OH W 2-3:30 p.m. And by appointment 5.156 SAC; 1-8516

Anthropology Department Spring 2013 SAC 5.118 M,W 3:30- 5 pm

AN324L (31823), ANS361 (31711), WGS 340 (47335)

### NATIONALISM AND GENDER IN SOUTH ASIA

This course asks why Hindu, Islamic, and Buddhist nationalist movements so often take women's roles as central to their political projects. By focusing on gender, the course explores the consequences of Partition for the subcontinent, and examines the cases of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka to analyze the cultural construction of masculinity or femininity in the genesis of nationalist ideologies. The course explores different ways of thinking about sexual violence, communal conflict, militant or terrorist movements, as well as the impact of feminism upon the politics of South Asia. The course is interdisciplinary and draws upon documentary film, commercial, and independent cinema as contrastive representational strategies to oral history and ethnography for understanding South Asian nationalist movements.

Prerequisites: It is strongly recommended that students in this course have taken ANS 302 "Introduction to India/South Asia" or another upper division course on South Asia.

### Recommended Reading:

Kamala Visweswaran (ed). Modern South Asia (Blackwells, 2011).

# Required Readings:

Faisal Devji. The Terrorist in Search of Humanity. (Columbia University Press, 2008) Parvis Ghassemi. Pogrom in Gujarat (Princeton University Press, 2012) Naveeda Khan. Muslim Becoming. (Duke University Press, 2011) Ania Loombia et al. (eds). South Asian Feminisms. (Duke University Press, 2011) Kalyani Menon. Women of the Hindu Right in India. (UPennsylvania Press, 2010) Yasmin Saikia. Women, war, and the Making of Bangladesh. (Duke, 2011) Sharika Thiranagama. In My Mother's House. (UPennsylvannia Press, 2013) Margaret Trawick. Enemy Lines. (University of California Press, 2007) Vazira Zamindar. The Long Partition (Columbia University Press, 2007)

# **Course Requirements:**

All students are required to attend class regularly, to complete all assigned reading and to participate in class discussion (25%). Students will be required to bring discussion questions to class each day, and are required to lead discussion a minimum of three times in the semester. Short in-class quizzes or writing assignments may also be given as part of your class participation grade. Students are also required to complete either 1) two short papers of 7-8 pages on questions assigned by the instructor, to be due on March 6 and May 8<sup>th</sup>, or 2) a 15 page term paper (due May 8<sup>th</sup>) on a topic of the student's choice decided in consultation with the instructor. Final grades will be the total of the class participation grade (25%) and the paper grade/s (75%). Students are encouraged to develop paper topics around any of the recommended reading or optional films on reserve in the South Asia Institute Outreach Center. Graduate students are required write a research paper of 15-20 pages with approval of the instructor; the final paper will be due on May 8, 2013.

Students are encouraged to turn in typed rough drafts of their papers to get early feedback on their writing. All students are required to do original work; plagiarism or cheating on assignments in any way will result in punishment according to university rules. **No late papers will be graded. No incompletes without a valid medical certificate**.

## (M) Jan. 14: Introduction

### (W) Jan. 16: Feature Film: Garam Hawa (Part I)

The story of 194 and of India's Independence, showing how families on both sides of the border suffered emotionally, and how their dreams were shattered by Partition.(150 min).

### Recommended:

Quaratalain Hyder 1999. "Introduction" and "The Sound of Falling Leaves" in <u>A Season of Betrayals</u>. Kali. ® pp.i-xx; 1-17

Sadat Hasan Manto. 1999 "Kol Do" in Alok Bhalla (ed). <u>Stories About the Partition of India.</u> Delhi: Harper Collins. Pp. 358-62.

Bisham Sahni. 1988. Tamas. London: Penguin.

Bapsi Sidwa. 1988. Ice-Candy Man. London: Penguin.

Mumtaz Shah Nawaz. 2004. The Heart Divided. Delhi: Penguin.

## (M) Jan. 21 MLK Holiday

# (W) Jan. 23 Zamindar-i

Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin. "Abducted Women" in Modern South Asia. Visweswaran (ed).

## (M) Jan 28 Garam Hawa (Part II)

## (W) Jan 30 Zamindar-ii

### Recommended:

Urvashi Bhutalia. 1995. "Muslims and Hindus, Men and Women: Communal Stereotypes and the Partition of India" in Women of the Hindu Right.

## (M) Feb. 4 Khan-i

### Recommended:

Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed. 1987. Women of Pakistan: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back. London: Zed.

Shanaz Rouse. 1996. Gender, Nationalism(s) and Cultural Identity" in Embodied Violence. K. Jayawardene and M. de Alwis (eds). Delhi: Kali

Lubna Chaudhury. 2004 "Reconstituting Selves in the Karachi Conflict" in "Gendered Violence in South Asia" Special Issue of Cultural Dynamics. (16:2/3) October 2004.

### (W) Feb. 6 Khan-ii

### Recommended:

Khawar Mumtaz, "Identity Politics and Women: Fundmentalism and Women in Pakistan" in Identity Politics.

Shanaz Rouse. 2004. Shifting Body Politics: Gender, Nation and State in Pakistan. Delhi: Women Unlimited. Ch 1-3, pp.1-150.

## (M) Feb. 11 KHAMOSH PAANI (SILENTWATERS): AFILM BY SABIHA SUMAR

Ayesha is a seemingly well-adjusted middle-aged woman whose life centers around her son Saleem--a gentle, dreamy 18-year-old, in love with Zubeida. They live in the village of Charkhi, in Pakistani Punjab. Ayesha's husband is dead and she manages a living from

his pension and by giving Quran lessons to young girls. The story begins in 1979, in a Pakistan under President General Zia-ul-Haq's martial law. In a few months the country will become a state ruled by Islamic law. Saleem becomes intensely involved with a group of Islamic fundamentalists and leaves Zubeida. Ayesha is saddened to see her son change radically. Events escalate when Sikh pilgrims from India pour into the village. Later, a pilgrim looks for his sister Veero who was abducted in 1947. This awakens heart-rending memories. (2003, 99 minutes)

#### Recommended:

Lubna Chaudhury, "Reconstituting Selves in the Karachi Conflict" in A. Chatterji and L. Chaudhry "Gendered Violence in South Asia' Special Issue of <u>Cultural Dynamics</u>. (16:2/3) October 2004

Anuradha Chenoy, Ch. 1 "Understanding Militarism" Ch. 4, "Militarism in Pakistan," Ch 6, "Militarism in India," pp.1-62;7 122-74

Rubina Saigol. 1997. "Militarisation, Nation and Gender: Women's Bodies as Arenas of Violent Conflict" in Zia Mian and Iftikhar Ahmad, <u>Making Enemies, Creating Conflict: Pakistan's Crises of State and Society</u>. Lahore: Mashal

http://members.tripod.com/~no\_nukes\_sa/chapter\_7.html (The entire book is at http://members.tripod.com/~no\_nukes\_sa/Contents.html).

# (W) Feb. 13 Saikia-i

Naila Kabeer. 1988. "The Quest for National Identity: Women, Islam and the State in Bangladesh" in Modern South Asia

#### Recommended:

Bina d'Costa. <u>Nationbuilding, Gender, and War crimes in South Asia</u>.(Routledge, 2011). Chenoy, ch. 3 "Bangladesh: Poverty and Militarism"

Lamia Karim, "Democratizing Bangladesh: State, NGOs and Militant Islam," in Angana Chatterji and Lubna Chaudhry "Gendered Violence in South Asia' Special Issue of <u>Cultural</u> Dynamics. (16:2/3) October 2004

### (M) Feb. 18 Saikia-ii

## A CERTAIN LIBERATION, A FILM BY YASMIN KABIR

Gurudasi Mondol gave herself up to madness in 1971, during the Liberation War of Bangladesh, as she watched her entire family being killed by the collaborators of the occupying forces. Thirty years later, Gurudasi continues to roam the streets of Kopilmoni, a small-town in rural Bangladesh, in quest of all she has lost; snatching at will from strangers and breaking into spaces normally reserved for men. She is unafraid of authority and scorns it.. In Kopilmoni, Gurudasi has attained near legendary status.

Through her indomitable presence, she has kept alive the spirit of the Liberation War. (2003, 37 mins)

#### Recommended:

Mehgna Guha Thakurtha. "Women Negotiating Change: The Structure and Transformation of Gendered Violence in Bangladesh," in Angana Chatterji and Lubna Chaudhry "Gendered Violence in South Asia' Special Issue of <u>Cultural Dynamics</u>. (16:2/3) October 2004

Women's Action Forum. 1995. "Pakistan Apologises to Women of Bangladesh." WOMEN LIVING UNDER MUSLIM LAWS. Dossier 14/15.

Salma Sobhan. 1994. "National Identity, Fundamentalism and the Women's Movement in Bangladesh" in Val Moghadam (ed). <u>Gender and National Identity</u>. London: Zed Press pp. 63-79.

Yasmin Saikia. 2004. "Beyond the Archive of Silence: Narratives of Violence of the 1971 Liberation War of Bangladesh," <u>History Workshop Journal</u>, No. 58, Autumn 2004, pp. 274-286

## (W) Feb. 20 MATIR MOINA (CLAY BIRD): A FILM BY TAREQUE MASUD

Set against the backdrop of the turbulent period in the late 60's leading up to Bangladesh's independence from Pakistan, Matir Moina/The Clay Bird tells the story of a family torn apart by religion and war. A young boy, Anu, is sent off to a strict Islamic school, or madrasa, by his deeply religious father Kazi. As the political divisions in the country intensify, an increasing split develops between moderate and extremist forces within the madrasa, mirroring a growing divide between the stubborn but confused Kazi and his increasingly independent wife. Touching upon themes of religious tolerance, cultural diversity, and the complexity of Islam, Matir Moina has universal relevance in a crisis-ridden world. (2002, 98 minutes)

### Recommended:

Lamia Karim, "Democratizing Bangladesh: State, NGOs and Militant Islam," in Angana Chatterji and Lubna Chaudhry "Gendered Violence in South Asia" Special Issue of <u>Cultural Dynamics</u>. (16:2/3) October 2004, pp. 291-318.

Shelly Feldman. 1999. "(Re)Presenting Islam: Manipulating Gender, Shifting State Prectices and Class Frustrations in Bangladesh" in Patricia Jeffrey and Amrita Basu (eds). Resisting the Sacred and the Secualr: Women's Activism and Politicized Religion in South Asia. Delhi: Kali. pp. 33-52.

### (M) Feb. 25 Devji-i

## (W) Feb. 27 Devji -i

## (M) Mar. 4

Film: ANAND PATWARDHAN: FATHER, SON, AND HOLY WAR, Part 1:

TRIAL BY FIRE, a reference to the ordeal Hindu god-king Lord Rama tested his wife Sita's fidelity with, looks at the communal fires which have consumed India in recent years. "Sati," a rite by which Roop Kanwar was thrown on her husband's funeral pyre; the upper castes' "purifying" fire rituals and the communal fires that ravaged Bombay after the demolition of the mosque in Ayodhya are set against a small group of fire fighters: a Rajasthani woman who, against the odds, condemns Sati; a Muslim woman who battles gender discriminatory laws; and a band of Hindus and Muslims who march for communal harmony in the riot-torn streets of Bombay.

#### Recommended:

Manjari Katju. 2003. <u>VHP and Indian Politics</u>. Delhi: Orient Longman.Ch 2-3, pp. 5-60 Chetan Bhatt. 2001, <u>Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideologies, Modern Myths.</u> Berg. Ch.3-5, pp. 41-148

Lise McKean. 1996. <u>Divine Enterprise: Gurus and the Hindu Nationalist Movement</u>. University of Chicago Press.

(W) Mar. 6 Anand Patwardhan, Father, Son, And Holy War \*PAPERS DUE\*

Part 2: HERO PHARMACY (60 min)

HERO PHARMACY examines "manhood" in the context of religious strife. The Hindu majority has been raised on stories of marauding Muslim invaders who raped their women, destroyed their temples, and forced religious conversions. Today, some Hindus demand revenge for crimes committed centuries ago. They reject non-violence as impotence and set out to be "real men." In this context, the Muslim minority - despite fears of genocide - will not take things lying down. They too are driven by the imperative to be "real men." The result is carnage.

Mar 11 and 13: Spring Break

(M) Mar. 18 Ghassemi-i

(W) Mar. 20 Film: MEN IN THE TREE: A FILM BY LALIT VACHANI

In early 1993, Lalit Vachani and the Wide Eye Film team completed a documentary film, "The Boy in the Branch," for Channel 4 Television, U.K. Set at the headquarters of the RSS in Nagpur, India, the film was about the indoctrination of young Hindu boys by a branch of the RSS, the foremost Hindu fundamentalist

organization in India. Eight years later, Vachani returned to Nagpur to meet the characters from his earlier film. At one level, this is a film about memory. It is a documentary in the form of a personal revisit where a filmmaker returns to the issues, locations, and subjects of an earlier film. At another level, "The Men in the Tree" is a political documentary on the RSS and Hindu fundamentalism. It is about some of the individuals, stories, and myths, the buildings and the branches, that enable the growth of the RSS and its Hindutva ideology. (2002, 98 minutes)

# (M) Mar. 25 Ghassemi-ii

Paula Bacchetta. 2004. <u>Gender in the Hindu Nation. RSS Women as Ideologues</u>. Delhi: Women Unlimited. Ch 1-2 pp. 1-88

## (M) Mar. 31 Menon-i

#### Recommended:

Amrita Basu. "Feminism Inverted: The Gendered Imagery and Real Women of Hindu Nationalism" in <u>Women and the Hindu Right</u>. T. Sarkar. U. Bhutalia (eds). Delhi: Kali pp158-80.

Tanika Sarkar. 1995. "Heroic Women, Mother Goddesses: Family and Organization in Hindutva Politics" in Women and the Hindu Right. T. Sarkar. U. Bhutalia (eds). Delhi: Kali 181-215

Angana Chatterji, "The Biopolitics of Hindu Nationalism," in "Gendered Violence in South Asia" Special Issue of <u>Cultural Dy</u>namics. (16:2/3) October 2004.

## (M) Ap 1 Menon-ii

## Recommended:

Sikata Banerjee. 1995. "Hindu Nationalism and the Construction of Woman: The Shiv Sena Organizes Women in Bombay" in <u>Women and the Hindu Right</u>. T. Sarkar. U. Bhutalia (eds). Delhi: Kali

Teesta Setelvad. 1995."The Woman Shiv Sainik and Her Sister Swayamsevika" in <u>Women and the Hindu Right.</u> T. Sarkar. U. Bhutalia (eds). Delhi: Kali

Purushottam Agarwal. 1995. "Surat, Sarvarkar and Draupadi: Legitimising Rape as a Political Weapon" in Women of the Hindu Right.

## (W) Ap. 3 Trawick-i

### Recommended:

Chenoy, Ch. 5, "Sri Lanka: Militarization of State and Society" pp. 101-21

Joanna Macy. 1985. <u>Dharma and Development: Religion as Resource in the Sarvodaya Self-Help Movement</u>. Kumarian Press. Ch 2-5; 7, 9 pp. 21-73; 79-89, 98-114

Stanley Tambiah. 1996. "Two Postindependence Ethnic Riots in Sri Lanka" in <u>Leveling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia</u>. Berkeley UC Press, pp. 82-100

Val Daniel. 1997. "Violent Measures, Measured Violence" in <u>Chapters in an Anthropology</u> of Violence: Sri Lankans, Sinhalas and Tamils. Delhi: OUP. pp. 72-103

# (M) Ap. 8 Trawick-ii

### Recommended:

Niloufer deMel. <u>Militarizing Sri Lanka</u> (2007, Sage). Shyam Selvadurai, 1994. Funny Boy. Penguin

# (W) Ap. 10 THE TERRORIST, A FILM BY SANTOSH SIVAN

(*Theeviravaathi*). This feature film portrays a period in the life of a 19-year-old woman, Malli (Ayesha Dharker), sent to assassinate a leader in South Asia through a suicide bombing. (95 min)

### Recommended:

Sitralega Maunaguru. 1995. "Gendering Tamil Nationalism: The Construction of Woman in Projects of Protest and Control" in <u>Unmaking the Nation</u>. P. Jeganathan and Quadri Ismail (eds). Colombo: Social Scientist's Association.

Neloufer de Mel. "Agent or Victim? The Sri Lankan Woman Militant in the Interregunum" in <u>Women and the Nation's Narrative: Gender and Nationalism in</u> Twentieth Century Sri Lanka. New Delhi; Kali for Women. pp. 203-32.

Malati de Alwis. 1995. "Gender, Politics and the Respectable Lady" in <u>Unmaking the Nation.</u> P. Jeganathan and Quadri Ismail (eds). Colombo: Social Scientist's Association.

Qadri Ismail. "Constituting Nation, contesting Nationalism: the Southern Tamil (Woman) and Separatist Tamil Nationalism in Sri Lanka" in <u>Subaltern Studies XI: Community</u>, <u>Gender, Violence</u>. P. Jeganathan and P. Chatterjee (eds).Delhi: Permanent Black, pp. 212-72.

## (M) Ap. 15 "THE KILLING FIELDS," BBC DOCUMENTARY (60 MIN)

### Recommended:

Pradeep Jeganathan. 2000. "A Space for Violence: Anthropology, Politics and the Location of a Sinhala Practice of Masculinity" in <u>Subaltern Studies XI:Community, Gender, Violence</u>. P. Jeganathan and P. Chatterjee (eds). Delhi: Permanent Black, pp. 37-65.

## (W) Ap. 17 Thiranagama-i

## Recommended:

Sitralega Maunaguru. 1995. "Gendering Tamil Nationalism: The Construction of Woman in Projects of Protest and Control" in <u>Unmaking the Nation</u>. P. Jeganathan and Quadri Ismail (eds). Colombo: Social Scientist's Association. ® 158-75

Malati de Alwis. 1999. "Motherhood as a Space of Protest: Women's Political Participation in Contemporary Sri Lanka" in. ® pp. 185-202

## (M) Ap. 22 Thirnagama-ii

## (W) Ap. 24 NO MORE TEARS SISTER: ANATOMY OF HOPE AND BETRAYAL

This feature documentary tells the dramatic story of Dr. Rajani Thiranagama, a renowned Sri Lankan Human Rights activist who was gunned down at the age of thirty-five in Jaffna. Fifteen years after her death, Rajani's sister, a former Tamil Tiger, and husband, a Sinhalese revolutionary, reveal the story of Rajani's courageous life and brutal assassination. Narrator: Michael Ondaatje (80 minutes) April 2004

# (M) Ap 29 Loomba-i

(W) May 1 Loomba-ii \*Course Evaluations\*

## (W) May 8 FINAL PAPERS DUE