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Diasporic Returns Reading Partition in Contemporary Art

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We seek to return to the beginnings, no longer our own.¹

At the start of his essay, 'Imaginary Homelands', Salman Rushdie described an old photograph taken in 1946 of a three-storey house, built in an unusual architectural style, with 'round towers in two corners, each wearing a pointy tiled hat'.² It is a very particular house in Bombay, and the very existence of the photograph and its placement within Rushdie's London office, point to a myriad of memories and histories, both personal and communal. The photograph of his former family home, taken before he was born, caused Rushdie to reflect that migrants from South Asia – whether their journeys were forced or voluntary – 'are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back', even though 'our physical alienation from India almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost'.³ He concluded that the photograph 'reminds me that it's my present that is foreign, and that the past is home albeit a lost home in a lost city in the mists of lost time'.⁴

Revealing a sense of loss that is rooted in a history in which he did not partake, and routed through multiple relocations, Rushdie's meditation on the talismanic photograph of a home that was present, absent, and imagined, is a useful starting-point for considering the ways in which global South Asian diaspora artists have engaged with the specificities of their cultural inheritances and the causes of their current geographical locations. Issues of displacement, rootedness, and the emotional pull of an imagined home may all be read in and through the work of contemporary

visual artists Nilofar Akmut, Zarina Bhimji and Navin Rawanchaikul. While these themes may be familiar within the frame of a diasporic aesthetic as described by Rushdie, for the purposes of this article, I suggest that the pull of home discernable in the work of these artists is inflected with the specific and continuing legacy of the 1947 Partition of India.⁵ I contend that selected artworks by Akmut, Bhimji and Rawanchaikul variously contain the intertwined histories of colonial British India, the independent nationalisms of India and Pakistan, and the geo-politics of living in the diaspora. Exhibited in Britain, these diasporic narratives highlight the global ramifications of the 1947 Partition of the Indian subcontinent. Indeed, it is noteworthy that Rushdie identified his photograph as dating to 1946, locating his family in Bombay at a moment prior to the Partition of British India, the formation of India and Pakistan, and his family's migration 'to the unmentionable country across the border'.⁶ His photograph is thus redolent of a moment before, – denoting a time and place prior to cataclysmic migrations and the relocation of South Asian diasporas across the globe – when 'home' was both a tangible object and a stable concept. As such, Rushdie's photograph reminds us that traces of the traumatic legacies of Partition may be found both in, and on, the most seemingly prosaic of images.

The concept of diaspora has been subject to much debate within the fields of cultural studies, anthropology and, indeed, art history, and confusingly, it holds an unstable position of being a verb, noun and adjective. As an action, diaspora is the physical act of dispersal or scattering of people from one place to another. Diaspora has also become a term used to describe the communities themselves which were created by that act of dispersal. To be diasporic, or to live in a diasporic condition is to have experienced transnational movement and retain some form of attachment to an original home (through for example language, religion, and/or cultural practices). It is also to share an experience of being positioned as an outsider within the place of relocation. To complicate matters, children within diasporic communities need not necessarily have undergone the act of diaspora, but may have inherited diasporic memories from their family and community.⁷ Put succinctly, diaspora can describe

any population that is considered ‘deterritorialized’ or ‘transnational’ – that is, which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides in, and whose social, economic, and political networks cross borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe.⁸

Nilofar Akmut was born in Britain in 1956 and raised in Pakistan, while Zarina Bhimji was born in Uganda in 1963 and came to Britain as a child. Navin Rawanchaikul is of Hindu-Punjabi origin and his parents settled in Chiang Mai, Thailand, after the 1947 Partition. Since the early 1990s, these second-generation diasporic artists have exhibited what I regard to be Partition-related work in Britain, and considered together retrospectively, those displays prompt a re-evaluation of the placement of Partition narratives within, and their importance to, both British history and the histories of South Asia. Although academically Partition can ‘often be treated as a disciplinary divide’,⁹ marking the end of British colonialism and the starting point of new nationalist histories, arguably Britain’s relationship with the subcontinent did not neatly end at the conclusion of Imperial rule. It is thus the contention of this article that diasporic testimonies or traces of Partition discernable in the work of Akmut, Bhimji and Rawanchaikul should be understood as constitutive of multiple, overlapping global histories. This is not to enact a form of neo-imperialism and claim ownership of Partition history as part of British history, but rather to acknowledge that Partition also impacted on British culture and society. Although Britain remains largely estranged from the intricacies of its colonial past, the creation of South Asian diasporas is undeniably a colonial legacy; as the Sri Lankan scholar Ambalavaner Sivanandan reminds us,

we came to Britain (and not to Germany for instance) because we were occupied by Britain. Colonialism and immigration are part of the same continuum – we are here because you were there.¹⁰

As such, the presence of Partition narratives within British exhibition spaces denoted the continued interaction between, and interdependency of, British and South Asian identities, and

should be regarded as interventions in exclusionary conceptions of nationhood – whether in Britain or South Asia.

Exhibited in Leeds and Birmingham in the early 1990s, Akmut's work conveyed Partition memories inherited from family members, or found within the historical archival; she considered the place and role of women in the subcontinent, while also challenging stereotypes of South Asian womanhood in Britain. Akmut and Bhimji both attended art colleges in London during the early 1980s, and their early works were similarly informed by British feminism and Black identity politics. As the centrepiece of her solo show at the Whitechapel Gallery, London, in 2012 (19 January – 19 March), Bhimji's filmic work *Yellow Patch* (2011) is punctuated by fragments of archival Partition testimony and, I suggest, indirect meditations on its legacies which splinter and fracture the film's superficially calm tenor; reminiscent of Rushdie's lament, Bhimji's film suggests the impossibility of returning to a homeland that is both temporally and psychically distant.¹¹ In contrast, Rawanchaikul's work presented Partition as a positive and productive experience. His two works, exhibited in Tate Britain's 2009 exhibition *Altermodern* (3 February – 26 April), directly and indirectly address the legacies of Partition and, within the context of that gallery space, obliquely prompted a consideration of the global reach and repercussions of Britain's colonial intervention in (South) Asia. While not wishing to suggest that Akmut, Bhimji and Rawanchaikul's artworks address Partition equally, or that it is necessarily a motivating thematic found throughout their work, in considering specific artworks through their variously overt and elliptical references to Partition, the ways in which diaspora artists may reframe national histories as transnational nevertheless becomes evident.

When considering the legacies of Partition from diasporic South Asian perspectives it is perhaps useful to identify that Indian engagement with its diasporas is both complicated and sometimes contradictory.¹² Identified as foreign in their relocated homes, diasporas and their histories are inherently at odds with the formulation of homogenous national identities. But while diasporas are often understood as constituted through processes of exclusion in their site of relocation, is it

possible that diaspora memories and experiences are also excluded from the narratives of the originary home? As N Jayaram has identified,

for those who left 'India' before Partition (in 1947) and their descendants, the reference point is 'the subcontinental India' (which included the present-day Pakistan and Bangladesh); whereas for those who left 'India' after Partition, it is the political state of India as it exists now. For many who experienced Partition, the reference point is often ambivalent.¹³

If diasporic allegiances to South Asia are uncertain, it is also arguable that in the field of Partition studies, engagement with the experiences of global South Asian diasporas has been limited, mirroring perhaps, the post-Independence drive to geopolitical coherence. For example, following Independence, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru asserted that Indians abroad should either take Indian citizenship (and accept the consequences if that decision impacted negatively on their treatment abroad) or renounce it,¹⁴ and Partition scholarship developed according to nationalist agendas that excluded overseas communities from the articulation of national histories. Indeed, in 2003, Mahbubar Rahman and Willem van Schendel observed that the study of Partition and its legacies has been hindered by blinkered nationalist narratives, with scholars in the region focusing on the experiences of their own home nation, so that 'Over the past half-century, three rival nationalisms have fashioned and refined their own interpretations of Partition, and these are not compatible.'¹⁵ This 'three country perspective' has persisted in Partition scholarship, even in studies seeking to decentre nationalist narratives and prioritise previously excluded testimonies.¹⁶ For although the parameters of Partition studies have broadened considerably since the early 1990s, to include 'subaltern, feminist, literary and psycho-social readings',¹⁷ and have undergone temporal reconceptualisation – Bhaskar Sarkar has argued for an 'elastic conceptualisation of Partition, extending backward and forward in time', in order to highlight 'the way in which seeming disparate historical moments congeal in the popular imagination around the fulcrum of 1947',¹⁸ while Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar has posited Partition not as a singular event, but as process¹⁹ – engagement with the experiences of Partition amongst globally dispersed diasporas remains scarce.

Where Partition and the creation of diasporas has been discussed in recent scholarship, it is mainly in relation to the movement of people in the immediate aftermath of Independence, across the newly-established borders of India and East and West Pakistan; these diasporas may be understood as locally situated, internal to the subcontinent.²⁰ For example, in her study of Partition literary fiction, Rosemary Marangoly George argues for an understanding of Partition through diaspora narratives, noting that themes of ‘loss, homesickness, trauma, travel, the longing for return’, which are central to Partition fictions, are also ‘habitually identified with diasporic aesthetics’.²¹ Nonetheless, despite her call to expand the scope of Partition studies to include, for example, gendered accounts of 1947, her thesis remains reliant on the notion that Partition and its legacies are located within the subcontinent:

the birth of the two nations in this case cannot be separated from the birth of the two diasporas, which were wrenched from one home to a more ‘fitting’ home.²²

Even as she utilised theories of diaspora, Marangoly George was bound by an understanding of Partition as occurring in, and affecting (only) two nations. It is the proposition here that not only did Partition establish many more than two sets of diasporas, which are dispersed globally, but that these global South Asian diasporas are necessarily constitutive of Partition narratives. Thus, the work of diasporic artists necessarily demands a reconsideration of the geographical limitations of Partition studies. The works of Akmut, Bhimji and Rawanchaikul demonstrate that the wounds inflicted by Partition traverse the geographical constraints commonly found in Partition scholarship, which has been preoccupied with the cartographic borderlines.²³ We must therefore think of its after-effects on people beyond the geopolitical territories of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and consider the experiences of those who had left the region prior to 1947 and were subsequently unable to return home; to those who left the region in 1947; and, as in the case of the artists who are the focus of this article, those second (and subsequent) generation diasporas who were born outside the region and who may, in fact, have never lived in South Asia.

If globally situated South Asian diasporas are deterritorialised and transnational, is it also possible to deterritorialise Partition? What is at stake here is the possibility that diasporic narratives and perspectives, although geographically distant from Partition's foci, may nonetheless be recognised as not only authentic expressions of Partition, but integral to our understanding of it. If this proposition is deemed challenging, it may be because diasporas rebuke notions of essential or absolute identities and are therefore incompatible with nationalistic and deterministic approaches to history.²⁴ If, as is generally agreed, diasporas upturn or contest the possibility of a homogenous identity, arguably, they also disrupt the linear and coherent constructions of the past that are so imperative to the construction of national histories. It is the contention here that diasporas, whether they are recognised as doing so or not, shape and inform the histories of not only the new home, but also the one left behind. I propose that the work of artists Akmut, Bhimji and Rawanchaikul insist that not only can Partition stories be articulated from beyond the region which in turn impact and inform our understanding of histories of the region, but in addition supplement understandings of British colonial history. Thus, we should perhaps think of Partition histories as comprised of constellations of overlapping experiences and interpretations, whereby the presentation and interpretation of Partition by artists living, working, or exhibiting in Britain, for example, will be substantively similar, and different from, those who have been raised within a nationalist milieu.

How Do We Embark on a Feminist Reading of Partition?²⁵

In 1947, members of Nilofar Akmut's family were, as she puts it, 'thrown into turmoil and conflict regarding migration' because they were Muslim.²⁶ Akmut's maternal family were originally from New Delhi, her father's family from Uttar Pradesh. At the time of Partition some of her family opted for Pakistan immediately, while others 'refused to leave until forcibly ejected'.²⁷ Her mother's family were held in the Red Fort in New Delhi and then herded on to cattle trains destined for Pakistan. Although they evaded much of the physical violence that was perpetrated, she has

recalled that family members from both sides had to live with ‘insurmountable mental health issues’ for the rest of their lives.²⁸ Over the course of her career, Akmut has sought to gain greater understanding of the experiences endured by not only her family, but all those who were violently dislocated, and who suffered from conflicted loyalties as they moved from one side of the newly established border to the other. Indeed, having been forced into exile, on arrival in Pakistan Akmut’s family were officially identified as migrants, so that

instead of nationality and identity, her inheritance is statelessness and provisionality as she is denied the official right to belong to either her ancestral land, India, or the new land to which her family was forced to move.²⁹

She studied at the National College of Arts in Lahore and then in London during the 1980s, at Byam Shaw School of Art, the Slade, and Royal Holloway. It was during her time in London that she was exposed to feminist theory, and although she initially trained as a sculptor, she became interested in the possibilities of photography while working as an assistant to Jo Spence.

In 1992, Nilofar Akmut was included in the exhibition *Keepin’ it Together*, staged at The Pavilion Women’s Visual Arts Centre, Leeds (31 October 1992 – 25 February 1993). The exhibition was organised by Chila Kumari Burman and Vi Hendrickson, and sought to celebrate and ‘reinforce the strength and diversity of Black women’s creativity’.³⁰ Many of the exhibiting artists, who included Caroline Jariwala, Samena Rana and Veena Stephenson, presented work that addressed the role of the matriarch within the family; as Vi Hendrickson noted in the exhibition catalogue, ‘Our mothers and grandmothers pass on values and ideas, nurture and sustain us and are charged with defending and keeping families and culture alive.’³¹ Akmut’s contribution to the exhibition was *Mapping Ourselves* (1992), a multifaceted wall-mounted mixed media work that comprised an inverted map of the Indian subcontinent: to the visible political borderlines of the map, Akmut added a pair of disembodied female legs. This inscribed map was accompanied by a set of photographs presenting female family members, and texts recounting their biographies. The

portrait photographs of her great-grandmother, grandmother, mother and aunt were cropped and enlarged from a family photograph showing the women together on the occasion of her mother's wedding. But like Rushdie's photograph of home, Akmut's family photograph concealed deeper, more painful, memories. This was the first photograph taken of the family after they had settled in Pakistan and Akmut has recalled that the image had become significant because older family photographs taken before this moment had been lost; abandoned with other possessions during the traumatic expulsion from their homes in India.

The biographic texts included in the installation recounted the birth and marriage dates, as well as the educational and professional achievements, of each of the women. These texts were inscribed onto blackened mirrors so that on reading, fragments of the audience were reflected in the lettering. In these texts Akmut sought to capture both the public and private personas of her subjects in order to demonstrate the remarkable and yet prosaic experiences of women in mid-twentieth century India. Positioned alongside the map, which literally presented the world turned upside-down, the women provide orientating anchors against a geopolitical space that was disorientated. Although the map made visible the borderlines of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh, Akmut discombobulated its authority and its modes of control and separation; she proposed that the construct of the nation-state was introduced to the subcontinent via colonial interventions, and is at odds with indigenous constructions of identity that start with family, village and region.

To position ordinary women within and without the frame of the upside-down arena of colonial partition, and Indo-Pakistani postcolonial relations, is to challenge official narratives of Partition that prioritised nationalist projections and their male agents – the great men of history. In their 1998 publication, *Borders & Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*, Kamla Bhasin and Ritu Menon noted that women's stories had hitherto been marginal to mainstream narratives of the Independence movement and partition, and were nominally told as supplements to male-centred histories.³² Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya have similarly noted that historiographies of 1947 have focused on themes regarding the intentions of the British at the end of empire, and the

respective narratives of independence and the birth of nations, focusing on the actions of male politicians.³³ As such, the voices and stories of women on whom partition was inflicted have been (until recently) subsumed; and although the experiences of some women, and particularly violence against women are included in official narratives, they are also invisible: 'their experience of this historical event has neither been properly examined nor assigned historical value'.³⁴ Central to the difficulty of assigning historical import to the experiences of women has been the denials of those traumas, and Akmut herself recognised the difficulty of fully knowing the truth of her family's partition story.³⁵ She has stated, 'I can never claim to have a complete knowledge of my family's history. Apart from the complexity, deep painful silences surrounded the fearful traumas inflicted on their lived reality.'³⁶

Nonetheless, Akmut's use of the female image and the inscription of the disembodied legs onto the map, may be contextualised through the practice in Indian visual culture of deploying the female body as a personified visualisation of the geopolitical nation. Sumathi Ramaswamy has outlined the tradition of eliding the geographical entity of the national landscape with that of the female body, in the form of Mother India, identifying how the cartographic map was humanised, and as such, was better able to solicit loyalty and love for the national 'motherland'.³⁷ This nationalist visual culture took root at a time when, as Marangoly George has noted, 'violence against women (in the form of sexual assault, mutilation, murder, and abduction) rose to unprecedented levels', while also noting that 'this gendered violence has mostly been read as metonymic of the violation of the land'.³⁸ As such, Akmut's cartographic contour lines re-articulated as bodily forms may be symbolic of different aspects of the female experience of Partition, from the rape and degradation suffered; to the strong, self-reliant women who survived physically challenging dangers; to the personification of Mother India, symbolically birthing the nation. This being the case, *Mapping Ourselves* not only addressed the visual tradition of Mother India, but subverted it by assigning value to personal stories that contested the strict limits of womanhood within the national imaginary, and insisted upon the articulation of violence endured

by women during, and in the years after, Partition. Each component of the installation, the photographs, the biographies, and the splayed female legs inscribed onto the map, insisted upon the importance of the quotidian female experience of Partition. Indeed, Akmut has explained,

These legs represent not only the rape and pillage of the Indian subcontinent, but also the protection offered to the womenfolk escaping from possible execution. In spite of being permanently cut off from their roots, the woman continued a history of unending struggle, politically and intellectually.³⁹

In Britain, from a temporal and geographic distance, Akmut re-orientated the locus of diasporic feminist South Asian identity formation. By focusing on the women in her family and their life stories, she examines how we make sense of the fragmented nature of history and the remnants of identities and subjectivities that are scattered geographically. Her work notes the deficit of cultural memory and the exclusion of female voices from Independence narratives and creatively redeploys the remains of familial memory to highlight the paucity of (what she has called) ‘herstories’ in narratives of Partition. These themes were to preoccupy Akmut throughout the 1990s, and she reused the inverted map in her installation for the group exhibition *Transition of Riches*. Staged at Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery (2 September – 14 November 1993), the exhibition was part of the South Asian Visual Arts Festival, which ran from September to December 1993, and which showcased the work of over fifty artists of South Asian descent, in eighteen venues throughout the West Midlands.⁴⁰ *Transition of Riches* also included the work of Said Adrus, Chila Kumari Burman, Jagjit Chuhan, Amal Ghosh, Sarbjit Natt, Anuradha Patel and Symrath Patti; the works in the exhibition were not necessarily linked stylistically, but rather sought to present a cross section of art created by British artists of South Asian origin.⁴¹

In *Transition of Riches* Akmut presented a multi-part, multi-sensory installation, titled *Partition* (1993), that included photography, sculpture, light and sound, and which explored the histories of the Indian Independence Movement and the subsequent Partition of the subcontinent in 1947 from a feminist perspective. Positioned in a corridor-like area within the Birmingham gallery called The

Bridge, Akmut made use of the transitory space by creating oppositions: on one wall was a documentary image of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi on the Salt March of April 1930, which also featured activist and poet Sarojini Naidu. For Akmut, Naidu ‘is hidden in the interstices of history’;⁴² although a leading figure in the Indian National Congress, who was imprisoned due to her participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement, she remains a peripheral figure within gendered narratives of the Independence movement. This enlarged archival photograph was displayed alongside black and white photographs of the sea near Karachi, taken during Akmut’s re-enactment of Gandhi’s march from Sabarmati to Dandi. Tubes of salt mounted on the wall traversed the space between the photographs, while sacks of salt were positioned in front, on the ground. On the opposite wall was a light-box showing an inverted map of the subcontinent, positioned above three large colour photographs of fire, taken during a performance by the artist in Germany. Sculptural elements also accompanied these images: two cylindrical columns, capped with illuminated duratrans (transparencies) were inscribed with the testimonies of women who had experienced Partition (discussed below); and an open vitrine contained hessian bags, each inscribed with the name of an important female participant in the Independence movement.

Adjacent to these oppositional groupings of photographs and sculptures were two sets of Polaroid photographs, positioned on either side of the dividing corridor. Arranged in rectangular grids, one set showed the faces of seventy-two women, while the other showed the women from the back. Akmut took these portrait photographs while undertaking an oral history project, for which she spoke to women of different ages, all of whom had experienced, or had inherited memories of, Partition; testimonies were relayed textually on the sculptural elements of the installation. Within each of the photographic grids was a column of burnt squares, which on closer inspection were recognisable as thick stacks of archival newspaper clippings reporting Partition. The juxtaposition of documented histories and Akmut’s oral testimony project forced a reconsideration of who and what is included in the archive, and as Sonali Fernando argued, the installation as a whole presented ‘visceral memories that live in the interstices of official history’.⁴³

As a whole, *Partition* was concerned with the ways in which women's stories have been omitted from history, and consequently, how South Asian women are perceived in Britain. As Tania Guha noted, Akmut's work

pays tribute to the heroic and important contributions made by South Asian women during the struggle for Independence. Bags of salt and documentary photographs of Gandhi's Salt March in 1930 allude to the systematic obliteration of women freedom fighters from textbook versions of Indian history. Scrawled onessian parcels are the names of some forgotten protagonists — amongst them Kamala Nehru, Kalpana Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz and Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. In a British society that still portrays Asian women as voiceless puppets, afflicted by extreme shyness and overbearing fathers and husbands, the parcels become a potent metaphor for the establishment's unwillingness to recognise the achievements of women who clearly exploded these stereotypes.⁴⁴

Each of the named hessian parcels contained an object that Akmut imagined could have belonged to the identified women. The possible wrapping and unwrapping of the parcels indicates her interest in the ways stories may be hidden and revealed; if the role of women in the Independence movement is under-acknowledged or excluded from official narratives, then Akmut's installation replicated that opacity in order to criticise it. In highlighting the existence and agency of those women, and indeed all of the photographed women affected by Partition, the installation not only challenged the omissions of women from patriarchal (nationalist) histories, but also confounded orientalisng stereotypes of Asian femininity in Britain. In an essay of 1984 for the *Feminist Review*, Parita Trivedi had challenged her reader to 'conjure up a picture of an Asian woman'. She asked, 'Have the words "passive, submissive", been part of your portrayal?' Trivedi argued that British-Asians needed to critically enact 'new imaginings' of South Asian womanhood.⁴⁵ Akmut was part of a generation of artists who took up this challenge, refusing to conform to visual discourses in Britain, which, as Pratibha Parmar observed, stereotyped Asian women as 'meek and passive victims'.⁴⁶

Is the loss mine as well as theirs?⁴⁷

Zarina Bhimji's film and photographic works arguably raise similar questions regarding the nature of diasporic trauma and the contested nature of South Asian female identities post-Partition. Like Akmut, Bhimji came to prominence in the mid-1980s as one of a number of British artists engaging with issues of identity politics and belonging through photography and installation.⁴⁸ Born into an Indian, Muslim family in Uganda, Bhimji's locational identity has undergone multiple displacements and, as previously suggested, Bhimji's film and photographic works consider the diasporic condition, of negotiating the simultaneity of plural identities and addresses the contingency of home.⁴⁹ In her first film *Out of Blue* (2002), recorded in Uganda, Bhimji constructed a narrative of distant homelands, perhaps denoting an attachment to a past home that, like Rushdie's, was lost to her.

When it was exhibited at the Whitechapel Gallery *Yellow Patch* (2011) was presented as the second in a then-incomplete trilogy of films in which Bhimji drew on her own migratory experiences, and those of her parents and grandparents.⁵⁰ In returning to her birth-country in *Out of Blue*, and to what might be described as her Indian mother-country, in *Yellow Patch*, Bhimji took imaginative returns to homelands that were both remembered and inherited. In the catalogue accompanying her Whitechapel exhibition, the art historian T J Demos explained that Bhimji's father was born in Gujarat, India, and at the age of eleven had travelled with his parents to East Africa. Filmed in four locations in India, *Yellow Patch* nominally traces that journey, but I suggest, places that migration within the context of India's Independence movement, and the final days of the British Empire. The film comprises three sections, broadly encompassing an opening sequence filmed in a series of empty offices; an abandoned and crumbling palace apparently located in or near a desert, and culminating in a sequence depicting Mandvi Port, Gujarat, and concludes with a wistful view of the sea. Throughout the film Bhimji intersperses slow panning sequences with static moments, while hybrid soundtracks combine archival audio clips, local sounds, and ambient music, to create a palimpsest of referents.⁵¹

Yellow Patch begins with a trumpeting fanfare, more commonly associated with the start of a military or ceremonial pageant, but what is presented visually does not meet those imaginative associations; the formal aural commencement of *Yellow Patch* is contrasted with the slow movement of the camera, and a scene of unusually stilled rotary fans in an unpopulated office. A panning shot tracing the length of a counter-top is accompanied by the sound of typewriters, dogs barking, rainfall, music, bell chimes and car horns. Administrative offices filled with stacks of paper bundles, tied with faded red cord are punctuated by the crackle of a radio and the sound of an upper-class, male, English voice. Fragments of an address given by Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, to the Constituent Assembly in Karachi on 14 August 1947 are heard; he announces the creation of the two new states, claiming these are ‘not young nations, but the heirs of old and proud civilisations’. Later, accompanying scenes of slowly-rotating ceiling fans, Mountbatten’s voice can be heard saying, ‘Tomorrow two new sovereign states’... ‘Each a part of our history’... ‘no time to look back, only a time to look forward.’ In paring these aural fragments and visual moments Bhimji re-articulates the historical archive with postcolonial testimony: in reframing Mountbatten’s voice within the visual context of mounting administration, frayed paperwork and abandoned offices, the film suggests the failure of those words, spoken at the time with apparent conviction. Together the words and images point to traumatic consequences of Independence/Partition, without the need to explicitly visualise those tragic events; the echo of the English voice reverberates with melancholy, of promises never fulfilled. Later, accompanying a sequence in what appears to be a boardroom, furnished with a table and chairs, fragments of a speech given by Gandhi on 2 April 1947 in New Delhi can be heard: ‘I was an insignificant “coolie” lawyer... You know perhaps what is meant by the word “coolie”.’⁵² In relaying these words by Gandhi, in which he recalled his experiences of being a British trained lawyer in South Africa, the film gestures towards the intertwined histories of multiple nations and cultures; the histories of British colonisation and decolonisation and the ways in which racist identities are both ascribed and challenged.

In the mid-section of *Yellow Patch* the location switches to the exterior facade of a crumbling Indian palace and the sound of the Westminster Quarters, the notes struck by Big Ben on the quarter hour; aurally the audience is located in London, while visually Bhimji relocates her viewer to Kutch, a remote desert region of Gujarat near the Pakistan border. Geographical location and female agency are intertwined, while past and present co-mingle in scenes of the once magnificent palace, now ruined. Inside, an elderly woman, seen from behind, sits gently rocking back and forth, as though waiting. Bhimji has stated that she was not interested in the woman as such, but rather, the shape of her hair: the way that her white hair, pulled back in a braid, tapered to a curled tip at the small of her back.⁵³ The whiteness of her hair contrasts with her brown skin, and she is also dressed in white, the traditional Hindu colour of mourning. Although *Yellow Patch* has been explained through her father's departure from India and his journey to East Africa, it is perhaps significant that this woman is the sole person appearing in the film. The details of her dress and age, together with her position in a decaying house, suggest an emotional inertia; an inability to leave despite the deterioration that surrounds her, as though determined to remain in order to welcome back those long departed.

In her depiction of the old women, and in the film's associative rendering of landscape, home, and the female body – its metonymic rendering of mother as home – *Yellow Patch* has a precedent in an earlier work of 1990. In an untitled 35mm transparency, Bhimji elided the female body and a map of the India-Pakistan border.⁵⁴ The map, charting the regions of Sindh and Gujarat located on either side of the red line separating India from Pakistan, is overlain with the image of a woman's downcast face. Kobena Mercer observed that in this work, Bhimji presented a self-portrait

that created a palimpsest of cartographic fragments of the Indian/Pakistan border... to evoke the 'worlding' of post-colonial subjectivity on the part of a voyager already twice removed from her familial origins of *patria* in the sub-Continent.⁵⁵

Although Mercer used the term *patria* (fatherland), in 2012 Bhimji explained that this borderland, known as the Rann of Kutch, ‘is a place I associate with my mother’, going on to describe the region as overwhelmingly beautiful despite its ‘desolate and barren appearance’.⁵⁶ Significantly, she explained that during her research for *Yellow Patch* this space ‘helped me to think of the Partition of the sub-continent in 1947 which separated Kutch from its close neighbour Sindh, severing age-old ties between hitherto closely connected regions’.⁵⁷

The figure of the woman in the home is later contrasted in *Yellow Patch* with a white marble statue of Queen Victoria, Empress of India (1876–1901). Slowly, the camera pans from a carved foot, up an elaborately-decorated robe to the vandalised face of the Queen. This unfolding scene of violence is contrasted by the spatial imaginings of the soundscape; the sound of a cricket match, of willow striking leather, and the appreciative claps and calls of the players conjures mental images of an English village green, of men in cricket whites bound by a gentlemanly code of fair play. But Bhimji jolts the viewer from the bucolic imaginary with a presentation of iconoclasm and reminds us, as Salman Rushdie noted, ‘the problem for the English was that their history had essentially taken place overseas and so they could not understand its importance’.⁵⁸

Bhimji’s utilisation of archival sound recordings, visual signifiers of the British Empire, and locations on the border zone, produces what David Company has called a series ‘of ongoing moments’,⁵⁹ where each fragmentary detail adds to a composite that is never entirely whole. This unresolved sensibility was echoed by Bhimji in an interview about her working methods: discussing her preliminary research for *Yellow Patch* she asked

if the effects of Partition were ever forgiven? Many people died in the name of independence, hundreds of thousands of screams have been uttered and much has been lost. We have spoken before about the idea of belatedness: is the loss mine as well as theirs? These are the types of questions I ask myself during the making of the work.⁶⁰

In preparing for her film, Bhimji undertook extensive historical research, much of which was presented at the Whitechapel exhibition; a vitrine contained her research notes, photographs, and

architectural plans. However, although underpinned by research and historical specificity, Demos has identified Bhimji's approach to film-making as 'a post documentary', in that she 'relinquishes information and factual presentation in order to probe the poetic and aesthetic elements of colour, texture and rhythm'.⁶¹ For Demos, this form of 'affective cinema' induces feelings that are both symptomatic and productive, concluding *Yellow Patch* is 'a belated affective response informed by retrospective comprehension'.⁶²

Demos concluded his catalogue essay on *Yellow Patch* by suggesting that Bhimji's film is 'not a fatalistic condemnation of colonial tragedy, a pitiful expression of multigenerational grief... rather it is a celebration of the overcoming of difficult historical circumstances'.⁶³ Whether it is possible to regard *Yellow Patch* as a celebration is perhaps questionable; although there is indeed strength in Bhimji's assembled fragments, which retell stories of British imperial histories and question post-Independence certainties: rather than be understood as a celebration, I suggest that the film conveys more a sense of reconciliation. Constructing her own fictive India, 'Indias of the mind',⁶⁴ Bhimji was seemingly able to 'make explicit and speak of that which has been left unsaid' and move towards restorative understanding.⁶⁵

‘... many Thais and Indians have fallen in love...’

In contrast, Navin Rawanchaikul's work does seemingly contain a celebratory perspective, presenting Partition migrations as productive journeys that ultimately provided a safe home in an albeit distant land. Although best known for his collaborative, community-based projects, which seek to negotiate 'local circumstances and trends of globalisation',⁶⁶ an important strand of Rawanchaikul's work is concerned with family history, identities and belonging; his mother's family originated from Gujranwala, in what is now Pakistan, and his film *Hong Rub Khaek* (2008), and the large-scale mural painting, *Places of Rebirth* (2009), exhibited in Nicolas Bourriaud's curatorial project 'Altermodern' (3 February – 26 April 2009) at Tate Britain, both dealt specifically with family, the construction of diasporic identities, and the ramifications of Partition.

‘Altermodern’ was the third iteration of the gallery’s triennial exhibition of contemporary British art. Dispensing with a selection criteria based on nationality or geographic location, the exhibition provocatively posited the figure of the nomad as a useful way of understanding the contemporary artist engaged in the extrapolation and interpretation of contemporary culture that was explicitly global, and therefore beyond national classification.⁶⁷ For Bourriaud, the altermodern, nomadic artist established connections between geographically distant places and diverse cultures, and travelled through time; they existed above and outside of nationalist agendas, essentialising narratives, or regressive localisms; the nomad was presented as always mobile, always at home everywhere. As Demos put it in the exhibition’s catalogue, ‘nomadism embraces dislocation as a permanent home with lightness and joy’.⁶⁸ However, Rawanchaikul’s contributions to the exhibition arguably undermined this notion of the artist as periphrastic wanderer, being anchored as they are in very definite locations and diasporic experiences.

Rawanchaikul’s film *Hong Rub Khaek* (2009) meditated upon notions of belonging and, implicitly, the question of whether it is possible to ever be at home in a place that is not your homeland. Translated from Thai, the title of the film means ‘visitor, or guest’s living room’, but the word *khaek* also refers to the condition of being an ‘outsider’, and is used in Thailand to denote those of Indian origin. The film comprises interviews with seven Indian migrants living in Chiang Mai, who were of the same generation as Rawanchaikul’s parents; each speaker describes their experiences of leaving one home and establishing another.⁶⁹ The film is only eighteen minutes in duration, but each of his protagonists is given time to reflect on their identities and their own sense of belonging as Indians in Thailand. What becomes clear is that each speaker is aware of their status as a foreigner, and yet there is little sense of grief or melancholy, but rather an appreciation of the welcome they received from their Thai neighbours. Their places of origin are discussed, and the routes they took to Chiang Mai are identified, but all say they are happy in their adopted home. Indeed, one of the interviewees observes that ‘many Thais and Indians have fallen in love and got married’. Significantly, Partition seeps into these narratives without being the driving force of the

work. One man says, ‘I came to Thailand in 1947’ – without elaborating, the words are redolent of what must have been a difficult journey, made amidst traumatic upheaval. The complexities of geographic and national affiliations post-Partition are also alluded to in the title frames providing biographical information about each speaker. The names of the interviewees are given, along with their place of birth, their nationality and religion: ‘Name: Amrik Lal Chugh, born: 1944, Peshawar, Pakistan (Formerly India), Nationality: Indian, Religion: Hindu.’ The legacies of Partition mean that while some speakers are identified as Indian, their homeland is in Pakistan. One woman states: ‘There was no Pakistan or Hindustan back then’; the homelands that Rawanchaikul’s protagonists left as children are no longer the same, and they cannot return to the places they remember, as they are remembered.

In 2008 Rawanchaikul made his first visit to Pakistan, and the birthplace of his mother.⁷⁰ The brightly-coloured mural painting, *Places of Rebirth*, narrates not only Rawanchaikul’s overland journey from Thailand to Pakistan, but also that of his mother and great-grandfather, who travelled by train, ship, and on foot, from Gujranwala, through India to Chiang Mai in the aftermath of Partition. Presented in the style of a Bollywood billboard poster, the painting presents a *mélange* of imagery from a number of sources, while across the top of the painting, text reads, ‘A Journey to Border with Cheerful Celebration of Brotherhood... An Odyssey of Life... From remote villages of Punjab to Northern Thailand... Then a return after sixty years of wonder’. In the centre of the painting Rawanchaikul is presented in a tuk-tuk passing through the gate at the India-Pakistan border at Wagah. He is flanked on one side by a Pakistan Ranger making hand gestures, and on the other side, a member of India’s Border Security Force in the midst of a high-kick, part of the elaborate daily military ceremony that occurs at the border. Below this central image, Rawanchaikul is described as ‘a lonesome son of Hindu-Punjabi diaspora and product of cross-cultural negotiation’, while on either side, the canvas is populated with reproductions of archival family photographs and identity cards, scenes of Rawanchaikul’s journey, and vignettes more commonly associated with Partition migrations. In the top left corner Rawanchaikul reproduces Margaret

Bourke-White's celebrated black-and-white photograph taken in New Delhi in 1947 of a despairing Muslim boy with his head in his hands, crouching on a stone wall:⁷¹ elsewhere in the painting, Rawanchaikul has depicted the caravans of refugees walking across the border with livestock, and a military presence protecting a steam engine.

Places of Rebirth could superficially be regarded as a manifestation of South Asian kitsch, with its lurid colours and textual hyperbole. But if Akmut's installations pointed to a recovery of feminist Partition histories, which also challenged British preconceptions of South Asian femininity, and Bhimji's film gestured towards British complicity in the violent consequences of Partition, within the institutional framing of Tate Britain, Rawanchaikul's work encouraged (local) audiences to consider Partition beyond the territorial confines of South Asia, and to acknowledge the geographical reach and on-going legacies of British imperialism. Tracing his family's migratory routes, necessitated by the territorial allocations of the Radcliffe Line in 1947, and highlighting the presence of a South Asian diaspora in Thailand, Rawanchaikul's artworks went some way towards articulating Partition as comprising interdependent stories; we cannot consider his works without thinking across global geographies, historical temporalities and personal subjectivities, that include British colonialism, contemporary Thai identities, and the evocative pull of a South Asian homeland.

Overlapping territories, intertwined histories⁷²

In his landmark study, *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said argued that cultures were neither 'unitary or monolithic or autonomous'.⁷³ By considering the work of three diasporic South Asian artists and their engagements with the 1947 Partition of India, this article seeks to broaden the composition of Partition studies beyond nationalist, historic and geographic specificities to include articulations from a deterritorialised diaspora. I would contend that from a position of transnationalism, geographical, and generational distance, the works of art by Akmut, Bhimji and Rawanchaikul resist carefully constructed, (often) antagonistic, and partial nationalist narratives of

Partition. Instead, they point to hitherto sublimated stories regarding family, female agency, loss and survival; relating stories of borders and borderlands they highlight the emotional pull of lost homelands while simultaneously acknowledging that it is impossible to return to an inherited memory of place. In trying to negotiate a space in which the South Asian diaspora can act creatively, Rushdie observed that, 'Our identity is at once plural and partial.'⁷⁴ The Partition narratives contained within artworks by Akmut, Bhimji and Rawanchaikul may indeed encapsulate this irresolute ambivalence; they variously utilise South Asian visual referents, depicting particular places, and quotidian Partition experiences, while simultaneously placing those stories within a global, historical context, participating in larger conversations about British colonialism and the continuing inheritances of British imperialism. Rather than quarantine cultures, these artworks instead acknowledge the contingency and interdependency of migrations, histories and identities: they highlight the importance of not only articulating diasporic narratives of Partition, but recognising their constitutive role in the narratives of South Asian, British, and indeed, global histories.

1 Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*, Routledge, London, 1994, p 72

2 Salman Rushdie, 'Imaginary Homelands', in *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981–1991*, Granta, London, 1992, pp 9–21, p 9

3 Ibid, p 10

4 Ibid, p 9

5 The author acknowledges however that Zarina Bhimji does not endorse this reading of her work; the artist does not regard Partition as a theme within her film *Yellow Patch*, 2012, as discussed here. Telephone conversation with Zarina Bhimji, 29 June 2017.

6 Salman Rushdie, 'Imaginary Homelands', op cit, p 9

7 For a comprehensive discussion of the term see Floya Anthias, 'Evaluating 'Diaspora': Beyond Ethnicity?', *Sociology*, vol 32, no 3, August 1998, pp 557–580.

- 8 Steven Vertovec, 'Three Meanings of "Diaspora", Exemplified among South Asian Religions', *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, vol 6, no 3, winter 1997, pp 277–299, p 277
- 9 Mahbubar Rahman and Willem van Schendel, "'I Am Not a Refugee": Rethinking Partition Migration', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol 37, no 3, July 2003, pp 551–584, p 553–554
- 10 Ambalavaner Sivanandan, 'Catching History on the Wing', speech given at Institute of Race Relations Fiftieth Celebration Conference, 1 November 2008, <http://www.irr.org.uk/news/catching-history-on-the-wing>, accessed 22 March 2017.
- 11 See T J Demos, 'Zarina Bhimji: Cinema of Affect', in *Zarina Bhimji*, Whitechapel Gallery, London, 2012, pp 11–29, and T J Demos, *Return to the Postcolony: Specters of Colonialism in Contemporary Art*, Sternberg Press, London, 2013.
- 12 Anita N Jain, 'Imaginary Diasporas', *South Asian Diaspora*, vol 8, no 1, 2016, pp 1–14, p 4
- 13 N Jayaram, 'Heterogeneous Diaspora and Asymmetrical Orientations: India, Indians and the Indian Diaspora', *Diaspora Studies*, vol 1, no 2, 2008, pp 1–21, p 4
- 14 Srinath Raghavan, 'The Diaspora and India', *India Review*, vol 11, no 1, 2012, pp 65–72, p 67
- 15 Rahman and van Schendel, "'I Am Not a Refugee'", op cit, p 554
- 16 See Ritu Menon, 'Cartographies of Nations and Identities: A Post-Partition Predicament', *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, vol 1, no 2, pp 157–166, p 159.
- 17 Ibid, p 158
- 18 Bhaskar Sarkar, *Mourning the Nation: Indian Cinema in the Wake of Partition*, Duke University Press, Durham, 2009, p 15
- 19 Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia* Columbia University Press, New York, 2010
- 20 See for example, Rahman and van Schendel, "'I Am Not a Refugee'", op cit, pp 551–584, and Paromita Deb, 'Religion, Partition, Identity and Diaspora: A Study of Bapsi Sidhwa's *Ice-Candy-Man*', *South Asian Diaspora*, vol 3, no 2, 2011, pp 215–230.

- 21 Rosemary Marangoly George, '(Extra)Ordinary Violence: National Literatures, Diasporic Aesthetics, and the Politics of Gender in South Asian Partition Fiction', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol 33, no 1, autumn 2007, pp 135–158, p 136
- 22 Ibid, p 138
- 23 See for example, Lucy Chester, *Borders and Conflict in South Asia: The Radcliffe Boundary Commission and the Partition of Punjab*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2009, and Ananya Jahanara Kabir, 'Cartographic Irresolution and the Line of Control', *Social Text* 101, vol 27, no 4, winter 2009, pp 45–66.
- 24 Paul Gilroy, 'Diaspora and the Detours of Identity' in Kathryn Woodward, ed, *Identity and Difference*, Sage, London, 1997, pp 299–346, p 331
- 25 Kamla Bhasin and Ritu Menon, *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1998, p 11
- 26 Nilofar Akmut, 'Mapping Ourselves', in Jo Spence and Joan Solomon, eds, *What Can a Woman Do with a Camera: Photography for Women*, Scarlet, London, 1995, pp 123–125, p 125
- 27 Ibid, p 125
- 28 Nilofar Akmut, email to the author, 27 June 2017
- 29 Sonali Fernando, 'Nilofar Akmut', *Transition of Riches*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, 1993, pp 22–24, p 24
- 30 Vi Hendrickson, 'Foreword', *Keepin' it Together*, The Pavilion Women's Visual Arts Centre, Leeds, 1993, unpaginated
- 31 Ibid, unpaginated
- 32 Bhasin and Menon, *Borders & Boundaries*, op cit
- 33 Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*, Routledge, London, 2000, pp 14–15
- 34 Bhasin and Menon, *Borders & Boundaries*, op cit, p 11
- 35 Ibid, p 7

- 36 Akmut, 'Mapping Ourselves', op cit, p 123
- 37 Sumathi Ramaswamy, 'Maps and Mother Goddesses in Modern India', *Imago Mundi*, vol 53, 2001, pp 97–114, p 98
- 38 Marangoly George, op cit, p 136
- 39 Akmut, 'Mapping Ourselves', op cit, p 125
- 40 Juginder Lamba, *South Asian Contemporary Visual Arts Festival: Final Report*, July 1994, Panchayat Archive, Tate Library Special Collections
- 41 See Cary Rajinder Sawhney, 'Transition of Riches', *Transition of Riches*, op cit, pp 6–12
- 42 Nilofar Akmut, email to the author, 27 June 2017
- 43 Fernando, 'Nilofar Akmut', op cit, p 24
- 44 Tania Guha, 'Transition of Riches', *Third Text* 25, vol 7, no 25, winter 1993–1994, pp 81–86, p 82
- 45 Parita Trivedi, 'To Deny Our Fullness: Asian Women in the Making of History', *Feminist Review*, no 17, autumn 1984, pp 37–50, p 38
- 46 Pratibha Parmar, 'Black Feminism: The Politics of Articulation', in Jonathan Rutherford, ed, *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1990, pp 101–26, p 116
- 47 Zarina Bhimji, in 'From Politics to Poetry: Zarina Bhimji in Conversation with Achim Borchardt-Hume and Kathleen Bühler', in *Zarina Bhimji*, exhibition catalogue, Whitechapel Gallery, London, 2012, p 35
- 48 See Zarina Bhimji, 'A Photo/Text, *She Loved to Breathe – Pure Silence*' (1987), *Third Text* 3/4, vol 2, spring/summer 1988, pp 96–104
- 49 Alice Correia, 'Local-Global Positions in Zarina Bhimji's *Out of Blue*', in Gregory Minissal and Celina Jeffery, eds, *Global and Local Meditations*, Cambridge Scholar Press, Cambridge, 2007, pp 27–42

50 See T J Demos, 'Zarina Bhimji: Cinema of Affect', op cit, p 13. The third film, shot in Zanzibar, is titled *Jangbar* (2012/15) and was first shown at New Art Exchange, Nottingham, 16 July – 27 September 2015.

51 The author acknowledges that in reading *Yellow Patch* through traces of Partition and focusing on only a few sequences within the 29-minute film, other interpretations, which are beyond the scope of this article, are omitted. Telephone conversation with Zarina Bhimji, 29 June 2017.

52 Mahatma Gandhi, 'Speech at Inter-Asian Relations Conference', 2 April 1947, New Delhi, http://www.gandhiserve.org/information/listen_to_gandhi/lec_2_iarc/lec_2_iarc.html accessed 4 July 2017

53 See Zarina Bhimji, in 'From Politics to Poetry', op cit, p 40

54 Reproduced on the cover of Kobena Mercer, ed, *Exiles, Diasporas and Strangers*, Institute of International Visual Arts , London, 2008.

55 Kobena Mercer, 'Introduction', Kobena Mercer, ed, *Exiles, Diasporas*, op cit, pp 6–27, p 23–24

56 Zarina Bhimji, in 'From Politics to Poetry', op cit, p 37

57 Ibid, p 36

58 Salman Rushdie, as cited in Homi K Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London, 1994, pp 166–167

59 David Company, *The Cinematic*, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 2007, p 11

60 Zarina Bhimji, in 'From Politics to Poetry', op cit, p 35

61 T J Demos, 'Zarina Bhimji: Cinema of Affect', op cit, p 11

62 Ibid, p 24

63 Ibid, p 28

64 Rushdie, 'Imaginary Homelands', op cit, p 10

65 Zarina Bhimji cited in Tania V Guha, 'Face to Face: An Interview with Zarina Bhimji' in Amal Ghosh and Juginder Lamba, eds, *Beyond Frontiers: Contemporary British Art by Artists of South Asian Descent*, Saffron Press, London, 2001, pp 91–102, p 91

- 66 See <http://www.navinproduction.com/artist.php>, accessed 4 July 2017.
- 67 See Marcus Verhagen, 'The Nomad and the Altermodern: The Tate Triennial', *Third Text* 101, vol 23, no 6, November 2009, pp 803–812.
- 68 T J Demos, 'The Ends of Exile: Toward a Coming Universality?', in Nicolas Bourriaud, *Altermodern: Tate Triennial*, Tate Publishing, London, 2009, pp 74–89, p 80
- 69 Tessa Jackson, 'Introduction', *Entanglement: The Ambivalence of Identity*, Iniva, London, 2011, p 12
- 70 June Yap, 'Navin Rawanchaikul: Places of Rebirth (2009)', *Guggenheim Collection Online*, <http://www.guggenheim.org/new-york/collections/collection-online/artwork/31233>, accessed 6 January 2015
- 71 See Patrick French, 'A New Way of Seeing Indian Independence and the Brutal "Great Migration"', *Time*, 14 August 2016, <http://time.com/4421746/margaret-bourke-white-great-migration/> accessed 4 July 2017.
- 72 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage, London, 1994, p 72
- 73 Ibid, p 15
- 74 Rushdie, 'Imaginary Homelands', op cit, p 15