

Boundaries of Belonging

The 1947 Partition had a major impact on issues of citizenship and rights in India and Pakistan in the decades that followed. *Boundaries of Belonging* shows how citizenship evolved at a time of political transition and what this meant for ordinary people, by directing attention away from South Asia's Partition 'hot spots' – Bengal and the Punjab – to Partition 'hinterlands' of Uttar Pradesh and Sindh. The analysis, based on rich archival research and fieldwork, brings out commonalities, differences and the mutual co-construction of the 'citizen' in both places. It also reveals the way in which developments across the border, such as communal violence, could directly have an impact on minority rights in the neighbouring country. Questioning stereotypes of an 'authoritarian' Pakistan versus a 'democratic' India, Sarah Ansari and William Gould make a major contribution to recent scholarship that suggests the differences between India and Pakistan are overstated.

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Boundaries of Belonging

Localities, Citizenship and Rights in India and Pakistan

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They had left their cities but they carried their cities with them, as a trust, on their shoulders. That's how it usually is. Even when cities are left behind, they don't stay behind. They seize on you even more. Intizar Hussain, *Basti* (1979), chapter 5

We are surrounded by places. We walk over and through them. We live in places, relate to others in them, die in them. Nothing we do is unplaced. How could it be otherwise? Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place:*A Philosophical History (1997), p. ix



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Abbreviations

AICC All-India Congress Committee, India

AIWC All-India Women's Conference All-Pakistan Women's Association **APWA**

BCBackward Classes BL. British Library

DSO District Supply Officer

FCO Foreign and Commonwealth Office **GAD** General Administration Department

GCW Gandhi's Collected Works Indian Administrative Service **IAS**

India Office Records, British Library, London IOR

IPS Indian Police Service

MEA Ministry of External Affairs, India MHA Ministry of Home Affairs, India NAI National Archives of India, New Delhi

NDC Ministry of Interior, Pakistan, Home Division National

Documentation Centre

Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi **NMML**

NWFP North-West Frontier Province Pakistan Hindu Welfare Association PHWA

Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research **PILER**

PPP Pakistan People's Party

Public and Representatives Offices (Disqualification) Act **PRODA**

PSPE Pakistan Special Police Establishment

PWD Public Works Department

Pakistan Women's National Guard **PWNG** Pakistan Women's Naval Reserve **PWNR PWVS** Pakistan Women's Volunteer Service RSS

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

SC Scheduled Caste

SCBA Supreme Court Bar Association Scheduled Castes Federation SCF **SLRM** Sindh Land Reform Movement **SPE** Special Police Establishment (India)

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List of Abbreviations xiii

ST Scheduled Tribe

SWJN Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru

TRO Town Rationing Officer

UKHC United Kingdom High Commission, Pakistan
UKNA United Kingdom National Archives, Kew, London

UNO United Nations Organization

UP Uttar Pradesh (formerly the United Provinces)

UPSA Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow

USNA United States National Archives

VJSS Vimukt Jati Sevak Sangh WAF Women's Action Forum WIA Women's Indian Association WPB Women's Protection Bill



Maps



Territorial structure of índia and Pakistan. Boundaries: 1, Former Indian Empire; 2, Indo-Pakistan; 3, Provinces, Major States and Agencies; 4, Minor State; 5, Pakistan Provinces; 6; States adhering to Pakistan; 7, Indian Provinces; 8, States adhering to Indian Union; 9, States declared for independence or of doubtful status on October 1, 1947; 10, Foreign Possessions: 1, Diu, 2, Damão. 3, Goa (Portuguese); 4, Mahé, 5, Karikal, 6, Pondichéri, 7, Yanaon, 8, Chandernagor (French).

Map 1 Map of India and Pakistan

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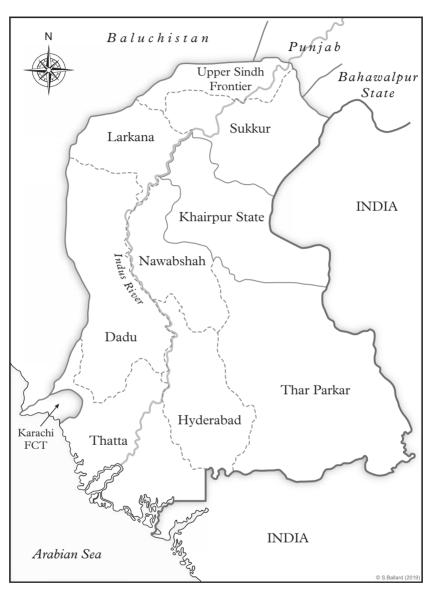




Map 2 Map of Uttar Pradesh (formerly the United Provinces)



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Map 3 Map of Sindh