

How have histories of colonialism and empire, in the context of India, shaped literature and popular culture's depiction of gender stereotypes?

Gender stereotypes of Indian society depicted in literature and popular culture are entirely shaped by and inseparable from colonialism. This essay adopts a decolonial feminist perspective to argue that these gender stereotypes have fundamentally been shaped by the colonial Western 'civilising mission' – motivated by imperialist belief in their moral superiority, ignorance, and fear of those they perceive as different.<sup>1</sup> This will be argued first by drawing on Edward Said's (1978) notion of the 'Other' and how it affects the presentation of Indian individuals, particularly women, within Western literature and popular culture. The argument will expand to discuss how Indian women are stereotyped as having less autonomy and fewer rights than their Western counterparts, before finally considering how Indian men and women are relegated to specific identity-based categories that they are expected to comply with.

I have chosen to adopt a breadth approach to emphasise the range of works and genres with direct connections to colonialism; however, due to language and time limitations, this essay will primarily rely upon Western works and femininity. The most in-depth discussion will focus upon Jules Verne's novel, *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1872), Rudyard Kipling's novel, *Kim* (1901), the *Harry Potter* novels and films (1997-2011), and the Netflix show *Never Have I Ever* (2020-present). However, there will also be brief references to other pieces of literature and popular culture, including Frances Hodgson Burnett's novel *The Secret Garden* (1911) and Swarnakumari Devi's novel *An Unfinished Song* (1916).

Literature and popular culture have been largely shaped by colonial ignorance of Indian culture, resulting in myriad portrayals of Indian characters – particularly women – as 'Others'. Edward Said (1978) presents the 'Other' as the presumed antithesis of the West; the

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<sup>1</sup> For more on decolonial feminism, see Françoise Vergès, et al., *A Decolonial Feminism* (London, 2021).

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'Orient' existing in contradiction to the 'Occident'.<sup>2</sup> The notion of there being inherent differences between the West and the "European invention" of the 'Orient' was employed as a justification for colonialism.<sup>3</sup> The lasting effects of 'Othering' due to both physical and societal cultural differences is still visible in contemporary media.

The widely revered *Harry Potter* franchise has been criticised due to its problematic presentation of its non-White characters. The most prominent example of 'Othering' is perhaps in the film *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (2005) when students and teachers attend the 'Yule Ball'.<sup>4</sup> The costumiers take this opportunity for the only non-White characters – Padma Patil, Parvati Patil, and Cho Chang – to wear traditional dress, despite there being other White characters who are also from countries with notable cultural attire, including Scotland and Ireland. This segregates non-White characters from the White characters, serving as a visible reminder of their 'Otherness'.<sup>5</sup> Their lenghas, which are almost identical (thus robbing them of their individuality), are bright neon, contrasting with the more faded, pastel colour scheme of their White counterparts. They also appear to be made of relatively cheap fabric, consequently 'Othering' them to a greater extent.<sup>6</sup> This visual 'Otherness' acts in conjunction with their femininity: it is notable that there are no men, including men of colour, in traditional dress. Consequently, colonialism's impact is evident, in that non-White men are more readily able to assimilate than non-White women, who are doubly 'Othered' by both their femininity and race.

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<sup>2</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* [1978] (Delhi, 1995).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1, p.39.

<sup>4</sup> *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, dir. Mike Newell (Burbank, 2005). DVD. 1:15:45-1:17:26.

<sup>5</sup> Jennifer Patrice Sims, "When the Subaltern Speak Parseltongue: Orientalism, Racial Re-Presentation, and Claudia Kim as Nagini", in Dahlen, Sarah Park, and Ebony Elizabeth Thomas (ed.), *Harry Potter and the Other: Race, Justice, and Difference in the Wizarding World* (Mississippi, 2022), pp.108.

<sup>6</sup> I would like to extend my thanks to Debi Chatterjee, Aarthee Parimelalaghan, and Krithika Shenoy for this insight.

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The perceived inability of subjects of Empire to assimilate into British culture is not a recent phenomenon but is portrayed to an arguably greater extent in various works of early twentieth-century literature. Mary Lennox, Burnett's protagonist of *The Secret Garden* (1911), is born in India and struggles after moving to England. As the child of a White colonial officer, she is viewed as an 'Other' in *two* contexts: both in India and England, as she cannot entirely connect with either culture.<sup>7</sup> In India, she is a racial and socioeconomic 'Other' who knows no other White, upper-class children, but only "the dark face of her Ayah and the other native servants."<sup>8</sup> In Yorkshire, she is a cultural 'Other'; she wanders the halls considering whether the portraits are "wondering what a little girl from India was doing in their house."<sup>9</sup> While she is physically White, she is 'Othered' as she has been raised almost exclusively by her Indian Ayah and therefore identifies more with Indian culture.

This is also the case with the eponymous protagonist of Rudyard Kipling's 1901 novel, *Kim*, who is simultaneously presented as integrated into Indian culture and far removed from it. Throughout the novel, the narrator constantly reminds the reader that Kim is first and foremost English, despite him being "burned black as any native."<sup>10</sup> Unlike Mary, however, Kim is male. Despite having darker skin, he ultimately remains a White male and thus has the autonomy that Mary lacks to roam outside alone. This perhaps explains how Kim's White identity, "[ceasing] to resemble whiteness", has consequently enabled the White "pervasive presence in colonial settings."<sup>11</sup> Gender stereotypes have been shaped by the imperialist civilising mission, as Kim is presented as a 'good' 'Other' – a White man among

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<sup>7</sup> Sara Strauß, "Constructions of 'Otherness', in Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden*" in Gymnich, Marion and Imke Lichterfeld (ed.), *A Hundred Years of The Secret Garden: Frances Hodgson Burnett's Children's Classic Revisited* (2012), p78; Deborah Cogan Thacker and Jean Webb, *Introducing Children's Literature: From Romanticism to Postmodernism* (London, 2002), p.93.

<sup>8</sup> Frances Hodgson Burnett, *The Secret Garden* [1911] (Minneapolis, 2014), p.9.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p.46

<sup>10</sup> Kipling, Rudyard, *Kim* [1901] (New York, 2019), p.4.

<sup>11</sup> Walters, Ailsha, "A 'WHITE BOY... WHO IS NOT A WHITE BOY': Rudyard Kipling's Kim, Whiteness, and British Identity", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 46:2 (2018), p.343.

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Indians – which allows him to retain power even though he is low-caste and “a poor white of the very poorest.”<sup>12</sup> On the contrary, Mary’s race and social class do not provide her with this social authority, primarily because she is not male.

It is not solely Western literature that has emphasised this divide. *An Unfinished Song* (1913) is Swarnakumari Devi’s English translation of her own 1898 Bengali novel, *Kahake*. She begins her English translation with a preface speaking directly to her Western readers, hoping that her novel will provide “insight” into India as, “in their inner nature, Hindus are still quite different from Western races.”<sup>13</sup> Devi attempts to rectify the lack of Indian knowledge in the West but, by doing so, ‘Others’ herself further. Throughout her novel, her protagonist, Mrinalini, praises England, even wishing to “dedicate [her] life in service to the Motherland” as “there alone will [she] find happiness.”<sup>14</sup> This gender stereotype of women as ‘Others’ in their own culture – because they wish to remain unmarried and flee to England – is infused with colonialism.

Histories of colonialism and empire have led to stereotypical presentations of both ethnically Indian and female characters as ‘Others’, physically and in their mannerisms. The intersection of both female *and* Indian has resulted in doubly ‘Othered’ characters, who are presented as attempting to assimilate into British culture but being unable to.

Furthermore, the moral self-importance assumed by colonising nations has led literature and popular culture to present rigid depictions of Indian society as ‘inferior’, and thus Indian women as having less autonomy and fewer social rights than their Western counterparts. The notion of imperialism as a ‘civilising mission’ – in which native populations are ‘saved’ from their cultures – has historically been a popular defence of

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<sup>12</sup> Kipling, *Kim*, p.4.

<sup>13</sup> Swarnakumari Devi, *An Unfinished Song* [1913] (London, 2020), p.1.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.189-190.

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colonialism.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, traditional Western feminist perspectives have proposed that women of colonised nations have been “deprived of knowledge” and a “real concept of freedom.”<sup>16</sup> This is particularly evident in literature's portrayal of Sati, self-immolation primarily committed by upper-caste Hindus following their husband's death, largely focused in and around Calcutta.<sup>17</sup>

Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1872) introduces Aouda, a widow who is to be forcibly immolated. Phileas Fogg, representative of the British aristocracy, expresses surprise that “these barbarous customs still exist in India, and that the English have been unable to put a stop to them.”<sup>18</sup> Fogg is hence symbolic of not only the individual British gentleman, but of the British colonial spirit. In line with the Western civilising mission, he saves “the victim” who displays overwhelming gratitude at being ‘saved’ from her own culture.<sup>19</sup> Mrinalini in *An Unfinished Song* bears the same wish to travel to England, although for her this is not fulfilled by the end of the novel, and she longs for “autonomous agency.”<sup>20</sup> This demonstrates the colonial stereotype that Indian women wish to be rescued and travel to a more ‘modern’ autonomous nation.

A British woman expresses similar outrage towards Sati in Swarnakumari Devi's short story, *Mutiny* (1919). However, unlike the Indian guide in *Around the World in Eighty Days*, the narrator defends Sati, retorting that it takes “terrible courage” rather than being a “terrible custom.”<sup>21</sup> In direct contrast to Aouda, Devi's narrator argues against the colonial notion that Sati removes women of their autonomy. The Western equivalent of forced Sati is

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<sup>15</sup> Lata Mani, “Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India,” *Cultural Critique*, 7 (1987), p.153.

<sup>16</sup> Vergès, *A Decolonial Feminism*, p.27.

<sup>17</sup> Mani, “Contentious Traditions”, p.119; Anand Yang, “Whose sati?: Widow burning in early 19th century India,” *Journal of Women's History*, 1:2 (1989), p.11.

<sup>18</sup> Jules Verne, *Around the World in Eighty Days* [1872] (New York, 2017), p.46.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.49.

<sup>20</sup> Devi, *An Unfinished Song*, p.224.

<sup>21</sup> Swarnakumari Devi, *Short Stories* (Cambridge, 1919) p.232.

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domestic abuse; however, as there is no equivalent of women willingly committing Sati, Verne's writing displays an inability to understand the custom.<sup>22</sup> Thus, Verne and Devi's characters form the two opposing sides in the debate regarding Sati: first, the widow as a 'victim' who is exploited by both her family and religious leaders; second, the widow as a brave 'heroine'.<sup>23</sup> Just as Fogg personifies the British Empire, Aouda similarly embodies the ideal of the vulnerable colonial woman. She is largely removed from her perceived 'backwards' culture; her intellect and courtesy could be mistaken as "European" and she speaks English with "great purity."<sup>24</sup> This comparison with European women demonstrates the imperial understanding that Western women are 'superior'.

The civilising mission acted as justification for what John Stuart Mill, a staunch imperialist, saw as "tolerant imperialism."<sup>25</sup> Mill argued that the British had a moral imperative to colonise and "conquer" India; to "break their spirit."<sup>26</sup> Mill, reflecting wider Western opinion, considered India "uncivilised."<sup>27</sup> This attitude is particularly noticeable in several works of nineteenth-century Western literature. Christina Rossetti's poem, *In the Round Tower at Jhansi* (1857) refers to the Indian crowds as "swarming, howling wretches."<sup>28</sup> Kipling's notorious poem, *The White Man's Burden* (1899) overtly refers to the perceived Western responsibility to conquer the savage nations full of "half devil and half child."<sup>29</sup> Further, Kipling's presentation of Hurree Babu in *Kim* appears almost satirical.

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<sup>22</sup> Teresa Hubel, "A mutiny of silence: Swarnakumari Devi's sati", *ARIEL*, 41:3-4 (2010), p.175.

<sup>23</sup> Mani, "Contentious Traditions", p.152.

<sup>24</sup> Vernes, *Around the World*, p.49, p.54.

<sup>25</sup> Mark Tunick, "Tolerant Imperialism: John Stuart Mill's Defense of British Rule in India", *The Review of Politics*, 68:4 (2006), p.586.

<sup>26</sup> John Stuart Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention", *New England Review (1990-)*, 27:3 (2006) p.259.

<sup>27</sup> Tunick, "Tolerant Imperialism", p.2.

<sup>28</sup> Christina Rossetti, *Goblin Market and Other Poems* (London, 1862), pp.31-32.

<sup>29</sup> The Kipling Society, "The White Man's Burden", *The White Man's Burden 1899 (The United States and the Philippine Islands)* <[https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/poem/poems\\_burden.htm](https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/poem/poems_burden.htm)> [accessed 25 October 2022].

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Like Aouda, the Babu's perception of self has been affected by colonialism, as he expresses regret that he is "unfortunately" Indian.<sup>30</sup> In fact, the only discussion in the novel of colonialism's wrongs is when he is comically drunk, and thus not to be taken seriously. He becomes "thickly treasonous" by discussing how he was subjected to a "white man's education" but refused a "white man's salary", and by "[babbling] tales of oppression and wrong... for the miseries of his land" before eventually "[collapsing] upon a wet tree trunk."<sup>31</sup> This emasculation of the Babu demonstrates not only the contrast between Western and Indian men, but further the stereotype that Indian men are less 'masculine' than Western men, which acted as another justification for the Western civilising mission.

This notion of Indian men being 'inferior' to Western men is also prevalent in the contemporary *Never Have I Ever*, in which the protagonist, Devi, greatly desires a White boyfriend. While her decision to pursue romance outside her race and not conform to expectations could be seen as empowering from a Western perspective, her staunch insistence to do so reflects colonialism's lasting impact – in particular, the understanding of White men as suave 'saviours'. Devi's shame and consequent disassociation from her culture is a prime example of xenocentrism, the rejection of one's culture in favour of another.<sup>32</sup> While the show does challenge this through characters who embrace their Indian heritage, including Devi's cousins, teacher, and temporary love interest, it is also worth acknowledging that the show itself is fundamentally about an Indian girl who is ashamed of her culture and is torn between two White men to be her romantic partner. Thus, colonialism still shapes media's depictions of Indian characters by showing Indian women as oppressed and ashamed of their cultures, and Indian men as inadequately masculine.

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<sup>30</sup> Kipling, *Kim*, p.373.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.394-5.

<sup>32</sup> Jessica Selvy and Rifka Pratama, "Biculturalism and Xenocentrism in TV Series *Never Have I Ever* Season 1", *Culturalistics: Journal of Cultural, Literary, and Linguistic Studies*, 5:2 (2021).

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Colonialism has not only defined Indian women as socially oppressed, but further relegated them to a subset of gender-specific identities. This classification of women is not a specifically Asian phenomenon, but the number of categories that Indian women are expected to fall into is significantly lower than that of Western women. Neluka Silva posits that the three identity categories available to Indian women are: selfless wife and 'mother', virginal 'daughter', 'whore'.<sup>33</sup> The latter category is evidently derogatory, while the categories of 'wife', 'mother' and 'daughter' are notably both about women's relation to another.

The categories of 'mother', 'daughter', 'wife' (or 'love interest') are strongly associated with devotion and silence. Kipling's *Kim* repeatedly voices the nineteenth-century understanding of women's maternal instincts as universal among Indian women; Kim claims not only that "all women can cook," but further that "all women are wise [and] discerning" and "always kind."<sup>34</sup> These beliefs contribute to the stereotype of women as natural mothers, and consequently India as 'Mother', and further the expectation of husbands as 'protectors'. A defining characteristic of masculinity in both Asian and Western cultures is the ability to both physically and economically protect one's mother: hence, Bhārat Mātā (Mother India) is made up of women, but is defended by men.<sup>35</sup> Colonialism warps this idea, by presenting British men as truly masculine, and Indian men as inferior and emasculated.<sup>36</sup> Histories of colonialism and empire have presented Indian women as inherently maternal and connected to their nation.

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<sup>33</sup> Neluka Silva, "'Mothers, Daughters and 'Whores' of the Nation': nationalism and female stereotypes in post-colonial Sri Lankan drama in English" *Journal of Gender Studies*, 6:3 (2010); Sanjay Srivastava, "Masculinity Studies and Feminism: Othering the Self", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50:20 (2015) p. 34.

<sup>34</sup> Kipling, *Kim*, pp.76, 133, 333.

<sup>35</sup> Silva, "'Mothers, Daughters and 'Whores'", pp.270-1.

<sup>36</sup> Hubel, "A mutiny of silence", p.175; Mythili Rajiva, "In Papaji's House", *Feminist Media Studies*, 10:2 (2010), pp.214.



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However, traditional Western models of motherhood are often limited and do not acknowledge the impact of colonialism or slavery on women's ability to mother.<sup>37</sup> The capitalist system brought to India through colonialism resulted in the "simultaneous privatisation and institutionalisation of motherhood," in which "loving nurturing mothers and healthy babies are the most prized show pieces."<sup>38</sup> This led to Indian nationalists focusing upon the traditional 'deification' of both individual mothers and the motherland. Motherhood was attributed traits of sacrificial selflessness that represent the nation's values.<sup>39</sup> However, the arrival of capitalism led to motherhood becoming the desired alternative to women's education or labour.<sup>40</sup> In pre-colonial India, women had carried out what is now considered traditionally 'male' labour; colonialism and capitalism shrunk the local economy and removed women from these professions.<sup>41</sup> Thus, colonialism solidified the notion that Indian women should not contribute to the mode of production through abstract labour, but must instead carry out concrete labour as housewives and mothers.<sup>42</sup> Women were also largely prevented from writing, as *jitakshara* ("mastery over the written word") was associated with masculinity and, in an attempt to retain their masculinity as it was being undermined by imperialists, Indian men wished to rid literature of *meyeli bhasa* ("women's dialect.")<sup>43</sup> These practices have led to the silencing of Indian women in literature and popular culture.

The colonised woman's experiences have been eradicated by their absence from literature and media. This is unfortunately still problematic in modern media. Across the

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<sup>37</sup> Vergès, *A Decolonial Feminism*, p.24.

<sup>38</sup> Jasodhara Bagchi, "Representing Nationalism: Ideology of Motherhood in Colonial Bengal", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25:42/43 (1990), p.65.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*; Silva, "Mother, Daughter, "Whore"", pp.269-70.

<sup>40</sup> Bagchi, "Representing Nationalism", pp.65-66.

<sup>41</sup> Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India* (Cambridge, 1999), p.159.

<sup>42</sup> Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* [1859] (Moscow, 1977), pp.29-30; Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1* [1867] (London, 1976), p.992.

<sup>43</sup> Maroona Murmu, *Words of Her Own: Women Authors in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, (New Delhi, 2019), p.188.

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1,207 minutes of the *Harry Potter* films, only 5 minutes 40 seconds are spoken by people of colour.<sup>44</sup> Upon analysis of Dylan Marron's video, I noted that women of colour comprise only 111 seconds; further analysis presented that 82 of those seconds are in contexts alluding to (heteroromantic) love interests. Thus, across over 20 hours of film, women of colour speak for a total of 29 seconds about subjects other than men. While the silencing of women of colour is not specific to *Harry Potter*, it demonstrates that the colonial legacy in present even in the most adored media, and that the intersection of gender and race can often lead to being silenced.

The silencing of non-White characters is also prevalent in the *Harry Potter* novels. Non-White female and male characters are confined to background roles. However, the male characters of colour are portrayed as actively aiding the resistance against Voldemort: notably, Lee Jordan's rebellious radio station, *Potterwatch*, and Kingsley Shacklebolt's membership of the Order of the Phoenix and his promotion to Minister of Magic.<sup>45</sup> This is a direct contrast to the female characters of colour, all of whom are only given plotlines through their unsuccessful romances with the two lead White male characters, Harry and Ron. This implies that while the brave White characters actively fight and revolt, and the non-White men aid the rebellion effort, the Asian women are passive and unhelpful. They are primarily relevant to "be used as a foil for the white girl who eventually marries the hero."<sup>46</sup> Here, the intersection of their race and gender has led them to be portrayed similarly to how

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<sup>44</sup> Dylan Marron (@dylanmarron), *Twitter*, 14 February 2018, <<https://twitter.com/dylanmarron/status/963817687041368066?lang=en>> [accessed 27 October 2022]

<sup>45</sup> J.K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (London, 2007).

<sup>46</sup> Sarah Park Dahlen and Kallie Schell, "'Cho Chang is Trending': What It Means to be Asian in the Wizarding World," in Dahlen, Sarah Park, and Ebony Elizabeth Thomas (ed.), *Harry Potter and the Other: Race, Justice, and Difference in the Wizarding World* (Mississippi, 2022), pp.97-98.

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imperialism saw Indian woman: maternal – gentle and kind – yet never true competition. In this way, the Patil twins are representative of “the remnants of the British colonial empire.”<sup>47</sup>

Another example of non-White women's absence is in the film *Avatar the Last Airbender* (2010). Characters of the animated TV show *Avatar the Last Airbender* (2005-2008) are primarily based on East Asian and Inuit cultures; thus, the live-action adaptation should have reflected this in its casting. Instead, all the primary characters were recast as White, with the exception of the primary antagonist who is played by Dev Patel, an Indian actor. This not only entirely erases the experiences of 'Othered' women, but further reinforces colonial stereotypes of silent invisible Asian women and angry Indian men who are inferior to White colonisers.

The silent, invisible daughter is, like her mother, expected to show great devotion; however, this is often depicted in Indian literature as patriarchal devotion to her father, sometimes bordering on Freudian. Suniti Devi's autobiography describes her father as having a “loving voice which always made [the] children thrill with affection.”<sup>48</sup> Similarly, the majority of the first chapter of *An Unfinished Song* discusses Mrinalini's “desire” for her father, and how she views conjugal and filial love as the same emotion.<sup>49</sup> This demonstrates the self-perception of colonised nations as those with utmost respect and devotion towards their families.

Whilst 'wife', 'mother' and 'daughter' categories are presented as silent and dutiful, the category of 'whore' differs. Western narratives often consider it 'empowering' to marry outside of one's ethnic group. However, in much nationalist discourse, Westernised women,

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<sup>47</sup> Lily Anne Welty Tamai and Paul Spickard, “Half-Blood: Mixed-Race Tropes Old and New in Harry Potter's World,” in Dahlen, Sarah Park, and Ebony Elizabeth Thomas (ed.), *Harry Potter and the Other: Race, Justice, and Difference in the Wizarding World* (Mississippi, 2022), p.145.

<sup>48</sup> Suniti, Devi, *The Autobiography of an Indian Princess* (London, 1921), p.47.

<sup>49</sup> Devi, *An Unfinished Song*, p.13.

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spinsters, and 'hybrid' women – mixed-race women or women who have married outside of their ethnic group or caste – are presented as 'whore.'<sup>50</sup> Kipling presents such women as seductresses, murmuring words not for Europeans to hear, and the 'Amritzar girl' who smiles, knowing that men are competing for her affections.<sup>51</sup> He also repeatedly uses the harsh verb "shrilled" in reference to women, even once comparing women to 'parrots' who "screech in dawn."<sup>52</sup> This contempt towards women who are not the idealised maternal figure presents them as irrational, suggesting a dichotomy between women as caring, domestic housewives, and women as unreasonable beings who cannot be entrusted with matters of importance.

Over a century later, *Never Have I Ever* presents Jaya Kuyavar as a woman shunned by her family and the whole of the Sherman Oaks Hindu community for disobeying her parents' marriage arrangements and marrying an American Muslim, and she expresses regret that she did not listen to her parents.<sup>53</sup> It is hence evident that lasting effects of colonialism have led to Indian men being emasculated and Indian women being categorised into identities such as 'wife', 'mother', 'daughter', and 'whore'. Another concerning impact of colonialism is the erasure and silencing of Indian women in literature and popular culture.

Ultimately, histories of colonialism and empire have firmly established gender stereotypes that remain prevalent in the twenty-first century. The imperialist civilising mission was provoked by colonial self-importance, ignorance, and inability to comprehend cultural differences. The consequent imposition of capitalism and Western ideas of modernity have resulted in stereotypes in literature and popular media of Indian women as an 'Other',

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<sup>50</sup> Silva, "Mothers, Daughters and 'Whores'", p.272.

<sup>51</sup> Kipling, *Kim* p.50; p.358

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.47, 48, 126, 128, 358.

<sup>53</sup> "Never Have I Ever... Felt Super Indian", *Never Have I Ever*, created by Mindy Kaling and Lang Fisher, Season 1 Episode 4, *Netflix*, (April 2020): 16:02-17:13.

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Indian women being more oppressed than their Western counterparts, and Indian men and women existing in rigid identity categories. The likelihood of such stereotypes falling into disuse is near impossible; capitalism and imperialism cannot exist without the other, and complete political reform would be necessary to remove these gendered and racial stereotypes.

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