## The Politics of the Social and Beyond: Hegemonies, Resistances, and Negotiations

VENUE: DATE/TIME	B102, Brunei Gallery, SOAS, University of London, WC1H OXG 27 June 2015 at 10:00 AM
Directions:	https://www.soas.ac.uk/visitors/location/maps/#RussellSquareCampusMap
10:00	Registration Tea/Coffee
10: 20	Samina Bashir (Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad) The Communal Award in Colonial Punjab: Implications and Impacts for Sikhs
11:00	Michael Nijhawan (Department of Sociology, York University, Canada) The Asylum Courts' Radiating Effect on Religion
11:40	Tea/Coffee
12:00	Nicola Mooney (University of the Fraser Valley, Canada) Caste, Dominance, and the Question of Form
12:40	Lunch
1:40	Announcements
2:00	Kavita Bhanot (University of Manchester)
	Unpacking Multiculturalism and Hybridity: 'Self' and 'Other' in 'Third
	Generation' British Asian Literature
2:40	Yaqoob Khan Bangash (Forman Christian College, Lahore)
	Bahawalpur State and Pakistan, 1947-55: Accession and Integration
	And book launch of A Princely Affair: The Accession and Integration of the
	Princely States of Pakistan, 1947-1955 (OUP, 2015)
3:20	Radhika Chopra (Department of Sociology, University of Delhi) Seeing off the dead: Post mortem photographs in the Durbar Sahib
4:00	Tea/Coffee
4:20	Silas Webb (Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, Syracuse University)
	State Surveillance, Neighbourhood Formation and Diaspora Politics: The 'Pedlar Fraternity' in Glasgow, 1925-1949
5:00-	Virinder S. Kalra (School of Social Sciences, University of Manchester)
7:00	Book Launch and reception, with musical performance and dialogue with Rajveer Singh, Hardeep Singh Siera and Amrit Kaur Lohia: Sacred and Secular Musics: A Postcolonial Approach (Bloomsbury Press, 2015)

# Convened by Tej Purewal and Pippa Virdee

For registration follow the link: <a href="https://www.soas.ac.uk/south-asia-institute/events/workshops/27jun2015-the-politics-of-the-social-and-beyond-hegemonies-resistances-and-negotiations.html">https://www.soas.ac.uk/south-asia-institute/events/workshops/27jun2015-the-politics-of-the-social-and-beyond-hegemonies-resistances-and-negotiations.html</a>

#### **Abstracts**

#### 1. Yaqoob Khan Bangash (Forman Christian College, Lahore)

Bahawalpur State and Pakistan, 1947-55: Accession and Integration

In 1947, Bahawalpur State was one of the two states from the Punjab States Agency (the other being Khairpur), which acceded to Pakistan. Bahawalpur State existed as a separate unit in Pakistan, with later the status of a province, till 1955 when it was merged in the One Unit. In 1970, as the One Unit unravelled, Bahawalpur State was not restored but merged into the Punjab province as a division. Afterwards a movement for the creation of a separate Bahawalpur or South Punjab province emerged in the Bahawalpur—Multan region which is still very visible in Pakistan today.

While a lot has been written on the effect of the East Punjab states in India and East Punjab, especially as the Patiala and the East Punjab States Union, very little research has focused on the lone state which is now part of the Pakistani Punjab province. As noted by several authors like Barbara Ramusack and Ian Copland, the trajectory of political and societal development in the princely states was markedly different from British India. Hence this paper will assess the different development and experience of Bahawalpur State as part of Pakistan.

This paper will focus on three questions: 1) What was the nature of partition related events and violence in Bahawalpur State? Was it different or similar to other parts of the Punjab? Why? 2). After accession what was the nature of political activity in Bahawalpur State especially compared with the rest of Pakistani Punjab? 3). What was the nature and effect of democratic government in Bahawalpur State till 1955? Did the trajectory of development in Bahawalpur differ than the rest of the Punjab or Pakistan? What were the reasons behind such a difference, if any?

This paper will situate the accession and integration of Bahawalpur State in Pakistan within the larger context of the Transfer of Power, the establishment of Pakistan and the consolidation of the nascent country. The paper will also reflect upon the nature and development of democracy in the state especially compared with the rest of the Punjab and the country.

#### 2. Samina Bashir (Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad)

The Communal Award in Colonial Punjab: Implications and Impacts for Sikhs

Since the annexation of Punjab Sikh community was fighting for its identity. Sikhs merged in main stream politics from the beginning of the twentieth century and their fight for identity turned into struggle for representation. Many political organizations stood for the Sikh rights. Sikh organizations strived to the Sikhs in all directions and to maintain Sikh identity in religious, social and political spheres. They were demanding their share in Punjab administration on the basis of their roll and position in economic development and Army contribution rather on the basis of numerical strength. British Government announced the Communal Award which proved a turning point in the Indian politics. It greatly affected the Sikh community. This Award neither satisfied any Community nor could solve the conflicting claims of the Muslims and Sikhs in the Punjab. According to the Communal Award India Act of 1935 was introduced which was also refused from all Indian political leader ship however first General elections held in 1936-37 under this Act. Unjust communal award increased the inter-communal tensions and changed the political alliances. This study will provide brief survey, how Sikh leadership fought for their demands during the round Table Conferences and also will explore the impacts of the Award on the Sikh politics in upcoming years and visa-vis reaction of Sikh community on Communal Award will also be under discussion. Role of Sikhs' political organizations for their communal identity and their effects on the regional politics will be discussed.

#### 3. Kavita Bhanot (University of Manchester)

Unpacking Multiculturalism and Hybridity: 'Self' and 'Other' in 'Third Generation' British Asian Literature

This thesis posits a 'third generation' of British Asian writers, of working-class origin, from once industrialised, predominantly South Asian regions of Britain, with non-cosmopolitan, rural roots in the subcontinent. This chapter examines the work of five writers of this generation, all male, Punjabi and, with one exception, Sikh Jatt: Sathnam Sanghera, Sunjeev Sahota, Nirpal Dhaliwal, Daljit Nagra and Sarfraz Manzoor.

These writers represent themselves as, and they and their work are seen as, British Asian – simultaneously 'multicultural' and 'hybrid'. However, their works are read here as entangled in the state-market, in neo-liberalism, in dominant 'British' ideology, including racism, orientalism, assimilationism, and Fanonian self-loathing. Such a critical reading can reveal, it is argued, what is concealed by terms such as 'British Asian', 'multicultural' and 'hybrid'. A counter reading of these texts meanwhile, articulates the oppression of western/British linguistic, ideological hegemonies, the vulnerability of working class writers to co-option, exploitation, and the positing of resistance, in the form of resilience, in parent figures who are represented, in the logic of the texts, as 'backward' and reluctant to 'integrate.' As the authors grapple in their writing with specific family backgrounds, these texts reveal (represented from a British/western ideological location) glimpses of a fluid, 'hybrid' and changing Punjabiyat that is rarely seen in English language literature.

#### 4. Radhika Chopra (Department of Sociology, University of Delhi)

Seeing off the dead: Post mortem photographs in the Durbar Sahib

In Indic mortuary practice, corpses are highly visible at specific moments of death. The 'muh dekhna' – literally, viewing the face – of the dead person is a critical moment in mourning rituals. This is the memory kinsmen and mourners will carry in their minds after they see off the dead. The corpse itself is rarely photographed or painted and it is not displayed for viewing beyond the ritual moment of 'seeing off' the dead person, before cremation.

However in Punjab some corpses have been photographed and these photographs are preserved for later viewing. What message does that photograph send and how is this corpse viewed? Vis-a-vis mourning rituals the very nature of the photograph as an artefact and a record refutes the act of cremation, for cremation is meant to make the physical corpse disappear altogether, unlike a photograph that retains the integrity of the corpse as an image, contradicting what cremation accomplishes. Examining the records of the library at the Durbar Sahib in Amritsar where such photographs are preserved, and photo-portraits at the Central Sikh Museum, my paper will analyse how the ritual of *muh dekhna* is altered by the existence of a post mortem photograph, and explore the issue of how a ritual process is transformed to a political act.

#### 5. Virinder S. Kalra (School of Social Sciences, University of Manchester)

Sacred and Secular Musics: A Postcolonial Approach

How does the sacred/secular opposition explain itself in the context of musical production? This book traces this binary as it frames Western Classical music and Indian Classical music in the 18th and 19th centuries, laying the ground for a contemporary exploration of what is ostensibly sacred music in South Asia. Offering a potent critique of musicological knowledge-making, the book explores examples of South Asian musics (which include Qawwali, kirtan and

popular devotional genres) in various domains and traverses a new cartography of music in which the sacred and the secular overlap. Further, the book problematizes how religion and music are commonly conceptualised, and the ways in which music performs sacredness and secularity across the contested India-Pakistan border in the region of Punjab.

Through its deconstruction of the sacred/secular opposition, Sacred and Secular Musics explores the relationship of religion and music to wider questions of religion and politics. Its postcolonial approach brings Asia into the Western sacred/secular opposition, and provides a set of analytical tools - a language and range of theories - to allow further exploration of non-western religious music. See more at: http://www.bloomsbury.com/uk/sacred-and-secular-musics-9781441121325/#sthash.OEofQjHb.dpuf

#### 6. Michael Nijhawan (York University, Canada)

The Asylum Courts' Radiating Effect on Religion

Recent studies on asylum law have offered strong critiques of the discursive power technologies and judicial practices through which refugee's narratives are scrutinized for their credibility and cultural intelligibility. Asylum hearings have been named one of the most complex adjudication processes in our current times, as they are completely entangled with the political imperatives to contain South-North migrations along routes of precarious existence and human suffering. In this chapter, which is part of a forthcoming book on Sikh and Ahmadiyya diasporas, I want to focus on how in the legal field the issue of persecution is deliberated in what can be called religious trials. Drawing on ethnographic research in the Frankfurt region I will problematize the controversial relationship between assessments of religious habitus and show how the emerging contradictions between official theories and lived religion have had profound consequences for those in positions of migrant marginalities. My focus will be on the Ahmadiyya case, for I will be able to demonstrate the specific local contexts in which different players negotiate religious identity in the field of judicial power. It shall further enable an opening of the discussion on the transnational dimension of legal theories and their implementation through bodies such as the European High Court for Human Rights.

### 7. Nicola Mooney (University of the Fraser Valley)

Caste, Dominance, and the Question of Form

Caste, the primary basis of stratification, inequality, exclusion, and underdevelopment in Punjab, is a complex and wide-ranging set of classifications, statuses, and practices, informed by colonial and postcolonial experiences, ideas about community identity, the negotiation of group encounters, and the mediation of status in regional, national, and diaspora contexts, and as such intersecting still other forms of social difference (religion, ethnicity, race, gender, occupation, class). Yet, caste is largely treated as a singular social form (c.f. Dirks 2001), perhaps encouraged by the success of certain castes in capturing and exerting 'caste dominance' (M.N. Srinivas 1987). This paper examines the apparent hegemony of Punjab's dominant caste of Jat Sikhs in relation to the apparent hegemony of form that caste takes in scholarly literature and popular discourse (and despite Sikh disavowal of the same). I suggest that Jat expectations of caste dominance, related claims to elite status, and the cultural importance of Jatpana intersect postcolonial experiences of social marginalization - e.g. post-1947 and 1984 - in provocative ways, with the unfortunate potential to produce hyperdominant, casteist responses (c.f. Appadurai 2006); I also question whether glossing various forms of social dominance and their assertion as 'caste' obscure more particular, and critical, hierarchies and exclusions.

8. Silas Webb (Department of History, Syracuse University)

State Surveillance, Neighborhood Formation, and Diaspora Politics: The 'Pedlar Fraternity' in Glasgow, 1925-1949

On 17 February 1926, representatives of the Glasgow Indian Union wrote to F.E. Smith, the Secretary of State for India, to protest the extension to Glasgow of the Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order of 1925. The letter exclaims that "it appears to be the intention of the Home Secretary to register these labourers and pedlars as Alien Seamen which they certainly are not." Enclosed was a list of more than sixty names of Punjabis resident in Glasgow who, according to the GIU, were being unjustly targeted by the new law. By using these sources, alongside the Registry of Pedlars' Certificates for July 1939 to April 1949, this paper will examine the formation and maintenance of the Punjabi community in Glasgow in the inter-war period. Not only do these sources necessitate reconfiguring histories of South Asian migration to Britain, which is generally thought to have begun in the post-war era, but also they provide insight to the lived experiences of these early migrants. This paper contends that the dynamics of commerce in Glasgow is illuminated by the inter-ethnic communities of 'racialized outsiders' that Punjabis sustained in tenements and on the pedlar's route.