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Re-territorialisation of persecuted identity: Sikh refugee contribution towards ethno-national conflict in Indian Punjab

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It has been said that ethno-national identity, despite being 'psychological' in constitution, is territorialised in place. Indeed, it is virtually impossible to conceive of any identity, particularly one that is ethno-national in variety, which does not contain a strong territorial underpinning. Yet refugees that are driven out from their homeland on account of their ethno-national identity are typically considered to constitute a de-territorialised group. Halting the analysis there, however, is problematic, since refugees do not necessarily lose a sense of ethno-national identity consciousness on account of being de-territorialised. Nor would it be sensible to assume that ethno-national identity can persist without a territorial basis. Rather what this paper contends is that de-territorialised refugees, upon arrival into their host societies, endeavour to 're-territorialise' their persecuted identity and that such a process will likely prompt the rise of ethno-national conflict. This claim will be demonstrated with reference to the Sikhs of Punjab.

Re-territorialisation of persecuted identity

It is this author's contention that refugee[1] populations grow (more) conscious of that aspect of their identity which had been persecuted in their departed homeland. After arriving into their host societies, the de-territorialised refugees endeavour to re-

[1] A refugee is, per the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees (*Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*), any person, who 'owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his[her] origin' (quoted in Gallagher 1989, 580).

territorialise their persecuted identity.[2] Indeed, such a process is integral to the very survival of this identity among the group, similar to how an uprooted plant must be replanted immediately or else it will inevitably wither away and die. The manner in which refugee persecuted identity is re-territorialised, however, is not uniform but can span across two main forms of expression: lower-level (localised ethnic) re-territorialisation; and/or wider-level (ethno-national) re-territorialisation. In terms of lower-level re-territorialisation, there is an indefinite number of outlets that refugees can subscribe to, including: a general intolerance towards outsider groups; tendency to live in ghettoes; wearing traditional clothing, etc. In terms of wider-level re-territorialisation, the number of outlets are exhaustive, and five in total, these include: a *passive reference to the departed homeland* (WL-1); an *assertive demand to return to the departed homeland* (WL-2); *tying their persecuted identity with that of the host nation* (WL-3); *pursuit of an autonomy movement within the host nation* (WL-4); and finally, an *outright separatist movement out of the host nation* (WL-5). The particular forms of expression and outlets subscribed depend largely upon the group's memory of exile as well as the surrounding contextual conditions at any given time. Furthermore, the forms/outlets subscribed to by the refugee group, or rather by individuals within the group, can, and most probably will, modify throughout time. The very act of re-territorialisation, however, does entail friction, especially with regards to zero-sum outlets (i.e. WL-4 and WL-5), which pose a direct challenge to the interests of out-groups, and thereby can very likely trigger ethno-national conflict.

Background to the Sikh refugees of India's Partition

Having revealed the mechanisms behind the re-territorialisation of persecuted identity, it is now necessary to provide a background to the case under analysis: the Sikh refugees of India's Partition.

Partition of India

By the time that the last batch of British troops made their symbolic exit through the Gateway of India in Bombay (now Mumbai) on 28 February 1948, the Raj had transferred administrative control over its erstwhile territories in the subcontinent to not one but two dominions: truncated, and principal successor state, India, with its Hindu majority; and the newly formed Muslim-majority state of Pakistan. Although the roots of Muslim separatism in the subcontinent are long and disputed, the notion of actually carving out a separate Muslim state or states as such had been a relatively recent conception—introduced in Choudhry Rahmat Ali's pamphlet of 1933. However, it was not until March 1940, when the All-India Muslim League passed its infamous Lahore

[2] This process is extendable beyond first generation refugees to include post-event offspring on account of the latter also being divorced from their homeland.

Resolution calling for areas in which the Muslims constituted a majority (namely the north-western and eastern zones of India) to be grouped together to form separate independent Muslim states, that the prospect became a live political issue in India. Though it is debatable as to whether Muslim support for Pakistan was fuelled by: a genuine fear of Hindu domination at the centre; the prospect of personal political or economic gain; a firm belief in a separate nationality from that of the Hindus; a desire to set-up an administrative zone for the implementation of Shariah Law; a misguided notion of what 'Pakistan' entailed and/or where its borders would lie; or indeed sheer irrational sentimentality, the Muslim electorate seemed to rally behind the Muslim League in impressive fashion in the 1946 Constituent Assembly elections. This arguably gave the Pakistan movement a credible mandate, and owing to an aggregate of other factors, the plan to partition India along communal lines was officially agreed upon in early June 1947 by the three major stakeholders in the country: the Indian National Congress, the All-India Muslim League, and the representative of the British Crown, Viceroy Lord Louis Mountbatten.

As a result of the division, the new state of Pakistan was carved out of the north-western and north-eastern wings of the subcontinent, and, sandwiched between, approximately one thousand miles of Indian Territory. The Muslim-majority provinces of Baluchistan, Sindh, North West Frontier Province (hereafter NWFP, and now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and the western portion of Punjab, constituted West Pakistan,[3] with the eastern portion of Bengal and the Sylhet district of Assam constituting East Pakistan. Punjab and Bengal were the only two Muslim-majority provinces of British India to be divided along religious lines. This occurred largely due to pressure from the substantial non-Muslim populations residing in these provinces, and their political leaders, who fiercely opposed the prospect of their 'homelands' being subject to long-term Muslim domination whether in the form of 'compulsory grouping' as set out in the 1946 Cabinet Mission Plan or the complete partition of India. Despite Jinnah's objection to the partitioning of Punjab and Bengal,[4] the non-Muslim stance seemed more resolute.[5]

[3] The Pakistan administered territories of Kashmir, gained during the First Kashmir War (1947-1948) with India, held a different constitutional status from the rest of West Pakistan.

[4] According to Lord Mountbatten, when presenting Jinnah with the prospect of a divided Punjab and Bengal as requisite for Pakistan's creation, the latter objected that: 'A man is a Punjabi or a Bengali first before he is a Hindu or a Muslim. If you give us those provinces you must, under no condition, partition them. You will destroy their viability and cause endless bloodshed and trouble' (quoted in Collins and Lapierre 1981, 42). Jinnah also pointed out that if provinces could be divided simply because their minority populations demanded so, then 'the result of that will be, logically, that all other provinces will have to be cut up in a smaller way which will be dangerous' i.e. that Muslim minorities in Hindu-majority provinces such as UP could demand to be included within Pakistan (*The Tribune*, 1 May 1947).

[5] Congressman Dr Rajendra Prasad pointed out the obvious flaw in Jinnah's desperate argument, suggesting that 'in terms of their own [Lahore] resolution, they *cannot demand any areas to be included to the Muslim zone which are not contiguous* and in which Muslims are not numerically in a majority' [emphasis added] (*The Tribune*, 1 May 1947). So, with the exception of Sylhet district in Assam, no other 'Muslim pockets' within Hindu-majority states could conceivably merge with Pakistan.

For if Muslims could ask to secede from India despite constituting less than a quarter of the national population as per the 1941 census, then why could not the non-Muslims of Punjab and Bengal (who allegedly constituted a separate nation), when they not only constituted well over 40 per cent of those provinces and predominated in certain portions of them, not be entitled to demand the partitioning of those provinces along communal lines?

In the months immediately prior, and following, the Partition/independence of the subcontinent, the dominions of India and Pakistan were busy absorbing the princely states (which by definition were outside of direct British rule). Though all princely states were theoretically given the option to declare themselves either as independent, accede to India or to Pakistan; a mixture of important factors—such as the feasibility of independence, their territorial contiguity to India or Pakistan, whether the overwhelming majority of their subjects were Hindu or Muslim, as well as political pressure from the Viceroy, New Delhi and Karachi, more often than not, dictated their future destiny. While, as it transpired, none actually managed to attain independence, the decision of what dominion they should accede to was not always a straightforward one.[6] Aside from the issue of territory, the partition of India also led to the mammoth task of dividing national assets and institutions. This included what had arguably stood as the cornerstones of British success in the country: the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Army.

From the perspective of this paper, the most important aspect of Partition was the mass exchange of population that took place between the two dominions, resulting in, by the time of the 1951 censuses, 8,229,699 people in India that were 'Born in Pakistan'[7] (virtually all of whom were non-Muslim Partition refugees) and 7,226,584 Muslims in Pakistan that were 'Born in India'[8] (once again this number represents Partition refugees/migrants, though this time the Muslims from India). However, the *true* number of refugees would probably have been higher than these figures suggest. This is on account of many such people dying in the period between their arrival and the 1951 census. Many of these refugees often came on foot or bullock cart in *kalifas* (one of which was apparently 800,000 people strong, in a procession forty-five miles long), while others arrived via overloaded trains (Keller 1975, 37). These forms of transport, even when escorted by police and military personnel, were highly dangerous and were

[6] Aside from the notorious Kashmir case; Muslim rulers of states holding solid Hindu majorities, such as Junagadh in Kathiawar peninsula and Hyderabad in the Deccan, expressed desires to stay outside of the Indian Union (with the Nawab of Junagadh going to the extent of demanding union with Pakistan). Strangely even the Rajput state of Jodhpur, with its Hindu ruler and Hindu majority actually protested in support of unification with Pakistan.

[7] See *Census of India* 1951, 248. According to the same census, there were 3,231,981 'displaced persons' residing in the Punjab Sub-Zone people—2,375,977 were in Punjab state, 355,952 in Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), 4,496 in Himachal and 495,391 in Delhi (*Census of India* 1951a: 32-33).

[8] *Census of Pakistan* 1951, 31.

regularly besieged by looters and marauders belonging to the 'other community' residing in nearby villages, or indeed *kalifas* heading in the opposite direction. In the innumerable 'little incidents' of violence that occurred during Partition, hundreds if not thousands of localised minorities were killed within a matter of a few hours; several of their womenfolk raped and abducted in the presence of their brothers, husbands and fathers (Talib [1950] 1991; Brass 2003; Menon 2006). Those who were fortunate enough were able to use safer forms of transport to cross the border, such as road vehicles or even airplane (though these people were extremely few in percentage terms). In all, it is reasonable to say that this mass exchange of population was arguably *both* the result of, and a contributor towards, the communal genocide of localised/provincial minority populations. The motives behind much of the Partition violence has been open to contention by both those directly involved in it, and scholars who have since analysed the event. However, it is fairly certain that it spanned, to varying degrees, one or a combination of the following: petty economic gain, religious and nationalist fanaticism, retribution for what the other community had done (or was doing) to their people across the border, and even as a 'defensive' measure. It is in this milieu that we shall pay attention to the Sikh refugees, who formed a significant part of the non-Muslims expellee population of West Pakistan and Pakistan Administered Kashmir.

Sikh Refugees

Although the vast majority of Sikh refugees came from west Punjab, there were substantial Sikh populations based in Kashmir, in Pashto-speaking NWFP, a small presence in Sind (predominantly in Karachi), and an extremely sparse population in Baluchistan.[9] It is generally acknowledged that the Sikhs, together with Hindus, were by-and-large a well-to-do population in the territories that would become West Pakistan. Indeed, a disproportionately high number of urban businesses, banks and money-lenders, were in the hands of non-Muslims,[10] and that the two largest cities in West Pakistan on the eve of Partition, Karachi and Lahore, owed their economic prowess *primarily* to the efforts of such people.

The Sikhs, in particular those belonging to the Jat caste, had acquired the distinction of being the 'best agriculturalists' in the whole of India (Harnam Singh 1945, 64). Jat Sikhs, many of whom had migrated from the eastern portion of Punjab state towards the west in the 1880s, were largely responsible for transforming the barren wastelands of districts such as Montgomery and Sheikhupura into the most prosperous

[9] According to the 1941 census, there were 1,509,499 Sikhs in west Punjab (including Bahawalpur) alone (*Census of India* 1941, 41-45). There were a total of 62,411 in NWFP (including the surrounding states and agencies), 32,627 in Sindh (including Khairpur) and a total of 12,044 in Baluchistan (including the surrounding states and agencies) (*Census of India* 1941a, 100).

[10] In NWFP and Punjab these tended to include castes that had generations of experience in such sectors, such as Khatris and Aroras (these castes cut across Hindu-Sikh religious lines), as well as Hindu *Banias*.

and productive agricultural lands in the whole of Punjab, India. These 'canal colonies', as they were known, were nine in total on the eve of 1947 and all were ultimately awarded to Pakistan (Krishan 2004, 80). To give a better sense of the economic dexterity of the non-Muslims in comparison to the Muslims of Punjab, despite the latter forming a majority population, their 'land revenue share…in the province [was only] 44 per cent and their contribution to other taxes, including income tax, [was] hardly 20 per cent. On the whole, the economic share of Muslims [was] hardly 30 per cent'.[11] On this basis, it is unlikely that the decision of the numerous Sikh families to move eastwards was taken lightly. While some Sikhs in the territory earmarked by 'Pakistanists'[12] began fleeing their homes in late 1946 and early 1947,[13] the decision to migrate further eastwards occurred largely when it became obvious that Punjab would be divided along communal lines (and the eastern section awarded to India). Though some simply migrated due to their historical inhibitions about living under Muslim rule, many others probably would have reconciled themselves to life in West Pakistan but for the steady realisation that the assurances given by senior Muslim Leaguers to protect the life and property of non-Muslims[14] were either hollow if not completely disingenuous (on account of the ever-increasing level of violence directed towards the minorities as the handover date approached).

However, the majority of Sikh refugees experienced forced removal from their homes, and gangs of marauders looted and set fire to their properties on a grand-scale. Very often, those fleeing were killed, and in many villages all non-Muslims were systematically massacred. In fact, many non-Muslim refugees later testified that Muslims holding senior positions told them blankly that Sikh and Hindu *kafirs* had no right to exist in, and 'pollute' the land of, Pakistan.[15] In such conditions of torment, the only credible alternative to not migrating was to disassociate from their ancestral religions and 'embrace' Islam. By 1948, virtually the entire non-Muslim population of West Pakistan had disappeared, going down from 22.9 percent to 2.9 per cent in just a

[11] FN 2-B/47 [Rajendra Prasad Papers, National Archives Museum, New Delhi], 26.
[12] In other words, the supporters of the Pakistan demand.
[13] In Hazara district, NWFP, in December 1946, and across many of the districts Rawalpindi and Multan divisions in March 1947, thousands of Hindus and Sikhs were massacred by Muslim mobs. The non-Muslims that fled these areas were usually accommodated in refugee camps in Punjabi territory that would become part of Pakistan.
[14] After the fall of the Unionist-led ministry in early March 1947, Khan Iftikhar Hussain of Mamdot declared that 'it has never been the desire of the Muslim League to impose the communal domination of Muslims over non-Muslim…it will be our endeavour to secure the willing co-operation of all Hindus and Sikhs and other minorities for the purpose of building up a happy and prosperous Punjab' (quoted in *The Tribune*, 4 March 1947).
[15] Heera Lal quoted in Verma 2004, 46; 'Memo: Montgomery District Disturbances', Fact Finding Branch, Ministry of Relief & Rehabilitation, Government of India, New Delhi, Acc No. 1409 [Prof Kirpal Singh's Manuscript Collection, Khalsa College, Amritsar], 5.

matter of months.[16] The true number of these refugees killed or abducted may never be known, however, together with the Muslim victims of Partition, this figure is assumed to be within the hundreds of thousands *at least*, if not into the millions.[17] The Sikh refugees tended to settle down in ethnically familiar east Punjab,[18] and in particular those districts most proximate to the new international border, as well as within the territories of Sikh states such as Faridkot and Patiala. Such was the demographic upheaval in Punjab that the Sikhs, who prior to 1947 held a mere 13.22 per cent of the population of British Punjab and were so thinly dispersed that they failed to command a majority in any one of the 29 districts of the province (see Maps 1 and 2 below main text), actually became a majority in four out of remaining thirteen districts and the largest group in another one (see Map 3).[19]

Hindu refugees on the other hand, tended to settle at some distance away from the Pakistan border, with many either heading for the South-eastern parts of Punjab (territory which would later constitute Haryana post-1966), or actually further afield to parts of India that were markedly dissimilar, culturally and geographically, from that of their ancestral homes (Kamath 1984, 139; Sharma 1994, 337).

Re-territorialisation of Sikh-ness in post-Partition Indian Punjab

Following a thorough consultation of associated evidence, it appears that, in consonance with the main claim of this paper, Sikh refugees, together with their post-event offspring, did indeed re-territorialise their persecuted identity, and that engagement in this process contributed toward the rise of ethno-national conflict in Indian Punjab. This following section will describe and critically assess this re-territorialisation process, as evident across its two main levels: lower-level and wider-level.

Lower-level re-territorialisation

From what can be discerned, there were three main lower-level outlets through which the Sikh refugees, and to a lesser degree their post-event offspring, sought to engage in re-territorialising their persecuted identity. The first outlet was to resort to, or aid in, outright communal violence against non-Sikhs. While this particular lower-level outlet

[16] See *Census of India* 1941, 41-45; *Census of India* 1941a, 100; *Census of Pakistan* 1951a, 1-26. It should be noted that in West Pakistan—the Federal Capital Area of Karachi, Punjab and NWFP—the majority of the remaining non-Muslim population were Christian.

[17] In a study centred upon the demographic losses of Partition, it was calculated that in Punjab alone the total 'unaccounted for' population ranged from anywhere between 2.3 million to 3.2 million (Hill *et al* 2008, 155).

[18] This was unlike the Hindu Sindhi refugees who failed in their attempt to divide Sindh along communal lines and thereby had, upon arrival, no option but to settle in linguistically dissimilar territory.

[19] Sikhs were also now the largest group (49.29 per cent), though not the majority, in the new administrative body of PEPSU (created in 1948) which consisted of all former Punjab princely states barring Bahawalpur, which had joined Pakistan (*Census of India* 1951b, 298-299).

was often deployed in order to satisfy an associated wider-level goal (i.e. WL-4/WL-5), it is clear that for many refugees the 'reprisal' killings were an end in itself, akin to what Coser (1956, 49) termed 'non-realistic' conflict. For instance, one interviewee, Lakshman Singh Duggal, who admitted to murdering a 'handful' of innocent Muslims and briefly harbouring a woman abductee, seemed to indicate that his chief motive was more therapeutic than material:

> Their ghosts [of the Muslim victims he killed] still surround me…I have to say there is rarely a day that goes by that I don't think about what I'd done…I do regret my actions now, absolutely…but in truth, at that time…for a good while at least…finishing these Muslims made me feel at ease…I suppose I wanted them [the Muslims] to feel the pain I had felt, and will always feel, at losing my sister and father to the bastards that plundered my village…[getting increasingly emotional]…I felt this [killing of Muslims] was the only way the fire inside of me could be put out.[20]

This perhaps serves to explain why the tactics of violence used against the Muslims in the east, such as to attack refugee convoys that were already on their way to Pakistan, far exceeded that 'necessary' to prompt their departure (Copland 2002, 697). Of course, this particular outlet of lower-level re-territorialisation was not aimed solely against the Muslims but, in decades subsequent, and together with some major changes in the shape of their collective memory[21] of Partition, extended to the Hindu 'enemy' also. This extension occurred partly because conflict behaviour against the 'original object', i.e. Muslim Punjabis, was blocked (Coser 1956, 40). Furthermore, it seems that members of refugee families that *did not* engage in 'reprisals' against Muslims in the east or forcibly obtain evacuee property (thus holding deeper pent-up feelings of injustice and even 'shame' at not being able to exact revenge),[22] were more likely to engage in violence during the Khalistan movement.[23]

A Sikh refugee who did not participate in the Partition violence but did so during the Khalistan movement stated the following:

> We lost everything we had, we came here penniless…*Regretfully I was just a boy at the time, I was my parents' eldest [child] but was still physically weak for my age, had I been older I may have been able to do something to protect the honour of my people*…we lost

[20] Interview with Lakshman Singh Duggal, Amritsar, 12 September 2010.
[21] This is the idea *that groups are tied together through shared memories*—whether at the level of the family, nation or even religious community—to the point that without them, a group could seldom exist at all (Halbwachs 1925; Nora 1989; Connerton 1989).
[22] This is not to say refugees who exacted revenge against the Muslims in the east no longer held a 'victimhood-rich' memory of exile, given that they still perceived themselves to be 'net losers' during the Partition exchanges, only that for such people the *intensity* of such feeling was far less.
[23] The Khalistan movement was an armed secessionist struggle carried out by the Sikhs of Punjab, India, which spanned, approximately, the period between 1981 and 1993.

> everything but damage to our honour was more upsetting…*I used to think maybe I could have done something*…[Despite saying he has always considered Khalistan a 'silly idea', he admitted to 'foolishly' helping to prompt the departure of some local Hindu shopkeepers during the militant movement. When asked if he had any regrets?]…*Feel sorry for them [the Hindus]?*...Why not ask the Hindus in Delhi if they are sorry for burning our people alive?…I haven't heard even one apology yet...*Let's not forget we Sikhs have suffered more dislocation than anyone else, the Partition [of 1947] cut us right down the middle? Who was there to feel sorry for us, what sympathy did we get from India?*...In fact, rather than help us, [Vallabhbhai] Patel called us a 'criminal tribe', can you believe that?...After everything we had done for the freedom of the country, they are calling us such names [emphasis added].[24]

A Sikh refugee who had participated in the Partition violence but did not participate during the Khalistan movement, made the following observation:

> It is impossible for you to imagine the transformation that people went through from the periods of calm beforehand, to the hell that was unleashed during those bitter months…A [Muslim] person who I had despised two days beforehand because of an argument we had over some trivial matter actually came to my rescue at the risk of his own life…Yet people who you thought were sincere, who you could depend on to remain calm, went completely berserk…it was like that for me, *I could never have imagined that I was capable of killing another being, it was simply not in my character*… but it was the conditions that drove me to it…[When asked about whether the Khalistani militancy was justified] No not at all, *Partition thought me a lesson that this kind of violence can only bring misery ultimately, there is no positive which can come out of it, because the people who get killed ultimately are always the ones who are innocent, the instigators on the other hand only spark the flames, disappear during the fighting, and then profit from the misery afterwards* [emphasis added].[25]

A second lower-level outlet subscribed to involved Sikh refugee attempts to ghettoise (Puri, Judge and Sekhon 1999, 40), if not completely monopolise, the space around which they had settled. This was particularly apparent in urban centres. The chief means for doing so, especially true of those Sikhs from castes with a mercantile tradition (i.e. Khatris/Aroras), was to not only enter into the service industry hitherto dominated by Hindu *banias*, but to do so through 'aggressive' means. This aggression, stemming largely (though by no means solely) from their Partition experiences, led them to (among other things) adopt a near risk-averse attitude to business.[26] Providing evidence in this regard, Dr Mohinder Singh, remarked:

[24] Interview with Avtar Singh Kohli, Amritsar, 19 September 2010.
[25] Interview with Lakshman Singh Duggal, Amritsar, 12 September 2010.
[26] Many Sikhs share this view (Sikh refugee #35 quoted in Keller 1975, 84; Interview with Jagdish Singh conducted by Prof. Ian Talbot', Amritsar, 21 November 2002, quoted in Talbot and Tatla 2006, 115).

> You know there was a joke about us…it goes, when the British came back to Delhi in 1948 a few months after they left, they asked someone in the restaurant, 'Where have all those tall handsome waiters that used to serve us last time gone?'…and the owner replies 'The Sikh refugees?...They are all running big businesses across the city'…[Laughter]…You see when we came the local *banias* considered us a threat to their enterprise…*So what we used to do is buy stocks of sugar, and then sell them at cost price*…The *banias* said, 'Oh they'll never make any profit, what do they know about business?'...but then since everyone was buying from us we put them out of work [emphasis added].[27]

Clearly such entry and behaviour, while spelling many positive impacts for their host society, came almost exclusively at the expense of the Hindu *bania*.[28] This gave the 'business rivalry' a manifestly communal dimension (Bonacich 1972, 553; Weiner 1978, 7). In addition, and giving way to occasions of intra-group competition, the fact that there were numerous incidents of wealthy Sikh refugees extending financial support (sometimes even across caste lines) to fellow Sikh refugees, a privilege which seldom stretched to Hindus, would suggest that their entry into business, and 'aggression' in such matters, had at least a partial communal motive in conjunction with more obvious financial ones.

A third lower-level re-territorialisation outlet involved refugees voting for, and engaging with, principally 'communal-leaning' political parties. In the Sikh refugee case, this was seen in their support of the Shriomani Akali Dal, which was disproportionately high,[29] as opposed to apparently more 'secular' parties such as the Indian National Congress. Hukum Singh, whose long political career exhibited strong communal sensibilities, admitted that:

> my purpose, objective or functions, whatever you might call them, after joining the Constituent Assembly, were confined mainly to two spheres…One was service to the refugees because [he] was also a refugee, and…had suffered much in Pakistan. And the other was securing safeguards for the minorities [i.e. Sikhs].[30]

It is also worth noting that Hindu refugees, sharing similar Partition-related experiences/grievances to that of the Sikh refugees, also exhibited a political 'shift to the right' by forming a key constituency for the Jan Sangh/BJP (Gupta 1996, 22).

[27] Interview with Dr Mohinder Singh, Delhi, 21 August 2010.
[28] The existence of such friction between Khatri Sikhs and Hindu *bania* in areas of trade has been noted by Gopal Singh (1987, 222).
[29] This was also partly owed to pre-existing caste allegiances between the Sikh refugee voters, who were largely Khatri, and the Khatri-dominated Shiromani Akali Dal leadership (which was the case until 1962).
[30] 'Interview with Hukum Singh conducted by S. L. Manchanda', New Delhi, 4 April 1976, Acc No. 344 [Oral History Collection, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi], 103.

Wider-Level Re-territorialisation

In addition to lower-level forms of expression, Sikh refugees/post-event offspring have endeavoured to re-territorialise their persecuted identity through wider-level means as well. However, particular wider-level outlets have had greater prominence at certain times than have others since 1947.

Immediate Aftermath of Partition (1947-1950)

In the period immediately following their arrival into truncated Punjab/India, it appears that the Sikh refugees sought to re-territorialise their persecuted identity by subscribing to, albeit to varying degrees, all five wider-level outlets available: namely, WL-1, WL-2, WL-3, WL-4, WL-5. Passive association with their departed homeland (WL-1) was demonstrated by virtually all refugees.[31] This involved: (1) frequent reference, at times of memory recall, to their former, ancestral homes, agricultural lands as well as Sikh cultural and historic sites; (2) attaching the name of their ancestral village/town to their own surname, or maintaining/adding territorial reference to their former villages or towns in their business names; and (3) displaying, what might be described as, subtle 're-unificationist sentiment', such as viewing Partition with deep regret,[32] or by favouring 'softer borders',[33] or advocating some form of confederation[34] between all former Indian territories.

There were also assertive demands to return to their homeland (WL-2). This outlet was subscribed to for the shortest period of time out of the five outlets available, perhaps, at most, for a few months after their arrival. Evidence that this outlet was subscribed to at all comes from numerous refugee testimonies which suggest that they had assumed that migration would only be a 'temporary measure' and had, in consequence, left many of their movables in West Pakistan or failed to sell their assets prior to setting off eastward.[35] In fact, many refugees conceded that 'only after some time' did it dawn on them the migration was a permanent arrangement. Once this became apparent, they appeared to retreat from this outlet and engaged in other more

[31] Indeed, it remains an outlet for many refugees/post-event offspring until the present day.

[32] This view cuts across political alignments. With the Khalistani, and Sikh refugee, Ganga Singh Dhillon who lost his father during the Partition violence, referring to assassinated Pakistani statesman Chaudhari Elahi as, 'a great man…[since] he was *always for the unity of India and Pakistan*' [emphasis added] (quoted in Satinder Singh 1982, 148).

[33] All of the following interviewees have expressed their support for 'softer borders' between India and Pakistan (the first two being post-event offspring, and the latter three refugees)—Interview with Massa Singh, Amritsar, 20 September 2010; Interview with Tridivesh Singh Maini, London, 7 March 2011; 'Interview with Dalip Singh conducted by Prof. Ian Talbot', Amritsar, 18 January 2003, quoted in Talbot and Tatla 2006, 71; 'Interview with Gurbachan Singh Bhatti conducted by Prof. Ian Talbot', Amritsar, 18 February 2003, quoted in Talbot and Tatla 2006, 77; 'Interview with Gurdeep Singh Bhatia conducted by Prof. Ian Talbot', Amritsar, 23 January 2003, quoted in Talbot and Tatla 2006, 92.

[34] Interview with Tarlochan Singh, Delhi, 19 August 2010.

[35] Sikh refugee #13 quoted in Keller 1975, 44; Interview with Paramjit Singh Sarna, Delhi, 21 August 2010; Interview with Kuldip Nayar, Delhi, 29 August 2010.

feasible outcomes. It was only staunch, but increasingly marginalised, patriots, chiefly those who had served in the Indian National Army under leaders Subhas Chandra Bose and General Mohan Singh, who continued to support this outlet. This was in concurrence with their wider vision to destroy Pakistan and bring about a complete re-unification of India.

Tying their identity with that of India (WL-3), though this was a *moderately* popular form of articulation, it must be said that, and contrary to the suggestion made by Kamath (1984, 139), this was problematic for *both* Sikhs and Hindus. This is largely because of: (1) the bitterness toward the Indian National Congress for having 'sold out' on the refugees by consenting to Partition; and (2) the dilemma arising from the fact 'their' homes, and what they understood as constituting 'their' Punjab, 'their' India, now lay under Pakistani sovereignty. Consequently, tying their persecuted identity with their host-nation, which despite still being India by name, seemed slightly feigned. However, it is probably true that Sikh refugees had *more* difficulty than the Hindu refugees in this regard (Narang 1986, 28-29), principally because they held fears, whether legitimate or not, that their unique religious identity would be absorbed into the majority one. Therefore, WL-3 came with the condition that it could persist only as long as the Indian state and Hindu majority respected the Sikh community and its religious freedoms.

Pursuit of autonomy (WL-4) was undoubtedly the most popular outlet of wider-level re-territorialisation expressed by the Sikh refugees. Evidence for this is twofold: (1) their choice of destination, as mentioned previously, unlike most Hindu refugees, tended to be east Punjab; and (2) their role in prompting Muslims to leave east Punjab, thereby 'sanctifying' their new land for their hitherto persecuted Sikh identity to flourish. Although fairly obvious, the main reason for why WL-4 was the most popular at this stage was because it was the most *desirable* outlet among the *feasible* ones available.

As far as support for an outright separatist movement (WL-5) is concerned, while there were reports of armed Akali bands distributing leaflets across east Punjab in the name of the 'Government of Khalistan' and the Maharajah of Patiala, allegedly contemplating heading a confederation of Sikh states (Dhanwantri and Joshi 1947, 24-25), this was perhaps the least endorsed wider-level outlet. The following reasons give an indication as to why this was the case (in the order of the first being the most important): (1) it was simply not feasible to carve out a separate state of their own; (2) there was an awareness, at least among politically alert Sikhs, that Nehru had promised them a 'glow of freedom' in India and so it was thought that he, allegedly being a man of principle, would do good on that; (3) there was a belief that India would pursue a path of secularism, be it in the French tradition of *laïcité* or the Hindu manner of *sarva dharma sambhava*, meaning that the Sikh religion and identity would be able enjoy sufficient freedom; and (4) the Sikh refugees held a sense of compassion for the Hindu

Punjabis, particularly those that were also made refugees, and so did not want to behave 'selfishly' like the Muslims by demanding their own.

Push for Autonomy (1950-1966)

In the period between 1950 and 1966 the choice of wider-level outlets subscribed to by the Sikh refugees witnessed considerable change from what had been the case during the previous epoch. While WL-1 remained quite popular; both WL-2 and WL-5 (for reasons pertaining to a lack of feasibility) virtually ceased to be articulated. At the same time WL-4 not only remained the most prevalent but grew even more so and, seemingly, at the direct expense of WL-3.

The clearest evidence in support of the view that WL-4 was an increasingly popular outlet was the strong Sikh refugee support for the controversial[36] Punjabi *suba* demand, in which they actually played a 'lead-role'. Of course, one could conceivably argue that; first, the *suba* was a territorial demand based on their linguistic identity rather than religious, and so was not one that the refugees had experienced persecution of in West Pakistan (and so by definition was not in need of re-territorializing); and second, this was something which enjoyed pan-Sikh support (i.e. not just refugees).

However, although the *suba* was sought 'officially' along linguistic lines, the underlying basis was in fact communal: the desire to create a Sikh majority state. Evidence for this is both circumstantial and direct. The circumstantial evidence being that; (1) the SAD initially put forward a demand for a Sikh state across seven out of the total thirteen districts of east Punjab on 7 August 1947 *without* any no reference to its linguistic character, and did so *on the condition* that their calls for *Sikhs* to be given a reservation of seats and separate electorates in post-Partition India were rejected (Sharma 1992, 75); (2) when the SAD eventually submitted their territorial demand for a re-truncated east Punjab along 'linguistic' grounds to the States Reorganisation Commission in 1955 it excluded from its claims the Hindu majority Kangra district despite it being overwhelmingly Punjabi-speaking in composition (Chopra 1984, 102); and (3) the symbolism attached to the *suba* demand was inextricably linked to the Sikh religion, including the phraseology used by SAD elites (Master Tara Singh quoted in Nayar 1966, 242), starting pro-*suba* processions from Sikh shrines and on dates important to the Sikh calendar (Kapur 1986, 213). The direct evidence being that; (1) based on numerous meetings author Khushwant Singh claims to have had with Master Tara Singh, it was agreed that the 'linguistic argument [would only be the] sugar-coating for what was essentially a demand for a Sikh majority state' (1992, 40); (2) according to Sant Fateh Singh, Master Tara Singh was really only after a Sikh majority *suba* rather than a Punjab one, with the latter 'allegedly' telling the Sant during a

[36] It was 'controversial' in the sense that it provoked strong resistance from certain sections among the Hindus.

private discussion: 'For the present, we will talk of the language as the basis, later on things will get crystallised by themselves' (quoted in Anand 1966, 5); (3) Master Tara Singh, who as SAD chief led the *suba* demand until 1962 when he was deposed by Sant Fateh Singh, admitted, to Baldev Raj Nayar, that

> [t]his cover of a Punjabi-speaking-state slogan serves my purpose well since it does not offend against nationalism. The Government should accept our demand under the slogan of a Punjabi-speaking state without a probe—what we want is *Azadi*. The Sikhs have no *Azadi*. We will fight for our *Azadi* with full power even if we have to revolt for our *Azadi* (quoted in Nayar 1966, 37).

While the *suba* was a demand that both refugee and non-refugee Sikhs supported, there are credible ground for believing the former played a 'lead-role'. The reasons for this are twofold: Firstly, that the SAD leadership (and its associated political demands), up until 1962, had been dominated by Sikh refugees,[37] and drew its support largely from such people. Indeed, one Sikh refugee remarked that,

> I was a supporter of the *suba* after Partition…I sincerely felt that Sikhs should have a seat of political power, bearing in mind that we hadn't got anything from the Partition…but in hindsight I would say it has been harmful to the Sikhs, we lost yet more of our shrines and other resources.[38]

Secondly, that the *suba* demand disguised an underlying insecurity that existed among its supporters regarding their religious identity. Although both refugees and non-refugees could be said to have exhibited such anxieties, it was more so in the case of the former as they were first-hand witnesses to the communal genocide inflicted against their people in West Pakistan. In other words, refugee 'paranoia' over threats to Sikh identity had more of a basis than that of non-refugees. Many of the latter, especially those who had been involved in the diffusion process,[39] simply could not appreciate such sentiment.

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[37] This view is shared by Robin Jeffrey (1986, 110). There are some other reasons which contributed towards the high 'refugee' composition in the Shiromani Akali Dal at this stage; first, that the Khatri caste, most of whom became refugees as a result of Partition, had dominated the Shiromani Akali Dal leadership even *before* 1947 and merely continued in that vein following; and second, the fact that the political capital of British Punjab, Lahore, went to Pakistan meant that most serving Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, even if they represented in east Punjab, had residences there and hence effectively became refugees also.

[38] Interview with Amar Singh Bains, Amritsar, 16 September 2010.

[39] This is the process whereby aspects of the refugee 'event-related' memory, during episodes of 'personalised interaction', diffuse horizontally into the consciousness of their non-refugee ethnic kin and vertically down into their post-event offspring.

Post-Suba (1966-onwards)

Despite the creation of the Punjabi *suba*, the sense of Sikh isolationism from the national mainstream, which had built-up steadily during the course of the previous two decades, seemed to persist even beyond 1966. In fact, it appears that, apart from a few isolated occasions in which Indian nationalist sentiment witnessed a mini-surge (i.e. most notably during the war with Pakistan in 1971), the trend of growing subscription to WL-4 at the expense of WL-3 continued apace for Sikh refugee families (by this time inclusive of post-event offspring as well as Sikh refugees proper). This was evidenced most clearly by refugee/post-event offspring association with Sikh ethno-nationalist charters such as the Anandpur Sahib Resolution and Rajiv-Longowal Accord, which together included issues pertaining to revisions of centre-state relations in favour of more autonomy for the latter, raising the punitive land-ceilings for agriculturalists, ensuring Punjab secured a 'just' amount of 'her' river-waters, and that Chandigarh be awarded to Punjab state.

However, unlike with the Punjabi *suba* demand in the previous epoch, it cannot be sensibly suggested that Sikh refugees played a 'lead-role' in this instance, owing to the fact that, by this stage the SAD leadership, and crucially nearly all the signatories to the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, were Malwa Jats (i.e. not refugees). Nevertheless, it can be said that refugee association with WL-4 prompted an evoking of their, by now, increasingly anti-Hindu/anti-India 'victimhood-rich' Partition memory to support this conviction and, in consequence, heightened its potency and widened the scope for the diffusion of this memory. The net effect of this was to increase the *conflict-potential* of Sikh ethno-national demands far beyond what the numerical strength of the refugees would otherwise warrant. To be exact, contemporary Sikh grievances *vis-à-vis* the centre seemed far more acute if one incorporated the refugee exilic memories of their livelihoods in territories that became West Pakistan, rather than just comparing them to pan-Sikh livelihoods immediately prior to the 1966 trifurcation. This can be demonstrated with reference to some of the clauses in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution/Rajiv-Longowal Accord, including the three mentioned below.

First of all, with regards to the clause on land-ceilings, since Sikhs in west Punjab tended to constitute, proportionally, the biggest *zamindari* group across Punjab, there was a 'step-down' in both the size and fertility of the land following their arrival into east Punjab. This was far more severe than those Sikhs native to the east, who had mostly never, even before 1947, and much less in the years immediately prior to 1966, owned such vast plots. Second concerns the issue of Punjab's river-waters. While all Sikhs could express regret at the loss/diversion of 'their' rivers, by incorporating Sikh refugee memories of their pre-Partition livelihoods—so as to include (in addition to rivers flowing through east Punjab) the loss of rivers flowing through the west[40]—led to

[40] Including the Indus, Jhelum, Chenab and most of the Ravi, as well as all nine canal colonies.

the water predicament in Punjab, a state expected to serve as the 'breadbasket' of India, seeming all the more chastising. Consider this statement from an Amritsar-based refugee originally from Lahore:

> *It's sad to see now that we only have two, at best two-and-a-half, out of those* [Punjab] *rivers…Yet we still call this place Punjab, but how can it be?…To make matters worse our rivers have been diverted by the sarkar in Delhi, towards the Hindus of Haryana, Rajasthan…these are Punjabi waters, and they have been since the dawn of history…you need only to look at a satellite map to see for yourself…this is fact*…They [New Delhi] say, 'Oh we must do this [divert waters]…it is for the good of the nation…besides the source of Indus rivers are in the Himalayas not in Punjab'…It's easy to say that when you are the ones benefitting from this…but if they are motivated by the nation's interest, if they are truly doing it for the national interest, then why don't they divert these rivers from near their sources towards exclusively Indian territory or build dams up there to stop any water from running to Pakistan?...Now that would be for the national interest…I'm sure if the source was in Pakistan we wouldn't even be getting even a drop of that [emphasis added].[41]

Third, since it is commonly held that Chandigarh was built for Punjabis to compensate for the loss of Lahore[42] by incorporating Sikh refugee Partition memory (especially the *Lahoris* among them), the decision to make it a Union Territory, and a shared administrative capital with Haryana state, was viewed as unfair by the Sikhs. This was especially aggravated by the fact that many of the Hindus in Haryana had essentially seized to regard themselves as Punjabi any longer.

Rise of the Khalistan Movement (1981-onwards)

From 1981 onwards, though WL-4 remained by-and-large the most popular wider-level outlet among Sikh refugees and their post-event offspring, it is clear that WL-5, which had hitherto lain largely dormant, witnessed a revival. This can be seen in large-scale Sikh refugee/post-event offspring participation and facilitation of Khalistan-based militancy. Such was the refugee contribution in this regard that this paper holds credible grounds to suggest that they actually played a 'lead-role' in the rise of the Khalistan movement.[43] For instance, the following interviewee remarks are revealing in this regard:

> The militancy broke caste barriers, actually there were occasions when a cell would be headed by a Mazhabi, with Jat boys acting as their understudy…this kind of thing would

[41] Interview with Avtar Singh Kohli, Amritsar, 19 September 2010.
[42] *Indian Express*, 12 May 2009.
[43] The theme of refugees playing a 'lead-role' in nationalist projects is one that was exhibited by the refugee Turk population during the 1920s with respect to the establishment of a Turkish republic in Anatolia during the demise of the Ottoman Empire (Zücher 2013).

> have been unheard of in previous times…but all in all it was the Jats who dominated the militancy, at least by its peak…although, *this wasn't the case from the start…for the first few years at least, at least until Blue Star and maybe for some time more, it was Khatri youth [post-event offspring] that were taking up arms*…so it was natural for Jats to follow the Khatris, as all ten of our Gurus were from that caste [emphasis added].[44]

> Those who had come from Pakistan at the time of Partition…you could say they were more aggrieved at the situation [during the 1980s] than others…from where they been over there [in Pakistan], living like kings and all, to what was going on here, having to compete with the *banias* just to stay afloat…So I would say the *Bhapas* were the ones who started much of the rioting against the Hindus…this was early on…places like Patiala…this was two or three years of years before 1984…but I think, it must have occurred to them later that Khalistan might well result in their freedom from the *bania*, but instead they will have to face domination from the Jats [laughter]…Maybe this is why Khalistan could never have come in, because all Sikhs other than Jats feared the Jats [laughter].[45]

Speculating as to why Sikh refugees and their post-event offspring may have been more willing to associate themselves with or directly participate in the Khalistan militancy than their non-refugee ethnic kin, a few factors are worth considering: First, since refugee/post-event offspring had suffered far more adversely from Partition than their non-refugee ethnic kin, they had further reason to feel aggrieved at their current predicament for which, as per the present shape of their Partition memory, they viewed Hindus as culpable. The second factor being the prevailing sense of injustice, especially for those who had not managed to exact 'revenge' from the stranded Muslims immediately upon arrival. The *intensity* of this feeling, at the time, meant that engagement in the Khalistan movement, which involved violence against Hindu Punjabis and the Indian state forces, provided an opportunity to rectify past injustices done to them or elder members of the family at the time of Partition. A third factor is the paranoia associated with the loss of, and attacks to, Sikh identity were more pronounced, since they had either personal or familial experience of being persecuted for their religious identity and being driven out from their ethnic homelands. A fourth reason that Sikh refugees and their post-event offspring seemed more willing to associate themselves with Khalistani militancy is that since 1962, and the Malwa Jat usurping of SAD power, the Khatris (who made up the bulk of the Sikh refugee population), moved further to 'the right' in a bid to maintain their political visibility *vis-à-vis* the Sikh masses.[46]

Whether or not one is inclined to agrees the view that Sikh refugees and their post-event offspring played a 'lead-role' in the rise of the Khalistan movement and the

[44] Interview with Davinder Singh, Ludhiana, 2 September 2010.
[45] Interview with Gurbaksh Singh, Ludhiana, 4 September 2010.
[46] It is a point of note that many of the leaders of pro-Khalistani groups, such as the Dal Khalsa as well as many militant cells, were from refugee families.

speculative reasons for that, it is difficult to refute that, very much as with the Anandpur Sahib Resolution/Rajiv-Longowal provisions, mere refugee association with the Khalistan movement (WL-5), and the frequent use of their victimhood-rich 'collective memory' of Partition to support that association, manifestly increased the *conflict-potential* of this movement.

Statistical Analysis

In order to help corroborate or falsify the credence of the findings in the above section which suggest Sikh refugees re-territorialised their persecuted identity and that this contributed towards the rise of ethno-national conflict in Indian Punjab; a bivariate test has been devised, which focuses its attention on one of the most illustrative cases of ethno-national conflict in Indian Punjab since 1947: the Khalistan movement. It tests the direction and strength of the correlation existing between Sikh refugee distribution and Khalistani militancy rates. The secondary quantitative data used in this research included, on Sikh refugees, the district-wise 'Born in Pakistan'[47] population count across Punjab state, sourced from the 1981 and 1991 GOI censuses;[48] and on Khalistan militancy rates, the district-wise breakdown of 'Hard-core Terrorists Killed in Punjab' sourced from SATP and the 'Police Officers Martyred in Punjab' sourced from the Punjab police:

Census figures on refugee distribution:

- Born in Pakistan Population (BPP), 1981 (% of State-level BPP) (see Map 6)
- Born in Pakistan Population (BPP), 1991 (% of State-level BPP) (see Map 7)

Militancy figures during rise of Khalistan movement:

- Police Officers Martyred in Punjab 1986-1990 (see Map 8)
- Hard-core Terrorists Killed in Punjab 1988-1990 (see Map 9)

Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient tests

In total four correlation tests were conducted.

- **T-1:** Born in Pakistan Population (BPP), 1981 (% of State-level BPP) vs. Police Officers Martyred in Punjab 1986-1990.
- **T-2:** Born in Pakistan Population (BPP), 1981 (% of State-level BPP) vs. Hard-core Terrorists Killed in Punjab 1988-1990.

[47] While the 'Born in Pakistan' population is not the same as 'refugee population', the vast majority of people in this category were indeed refugees from West Pakistan. Also it must be noted that while these statistics make no religious distinction between Hindu and Sikh refugees, it has already been established that the *overwhelming* portion of partition refugees that arrived within the districts that would later constitute Punjab post-1966, were Sikhs. As such these statistics resemble very closely the 'true' Sikh refugee population distribution.

[48] These particular census years have been used since they cut across the period corresponding with the 'rise' of the Khalistan movement.

- **T-3:** Born in Pakistan Population (BPP), 1991 (% of State-level BPP) vs. Police Officers Martyred in Punjab 1986-1990.
- **T-4:** Born in Pakistan Population (BPP), 1981 (% of State-level BPP) vs. Hard-core Terrorists Killed in Punjab 1988-1990.

T-1: Correlation Results

			Born in Pakistan pop, 1981	Police Officers Killed (1986-1990)
Spearman's rho	Born in Pakistan Pop, 1981	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.853**
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.000
		N	12	12
	Police Officers Killed (1986-1990)	Correlation Coefficient	.853**	1.000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.
		N	12	12

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

T-2: Correlation Results

			Born in Pakistan pop, 1981	Hard-core terrorists killed (1988-1990)
Spearman's rho	Born in Pakistan Pop, 1981	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.734**
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.003
		N	12	12
	Hard-core Terrorists Killed (1988-1990)	Correlation Coefficient	.734**	1.000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.003	.
		N	12	12

T-3: Correlation Results

			Born in Pakistan pop, 1991	Police officers killed (1986-1990)
Spearman's rho	Born in Pakistan Pop, 1991	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.769**
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.002
		N	12	12
	Police Officers Killed (1986-1990)	Correlation Coefficient	.769**	1.000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.002	.
		N	12	12

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

T-4: Correlation results

			Born in Pakistan pop, 1991	Hard-core terrorists killed (1988-1990)
Spearman's rho	Born in Pakistan Pop, 1991	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.587*
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.	.022
		N	12	12
	Hard-core Terrorists Killed (1988-1990)	Correlation Coefficient	.587*	1.000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.022	.
		N	12	12

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

Analysis Summary

The results demonstrate, categorically, that an extremely strong positive relation did exist, during the period corresponding with the *rise* of the Khalistan movement, between the two variables concerned: with results between 'Born in Pakistan' data (from both 1981 and 1991 census) and militancy figures (from both *Punjab Police* and *SATP* datasets) ending at the end of 1990, ranging from between +0.587 at the low end and an emphatic +0.853 on the high.

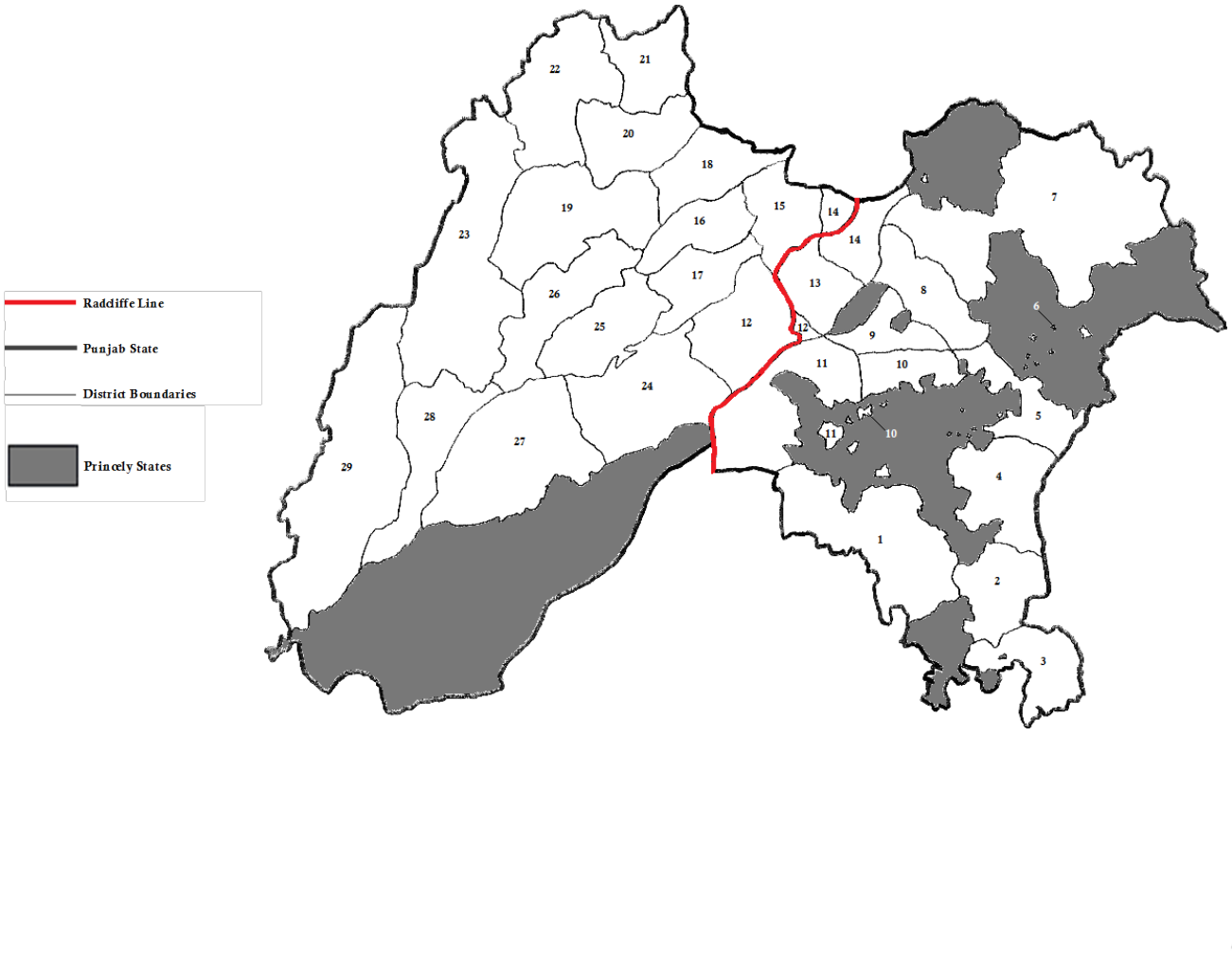
As such, districts with higher rates of refugee population presence—such as Amritsar[49] (which held 11.98 per cent and 9.88 per cent of the total pan-Punjab 'Born in (which held 2.40 per cent and 2.30 per cent of the total pan-Punjab 'Born in Pakistan' population for 1981 and 1991 respectively), Bathinda (which held 1.98 per cent and 1.93 per cent of the total pan-Punjab 'Born in Pakistan' population for 1981 and 1991 respectively) and Ropar (Rupnagar) (which held 2.00 per cent and 2.68 per cent of the total pan-Punjab 'Born in Pakistan' population for 1981 and 1991 respectively)—had the lowest levels of militancy. The combined percentage of these three districts for 'hard-core terrorists killed in Punjab' totalled a meagre 5.18 per cent.

[49] In the case of Amritsar, the militancy rates were far higher than one would expect based on the 1981 and 1991 'Born in Pakistan' figures alone. The reason being that these figures do not convey the 'true' refugee impact that befell this district—since Amritsar city, being situated along the Grand Trunk Road, served as more of a transit route rather than a place of permanent settlement for the bulk of Sikh refugees from west Punjab and other parts of West Pakistan. As such the potential extent for the diffusion process to take place in the immediate aftermath of Partition would have been considerable, and undoubtedly such appropriated memories remained in the minds of their non-refugee ethnic kin throughout the Khalistan movement. http://punjabpolice.gov.in/Martyrgallery.aspx

Conclusion

On the basis of the above discussion it is clear that Sikh refugees, and their post-event offspring, have re-territorialised their persecuted identity, and have done so through both lower-level and wider-level forms of expression. More fascinating however, is the evidence that supports the view that Sikh refugees, through engagement in this re-territorialisation process, contributed toward the rise of ethno-national conflict in Indian Punjab, be it in the immediate aftermath of Partition against the Muslims, or against the Hindus and Indian nation-state since then, such as during the Khalistan movement. This contribution was made by either serving a lead-role or, at least, significantly increasing the conflict potential behind Sikh ethno-nationalist demands which were zero-sum in nature. However, it must be stressed that 'contributing towards' ethno-national conflict, and 'serving as direct combatants' of ethno-national conflict, are not one and the same. In fact, even with the results of the statistical analysis, it cannot be concluded that refugees, or for that matter their post-event offspring, were more likely to engage in ethno-national conflict than non-refugee Sikhs. Rather, it is more accurate to say that the districts where refugees settled tended to produce higher rates of ethno-national conflict—with the Khalistan militancy being a case-in-point.

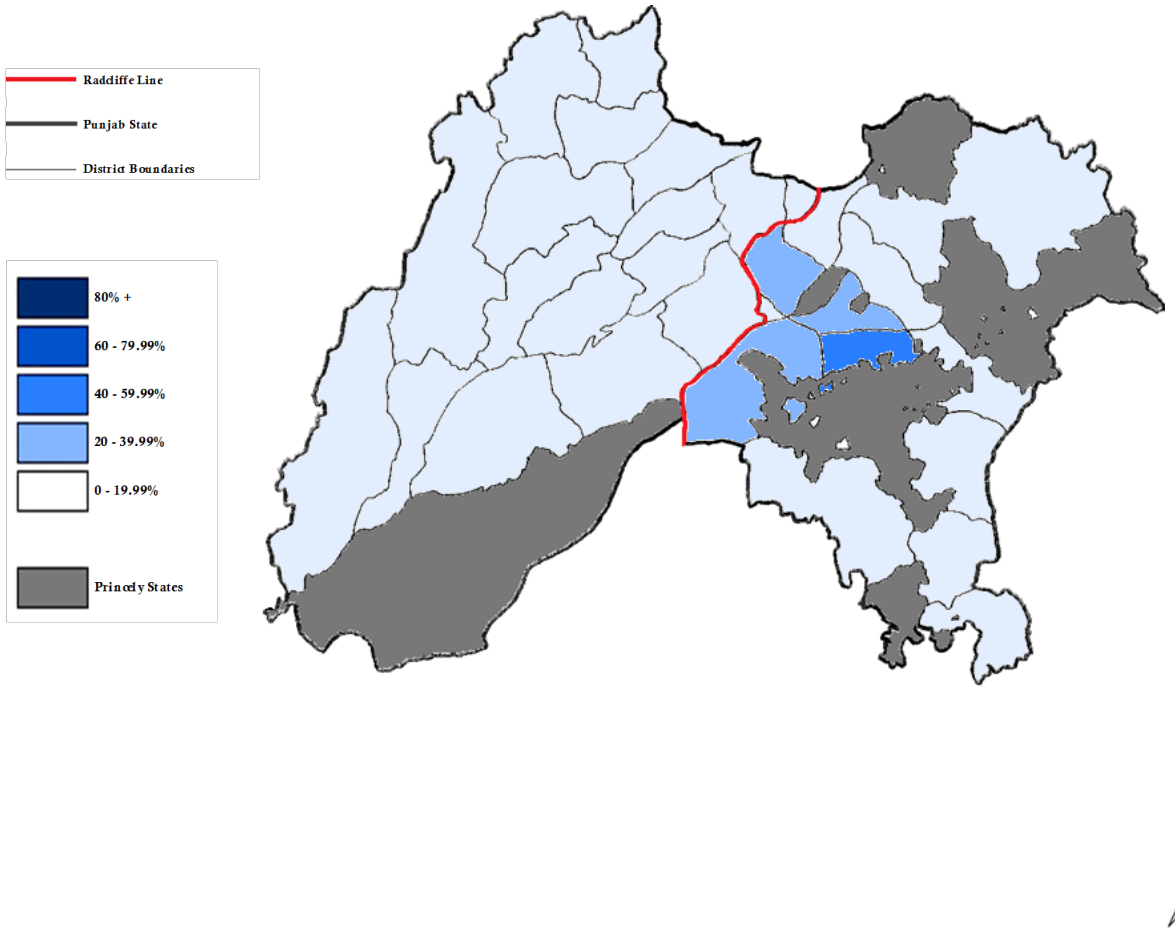
Map 1 Administrative boundaries of British Punjab, 1941



	Total Pop.
BRITISH PUNJAB	**28,418,819**
Ambala Division	**4,695,462**
Hissar (1)	1,006,709
Rohtak (2)	956,399
Gurgaon (3)	851,458
Karnal (4)	994,575
Ambala (5)	847,745
Simla (6)	38,576
Jullundur Division	**5,438,581**
Kangra (7)	899,377
Hoshiarpur (8)	1,170,323
Jullundur (9)	1,127,190
Ludhiana (10)	818,615
Ferozepure (11)	1,423,076
Lahore Division	**7,218,001**
Lahore (12)	1,695,375
Amritsar (13)	1,413,876
Gurdaspur (14)	1,153,511
Sialkot (15)	1,190,497
Gujranwala (16)	912,234
Sheikhupura (17)	852,508
Rawalpindi Division	**4,700,958**
Gujrat (18)	1,104,952
Shahpur (19)	998,921
Jhelum (20)	629,658
Rawalpindi (21)	785,231
Attock (22)	675,875
Mianwali (23)	506,321
Multan Division	**6,365,817**
Montgomery (24)	1,329,103
Lyallpur (25)	1,396,305
Jhang (26)	821,631
Multan (27)	1,484,333
Muzaffargarh (28)	712,849
Dera Ghazi Khan (29)	581,350
Biloch trans-frontier tract	40,246

Source: *Census of India* 1941: 2-3

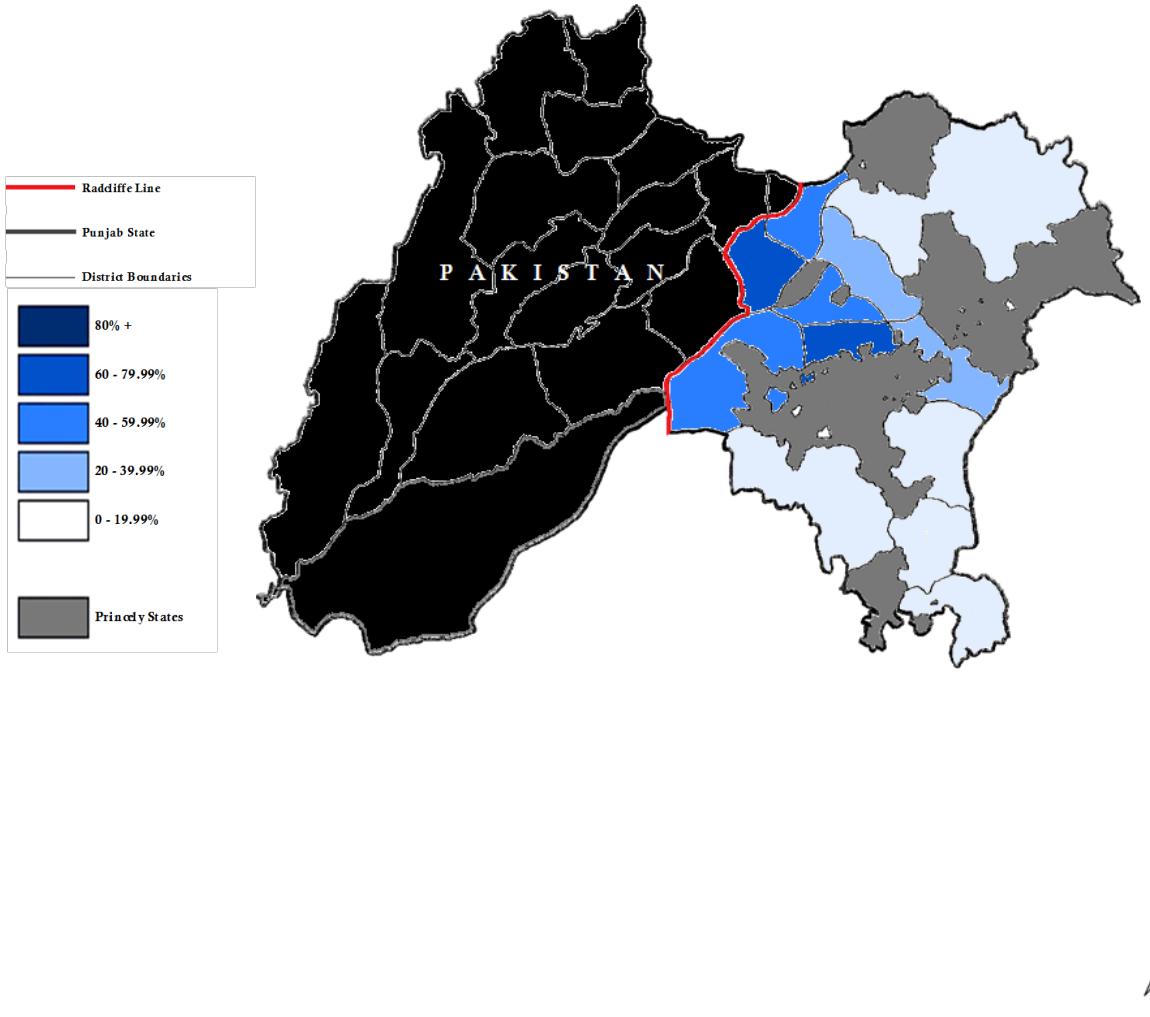
Map 2 Sikh population of Punjab, 1941 (% of district population)



	n	% of District Pop.
BRITISH PUNJAB	**3,757,401**	**13.22%**
Ambala Division	**240,296**	**5.12%**
Hissar	60,731	6.03%
Rohtak	1,466	0.15%
Gurgaon	637	0.07%
Karnal	19,887	2.00%
Ambala	156,543	18.47%
Simla	1,032	2.68%
Jullundur Division	**1,322,405**	**24.32%**
Kangra	4,809	0.53%
Hoshiarpur	198,194	16.93%
Jullundur	298,741	26.50%
Ludhiana	341,175	41.68%
Ferozepure	479,486	33.69%
Lahore Division	**1,442,006**	**19.98%**
Lahore	310,646	18.32%
Amritsar	510,845	36.13%
Gurdaspur	221,261	19.18%
Sialkot	139,409	11.71%
Gujranwala	99,139	10.87%
Sheikhupura	160,706	18.85%
Rawalpindi Division	**234,071**	**4.98%**
Gujrat	70,233	6.36%
Shahpur	48,046	4.81%
Jhelum	24,680	3.92%
Rawalpindi	64,127	8.17%
Attock	20,120	2.98%
Mianwali	6,865	1.36%
Multan Division	**518,623**	**8.15%**
Montgomery	175,064	13.17%
Lyallpur	262,737	18.82%
Jhang	12,238	1.49%
Multan	61,628	4.15%
Muzaffargarh	5,882	0.83%
Dera Ghazi Khan	1,072	0.18%
Biloch trans-frontier tract	2	0.00%

Source: *Census of India* 1941: 41-45

Map 3 Sikh population of Punjab, 1951 (% of District Population)

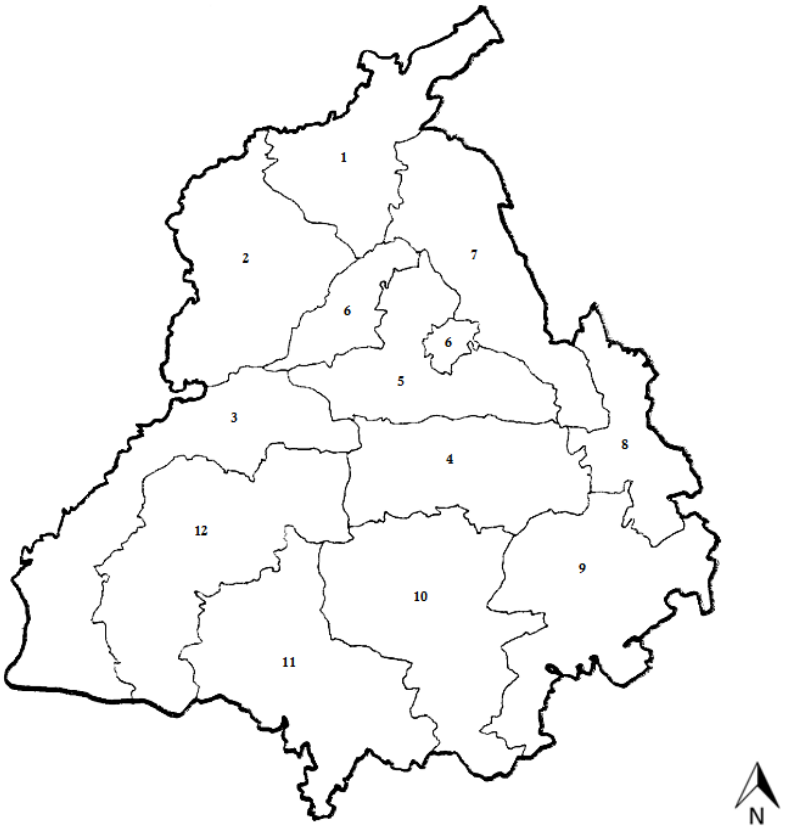


	n	% of District Pop.
PUNJAB	**3,831,983**	**30.97%**
Hissar*	80,394	7.69%
Rohtak*	7,907	0.70%
Gurgaon*	6,310	0.65%
Karnal	96,458	8.94%
Ambala*	232,456	24.63%
Simla*	7,417	16.07%
Kangra*	18,401	1.99%
Hoshiarpur*	283,720	26.13%
Jullundur*	569,487	56.45%
Ludhiana*	497,419	61.65%
Ferozepure	780,024	59.62%
Amritsar**	897,309	70.64%
Gurdaspur**	354,681	46.56%

Source: *Census of India* 1951b: 298-299

*Inter-district changes: With the notable exception of Karnal, all above
districts encountered boundary changes between the years 1941 to 1951
(these have not been reflected on the map shown).
**International Boundary Changes: Gurdaspur district lost most of
Shakargarh *tehsil* (-1243.19 sq.km) to Pakistan, whereas Amritsar district
gained part of Kasur *tehsil* (+958.30 sq.km) from Lahore district.

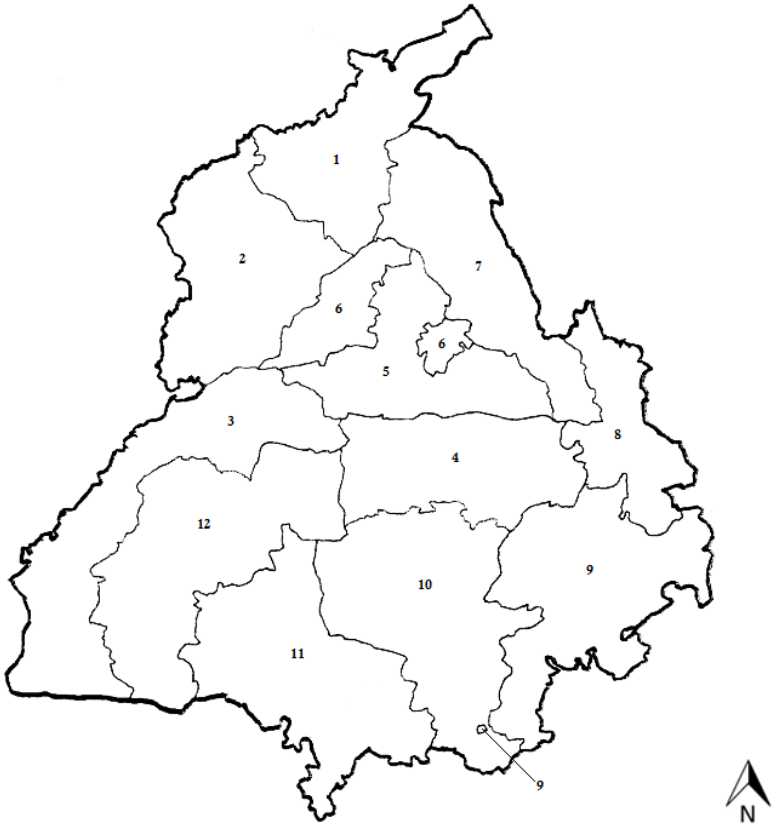
Map 4 Administrative boundaries of Punjab, 1981



	Area (Sq./Km)
PUNJAB	**50362.00**
Gurdaspur (1)	3562.00
Amritsar (2)	5087.00
Firozpur (3)	5874.00
Ludhiana (4)	3857.00
Jalandhar (5)	3401.00
Kapurthala (6)	1633.00
Hoshiarpur (7)	3881.00
Ropar (8)	2085.00
Patiala (9)	4584.00
Sangrur (10)	5107.00
Bhatinda (11)	5551.00
Faridkot (12)	5740.00

Source: *Census of India* 1981: 25-33

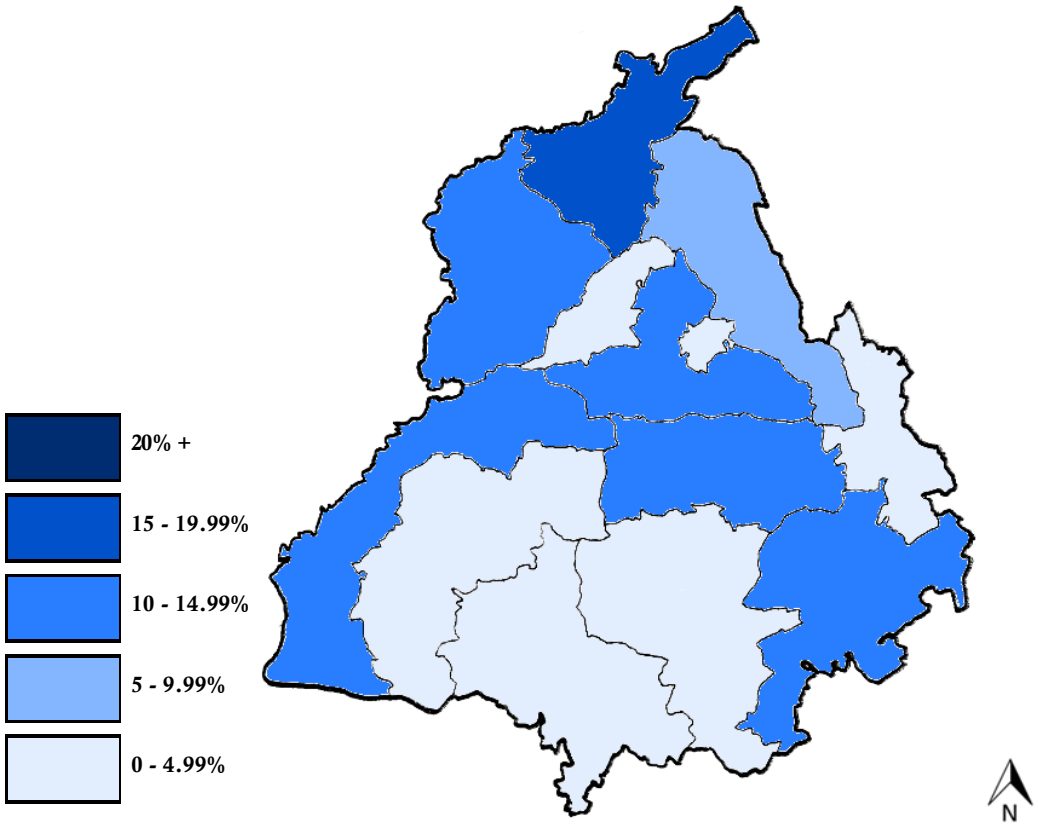
Map 5 Administrative boundaries of Punjab, 1991



	Area (Sq./Km)
PUNJAB	**50362.00**
Gurdaspur (1)	3562.00
Amritsar (2)	5087.00
Firozpur (3)	5874.00
Ludhiana (4)	3857.00
Jalandhar (5)	3401.00
Kapurthala (6)	1633.00
Hoshiarpur (7)	3881.00
Rupnagar (8)	2085.00
Patiala (9)	4584.00
Sangrur (10)	5107.00
Bhatinda (11)	5551.00
Faridkot (12)	5740.00

Source: *Census of India* 1991: 22-39

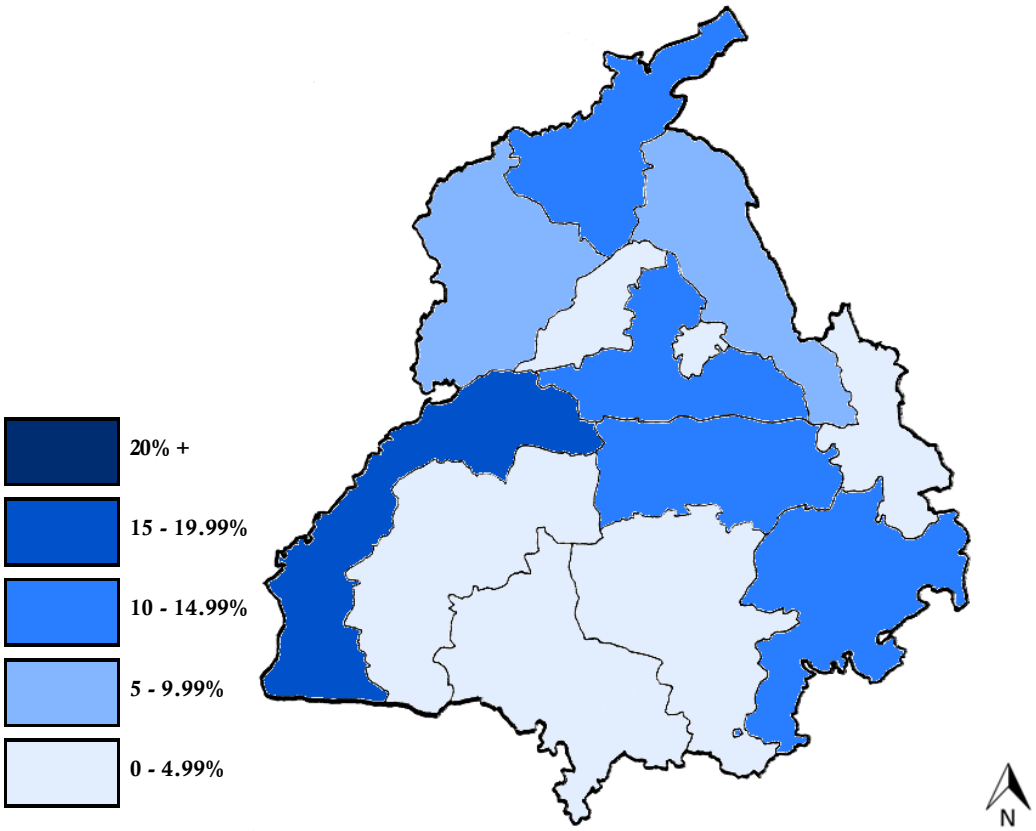
Map 6 Born in Pakistan, 1981 (% of state-level born in Pakistan population)



	n	% of state-level born in Pak. Pop. 1981
PUNJAB	**852,611**	
Gurdaspur	137,171	16.09%
Amritsar	102,127	11.98%
Firozpur	123,122	14.44%
Ludhiana	91,720	10.76%
Jalandhar	116,582	13.67%
Kapurthala	38,725	4.54%
Hoshiarpur	55,621	6.52%
Rupnagar	17,032	2.00%
Patiala	94,111	11.04%
Sangrur	20,505	2.40%
Bathinda	16,866	1.98%
Faridkot	39,029	4.58%

Source: *Census of India* 1981a: 46-110

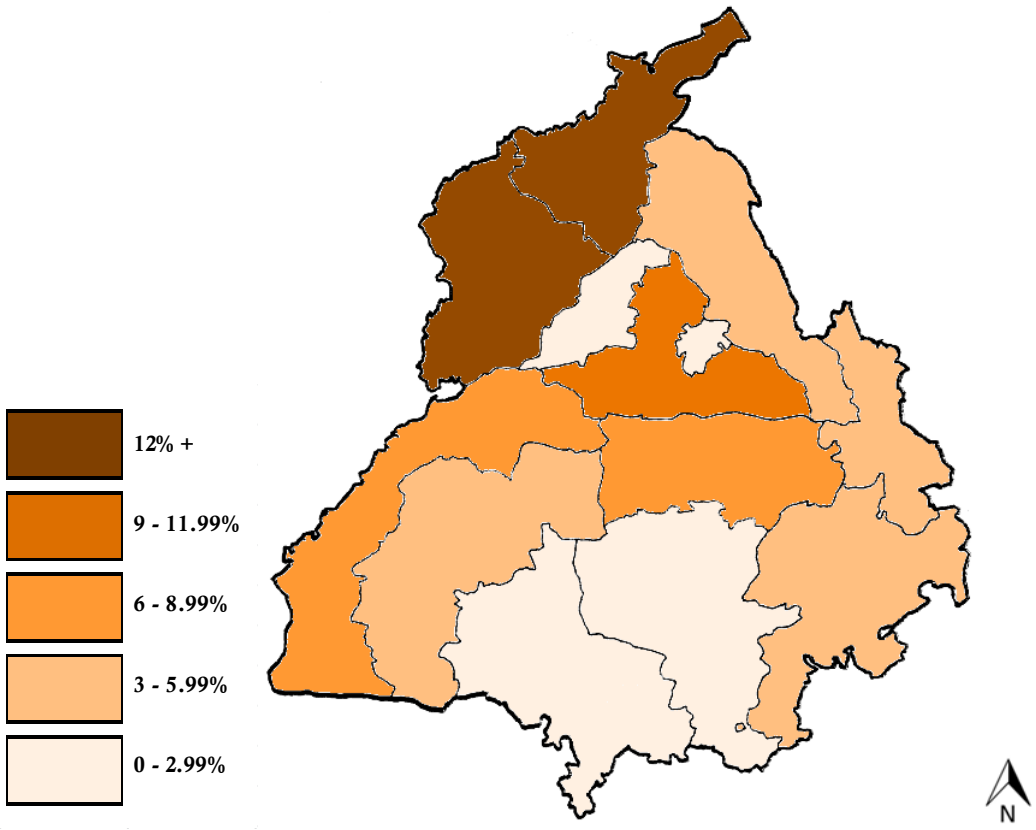
Map 7 Born in Pakistan, 1991 (% of state-level born in Pakistan population)



	n	% of state-level born in Pak. pop. 1991
PUNJAB	**528,452**	
Gurdaspur	67,990	12.87%
Amritsar	52,200	9.88%
Firozpur	79,728	15.09%
Ludhiana	64,716	12.25%
Jalandhar	77,996	14.76%
Kapurthala	24,313	4.60%
Hoshiarpur	37,041	7.01%
Rupnagar	14,174	2.68%
Patiala	64,370	12.18%
Sangrur	12,130	2.30%
Bathinda	10,180	1.93%
Faridkot	23,614	4.47%

Source: *Census of India* 1991a: 30-159

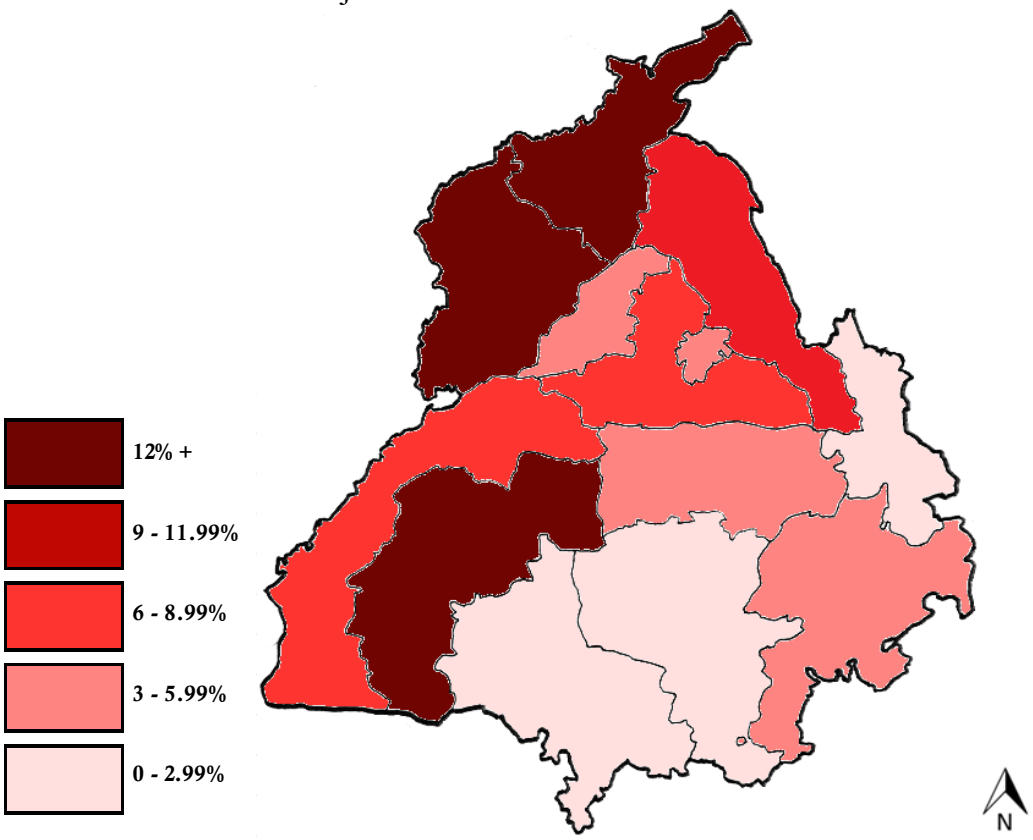
Map 8 Police officers martyred in Punjab 1986-1990



	n	% of state-level police officers martyred pop.
PUNJAB	**553**	
Gurdaspur	84	15.19%
Amritsar	207	37.43%
Firozpur	34	6.15%
Ludhiana	43	7.78%
Jalandhar	51	9.22%
Kapurthala	12	2.17%
Hoshiarpur	18	3.25%
Rupnagar	22	3.98%
Patiala	31	5.61%
Sangrur	14	2.53%
Bathinda	11	1.99%
Faridkot	26	4.70%

Source: *Punjab Police* 2011

Map 9 Hard-core terrorists killed in Punjab 1988-1990



	n	% of state-level hard-core terrorists killed Pop.
PUNJAB	**251**	
Gurdaspur	33	13.15%
Amritsar	78	31.08%
Firozpur	19	7.57%
Ludhiana	14	5.58%
Jalandhar	22	8.76%
Kapurthala	15	5.98%
Hoshiarpur	16	6.37%
Rupnagar	7	2.79%
Patiala	9	3.59%
Sangrur	1	0.40%
Bathinda	5	1.99%
Faridkot	32	12.75%

Source: *SATP* 2001a

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