenticity of memory, so much so, that historiographers have considered it as an impediment to the objective eye of history. However, the claim to objectivity has been increasingly jeopardized by poststructuralist historiographers, who have all insisted on the tryst that history shares with power. Memory for them is not a redundant imaginative conjuncture that is invalidated as the ‘telos’ of canonical historiographic enquiry, it is the experimental reality of memory which can resist grand narrative of history. Hence, memory becomes a foundational logos around which the dispossessed subaltern (in this case of woman subaltern) can consolidate her voice. Not the reliabilities of hermeneutic and validated history, but the imperfect histories of memory become essential to the subaltern as a possible means of self affirmation and consolidation of subjectivity.
Spivak’s essay is foundational in the sense that it tries to overthrow the binary opposition between subject and object, self and other, centre and margin, occident and orient, language and silence and the canon and the unacknowledged. In Spivak’s opinion, the historically validated conjectures of representation are obtruse as a representational medium for the subaltern and her essay works on the historical and ideological factors that obstruct the possibility of being heard for those who inhabit the periphery. Hence, the ‘semiotike’ as the ungoverned mode of representation becomes the only possible voice for the subaltern, which like memory, is authentic in its disbelief, is credible in its lack of credibility.

This thesis has tried to outline the history of partition and refugee crisis in North Bengal from a gender sensitive standpoint. We are well conversant with the fact that the fair sex was the worst victims of partition. Those trauma and agony of women indirectly offered positive energy to the women for their future settlement. But the main stream historiography did not pay heed to those neglected segment of the society. Despite weak institutional base women’s history got a new impetus very recently. Many feminist writers contributed a lot in this regards. This prompted the researcher to represent some untold tale of refugee women of North Bengal whose saga were lost into the labyrinth of anonymities.

The experience of partition in recent past presented and stressed expressively on the status of women in Indian society and also of the nationalist tradition. The female body was the main target of violence in many ways during the partition of India. It was the reason behind the gendered violence that figured prominently in partition narratives by women themselves. The women had become the passive sufferer of partition history and remained unrecognized as sufferer or even of ‘martyrs’. From various accounts of partition it was apparent that women had become the object of communal violence that became an example of ugly incidents of the nations. But those unfair incidents had remained unacknowledged by nationalist history. The miserable corporeal truths of women which were deep rooted in agony, displacement and rupture, were excluded from the narrations of the nation.
Objectives of the study:

The prime objectives of the proposed study are as follows:

1. The proposed dissertation intends to throw light on migration in West Bengal and more specifically on districts of North Bengal after Partition of India.
2. The study attempts to unveil the sufferings and bitter experiences of refugee women from East Pakistan who migrated to West Bengal and so far as the districts of North Bengal are concerned, has not yet been discussed widely.
3. The proposed work tries to describe the nature of exodus from East Pakistan in 1947 and again during 1971, at the time of Bangladesh War of Liberation.
4. The paper aims to reveal the ceaseless struggle of displaced women and their ultimate triumph in diverse fields of society.
5. The proposed research tries to examine the fact that the role of uprooted people hailing from East Pakistan had a tremendous impact upon the socially, educationally and economically backward native people of North Bengal.
6. The proposed study intends to illustrate the all-round development of West Bengal as well as North Bengal following the migration.

Key questions:

The following key questions will be examined and assessed in the proposed research work

1. What factors prompted refugees of East Pakistan to take refuge in West Bengal as well as in North Bengal?
2. What were the differences in the nature of migration between 1947 and 1971?
3. What sorts of obstacles had the Hindus of East Pakistan faced?
4. How did the displaced people, more specifically the women, take the challenge to cope with the new environment and atmosphere in West Bengal and specifically in North Bengal?
5. How far was the War of Liberation (Mukti-Yudha) of East Pakistan for the creation of Bangladesh in 1971 was responsible for Hindu exodus to West Bengal especially in the soil of North Bengal as new migrants?
6. Did the influx of displaced persons of East Pakistan pave the way for developmental process in the district of North Bengal?

**Hypotheses:**

The following hypotheses have been penned down which are to be tested during the course of research work:

- The trend of migration from the then East Bengal to West Bengal started during the late colonial period.
- Migration was not a new phenomenon in the perspective of North Bengal. It was still in vogue during the period when Cooch Behar was a princely state.
- Following partition, the Hindu women were mercilessly tormented, publicly humiliated, ruthlessly behaved with and their chastity was outraged. To uphold their dignity they were forced to bid adieu to their ancestral abode. They became the sources of inspiration for the generations to come.
- Uprooted Hindu refugees who played a pioneering role, tied over all adverse circumstances by dint of their courage and self confidence.
- Following the footsteps of the previous migrants the new migrants left no stone unturned to adjust themselves with the new scenario of West Bengal so far as North Bengal was concerned.
- The exploitation, sufferings, pang and pathos made the displaced women confident enough for their future empowerment and subsequently their struggle acted as a model for the local women.

**Partition Historiography:**

The consequence of the Radcliffe Line and the Partition of India could not be predicted by the political and administrative heads of India, Pakistan and so far as United Kingdom was concerned. Each country has had the firm conviction that Partition was the only way out of the virus of communalism, which had torn the nation. Ramachandra Guha, the eminent historian of international acclaim, has rightly commented that generally works on history end on the precise date of 15th August.
1947. The domain of ‘History’ ends with India attaining Independence, and where history ends political science, civics and economics begin. Guha argues that this is a wrong assumption—history persists, and hence there should be more works on post-Independence India. Guha makes reference of the writing of Krishna Kumar who writes “for Indian history itself comes to an end with Partition and Independence. As a constituent of social studies, and later on as a subject in its own right, history runs right out of content in 1947… All that has happened during the last 55 years may filter through them easily civics syllabus, popular cinema and television; history as formally constituted knowledge of the past does not cover it”. Sekhar Bandapadhyay on the other hand echoes the same version of Guha, “We may perhaps further add that while the Historians finished their inquiries on 15th August 1947, the political scientist and sociologists did not quite begin until the 1950’s—that is not until the new institutions had taken proper shape in India and started functioning effectively.”

This thesis focuses on a history of Partition by looking beyond the event itself. It looks at the very first task set for the newly independent Indian state—the rehabilitation of the refugees coming over to West Bengal from East Pakistan. Sekhar Bandapadhyay in his book ‘Decolonisation in South Asia’ mentions “The fifteenth anniversary of Indian independence became an occasion for the publication of a huge body of literature on post-colonial India. The discussion of 1947 in this literature is largely monopolized by the Partition, its memories and its long-term effects on the nation.”

Partition historiography has passed through various stages, each having a different area of focus. In good number texts both of early and modern periods, the event of partition has been constructed in a dichotomous framework like hero versus villain or victor versus vanquished that devoid of any circumstantial compulsion as well as prevalent trends. These texts are nothing but an exaggeration of personal behavior, biasness and prejudices. If partition is viewed from narrow prism it will be evident that its limitation is not confined within the periphery of history alone but at the same time encourages a type of neo-nationalist historiography both in India and Pakistan. The approaches of the historians towards partition in both sides of the border are still pole asunder. The difference of approach and attitude has brilliantly been brought out by Krishna Kumar through his comparative studies of history text books of India and so far as Pakistan is concerned. In spite of belonging to a same period before
partition, both the countries have picked up selected events and formulated them according to their sweet political, ideological and cultural needs. So the story of the freedom movement has been reconstructed and reinterpreted in a new fashion.

In India and Pakistan, the partition is often served as a model for the reinvention of national history. In the midst of various national interpretations, partition has been presented as the ‘momentous culmination of an anti colonial national struggle’ that agreed to accept partition for the sake of Indian unity as a whole.\(^\text{13}\) Partition history can be categorized into some phases. The first phase in Partition historiography deals with the ‘why and how’ questions related to Partition. Asim Roy describes this earliest phase in Partition historiography as the ‘High Politics’ debate.\(^\text{14}\) In this phase of history there are factual description of the sequence of events that preceded Partition. Sometimes the Partition history is based upon the nationality of the author and naturally a prejudiced account of Partition has been presented. The earliest works on Partition include the work of the British, Indian and Pakistani politicians and administrators.\(^\text{15}\) Compulsive emphasis of the early historians on high politics that heralded the event of partition, now have shifted to explain that why partition occurred and to impose responsibilities on the negotiation between the British and the Indian political parties like the Congress and the Muslim League. More so, they also held the political personalities viz. Mountbatten, Nehru, Jinnah and Patel responsible for the political disaster of 1947.\(^\text{16}\) Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee, Aditya Mukherjee and Sucheta Mahajan in their book *Struggle for Independence* raise the question of ‘why’ and ‘how’ the Congress accepted partition, eventually come to the conclusion that it was the failure of the Congress to reconcile with the Indian Muslims. The book reveals that political stalwarts like Gandhi, Nehru, Patel had no other alternative but to accept the inevitable partition of 1947 as the Congress failed to involve the Muslim masses in national movement and could not stop the surging waves of Muslim communalism which increased from 1937.\(^\text{17}\) Bipan Chandra comes to the conclusion that the acceptance of partition in 1947 was nothing but the only final act in the process of step wise concession to the League for its stubborn supporting of a sovereign state.\(^\text{18}\)

The British authors however focused on the Partition as an inevitable event, and took pride in having solved this great Indian conundrum with surgical accuracy, where as
the authors of India and Pakistan altogether differed and in their arguments there were tendencies only to blame each other. Blame-game of the writers became the regular practice of the then historians. It will not be out of place to mention in this context that the report of Lord Mountbatten in respect of Partition primarily aimed at shifting blame from the British to the Indians and the Pakistanis. According to him ‘I was determined that so far as possible the decision whether to have Partition or not should rest on the shoulders of the Indian people themselves; and that the accusation against the British of having divided the country should thus be avoided.’ He also accused the mishandling due to the ‘lack of adequate and competent civil administration’, i.e. both the Indian and Pakistani government had not taken up the services of the British officers, hence the problems. The report was nothing but a self-congratulatory one in appreciation of the task being performed to the best of his efforts, and that he had always opposed Partition, but in the face of the adverse communal situation, it was the only solution.

The diplomats of both India and Pakistan presented an adverse view, accusing each other for their stubborn attitude on Partition. Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his book, ‘India Divided’ has held the Muslim League totally responsible for persisting in its demand for Pakistan. He also believes that the foundation of Pakistan is based on the two-nation theory. He opines ‘The grounds on which separation is claimed are thus either unsubstantial or such as are not likely to be accepted as a just and fair basis for separation.’ According to Prasad, Partition is a ‘solution of despair’. He also foretells the bitter legacy it would leave behind: ‘Its enforcement is bound to be followed by ebullient, joyous exuberance on one side and sullen, smoldering resentment on the other….we should be prepared for the aftermath and not hug the delusion that thereafter all will be plain sailing.’

Scholar like Tara Chad holds the British, the Muslim League and the Congress responsible for partition, though the British according to him shared the major chunk. He states that in the tripartite essay the British, the most powerful party, constantly exercised full force in one direction. As a consequence, other two parties failed miserably to combine or to deactivate that force. Tara Chad is critical towards the stand of the Congress in the episode of partition because he considers that Congress had underestimated Jinnah and Muslim League or sometimes became over
considerate keeping at bay their potentials as well as aspirations. Moulana Azad however observes that ‘it would not perhaps be unfair to say that Vallabhbhai Patel was the founder of Indian partition,’ Azad also admits that Sardar Patel accepted partition because Muslim League made the working of the interim Government almost impossible. Azad accuses Patel for being totally responsible for partition and at the same time blames League and the British for the tumultuous incident of partition.

On the other hand the Pakistani politicians have justified their view in favour of creation of Pakistan which according to them was the only means to safeguard Muslim interests. They also have made both Mountbatten and the Congress leaders responsible for depriving Pakistan of its rightful territorial and economic resources so that the country might be economically unsound and paralyzed. Thus, there is a sense of triumph in these works which seek to present the picture that in spite of the policies of Mountbatten and the Congress, Pakistan had survived. Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali mentions that the Hindus and the Muslims, though lived together for decades, still differences persisted among them. The differences were so acute that there was no way out to cement the relationship. So the formation of two separate nations was inevitable and settled fact. He states that actually the gulf was further widened under British rule, i.e. the ‘divide and rule’ politics. He alleges the discriminatory policies of the Congress in pushing the League to isolation. Therefore, he is of the view that for the sake of the Muslims and their interests, the League demanded a separate state ‘Pakistan’. Muslim Politics 1906-1942 of Humayun Kabir, The Communal Triangle in India of Asoka Mehata and Achhut Patwardhan gave importance on communal politics of Muslims in India, it was nothing but the offshoot of the policy followed by the British for weakening the nationalist struggle.

After these ‘first-hand’ accounts and memoirs, the works of later day scholars and academicians have further developed the understanding of ‘High Politics’. Those include the works of David Page, R.J Moore and Anita Inder Singh. A.I Singh believes that the divide and rule was the main object of the imperialist rulers. The British policy in India, mainly after the birth of the National Congress aimed at creating a dividing line between Hindus and the Muslims. The British administrators passively and fanned the flame of anti-Congress Muslim opinion against Hindu
nationalism advocated by the National Congress. Singh opines that India was partitioned at the behest of the Muslim League and also for the British interests. So, even though the Congress was opposed to it till the very end, yet it had to give in finally on account of the mounting pressure from the Muslim League demanding a sovereign state for the Muslims, and the British agreed to it, keeping in mind the prevailing circumstances. She adds that “the long term strategic interest of the British counseled them against partition, but that their short term tactics contributed to its fruition”.

However, revisionist historiography has challenged the blameworthiness of the Muslim League behind the event of partition of India. Ayesha Jalal’s work ‘The Sole Spokesmen: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan, is a sharp departure from the prevailing concept. Her argument is that the demand for Pakistan was never meant to be what it actually resulted in, i.e. a full-fledged sovereign nation for the Muslims. Rather it was to be seen merely as a ‘bargaining counter’ or a ‘tactical move.’ Some have argued that Jinnah was ‘hoist with his own petard’, he fell captive to his promise of separate statehood for six provinces and was left by the partition with the truncated state that was alone consistent with the concept of a nation defined by the religious map of the sub-Continent. But Jalal points out that Jinnah was rather compelled to accept the ‘moth eaten Pakistan’ offered by the 3rd June plan, the only alternative available to him. Her contention is that Jinnah was not in favour of Partition of India, but he was rather pushed towards using this tactic to safeguard Muslim interests. Jalal is of the view that it was the Congress and the British who pushed the League to take on this separatist tendency. Thus, question of ‘high politics’ continues to be debated, assessed and reassessed. Recent works have again brought out this debate into light.

H.M. Seerval, a hardcore supporter of Jinnah and Muslim League opines that Jinnah started harping on unity among Muslims of India after 1937 and also their socio-economic and cultural development so that they could stand on their own feet. Hector Bolitho, the first official biographer discusses how Jinnah hardened his attitude towards the Congress in order to defend the rights of Muslim minority. Bolitho believes that Jinnah advocated the theory of separate state for the Muslims as a reaction to the policy of the Congress. Like Bolitho, Ayesha Jalal implicitly agrees
that both Jinnah and Muslim League had responsibility for partition through their reactionary policies towards the Congress. Jalal believes that the ‘circumstantial weight’ resulted Jinnah’s advocacy for Pakistan and the acceptance of the congress leaders the event like partition. She agrees that in the midst of uncertainties, ambiguities and also indeterminacies of the late colonial politics the partition was the ultimate goal, not only for the Muslims but also of the communalist trends.\(^{30}\) The first official biography of Jinnah by Hector Bolitho highlights the fact that how Jinnah has made reactionary pronouncements and toughened his attitude towards Congress, in defense of the rights of the Muslim minority. According to him Jinnah advocacy for a separate state for Muslims was nothing but the reactionary expression of the Congress policy.\(^{31}\)

A new trend in Partition historiography has focused on the regions which were actually affected i.e. Punjab, Sind and Bengal. Thus the concern has now shifted from the all-India perspective to regional and provincial contexts. To cite one example of how the regional perspective has enhanced our understanding of the Partition politics Joya Chatterji’s book *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947* is worth mentioning. According to Chatterji, Partition was desired by the Bengali *Bhadralok* community itself because the Macdonald Award (1932) and the Government of India Act (1935) had greatly reduced the presence of the Hindus in the local assembly, where the Muslims occupied a dominant position therein. This isolation of the Bengali *Bhadralok* was not restricted to the state level alone, rather during the period under consideration; the Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee was snubbed at even at the national level of politics where suddenly Bengal was sidelined. Chatterji traces on the vital role of the *Bhadralok* community of Bengal in spearheading the campaign in a significant way for the division of 1947. The elite Bengali community was not mute spectators to promote the Hindu communalism.\(^{32}\)

The focus on regional studies has certainly enhanced the knowledge on this topic as it has brought about a more nuanced analysis of the entire politics involved, and that too, from the states actually affected by the decision to vivisect the continent. Sucheta Mahajan, however, has a critique to offer against such regional studies. She finds such works as ‘denigrating nationalism’— ‘The form of the diatribe has altered every few years. The Cambridge school has come a long way from its direct, frontal assault on
nationalism in the 1960’s, when the politics of the early nationalist arenas was described derogatorily as a “cockfight”\textsuperscript{33}. More recent historiography lays importance on the underlining the meaning of Partition for the people who were the victims of circumstances. Thus, now the Partition history emphasizes upon the theme of refugees and their relentless striving for their gentle survival and peaceful existence in the alien territory and in the new abode. In the works represented by the early historians there was an effort to establish party prejudices and to either legitimize or contest the Partition of India based upon their respective biases.

The next set of works has described Partition as an event, not in political terms. To them it is a history of violence, a history of immense suffering and finally a history of the triumph of indomitable spirit. The works of Gyanendra Pandey and Urvashi Butalia are significant in this regards. Both Butalia and Pandey describe Partition in a manner different from conventional historiography. Rather, their focus is on the incalculable violence of that time and its impact on the human society. Butalia’s works are chiefly based on oral testimonies that presenting the human dimension of the event. She indicates it more clearly that the Independence Day is nothing but the reminiscence of the violence which victims of Partition experienced. Gyanendra Pandey’s work has narrated a similar theme, and thus it also differs from the earlier representations of Partition. His work has emphasized on the fact that the Partition of India and the violence that accompanied, was as much a reality as is its Independence from British rule. However, in this phase of Partition historiography, historians observe complete silence and remain absolutely mute on the ‘Partition in the East’\textsuperscript{34}.

**The Aftermath of partition:**

In the next phase in Partition historiography, academic scholarship has shifted away from pre-histories of partition to aftermath of partition, not on the victimization alone, but rather survival in the face of adversities i.e. from causalities to ‘lived experience’\textsuperscript{35}. The works during this phase, look beyond the politics of Partition and instead focus on the politics after Partition. Those works stress exclusively on the partition repercussions on the refugees and their tales of ceaseless struggle. At the same time, it not only looks at the subject as merely passive victims, rather as active participants in the whole process of rehabilitation. Collective as well as individual
memories of the horrific acts of violence have been mediated in gendered line also. Truly speaking, the marginalized refugee women are the worst victim of atrocities relating to Partition. ‘Borders and Boundaries: Women in Indian Partition’ by Ritu Menon and Kamala Bhasin opens a new horizon in Partition studies. Gargi Chakravarty’s book ‘Coming Out of Partition’ categorically emphasizes on the ‘refugee women’ and their constant efforts for survival during that period of turmoil. The book stresses on the hardships that experienced by the women in the aftermath of the Bengal partition. Their struggle for shelter, food and jobs has become part of the wider women’s movement. Gargi Chakraborty describes the tremendous challenge faced by the refugee women in rebuilding their lives in a new environment. The writer traces on the lives of uprooted women who faced immense challenges for rebuilding and reshaping their lives. She also emphasizes how and why the Hindus were compelled to quit their ancestral abodes. She also indicates the transition in the lives of refugee women.

Post-Partition rehabilitation is another often ignored aspect in Partition studies. By making a comparative analysis of the rehabilitation measures adopted by the government of India vis-à-vis the refugees from Punjab and Bengal. One notices an imbalance and a consequence deprivation of one set of refugees for the privilege of another. The difference in the treatment meted out to the refugees is also reflective of state ideology regarding its area of responsibility. By deciding who was to be included in the rehabilitation policy and who was not, and also by showing a sense of urgency in one case and that of restraint in another, an understanding of nation-making can be derived. Thus, the preceding paragraphs have traced the various aspects covered so far in Partition historiography, and also mentioned the purpose of this dissertation.

**Studies on the settlement of the East Bengal refugees:**

The earliest works which have discussed the rehabilitation of refugees in West Bengal are the works of Nilanjana Chatterjee and Jhuma Sanyal Chakraborty. Both these works have made the Bengali refugee their main subject. Chakraborty’s work specifically looks at rehabilitation policies in West Bengal. Rich in detailing the struggle and survival of the Bengali migrant in West Bengal, this work however, does not look at rehabilitation beyond 1954. This is because as per the Government of
India guidelines which were followed by the Government of West Bengal immediately, rehabilitation of refugees in West Bengal was not encouraged after 1954. They were dispersed to the neighbouring states.

The next set of pioneering studies in this field has been that of Joya Chatterji. Chatterji has dealt with the theme of Partition of Bengal, by far, in the most complete sense. Whereas her dissertation, later published as *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-1947*, falls in the domain of the first phase in Partition historiography in discussing what led to Partition, her subsequent works discuss the aftermath of Partition. The main area of focus for Chatterji, however, remains the politics in the post-Partition era in West Bengal. Her discussion on refugees primarily has the purpose of showing how the growing discontent among the refugees forced them away. According to Chatterji, the Partition of Bengal was much desired by the Hindu Bhadralok themselves who feared a complete Muslim domination of the state and hence demanded Partition. As a follow up to this argument, Chatterji in her next article ‘The Fashioning of Frontier: The Radcliffe Line and the Bengalis’ Border Landscape, 1947-52’ discusses how the Radcliffe line was highly ill-conceived, completely disregarded and was totally oblivious of the internal boundaries based on geography, economics and most importantly that of everyday routine. But the next part of the argument shows that the boundary commission was not all that aloof of the greater political considerations as it was presented to be. Once again, here the debates of the Bengali *bhadralok* who tried to include their states/districts into the Indian side of the border are used by her to show that Partition was desired by the *bhadralok* themselves keeping in mind the fears of Muslim domination and the resulting loss of power.

That such calculated moves actually backfired with the *bhadralok*, was losing ground in both the Bengals is the subject of Chatterji’s later works, especially ‘The Spoils of Partition’ (2007). This memorable book by an acknowledged expert on the subject assesses the social, economic and political consequences of partition. Using convincing sources, Chatterjee shows that the unprecedented upheavals, massive shift of population created the unexpected transformations of the political landscape in Bengal as well as in India. The book also reveals how the spoils of partition, which the Congress of Bengal had expected from the new boundaries, were squandered over the
twenty years that followed. This is an intriguing and challenging work whose findings subsequently changed our understanding and its consequences for the history of the subcontinent. In the scholarly articles authored by her, she brings to light the policy of denial adopted by the government vis-à-vis these refugees, and the efforts of the refugees to rehabilitate themselves in spite of the hostile conditions.\textsuperscript{41} Through comparative analysis, the differential treatment meted out to the refugee in the East has elaborately been done.

Edward Said makes a distinction between exile, refugees, expatriates and émigrés. According to him the origin of exile is actually an ancient practice of deportation which stigmatized the exile as a form of rejection. He observes that refugees are the byproduct of modern state and political innocents united in bewilderment. Expatriate shares the same condition like that of exile but they are free to return their homeland in spite of having chosen to leave the homeland. But the émigrés though experience of exile, may have created a national identity away from their national origin.\textsuperscript{42} Despite the above stated differentiation, it cannot be denied of that the displacement aftermath of the partition was nothing but one kind of exile. They were all foreigners, though their nature differed from each other. Naturally, the uprooted persons had no other alternative but to cope with the alien land. Their efforts for rehabilitation have also been discussed in detail in this dissertation. The main argument of this dissertation is that the rehabilitation of the refugees was the first task for the nascent nation-state.

However, the State laid the foundation for the differential treatment meted out to the refugees migrating from West and East Pakistan. Where the State agreed that the incoming migrants were the victims of the most gruesome violence, there the state agreed its role as the protector with promptitude and efficiency. But where the incoming migrants were considered as victims of ‘psychological fear’ and not ‘real violence’, there the state adopted the policy to restrain the inflow of refugees. Thus, migrants from Punjab were seen as the worst victims of Partition violence, and hence, relief and rehabilitation was provided with a sense of urgency. But migrants from Bengal were not identified as victims of such ‘real violence’.\textsuperscript{43} Likewise, the responsibility of the State was reduced. In fact, as is commonly observed in official correspondence of the time, the minorities in the East were constantly referred to as ‘Pakistani minorities’ who were the responsibility of the Pakistani state, thereby denying them any legitimate claim to the citizenship of the Indian state\textsuperscript{44}.
This thesis looks at the function of the State for the improvement of rehabilitation process. This dissertation also questions two important presumptions derived from a study of the rehabilitation of refugees. From the point of view of the State, the blame for the failure of rehabilitation in the East was rested upon the static Bengali migrants who could not utilize the opportunities like their counterpart in the West. This hypothesis simply overlooked the faults of the State policy and this false assumption actually became the hindrance in the way of prompt granting of fund rehabilitation. It was nothing but a miscalculation of the magnitude of the problem which was regarded as temporary and this caused the lack of adequate rehabilitation facilities. From the point of view of the refugees it was stated that while the refugees from Punjab were seen as victims, but the Bengali refugees were not given due attention and recognition from the point of view of victimization.

Discussions on the forced immigration of the minority Hindu community from East Pakistan to West Bengal in search of own abode and their tireless endeavour to adjust in new land started since 1950, although it got the attention of historians on those issues only since 1990. Studies on the refugees of East Bengal previously were initiated by the Union Government and West Bengal Government just for the administrative requirement. Since immediately after the Partition, state capital so far as its suburban areas were concerned, were flooded with refugee exodus from East Bengal. Concentration of the displace persons were becoming more and more acute in those places which were comparatively easily approachable. During this period Government of India had instructed Indian Statistical Institute (ISI) for collecting information on those uprooted people from East Bengal. Kanti. B. Pakrasi’s remarkable work titled “The Uprooted: A Sociological Study on the Refugees of West Bengal in 1971” which was based on the survey conducted by ISI during the period 25 May to 9 September,1948. B.S. Guha edited a book named ‘Studies in Social Tension among the Refugees from Eastern Pakistan’ which was based on the survey report of Anthropological Survey of India (ASI) published in 1959. N. Chakbaborty in 1951 submitted ‘Report on the Sample Survey for Estimating the Socio-Economic Characteristics of Displaced Persons Migrated from Eastern Pakistan to the State of West Bengal’ which throws light on various aspects of refugee life. Hiranmoy Bandapadhyay, a notable personality and a civilian (ICS) of the then British period,
procured vast experience as he was in the supreme administrator to deal with the problems of the exodus from the then East Pakistan to Indian Territory. He has elaborately discussed and analyzed the roles of Government of West Bengal and Central Government. He also has expresses his apprehension that after the attainment of Independence the problem of refugees especially who migrated from East Pakistan remains unsolved. From that point of view the book ‘Udvastu’ (Refugee) can be treated as the basement of partition history.

‘The Marginal Men’ is a conspicuous evidence of the refugee exodus in West Bengal and its impact on the Bengal politics. The deplorable conditions of the refugees, their pang and pity, their intrepidity, their incessant struggle to adjust with new environment, their entrepreneurship have been depicted in an artistic way. The process of establishment of new colonies and subsequently establishment of new organization for the rights of refugees gave birth to a new modern idealism. According to the author these movements laid the very foundation of the future leftist movement of West Bengal. The book vividly represents the deplorable condition of uprooted in various camps, their ‘satyagraha’ movement, their strife for rehabilitation, their demand for formulating new development policies, their participation in the movement for food, movement for fare hike of tram etc.

Apart from the theme of rehabilitation of refugees, other areas of focus in this phase of Partition historiography involves two themes — border area studies and the troubled question of citizenship and loyalties in post-Partition India. Willem van Schendel and Ranabir Samaddar present pioneering works in this direction. They argue that a study of borderlands is important because Partition left the maximum impact on those areas and still bears a continuing legacy. Samaddar brings in to light the continuing migration across the Indo-Bangladesh border. In his opinion this migration, which has been termed as illegal is due to the creation of this arbitrarily drawn border. In this region several enclaves used to exist, which were actually islands of Indian Territory in Bangladesh and vice versa. The plight of the residents in those areas beggars description. They are harassed by the local population and at the same time are often arrested for their attempt to unlawful entry into Indian soil as illegal migration. Partition is an enduring fact, living in the present as much as in the
past. Partition led to the rise of a new social arrangements, new consciousness and also of new subjectivity.\textsuperscript{50}

The focus of Post-Partition studies moved away from the violence to trauma. The trauma of Partition became the other area of study by the recent scholars. At the initial stage the Partition studies had remained confined within the periphery of events concerning 15th August 1947— seldom moved beyond that date. More importantly, even though individual refugee made his/her appearance, yet they remained stagnant in time. The refugees were viewed as living testimonies of this tragic event, often asked to recollect those days of unrest, turmoil and anarchy. Refugees were seen as passive agents in an event where apart from being the victims of this ‘greatest human tragedy’. Josodhara Bagchi, Subhoranjan Dasgupta & Subhasri Ghosh, edited book *The Trauma and the Triumph, Gender and partition in Eastern India* discusses the partition in eastern region and focuses on East and West Bengal. The book incorporates the Muslim voices and their experiences on the other side of division i.e. East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. At the same time the book deals with Muslim women residing in West Bengal. How did the face the grim reality of vivisection has vividly analyzed in the said book. This book is a glaring testimony of the memories, experiences, recollections of some refugee women; their unending struggle and ultimately of their victory against all possible odds.\textsuperscript{51}

Ganesh Kudaisya’s book *Divided Landscapes, Fragmented Identities: East Bengal Refugees and their Rehabilitation in India 1947-79*, ‘*The Changing Profile of a Province* of Chittabrata Palit and Ujjal Roy; *Changing Borders, Shifting Loyalties: Religion, Caste and the Partition of Bengal in 1947; Remembered villages: Representation of Hindu Bengali memories in the aftermath of the partition* by Dipesh chakraborty are some important works in this field. Pradip Kumar Bose’s *Refugees in West Bengal* critically analyzes the two major influx of the immediate aftermath of Partition so far as the liberation war of East Pakistan is concerned. The book comprises a number of articles regarding the refugees of West Bengal. The author of the book raises issues of cultural dimension of refugee hood. The book also covers the question of refugee rehabilitation. Bose tries to incorporate the refugee concept with socio-cultural milieu.
Memoirs like *Chhere asa gram* of Dakhshina Ranjan Basu, *Udvastu* of Hiranmoy Bandopadhyay, *Dayamayeer kotha* of Sunanda Sikdar, *Desh bhag o desh tyag* of Sandipan Bandapadhyay contributed a lot in the field of partition studies. Josodhara Bagchi, and Abhijit Sen’s *Shatabarshe Ashalata*; Hiranmoy Bandopadhyay’s *Ja dekhechhi, Udvastu*, Atin Bandapadhyay’s *Deshbhager Dinguli*; Prativa Basu’s *Jibaner jalchhabi*, Nirenbdranath Charaborty’s *Bhite chhada, Nirbindu*, Nirad C. Chaudhry’s *Aji hote shatabarsha age, Amar debottar Sampatti*; Bina Das’s *Srinkel Jhankar*; Hena Das’s *Smritimoy Dinguli*; Ashoka Gupta’s *Noakhali Durjoger Smriti*; Shyamaprasad Mukherjee’s *Leaves From A Diary*; Ashok Mitra’s *Tin kuri dosh* (part II& III) Tapan Roychowdhury’s *Ramanthan Athaba Bhimroti Praptir Paracharitcharcha, Banganama*, etc. are the valuable contributions of the writers of West Bengal.

One sided interviews and one sided recording of incidents also have not disclose the violence on this side of the border. Focus on Partition violence brings to light only one aspect of the State—either as one who was held responsible for this violence or as the one who tried to quell the violence once it started spreading infinitely. The true nature of the nascent state in the immediate aftermath of Independence and Partition needs a closer analysis which has not come through in the above mentioned studies. Also, in the first task set before it, the State was trying to define its territories, responsibilities, and also its ‘rightful’ subjects. Finally, the coming of age of the refugee also has not come across from these studies. The refugees have tried their level best to make the alien land their homeland with or without the support of the State and the original inhabitants is an aspect which can come through only after a study of the lacuna in the Government-sponsored rehabilitation policies.

This work seeks to bring into light the fact that rehabilitation in the East is primarily the work of the refugees themselves, whereas, in the West the contribution of the State is equally significant if not more. This argument stems from a direct comparison of the policies of the government and the self-initiative of the refugees coming from West Pakistan and East Pakistan. It is also based on the fact that though conflict between the refugees and the State was not altogether absent in the West, it was outshined by the magnitude of this conflict in the East simply outshone any similar conflict in the West. It is this differential treatment that the dissertation focuses on.
Lots have been spoken about the partition by different eminent scholars, academicians, historians, politicians and statesmen from different angles and perspectives.

**Research gap:**

The massive influx of refugees into West Bengal attracted the attention of a number of researchers. The causes and effects of partition, its impact on common mass, the pathos and trauma of displaced persons have been widely discussed by the researchers. There is no doubt that division of India was a central point of focus in post colonial history. A large number of immigrants came to North Bengal from East Pakistan and on the contrary from West Pakistan to India for refuge. Their stories, experiences, day to day hardships were really beyond description. Their miserable plight was described vividly by different academicians. Virtually there is no dearth of material on partition history. As a matter of fact the refugee problem has been the centre of discussion for decades together. _Udvastu_ of Hiranmoy Bandapatdy, ‘The Marginal Men of Prafulla Chakraborty, Coming out of Partition of Gargi Chakraborty, The Trauma and Triumph_ edited by Josodhara Bagchi provides some details of refugee crisis of West Bengal. Very recently Monika Mondol in her work has discussed refugee rehabilitation in West Bengal with special emphasis on Malda. Taking into account the refugee of North Bengal, it is found there is a lack of serious discussion and academic introspection. The memory of violence, bloodshed, troubling realities that accompanied partition in North Bengal have remained blanketed in silence.

A bulk of women population of East Pakistan has to struggle a lot along with their male counterparts. But their efforts for survival and attempts to cope with the new situation have not given due importance. The history of displaced persons and their quest for new shelter in the districts of North Bengal has remained almost untouched. The main focus of the thesis is on the refugee exodus in North Bengal. The purpose of the dissertation is to unearth the miseries of the displaced women who migrated over here in the perspective of Partition of 1947 and Bangladesh war in 1971 consecutively. North Bengal being an integral part of West Bengal has constituted a separate social structure perhaps due to its peculiar geographical position and multiple
characteristics of population. So the nature of hardship that the men and women had to confront was to some extent different from Bengal as a whole. The thesis in question would try to ventilate and throw light to bring out the untold, unsung, unwritten tales of sufferings of those unfortunate victims of partition, specially the women who by dint of their leech like tenacity and dogged perseverance had confronted all sorts of eventualities. The Partition of 1947 was an event when the Hindus, Muslims as well as Sikhs were involved in the violence and women became a symbolic target of all communal violence. They were the worst sufferers of Partition. The sexual brutalities that women of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities suffered in this turbulent time by the rioting mobs were really heart rending. Beside this humiliation, violence and sufferings that had been inflicted upon those women, another aspect of their lived histories remain unacknowledged i.e. their silent sacrifice to save their families. Of course those memories have been expressed by Ritu Menon and Urvashi Butalia in Borders and Boundaries: Women in India’s Partition, and The Other Side of Silence: Voice from the Partition of India. A number of feminist writers have produced their own narratives in their writings.

To throw light on the hidden history of womenfolk of North Bengal, both migrant and non-migrants, is one of the principal objects of the project in question. The true and authentic pictures of those migrated unfortunate women have not been brought into light, not narrated and have remained unearthed. The untold tales of humiliated women community have been thrown into profound darkness of oblivion. The miserable predicament, incessant struggle and unpleasant experiences of the refugee women who migrated over here after the War of liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 also have not got adequate attention of the researchers. The proposed study of dissertation has intended to bring those facts into light. This thesis on refugee exodus in the districts of West Bengal as well as of North Bengal will perhaps fill up the vacuum of previous incomplete and inadequate researches for the expedition and cultivation of further micro level studies.

The second chapter has enlightened on the fact that the partition of India purported on religious lines creating two independent nations, viz. India and Pakistan. This bifurcation caused a great upheaval in Punjab and Bengal. The consequences of the Radcliff line and the partition of India could not be predicted by the political and administrative heads of India, Pakistan and so far as United Kingdom was concerned.
Both India and Pakistan had firm conviction that partition was the only way to get rid of existing turmoil. As a result of the partition, the displaced residents of Punjab were accommodated with the active help and cooperation of the Central Government. They were accommodated in different parts along with employments or extending business facilities. Exchange of population was their major achievement, while the refugees from East Pakistan were often been physically assaulted and mentally tortured. Apprehending further atrocities, the refugees, specially the women became cautious to protect themselves from sexual abuses and promptly decided to move towards West Bengal districts. They preferred to migrate to West Bengal districts due to the geographical proximity and the identical mother tongue. The untold sufferings of those unfortunate Hindu minorities beggared description. This inflow of refugees was still in vogue even after the creation of independent Bangladesh in 1971 under the inspiring leadership of Sheikh Mujibar Rahaman.

The third chapter has focused on the rehabilitation of refugees hailing from East Pakistan in West Bengal as well as in North Bengal. West Bengal being a state adjacent to East Pakistan, its political territory shared its borders by nine districts of West Bengal including five districts in North Bengal. The migrated people flocked to different areas of North Bengal crossing the Brahmaputra and Barak valleys. The other wing moved towards Tripura, Assam and Manipur. Most of the refugees from Jessore moved to settle in Nadia. West Bengal districts lured the refugees as the districts were well to do and prosperous. The East Bengal refugees preferred to shift to West Bengal districts like 24 Parganas, Hooghly, Nadia, Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Howrah, Midnapore and Murshidabad for permanent settlement. The surplus refugees were sent to other states viz. Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Assam etc. The five districts of North Bengal were also crowded with the refugee influx. Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, West Dinajpur and Malda accommodated a considerable number of refugees. Apart from permanent settlement in West Bengal the Government thought positively for the all round developments of refugees both for men and women. They were provided with loans for various purposes. Traders were allotted trade loans, cultivators were granted free lands and free seeds, cattle were also supplied. For the protection of health and nourishment, the Government and the philanthropic organizations came forward with their hands of help and
cooperation. Schools of different categories, including technical schools were set up for the purpose of education.

The forth chapter of the thesis has emphasized on the inflow of evacuees from Bangladesh to West Bengal after 1971. In 1971, following a successful war of liberation with Pakistan, East Pakistan became the independent state of Bangladesh. Both political and economic factors were the underlying causes behind the migration in post 1971 period. The successive inflow of fresh refugees owing to the war of liberation of Bangladesh, West Bengal had to face fresh troubles in all respect. Political instability, fear of riots and terrorism in Bangladesh, inhuman attitude and activities of the political leaders, absence of democratic rights prompted the Bangladeshi Hindus to shift to India. During war of liberation lacks of people from Muslim and other communities also took temporary shelter in India, more specifically in the border districts of West Bengal for months together. The religious fundamentalism, religious instigation by political leaders and above all a feeling of insecurity of the Hindus were the major crucial issues behind leaving their ancestral abode. The influx of evacuees from Bangladesh continued to rock West Bengal even few years back. The scarcity of land for settlement in West Bengal forced the West Bengal Government to take prompt decision to enable the Bangladeshi Hindu refugees for their settlement in Dandakaranya of Madhya Pradesh and other states also. Afterwards a huge number of displaced persons were provided in Marichjhapi of Sundarbon. These aspects have been illustrated in this chapter thoroughly.

Within the hermeneutic of patriarchy the women are often considered as the embodiment of the honour of her own community. During the period of ethnic, religious or other violence and even in the state of communal frenzy, the fairersex become the major target of attack. Attack on a woman’s body always signifies an assault on the family and the community. Rape has always been a powerful weapon in humiliating and disenfranchising the foe. The fifth chapter has ventilated the psychological convulsion over migration and violence, hardship and trauma that the women in West Bengal as well as in North Bengal had confronted with. Centering round the partition of India the women had long been neglected and ignored in history though they were the worst victims. The chapter has portrayed a clear picture of the oppressed womenfolk, the constant oppression on them, humiliation, sexual
harassment, physical torture and also their trauma following partition. Despite their numerous problems they have had the courage to face the untoward situation with valour, intrepidity, perseverance, tenacity and lofty ambition. The women refugees in India so far as Bengal was concerned, were distained to undergo through various obstructions and social hurdles from the very early period of partition. With the frequent changes of social scenario, the outlook, the vision, the aptitude, the consciousness, the attitude and the destination of women also changed gradually. A sizable number of refugee women tried to explore and exhibit their prowess and excellence after coming over in India. The most striking feature of the period was the Bengali women developing an inclination towards political consciousness and thus a new dimension opened. The political and social thinking of women, their sentiments and observations, their mind-set and propensity towards society and politics took a concrete shape.

‘The pen is mightier than sword’. In the event of partition a problem cropped up for the massive influx of migrated individuals hailing from East Pakistan towards India particularly, in the spatial locale of West Bengal. As a revolutionary event Partition of India had spontaneously produced numerous masterpieces. The deplorable condition of refugees has been vividly depicted by thinkers, academicians, poets, dramatists and writers. Besides the valuable contributions of Bengali authors some authors of other states have contributed much on partition literature. While some creations have depicted the massacre during the refugee migration, others concentrated more on the aftermath of the partition in terms of the troubles faced by the refugees in both sides of the borders. Even now, more than seventy years after the partition, works on fiction as well as films are being made. The event of partition along with its prelude and legacy has been the subject of different scholars has remained intact till today. The fictions, short stories, poems, memoirs, dramas, films on partition have been projected in the sixth chapter.

**Methodology:**

For the preparation of the present dissertation materials from various sources has been procured. The research work classified in to two parts- primary sources and secondary sources. The primary sources consist of archival sources, census reports, district
gazetteers, state and district level archival materials, reports from refugee rehabilitation, administrative reports and above all interview of those women who were the victims of partition and women who migrated in 1947 and after. For the collection of secondary sources various relevant books both contemporary and recent; journals and periodicals; articles, some personal records, memoirs have been consulted. For the concrete paper both primary and secondary source have been utilized. Oral sources have acted as an important source for preparing the research paper. Data has been procured from valuable experiences of the refugee women as valuable information. Along with field study, data has been gathered from reports of various girls’ school, souvenirs to reach at a logical and substantiated conclusion.

Oral history or the personal narrative in the form of an open-ended extended interview with persons directly and personally witness to or victims of traumatic events has been tried effectively as a research technique in several recent works on Partition. The present research paper has also utilized it. The outstanding virtue of this technique is that it presents a personal, perhaps emotive, insight into the life story of the interviewee. He/she is not treated merely as a source or object of information but as a subject who is intrinsic to the story he/she tells. Each such story is a living history to be read on its own merits. The interviewees were allowed to narrate their story at their own fashion.

References:


9. ibid, p.18.


11. ibid, p.2.


18. ibid, p.501.
21. ibid, p.371.
27 The view cited by Moore, Jinnah and the Pakistan demand’. India’s Partition, ed. Hasan, 162, but refuted in his chapter.
'
38. Nilanjana Chatterjee, “Midnight’s Unwanted Children”, PhD dissertation,
43. ibid.