



The Circular Journey Of Partition: Exploring The Migration Of The Prostitute In Suraiya Qasim's Story 'Where Did She Belong?'

Ritu Madan

Abstract

This article looks at Suraiya Qasim's short story 'Where did she belong?' (published in *Bhalla*, 1994) to explore questions about the space of marginal women in pre and post-Partition cities. The story revolves around a young prostitute, Munni Bai, who lives in Hira Mandi, the red-light area of Lahore, at the time of Partition. During the violence that engulfs Lahore, Munni Bai is forced to migrate to Delhi. However, the migration of the prostitute to the new nation takes the form of a circular journey. The prostitutes find a welcoming place in the brothels of G. B. Road in Delhi where Munni Bai takes the place of Salma, the famed beauty who has migrated to Hira Mandi. Among friendly neighbours from the other brothels in G. B. Road, Munni Bai finds herself spontaneously absorbed in the everyday rhythms of the life familiar to her from Hira Mandi.

This paper explores the ways in which Qasim's story disrupts the dominant narrative of migration-as-displacement by dwelling on the continuities between pre and post-Partition socio-spatial structures. Through the figure of the prostitute in the story, this article will probe the dialectical relationship between 'belonging' and mobility, and the ways in which these are embedded in the discourses of home and chastity. The construction of the migration of the prostitute as a return to a familiar place signals the ways in which marginal women are simultaneously excluded from as well as trapped in dominant, bourgeois representations of the city and the nation.

Keywords: Partition, migration, home, prostitute, red-light area



The Partition of the subcontinent in 1947, the marking of new boundaries on maps, and the carving out of nation-states, was experienced by common men and women as a violent displacement, and is represented in fiction and memories through the trope of ‘home’ and homelessness. Partition narratives over the years have engaged with the various meanings of home by tracing the mental and cognitive maps of cities left behind, through affective and emotional geographies of villages and *galis*, in the accounts of the hostility of the host populations, and in the strangeness of the landscape of Hindustan¹. In iconic Partition novels like Krishna Sobti’s *Zindaginama* (1979) and Nanak Singh’s *Khoo de Sohile* (1948) the ‘home’, produced with immense historical details, invokes a pristine and mythical rural Punjab where belonging is defined as rootedness and as a sacred and nurturing relationship to the land of one’s ancestors.

This article explores the limits of the ‘sedentarist’ experience of Partition-as-loss-of-home. Through a reading of Suraiya Qasim’s story ‘Where Did She Belong?’² this article will explore the ways in which entrenched social and spatial urban divisions within cities can influence and even undermine the dominant experience of a historic cleavage like the Partition as cataclysmic displacement. It interrogates the dialectical relationship between ‘home’ and displacement, and searches for the meaning of migration for those who are excluded from the dominant definitions of home.

‘Where did she belong?’ is the story of the seventeen-year-old prostitute Munni Bai, the most desired of all in Hira Mandi, the red-light district of Lahore. It describes Munni Bai’s life in the brothel, and her curiosity about her parents, religion, and roots. As she carries out her daily business as a sought-after prostitute, Munni Bai often wonders how she came to be in Hira Mandi, who her real parents are, and where she has come from.

In Lahore during the Partition, when communal violence is spreading everywhere, Munni bai and her friends continue to receive Hindu as well as Muslim customers. Only incidentally harmed by Partition violence, the prostitutes, who identify themselves as neither Hindu nor Muslim, even though they celebrate the festivals of both religions, are forced to flee Lahore and come to the refugee camps of Delhi. After spending some days at the refugee camp in Delhi, like other partition migrants, Munni Bai’s brothel-keeper too begins to explore the city to set up a new home. Soon they find themselves in G.B. Road, where Munni Bai takes the place of Salma, the famed beauty



who has migrated to Hira Mandi of Lahore. As the news of her arrival travels, Munni Bai begins to attract wealthy patrons, and is visited by a Raja and a Nawab on the same night.

This article investigates how Qasim probes the ideological and symbolic boundaries that regulate urban segregation of red-light districts in the north Indian city. The story raises questions about the discursive polarisation of prostitutes and wives, and the role of dominant definitions of family, parents, love, and religion in policing these categories. In the city as a system and as a network of hierarchical relationships, it explores the fixity of the ‘place’ of prostitutes and/in the red light area. The manner in which communal violence and the migration of Partition are represented in the specific sites of Hira Mandi and G.B. Road raises questions about the relationship of the migrant prostitute to the ‘refugee’ discourse of loss and rehabilitation. However, while it dwells on discourses that constitute difference, it simultaneously explores the range of everyday, transactional, relationships – between prostitute, ‘madams’, customers, landlords, *tongawallas*, and neighbours – that make the red light district an integral part of the social and economic life of Delhi. To this extent, the story invokes the idea of lateral urbanities, or the simultaneous, intertwined, planned and unplanned cities that exist within a city.

‘Where did she belong?’ is written as a series of questions that Munni Bai mulls in her thoughts or poses to her brothel-keeper, or to her customers. Beginning with questions about the name her parents gave her when she was born, about who her parents were, about what her mother looked like, about which community her father belonged to, to “‘How did I come to be where I am? Why do I have to do what I do?’”³ – all questions seem to lead finally to the question posed in the title of the story – ‘Where did she belong?’

In the madam’s responses to Munni Bai’s questions, in a Lahore that is rife with sectarian violence leading up to the Partition, ‘belonging’ in the way that Munni Bai frames it in relation to family and religion is dismissed as irrelevant and unnecessary. Both religion and family are critiqued as corrupt and cruel institutions, unworthy of belonging. The brothel is described as a safe place, signifying humanity and compassion in the midst of a city torn by religious hatred and bestiality:

I found you crying and lying unattended on the road, the main road, mind you, equidistant from a mosque and a temple. Vehicles moved past you, but no one had the heart to stop and attend to you, let alone pick you up, feed and fondle you.⁴



In contrast to heartless parents and religious organisations, the brothel is described as a place that not only adopts and cares for an abandoned child readily, but also celebrates Diwali, as well as Ramzan in equal measure. Away from the ‘main road’, from the mosque as well as the temple, the red light area of Hira Mandi is embraced as the marginal city. In the tradition of narratives that cast the prostitute as a ‘civilizing figure’, and one who ‘argues for striving towards a just, humane world’⁵, the madam appears as the surrogate parent who thrashes the insubordinate Munni Bai, but then refuses food herself and applies the healing touch to her aching body. As Sarah Waheed shows in the case of Ghulam Abbas’s short story “Anandi” (1948), from the “social peripheries” of the brothel, “the ethical world is recentred as civilized”⁶.

The degradation of religion and family, and the violence implicit in them, are further sketched out in Munni Bai’s conversations with the two customers, the Hindu Raj Kamal and the Muslim Jafar Khan, who “made love and talked hate”. Both men harbor murderous hatred towards the other religion. At the same time, they show complete disregard for moral conduct not only with their wives but also in their everyday lives in the city. Raj Kamal “could not inject full ardour into his love-making with Munni Bai” because “he had a wife at home, and a rich one at that, without whose benefactions he would be out on the streets begging, he had to divide his passion between Munni Bai and his wife” Jafar Khan, on the other hand, “every time [he] spent a night with her, smothering her with money at night, he was afraid of being arrested the next morning for theft or burglary. There was more fear than passion in his love-making”⁷

When reminded by Munni Bai, in the context of the inevitability of the fast-approaching Partition, about the uncertainty of her religion, both Raj Kamal and Jafar Khan evade the conversation, although they make ardent promises to keep her close in such an event. The two men come to represent the perversity of men, religion, and society at large at this time. While Munni Bai feels imprisoned in the world of the red light district and in her inability to marry, men like Raj Kamal and Jafar Khan are shown to be imprisoned by religious identities as well as in domestic relationships. In their sexual relationships with their wives, they are bound by matters of money, its availability, and its control, as much as they are in their transactional relationship with Munni Bai.



Aamir Mufti, in his writing on the figure of the prostitute in Manto's stories, has shown how the prostitute, constituted as the other of the "virtuous wife and mother of the nationalist imagination"⁸ often plays a role in fiction as the means of interrogating the appropriation of women as symbols. Munni Bai's delving into the lives of Raj Kamal and Jafar Khan shows the kind of "uncanny mirrorings of brothel and home"⁹ that Mufti writes about, as the wife and the prostitute, like the spaces they inhabit, are shown to be interdependent signs in sexual politics. The "ambiguous status" of the prostitute as "seller and commodity", Mufti writes, "makes visible the exploitation of domesticated female sexuality in the bourgeois home"¹⁰. Raj Kamal and Jafar Khan's unwillingness to acknowledge or face questions about Munni Bai's religion reinforce her space as a prostitute, outside the interlinked economies of religion, domesticity, and chastity. As the narrative explores the "centers and peripheries of lived, ethical space"¹¹, the brothel at the margins of the city, away from temples, mosques, and 'the main road' emerges as the space for ethical inquiry.

However, Munni Bai's questions relate to the communal violence of Partition in other ways as well. Besides offering an ethical critique of society from its margins, the questions simultaneously explore the fixity of these margins in the city and the community. In her persisting questions about where she has come from, and where she can go from here, Munni Bai searches the boundaries of the red light area and the possibilities of transgressing them. Her quest for origins and belonging, in the context of the Partition, engages with the discourses of home, homeland, and rootedness even as it disabuses them as universal categories that are available to all men and women in the same way.

The segregation of red light areas in north Indian cities has been linked to ideas of public health, hygiene, and morality in the colonial period. Its origins have been traced to the nineteenth century when the presence of British soldiers in the subcontinent for long periods was accompanied by the proliferation of brothels and prostitutes. The colonial state's concern regarding the spread of venereal diseases among the troops, racial mixing, and miscegenation, led to the formulation of The Cantonment Acts of 1864 and 1889 and the Indian Contagious Diseases Act of 1868 which mandated the registration of brothels and prostitutes, regular medical exams, and treatment of infected women¹². Those women who did not comply were expelled from the cantonment, where



they already lived in segregated areas¹³. The colonial state, however, retained its surveillance of the prostitute even as she left the cantonment and entered the city. Out of concern for the British soldiers who would follow the prostitutes to cities, the state empowered municipal and police authorities to form laws that would enable them to punish prostitutes who would solicit in public spaces. This gradually pushed prostitutes into segregated red light areas where they were allowed to pursue their trade and led to the creation of districts like GB Road in Delhi¹⁴.

This “geography of toleration”¹⁵ became entrenched with the emergence of the urban middle classes and greater participation of elected members in governance through diarchy in the early twentieth-century¹⁶. With the emergence of the Indian elite and middle classes educated in the reformist and nationalist ideas as well as Gandhian activism, where women emerged as the bearers of tradition and the honour of the collectivity, the figure of the prostitute came to signify the opposite of the good wife and was perceived as defiling and as challenging codes of sexual morality. As they battled charges of depravity in oriental traditions, while simultaneously shaping the ideal of the Indian woman, nationalist men and women activists reinforced the spatial segregation of prostitutes in urban centers.

Moreover, while red-light districts were constituted and governed by ideas of public health and hygiene assumed by the colonial administration, the prostitute herself has been seen as a creation of colonial law. Various kinds of women who fell outside the code of the heterosexual household and of middle-class domesticity were grouped under this label during the colonial period, identified as a source of disease, and subjected to scrutiny by the state. Subsequent public discourses surrounding the prostitute involved adoption or contestation of the effect of the prostitute on the public by the postcolonial welfarist state, the bureaucracy, as well as by prostitutes and pimps. The colonial and elite Hindu reformers began to associate prostitutes with declining sanitary conditions in cities and an increase in crime, and shifting prostitutes to regulated, segregated areas became a way to restore order in the city¹⁷.

Even as legislation by the mid-twentieth century in independent India shifted the focus to trafficking and exploitation of women, it remained deeply related to the regulation of public spaces as prostitution in the vicinity of places of religious worship, educational institutions, hotels, hospitals, nursing homes, and other such clearly defined areas was made punishable. While



legislative reforms led by Indian women activists at the end of the colonial period shifted the discourse from penalisation of prostitutes to their rehabilitation, they nevertheless reaffirmed the independent state's right to the regulation of sexuality of women at the margins¹⁸. Sarah Waheed has shown how the acronym for the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Acts, SITA, also spelled out the name of Lord Ram's chaste and loyal wife who was appropriated by nationalist reformers as the ideal of Indian womanhood. Waheed and Stephen Legg show how the legislation was less concerned with improving the condition of the prostitutes, and more concerned with punishing them and their procurers, "while defining female sexuality in accordance with normative middle-class prescriptions of monogamous marriage"¹⁹.

In an important intervention in the discourses surrounding the prostitute, Rohit De problematises the question of 'What did it mean to be a woman in republican India?'²⁰ in the context of citizenship, to differentiate between women in the patriarchal household and women in the street. He notes that legislative reform in Hindu family law after independence as well as recovery of abducted women during Partition was concerned entirely with the woman in the household. Women outside the framework of the family were rarely seen in need of legislative support for enhanced citizenship.

In Qasim's Story, the spatial and social segregation of the prostitute from the city is linked to the discourses that determine the meaning of 'belonging'. Religion and family are explored as the intertwined institutions that guard the boundaries of the red light area, and are responsible for the confinement of the prostitute within it. Even as the brothel is described as a more civilised world, where family and religion exist in an alternative, more meaningful form, its boundaries are constituted by the absence of religion and family in their institutional form that define belonging in terms of home, kinship, blood ties, origins, and ancestry. Moreover, as women who are outside the realm of domesticity, the prostitutes remain delinked from discourses of chastity, honour, and shame that underlie the construction of the home as a private and proper place for women. In the context of Partition, where violence as well as migration are dominated by 'sedentary'²¹ discourses of belonging, Munni Bai's search for origins, about her parents and their religion, as well as her quest for marriage, are attempts not only to breach her confinement in the brothel, but also to participate in and experience the Partition as a dis-placement.



‘Frequented by members of all communities’²² the brothel in Hira Mandi is constituted as, and is presumed to continue to remain, unaffected by the communal scheme of things. Communal violence enters Hira Mandi only in the guise of ‘professional jealousy’²³ and ‘Ma’²⁴ and the inmates of the brothel are forcefully identified as Hindus and compelled to flee Lahore. In “those memorable months of disgrace by the end of which the Hindus had won, the Muslims had won, but humanity had lost”²⁵ Partition displaces Munni Bai to a refugee camp in Delhi without allowing her to experience uprooting or loss of home. In the post-Partition landscape of the new city:

They grieved to see countless refugees mourning the loss of their kinsmen. But Ma and her group had no kinsmen, only clients. Therefore, there was no sense of loss. They could not have cared less if all their clients had been done to death. They had rendered services for which they had been paid for, and so they were quits. Human bonds are not forged in commercial transactions²⁶.

The idea of ‘kinsmen’, in relation to the twin questions of religion and marriage, appears as a discourse that encompasses the meaning of Partition and migration as well as of rehabilitation and building new lives. Anjali Gera Roy, in writing of the ‘particular form of sensibility’ of ‘the partitioned subject’²⁷ has written of:

... the powerful sedentarism that newcomers from across the border in the West and the East shared with their hosts and the pathologization and criminalization of the refugee as an uprooted person accounts for the need to situate themselves in the lost homeland, ancestral home or lineage²⁸

Drawing on Lisa Malkki’s work, Roy shows how discourses of ‘homelessness’ and ‘displacement’ are premised upon ideas of a ‘proper’ place that is home, reflected in the recurrence of Punjabi phrases like ‘*pichhe se*’ and ‘*jarhan*’ and the Bengali ‘*des*’ and ‘*bastu*’ in survivor accounts. In contrast to the homelessness of the refugee condition, home is defined variously through the biological metaphor of roots, as well as a ‘metaphysical’ place, and implies the place of cultural belonging²⁹ Roy links this ‘sedentary bias’ as one where “subjectivity is defined in relation to ancestral land, family status and kinship networks.”³⁰ Further, “immovable land and property, dynastic wealth and privileges and professional position” become the defining characteristics of the home left behind in the sedentary imagination³¹. Simultaneously, she describes the role of memory and desire in the imagining of the homeland by Partition survivors. She writes of nostalgia



and the mapping of ‘an emotional geography of spaces and places’ shaped through people’s relationship with their landscape, environment, and the community³².

The overwhelming emotion in imagining is attachment to the birth/ancestral place and a sense of belonging through shared speech, cul-ture, food, rituals and practices; architectural objects and spaces; institutions and so on. The emotional affiliation and affective belonging to the homeland imbues it with a sense of enchantment that produces affective magical cities of memory³³.

Roy writes of the mental maps that trace ‘alternative cartographies’ through the migrants’ memories and experience of places³⁴. These maps, unconcerned with geographical maps of nations, have their basis in ‘the metaphysical geography of the region’³⁵.

Similarly, Yi-fu Tuan has written about the homeland as characterised, on the one hand, by landmarks, or “features of high visibility and public significance, such as monuments, shrines, a hallowed battlefield or cemetery... that enhance a people’s sense of identity”³⁶. The home as well as the hometown, ‘hearth, shelter, home, or home base’³⁷ are ‘intimate place’³⁸, or the space of ‘intimate and nurturing experiences’³⁹.

The experience of loss and displacement, of hostility on arrival, of nostalgia, of a metaphysical and intimate relationship to the place of origin, as well as of reterritorialisation and new beginnings that constitute the ‘refugee’ in Partition discourse, are premised on a well -defined idea of home. In ‘Where did she belong?’ Qasim explores the meaning of Partition migration for prostitutes whose identity is defined in opposition to the idea of home. In Raj Kamal and Jafar Khan’s reluctance to engage earnestly in questions about Munni Bai’s religious identity, the brothel remains a peripheral space, a space for anonymity, excluded from the politics of identity that inform the home as well as Partition, and separated by unbridgeable social distance. It is constituted as a temporary refuge from the permanence of home, marriage, and religion. At the same time, as the migration journeys of Munni Bai and Salma show, the brothel and the red light area emerge as more permanent landmarks in the geography of the city than the home. In this circular migration, the migrants whose ‘place’ in the social structure does not change cannot access discourses of displacement. The fixity of G. B. Road and Hira Mandi as urban addresses where Partition causes a mere exchange of occupants practicing the same vocation points towards the



paradoxical nature of the ‘geography of toleration’⁴⁰ where red light areas are peripheral spaces identified with transitory relationships, and yet permanent places in the urban centers of north India from the colonial period to independence.

Moreover, the writer signals the embeddedness of the red light district in the Indian city through the network of what Prabha Kotiswaran calls ‘stakeholders’⁴¹. In writing about the ‘sociology of sex work’ in Sonagachi, the red light district of Kolkata, Kotiswaran describes the three ‘foundational relations’ of the brothel:

... the labor relation between the brothel keeper and the sex worker; the tenancy relation between the landlord and the owner or operator of the sex business; and the service relation between the sex worker and the brothel..., on the one hand, and the customer, on the other⁴².

She writes of the various stakeholders “who are situated both internally as well as externally to the brothel”⁴³. Drawing on Foucault’s ideas in Volume I of the *History of Sexuality* (1978), Kotiswaran shows that sex work cannot be summed up as entirely defined by patriarchy and capitalism even as the “interest of landlords, brothel keepers, customers, hoodlums, and the police” cannot be seen as positioned singularly against those of prostitutes. Instead, she writes of the “elaborate interplay of power and resistance between all stakeholders”⁴⁴. The institution of the brothel, in her analysis, is sustained by “the relational dynamics between stakeholders, the heterogenous playing field in which they operate, and the bargains they strike”⁴⁵. Moreover, she shows how the unique spatial structure of the red light area, with its concentration of a large number of brothels, shapes the cultural and social relationships within it. As spaces that are simultaneously private and public, here prostitutes and brothel-keepers live with their families, even as they exist as “its laboring and entrepreneurial classes”⁴⁶. Here customers are categorised according to their class.

In ‘Where did she belong?’ As Munni Bai and her companions leave the refugee camp in a *tonga* for the house that the madam has secured, the *tongawallah* instantly recognises the building as the same one where Salma used to live with her companions, even as he informs them that this is G.B. Road. Immensely beautiful and patronised by rajas and nawabs, Salma, the *tongawallah* informs, has now moved to Hira Mandi of Lahore. Soon ‘Ma’ and her girls find that the “giggling and



joking” neighbours in their balconies are all “kindred spirits”, who readily accept them as part of the “community”⁴⁷.

The sympathy of neighbours practicing the same profession, the surety of the outcome of madam’s strategies and calculations aimed at fetching more business, the interdependence of the *tongawallah*, the profiles of the customers, as well as the enduring companionship of Ma and the girls, constitute Kotiswaran’s ‘foundational relations’ of the red light area, and the latter as a city with its own economies of interdependence. At the same time, they point towards the continuities in social structures that constitute the red light area as an indispensable part of the urban and social fabric as the post-Partition urban landscape spontaneously converges to accommodate the prostitutes. The alternate city, the city that coexists alongside the city of the middle classes, adjacent to their homes, markets, parks, offices, and cinemas, emerges in the story as only momentarily disrupted by Partition. The ready resettlement into their previous vocations and spatialities shows the consensus between state and communities to leave unchanged existing inequalities in social structures.

‘Where did she belong?’ explores the multiple meanings of ‘belonging’ through the disruptive moment of the Partition. It contextualises ‘belonging’ through the idea of displacement, and dwells on the ways in which participation in the social economies of home and chastity is central to the experience of losing one’s ‘place’ and ‘roots’ in ‘displacement’ and ‘uprooting’. The prostitutes in the story, whose marginality is constituted through their discursive exclusion from the institutions of family and religion that guard the symbolic boundaries of the home, can experience neither the losses, nor the possibilities of migration as displacement and mobility even though they yearn for it. The powerful patriarchies of family, community and nation imprison its marginal populations in the lateral cities like red-light areas that persist unchanged despite cataclysmic shifts in boundaries like the one brought about by the Partition.

Notes



1. Anjali Gera Roy, *Memories and Postmemories of the Partition of India*. Routledge, 2020.
2. Suraiya Qasim, 'Where Did She Belong?' *Stories About the Partition of India. Volume II*. ed Alok Bhalla. Indus, 1994. Reprint Manohar, 2020.
3. ibid p.110
4. ibid p.110
5. Sarah Waheed, 'Women of 'Ill Repute': Ethics and Urdu literature in colonial India'. *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 4. pp. 986-1023. Cambridge University Press, July 2014. p.1019
6. Waheed p.1019
7. Oasim, p. 112-114.
8. Aamir R. Mufti, *Enlightenment in the Colony. The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007. p.186
9. Ibid p.186
10. Ibid p. 200
11. Waheed p.1020
12. Rohit De, *A People's Constitution: The Everyday Life of Law in the Indian Republic*. Princeton University Press, 2018. p.196
13. De, Stephen Legg 'Governing prostitution in colonial Delhi: from cantonment regulations to international hygiene (1864–1939)'. *Social History*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (November 2009), pp. 447-467. Taylor & Francis, Ltd.
14. De p.196
15. De p.176
16. De p.173
17. Charu Gupta, quoted in Waheed, p.996
18. De p.176
19. Waheed p.1008
20. De p. 171
21. Roy p.200
22. Qasim p.115
23. Qasim p.115
24. The madam of the brothel is referred to as 'ma' in the story. The appellation denotes her role as a surrogate parent to the young prostitutes in the brothel.
25. Qasim p.115
26. Qasim p.115



27. Roy p.198
28. Roy p.200
29. Roy p.200
30. Roy p.201
31. Roy p.201
32. Roy p.132
33. Roy p.132
34. Roy p.140
35. Roy p.141
36. Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place : the Perspective of Experience*. University of Minnesota Press, 1977. p.159
37. Tuan p.147
38. Tuan p.144
39. Tuan p.38
40. De p.197
41. Prabha Kotiswaran, 'Born Unto Brothels: Toward a Legal Ethnography of Sex Work in an Indian Red-Light Area'. *Law & Social Inquiry* , Vol. 33, No. 3 , pp. 579-629. Wiley on behalf of the American Bar Foundation, Summer 2008. p.582
42. Kotiswaran p.582'
43. Kotiswaran p.582
44. Kotiswaran p.584
45. Kotiswaran p.584
46. Kotiswaran p.586
47. Qasim p.116

Works Cited

De, Rohit. *A People's Constitution: The Everyday Life of Law in the Indian Republic*. Princeton University Press, 2018.



Kotiswaran, Prabha. 'Born Unto Brothels: Toward a Legal Ethnography of Sex Work in an Indian Red-Light Area'. *Law & Social Inquiry*, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 579-629. Wiley on behalf of the American Bar Foundation, Summer 2008.

Legg, Stephen. 'Governing prostitution in colonial Delhi: from cantonment regulations to international hygiene (1864–1939)'. *Social History*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (November 2009), pp. 447-467. Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

Mufti, Aamir R. *Enlightenment in the Colony. The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007.

Qasim, Suraiya 'Where Did She Belong?' *Stories About the Partition of India. Volume II*. ed Alok Bhalla. Indus, 1994. Reprint Manohar, 2020.

Roy, Anjali Gera. *Memories and Postmemories of the Partition of India*. Routledge, 2020.

Tuan, Yi-fu. *Space and Place : the Perspective of Experience*. University of Minnesota Press, 1977.

Waheed, Sarah. 'Women of 'Ill Repute': Ethics and Urdu literature in colonial India'. *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 4. pp. 986-1023. Cambridge University Press, July 2014.