

**SOCIAL CONTEXT OF EDUCATION AMONG CROSSBORDER
REFUGEE COMMUNITIES: A STUDY OF PAKISTANI HINDUS IN
DELHI**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

ARATRIKA BHADRA



ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI-10067

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ZAKIR HUSAIN CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
UGC-CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDY (CAS)
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067

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DECLARATION

I, Aratrika Bhadra, declare that the dissertation entitled "**Social Context of Education Among Crossborder Refugee Communities: A Study of Pakistani Hindus in Delhi**" is submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University. This dissertation has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University and is my original work.

Aratrika Bhadra
Aratrika Bhadra

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for the award of the degree of Masters of Philosophy in this University.

Sharma
Prof. Saumen Chattopadhyay
(Chairperson)
Prof. Saumen Chattopadhyay
Chairperson
Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

SSR
Dr. S. Srinivasa Rao
(Supervisor)
Associate Professor
Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Today one cannot escape the refugee crisis across the world that is well reflected in the media. Human history has seen the flow of persecuted and dislocated individuals since a long time especially, of those fleeing from reigns of terror in their homelands and seeking refuge and a new life in another society and culture (Michael, 1985). According to Castles (2003) refugee movements are as old as history stemming from factors such as war, conquest or political struggle. Majority of those fleeing often have to break with the ties of heritage that had once held them to a particular land and flee to a land where they become part of different tradition (Michael, 1985). Infact, the refugees represent Appadurai's ethno-scape. By the term ethno-scape, Appadurai (2005) had described the landscape of people who constitute the shifting world in which they live be they tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving groups and individuals who often constitute a world that today is increasingly being characterised by politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree. Often the cause of such politics within and between the nations is due to the issue of ethnic politics in its primordial form be it revolving around language or skin colour or neighbourhood or kinship all of which, have spilled from the local into the global arena (Appadurai, 2005).

One needs to understand that the flows of refugees is often created due to the order-building process which is a characteristics of modernity. This order-building process has led to the creation of refugees as wasted humans - out of place, unfit, undesirable, devalued and having no sure way of returning to their previously effective modes of making a living and earning a livelihood (Bauman, 2004). As human wastes, refugees are a stateless, placeless, functionless and the pulped faceless mass who are often denied the access to elementary amenities from which identities are drawn (Uptin, Wright & Harwood 2014). Also as human wastes much of such refugee population's life-world reflect redundancy. As Bauman (2004) had said, to be redundant means to be supernumerary; unneeded of; being disposable; unwelcome; tolerated at best; treated as an object of benevolence, charity and pity but not brotherly help; charged with indolence; suspected of suspicious intentions and criminal inclinations; being a source of financial problem for the host and being of no use apart

from, not having any assurance of social survival. The people who are redundant are written on the credit side of the economic balance as they cannot add to the wealth of the society while only adding to its costs and are seen as a drain on the resources along with being a problem with no obvious solutions and having no demand for their labour nor any means of being recalled into active service (Bauman, 2005). The solution to such redundant populations are state-tested, state-provided, state-legislated, state-endorsed, state-promoted and means-tested handouts that are also dubbed as welfare benefits, tax credits, reliefs, grants, allowances accompanied with the urgent need to be fed and sheltered (Bauman, 2004).

As refugees, either as individuals or as a community move they, carry with them as Appadurai (2005) had said their imagination, desires, hopes, projects as they enter, live and cope in the host societies in search of work, wealth, opportunity, education and other such comforts in their everyday life. Aspirations according to Appadurai (2013) have something to do with wants, preferences, choices and calculations. Infact, such imagination and their aspirations are their only hope in their redundant state that is characterised with what Bauman (2004) had said as loss of self and even life purpose; loss of their dignity as workers; stripped of any feeling of being useful and having no social place of their own; facing the dimness of prospects from living from hand to mouth with no durable solution; feelings of anxiety stemming from the vagueness of the rules that needs to be learnt and mastered. However one thing that must be understood is that even in the fulfilment of their imaginations, projects and hope refugees have to wait. Such waiting according to Bauman (2004) is something associated with shame for the one who waits is likely to be of low status and his waiting is seen as a symptom of rejection and signalling exclusion. Often the hopes, preferences, choices and calculations for many of the refugee families is affected by poverty which diminishes its victims and which is in turn associated with material deprivation, desperation, lack of security, dignity, exposure to risk and high costs of thin comforts (Appadurai,2013).

Thus, one can say that refugees have exercised their notion of exit which under ordinary circumstances is unthinkable though not always wholly impossible from primordial human groupings such as family, tribe, church and the state (Hirschman,1970). The decision to exit is never taken light-heartedly for exit means that voice (that aims at getting some bargaining power and some concessions) is likely to lose out as, the effectiveness of voice depends on discovering new ways of exerting influence and pressure towards the recovery of one's aims

(Hirschman, 1970). Therefore, refugees as an entity are often the ones who have exercised their means of exiting rather than voice as a means to register his dissatisfaction with the way things are going in such organisations such as the family, tribe, church and the state (Hirschman, 1970). The process of exiting from an organisation such as the state may involve the process of gathering information about alternative products and organisations (Hirschman, 1970). This is evident in the process of reconnaissance that has been mentioned in the later chapters and which is often undertaken by refugee families before migration.

However, as refugees leave the point of departure and arrive at the point of arrival their life is in a state of cultural flux where choices must be made (Appadurai, 2005). It is during such times that the invention of tradition in the form of ethnicity, kinship and other identity markers become slippery (Appadurai, 2005). This is true for the refugee community of the Pakistani Hindus from Sindh whose search for identity markers that would make them more acceptable in the Indian society lead them to try to align their syncretic identity that has been a result of historical accumulation in Sindh to a more homogenous identity of that being a Hindu.

One has to understand that each allegiance that a person has influences his personality and adds to the individual uniqueness and value (Maalouf, 2000). However all these allegiances have their own hierarchy that changes with time and also brings about a change in the individual's behaviour (Maalouf, 2000). According to Amin Maalouf (2000) it is likely that in every age people have considered one overriding affiliation that has become important and have legitimately been called his "identity" and this identity has ranged from revolving around one's religion to, mother tongue, etc. While examining one's identity one is also likely to scourge his memory to find as many ingredients to his identity that he can assemble and only then does he arrange them hierarchically (Maalouf,2000).

In such a search and choice for good life within or aligned with particular tradition (be they related to ethnicity, kinship and other identity markers) aspirations revolving around a system of ideas locating people in a larger map of local ideas and beliefs about life, death, material possessions often get dissolved into more local ideas about marriage, work, leisure, convenience, respectability, friendship, health and virtue (Appadurai, 2013). However, often the condition of refugee communities are characterised by uncertainty about identification and also violence that often leads to actions, reactions, complications and anticipations that only increase the level of uncertainty about labels and all of which adds to the uncertainty

which in turn, calls for dead certainty (Appadurai,1998). Such aspect was reflected in the interviews with the respondents who stressed the need for certainty and some of whom even threatened that they would undertake violence if the demands would not be met but only as a last resort.¹

Many of the refugee communities are often minorities in their native society where they have to bear the brunt of the ambition to standardise by the majorities who are usually the ones who define cultural framework relevant for life-careers and in this way have a surplus of symbolic capital over the minorities (Eriksen, 2001). However, one has to understand that many of the refugees individuals or communities in their native society have been at the receiving end of ethnic violence that has often been the product of propaganda, rumour, prejudice and memory and in turn violence that is often related to state policies and techniques such as censuses, partitions and constitution (Appadurai,1998). All of these state policies and techniques heighten the uncertainty by attempting to determine the number of 'us' and 'them' (Appadurai,1998). However, the fact that certain factors like the porosity of borders that allow for the large-scale movement of persons and allows for ethnic names and terms to be open for transnational perturbation often leads to a fear that local identities and identifications might start generating large-scale mega identities (Appadurai, 1998). Thus, today often the issue of identity politics becomes a glocal phenomenon be it in nationalist, ethnic, religious or regional form because even though it is confined to a territory and is associated with a particular in-group, it depends on a global discourse about culture and rights in order to succeed (Eriksen, 2001).

As refugees look for stability and settle down in the host society, they are greeted with what Zygmunt Bauman (2004) had reflected as a sense of transience, indefiniteness and provisional of the nature of settlement. In the process of settling down, refugees as the human wastes often are relegated to sites within the cities that accommodate such wastes. One of such site as Zygmunt Bauman (2004) had reflected belong to ghettos characterised by territorial separation and composite stratification. Such ghettos can be either voluntary or involuntary (Bauman,2004). In this study the nature of settlement is more akin to the involuntary ghettos that Zygmunt Bauman (2004) had reflected as consisting of mini societies as they replicate in miniature all the major institutions that serve the needs and

¹ This view had been reflected by one of the respondents Dayal Das who on reflecting on the futile protests that the community have from time to time undertaken in Jantar Mantar area in the city of New Delhi, India had said that they would burn and break property if their protests were not met and if they had to undertake more of such futile protests.

life pursuits of those living outside the ghetto boundaries. Such involuntary ghettos provide the residents with security and at least some sense of home that is otherwise unavailable to them outside (Bauman, 2004). However, be it in such ghettos or refugee camps the inmates are stripped up off every identities except for being stateless, placeless and functionless and resemble a faceless mass that has been denied the various amenities from which identities are drawn (Bauman, 2004).

Therefore, it becomes imperative that a discipline like Sociology examine what is happening across the world in terms of increasing flow of refugees and forcibly displaced people. According to Stephen Castles (2003) Sociology can throw light on issues such as the causes of forced migration; the dynamics of movement; entry rules; institutional structures; migration policies; individual and group experience of exile, identity, belonging and community formation along with settlement and community relations. Given the volume of such movements of people, families, children out of their troubled native geographies, the movements out of one's own native land has greater impact on the way the communities, families and societies cope and deal with such situations. It goes without saying that the communities lose their aspirations and hope amidst such hostile and difficult times and life experiences which is full of persecutions, humiliation, and loss of self-worth. As the political and social instabilities increase in an increasingly complex socio-political order, such situations and contexts are also increasing wherein communities, families and peoples are in dire crisis of everyday existence. The study of such refugee contexts is therefore relevant and important within the sociological realm.

Refugee: The Conceptual Understanding and the Ground Reality

When it comes to the definition of refugees, Article 33 of the 1951 UN Convention has defined a refugee as any person who *“owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or of political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country or, who not having a nationality is outside the country of his former habitual residence and as a result of such events is unable or owing to such fear is unwilling to return to it”* (Xenos 1993, p. 421). Thus, a refugee is a person who is a victim of events for which as an individual he cannot be held responsible (Vernant cited in Zolberg, Suhrke, Aguayo, 1989). Therefore, refugee is any person who has left his/her home fearing their life and liberty or due to lack of subsistence (Bose cited in Banarjee, 2008). According to UNHCR (2011) this fear is by definition, a

state of mind and hence a subjective condition, which will depend on the individual's personal and family background, personal experiences, and the way in which he or she interprets his or her situation. Any expression of unwillingness to return is normally sufficient to establish the "fear" element of the refugee definition. Therefore, refugees are persons whose presence abroad is attributable to well-founded fear of violence either inflicted by some recognizable internal agent such as government and this violence is directed against a specific group on whom conditions are imposed that makes life impossible and flight is therefore, undertaken to avoid harm or expulsion (Zolberg, Suhrke, Aguayo, 1989). According to the UNHCR (2011), a threat to life or physical freedom constitutes persecution, as would other serious violations of human rights. This fear may thus stem from what Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo (1989) has argued as protracted or recurring confrontations that tend to produce violent conflicts which are likely to be more destructive today than in the past because both government and their opponents have access to fire-power in all its forms.

When it comes to understanding of the term "race", it refers to any kind of distinctive ethnic characteristic, whether real or perceived. The notion of race comes into focus when such characteristics of a population becomes a reason for a minority groups to be persecuted by the majorities. On the other hand by restrictions on the exercise of religious freedom refers to the prohibition of membership in a religious community, of religious instruction, discrimination because of religious practice, membership in a given religious community, forced conversion, forced compliance or conformity with religious practices and its serious impact on the individual concerned (UNHCR, 2011). This maybe related to what Maalof (2000) had reflected when he had said that how for some individuals neither law nor the people's attitudes allow the individual to accept his composite identity tranquilly. According to Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo (1989), religious persecution historically has been part of the classic definition and situation creating refugees.

By "nationality" UNHCR (2011) has not only referred to "citizenship" but also, have extended this notion of nationality to groups of people defined through their real or perceived ethnic, religious, cultural or linguistic identity regardless of whether this difference has been formalized legally but provided that the discriminated group must be set apart in some way from others either because, it sees itself as being different or because it is perceived as such by the persecutor. When it comes to "political opinion" as a ground for recognition as a refugee as defined by the UNHCR (2011) any opinion concerning matters on which the

machinery of the state, government or society is engaged and goes beyond identification with a specific political party or recognized ideology is relevant. Therefore, refugees thus form a category of unfortunates who move abroad to survive and who are to be assisted while abroad until the conditions in their country of origin changes (Zolberg, Suhrke, Aguayo 1989).

As per the UNHCR (2017)² there are 22.5 million refugees worldwide with 23,3000 people being forced per day out of their homes either due to conflict or fear of persecution. Some of the top refugees producing countries worldwide are South Sudan, Afghanistan and Syria while, the largest refugee population hosting countries are Ethiopia, Uganda, Islamic Republic of Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan and Turkey. The Asia –Pacific region is one of the largest refugee producing areas world-wide. The end of 2008 saw 3.5 million refugees out of the total of 15.2 million refugees residing in the Asia Pacific region itself with, Middle East and North Africa closely following it (Valatheeswaran, 2010). Today, this particular region produces 3,500,000 refugees.³ In this particular geographical region Afghanistan followed by Myanmar, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Central Asia, Malaysia and Philippines are some of the countries that are the largest refugee producers. Much of the refugee flows that take place within the region in the Asia-Pacific region is often accommodated within the region in countries like Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, India. Infact, many of these refugee flows are accommodated either in camps as in case of Bangladesh and Nepal or in urban settings such as India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Peoples Republic of China or Thailand.⁴

A common factor that is common to all the refugee community is that they are fleeing from some form of turbulence in their host society and are in need for adjustment in the host society. For a refugee what Alfred Schutz (in Wagner,1973) had reflected is true when, he argued that his/her old notions of conduct becomes useless and in spite of, arriving with a fixed outside viewpoint in the host community they are bound to feel disoriented and forced to become an observer of the ways of life of the host community and reconstruct the rules for practical conduct without which everyday life is not possible. Therefore, precariousness, instability, need for practical aid and social and emotional support that can ease the trauma of

² See www.unhcr.org/figures-at-glance.html

³See <http://www.unhcr.org/protection/operations/5000139a9/bureau-asia-pacific-regional-update.html?query=ASIA>

⁴ Ibid.

translocation (Haines, Rutherford and Thomas 1981) and adjustment is what characterises the initial phase of a refugee's life after a turbulent migration from a society of persecution to a society of resettlement.

In South Asia the causes for migration can be categorised into three types where - the state is promoting cultural homogeneity and upholds the interest of one community and thus doesn't allow minority communities to co-exist with the majority community; where the refugee community are political dissidents or where migration arises from foreign policy objectives (Sharma, 2007). In many of the cases, refugee migration has been a result of reactive process that is 'social' in the sense that they are impelled by laws and customs that spread discrimination on the basis of racial or ethno-religious lines (Richmond, 1993). Refugee movements may be described as reactive migration if they belong to the social/political sphere in the sense that such migrations are undertaken to escape from general deprivation of human rights, civic, political and economic rights (Richmond 1993). Such refugee flows being highly irregular in nature stem from highly complex causes like civil strife, arbitrary governmental decisions, international war or abrupt change of regime and all of such events are highly unpredictable (Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo, 1989).

When it comes to education, it is evident that knowledge about refugee children suffers critically from the absence of hard data and also from the fact that children are the most neglected part of any refugee population (Huyck and Fields 1981). Further, the available data shows that only 50 per cent of refugee children are able to access primary education in contrast to 91 percent of non-refugee children (UNHCR, 2015)⁵. Only 22 percent of refugee adolescents go on for secondary education (in contrast to the 84 percent of non-refugee children) and only 1 percent of refugee children (in contrast to 34 percent of non-refugee children) are able to progress to the stage of higher education (UNHCR 2015).⁶ The lack of refugee education research is a wasteland rendering the lives and educational experiences of refugee youth before resettlement invisible (Pinson and Arnot in Uptin, Wright and Harwood, 2014). Thus the refugee crisis across the world demands immediate attention within social sciences, and in particular, within sociology of education.

Refugees in India

⁵ See <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

⁶ Ibid.

When it comes to India, UNHCR in its website had mentioned that there are 209,234 people of concern in the country with people from Myanmar (18,914), Afghanistan (13,381), Somalia (672), Tibetans (1,10,095), Sri Lanka (64,689) and Others (1483).⁷ Many of the refugee communities have taken advantage of the ruling definition of refugee to migrate and also the open Indian borders to make a fresh start (Zoleberg, Suhrke and Aguayo, 1989). India since 2008 has been hosting 25,000 Bhutanese refugees, 600 Somali refugees, unknown number of Iraqi and Iranian refugees along with, 200 Palestinians and refugees from Iraq (Valatheeswaran, 2010) apart from 52,000 Chin and other minorities from Burma and uncounted number of Hindus from Bangladesh and Nepalese fleeing from the Maoist insurgency (Benoit cited in Bhattacharjee, 2008). India has also seen the large out-migration of its own minority group of the Sikhs numbering five thousand to six thousand in the mid-1980's sought asylum in countries of Europe (Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo, 1989).

According to the Human Rights Law Network's Report of Refugee Populations in India, 2007⁸ the UNHCR have recognised Afghan, Burmese, Palestinian and Somali refugees in terms of assisting them with a monthly subsistence allowance services provided by UNHCR and its partners such as YMCA, Don Bosco and the Socio-Legal Centre (SLIC). All of the partners of UNHCR in India helps the refugees with accommodation, legal advice, psychosocial support etc. However, the largest refugee populations in India do not fall under the UNHCR's mandate.⁹

However, in India the granting of refugee status is on the discretion of the political authorities for there is no legal framework under Indian constitution to determine the status of refugees and therefore refugees, are dealt in an ad-hoc basis which often leads them being used as pawns in the regional geo-politics (Sharma, 2007). The Indian law treats refugees like other foreigners and fails to appreciate the special circumstances under which the refugee leaves his country of origin (Bhattacharjee, 2008). Also in the absence of any formal law the refugee communities are at the mercy of the Indian states in which they reside and their treatment often depends on the benevolence of the states (Bhattacharjee, 2008). Thus, the ad-hoc nature of refugee law in India has failed to define refugee as a class of persons with their status, rights and entitlement (Bhattacharjee, 2008). When it comes to entry of

⁷ See <http://www.unhcr.org/protection/operations/50001ec69/india-fact-sheet.html?query=INDIA>

⁸ See http://www.hrln.org/admin/issue/subpdf/Refugee_populations_in_India.pdf

⁹ Ibid.

refugees, the government of India doesn't impose penalties on illegal entry of refugees but they need to present themselves with immediate effect to the authorities and must show a good cause for their illegal entry into India (Sharma,2007).

However, when it comes to the rights and duties of refugees in India they can be summarised as having the freedom to fair and due treatment without discrimination; right to seek a livelihood for himself; right to get special protection with regard to women and children; right to choose their place of residence and move freely within the territory of India subject to regulations; right to be issued identity documents; right to education, health and other services and at the same time be subject to all laws and regulations that bind other refugees (Sharma, 2007). India has from time to time signed several conventions such the Universal Declaration on Human Rights,1948; International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, 1966; International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,1966; Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination,1965 and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment 1984 that India has signed from time to time (Bhattacharjee, 2008). Refugees in India can avail some of their rights under these following laws/agreements. According to Article 3 of the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984 it has been mentioned that no state party shall expel, return or extradite a person to another state where there are substantial grounds for believing that he would be in danger of being subjected to torture (Bhattacharjee, 2008).

All refugees and asylum seekers have the right to seek protection under the Right to Equality Before Law under Article 14 within the Indian territory; Protection of Life and Liberty in Article 21 whereby persons can only be deprived of his life and personal liberty only under due procedure by law; Right to Fair Trial and especially the right to be produced before a magistrate within twenty-four hours of arrest; the Right to Practice and Propagate Own Religion under Article 25 (Bhattacharjee, 2008). However, in reality the refugees are yet to enjoy most of these rights due to inconsistent and arbitrary government policies that are dictated more by political exigencies than by legal imperatives (Bhattacharjee, 2008).

Next we come to the number of studies done on a number of refugee populations in India. When it comes to the Tibetans, this community has sought refuge in India since the late 1950's as national polity. As a community they have demonstrated strength and survivability and is the epitome of an abiding and vigorous culture as has been reflected in its settlements, enterprises and religio-political structure (Michael, 1985).This particular

refugee community has embraced modern life in India by suspending many of their aristocratic service privileges and the status associated with such privileges (Michael, 1985).

A sense of Tibetaness is maintained among this community that is defined in terms of Tibetan ethnicity, Buddhism and past history (Mishra, 2007). However, as Mishra (2007) had reflected there has been conscious effort on part of this community to preserve the Tibetan culture and identity. Thus, there is present a resistance to assimilation into the host society and the continued allegiance to Tibet. Even though, the Indian government have not recognised the Tibetan leadership as a government-in-exile, this government-in-exile have catered to the survival, health, resettlement and finding work needs of the Tibetan refugees (Michael,1985).

Since most of the Tibetan refugees hail from agrarian backgrounds this community have from time to time demanded from the government one acre land per person (Michael,1985). Thus, Tibetan refugees who had been famers or nomads in Tibet have been given assistance by the Indian government with regards to accommodation, cultivable land, bullocks, agricultural implements ,seeds, fertilizers along with poultry farms, dairy farms and piggeries to help them in their livelihood management (Valatheeswaran, 2010). The Tibetan refugees have been given the special treatment of getting employment and carrying on the freedom of movement due to socio-cultural relations and foreign policy considerations (Mishra,2007). As time has gone and generations of Tibetans continue to adjust their life in India, the younger generation among Tibetan refugees often express a higher degree of satisfaction towards jobs, political leaders , local politics and government in contrast to the older generations who are dissatisfied (Fazel,1990). Such satisfaction on part of the younger generations have stemmed from the fact that they are more sensitised to the problems of the host country and view government, politics and community less critically than their older generations (Fazel,1990).

Apart from the Tibetans, India also have given refuge to Chin refugees since 1988 who have been fleeing into India from Myanmar. Infact there are some 80,000 Chin refugees in the Indian state of Mizoram who face widespread discrimination and harassment at the land of local population and political harassment (Loescher and Milner, 2006). The Chin refugees from the Myanmar is also one of largest refugee populations in New Delhi. But with escalating conflict in Myanmar and Mizoram it is likely that the numbers are going to increase in the city of Delhi (Loescher and Milner, 2006). A large number of Bangladeshi citizens also have taken refuge in India. According to Samaddar (1999) in 1971 approximately 10,000,000 refugees (85 percent of whom were Hindus) had arrived in India

from Bangladesh. And even though many of them had sought to return to their native place due to the process of Islamisation under the rule of Zia and Ershad the flow of minorities of minorities have increased again. This has also been true when soon after violence gripped Bangladesh after the Babri Masjid incident in Ayodhya in 1992 Bangladesh saw the destruction of places of worship and property of many Hindus (Samaddar, 1999). India has also given refuge to ethnic Nepalese from Bhutan too have sought refuge in India and there are 15,000 to 30,000 of them living in India but they haven't been recognised as refugees as Nepal's citizens have the right to residence, study and work without identity papers¹⁰.

Other communities like the Hindu Pakistani refugees too have sought refuge in India since 1965 and a large number of them numbering approximately 115,000 people have been settled in Rajasthan or Gujarat.¹¹ However this group until very recently weren't given residence permit and often found gaining employment problematic. The government has given some concessions to this particular refugee community. The Citizenship Amendment Rules, 2004 has allowed specifically for Pakistanis to apply for citizenship in Gujarat and Rajasthan apart from the conditions for acquiring citizenship being relaxed from 12 years to 5 years.¹² Between 2005 and 2006 about 13,000 Hindu Pakistanis were given citizenship. However in spite of the acquisition of Indian citizenship Pakistani Hindus have problems in getting ration cards and often take up jobs as manual labourers and have to experience exploitation at work.¹³ Some Somali refugees fleeing from the civil war at home have also taken refuge in India especially in the city of Delhi and Hyderabad but they are not provided with residence permits and receive a subsistence allowance from the UNHCR which is not enough to cover the refugees basic needs.¹⁴ There are also Palestinian refugees in India who do not have residence permit and due to barrier of language cannot find viable work nor can they pursue their children's education.¹⁵ A large number of Bangladeshi citizens have also taken refuge in India.

A substantial number of Afghan refugees too are to be found in India even though the government has been indifferent to their plight. The number of Afghan refugees in 2004 was 2,730 (Bose, 2004). In 1997 out of the 60,000 Afghans living in India only 16,000 possessed certificates (Sharma, 2007). The Indian government divides Afghan refugees into two categories –the first are the Sikhs and the Hindus and the second are the ethnic Afghans

¹⁰ See Human Rights Law Network 's Report of Refugee Populations in India, 2007.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

such as the Pashtun, Hazaras, Uzbeks, Tajiks, etc. (Sharma, 2007). The Afghan refugees have migrated to India so as to flee the geo-political and historical circumstances in Afghanistan created by the interplay of forces like Russian aggression, CIA sponsored Taliban government, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism (Bose,2004) coupled with the communist government coming to power in 1978 which either executed or jailed religious, political and intellectual elites (Sharma,2007).

The Afghan refugees mostly reside in several localities of Delhi and Faridabad. Within the city of Delhi, majority of the Afghan refugees are concentrated in areas of Delhi such as East of Kailash, Laxmi Nagar, Malviya Nagar, Sarojini Nagar, Lajpat Nagar, Netaji Nagar, Tilak Nagar and Ballimaran (Sharma,2007). The nature of composition of the Afghan refugees migrating to India is different from those migrating to Pakistan and Iran for while, those migrating to the latter states are either ethnic Pashtun who seek refuge in the Pashtun (as in case of Pakistan) or were ethnic Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazaras with a small number of Pashtuns dominated area (as in case of Iran), in India it is mostly the Sikh and Hindu Afghans with a few ethnic Afghans who have migrated (Sharma,2007). The familiarity with India in terms of ethnic ties and familiarity with the local language coupled with economic prospects, supportive relations and cultural ties allowed the Hindu and Sikh refugees largely from Kabul, Jalalabad and Kunar to choose India as a likely country to migrate to (Sharma,2007). The UNHCR which has been working complementarily with the Government of India in verifying and serving this community has pointed out with regard to the Afghan refugees that the Hindu and the Sikh refugees among them are well integrated in the Indian society (Bose,2004). Apart, from them there are the Muslim Afghans too who are referred to as the 'ethnic Afghans' and majority of whom live in poorer localities in the city of Delhi (Bose,2004).

However, many of the members of this refugee community especially the poorer section have to face the difficulty stemming from working in the informal sector as they need a work permit which few know about, the cost of making a fresh passport is expensive, regular bribing of the police and even petty bureaucrats, lack of residence permit, lack of travel documents (Bose, 2004). Under the Indian law these Afghan refugees have to wait for ten years before they can become Indian citizens. When it comes to the various services that organisations like UNHCR give to the Afghans refugees there is a feeling of discontentment with regards to such services as they are seen as not giving subsistence allowance, having no scheme to educate the children, nor giving loans for starting businesses, nor helping in becoming citizens and instead asking them to go back (Bose, 2004). One of the partner's of

UNHCR, the YMCA Refugee Aid Programme gives the refugees a meagre sum of three thousand rupees that in the refugees lives amounted to only the house rent per month and did not meet the cost of rations and other necessities (Sharma, 2007).

To solve their grievances from time to time the Afghan refugees have demanded their rights as seen in 1999 when 100 of them had protested outside the UNHCR mission in New Delhi for slashing their subsistence allowance rolls in an arbitrary fashion for this decision had impoverished thousands of the families by adversely affecting their standard of living and driving many of them into debt (Sharma, 2007). Majority of the Afghan refugees never dreamt of going back to Afghanistan permanently and even if they did, they wanted to do so on the basis of an Indian passport that would always allow them to come back (Sharma, 2007). However, the Afghan refugees are hardly accepted in India and nor are they accepted in Afghanistan (Sharma,2007). One of the lack of acceptance in India was due to the presence of stereotypes towards their community which holds the Afghan refugees responsible for talibansiation of South Asia and petty crimes (Sharma, 2007). Also many Afghan refugees feel that the stay visa that are issued to them for a year are too short and should be issued for at least three years apart from the fact that there should be a return visa with the limit of three years that will help the refugees tend to their properties in Afghanistan and come back to India again (Sharma,2007). Many of the Afghan refugees especially the Muslim Afghans do not want citizenship but want their refugee allowance, catering to the cost of daily living of one person along with education and other costs, to continue (Sharma, 2007).

Other refugees such as those from Iran fleeing from the hostile government in Iran belong to the middle class background. The class character and political nature of the refugees only reflect their elite backgrounds (Ashraf, 1994). But the nature of stay of this particular community of refugees is seen as temporary as they harbour the hope of going back to Iran. The difficulties that this refugee community faced in accessing visas which were annually reviewed, not being allowed travelling facilities and lack of any special favour to these refugees resulted in dissatisfaction with the host government as they felt that their sufferings for democratic and human values weren't been appreciated in India (Ashraf, 1994). Some of the Iranian refugees from India were further re-settled in Western and North American countries by the UNHCR (Ashraf, 1994). Among the Iranian refugees, those belonging to the Bahai faith are more reluctant to go back in Iran as they faced religious discrimination back in Iran and instead wants to settle in India or be re-settled in some other country (Ashraf, 1994). Since most of the members of this refugee community belong to the

elite sections of the society and in India inhabit the cosmopolitan cities of Delhi and Pune this community do not feel the need to disintegrate their own culture so as to integrate the culture of the host country and thus the cosmopolitan culture of these cities allow for easy social transactions for the refugees (Ashraf,1994).

Next we come to the refugees from Sri Lanka who had been arriving in India in various phases- the first in 1983-1989 when 1,34,053 persons arrived in India; influx of 1,22,078 persons ; the number of refugees dropping to 21,940 in 1996-2001 (Dasgupta,2003). The years 1958, 1977 and 1983 saw the largest number of Sri Lankan Tamils fleeing into India (Valatheeswaran, 2010). In 2008 the largest refugee group living in India had been the Sri Lankan Tamils who numbered 120,000 and who have been fleeing to India since 1983 (Valatheeswaran, 2010).

These refugees are classified into- camp refugees spread over the twenty-three districts in Tamil Nadu availing food, clothing, utensils; non-camp refugees spread over the cities and small towns living in tented houses or with friends or relatives (numbering 40,000) and those who live in special camps under strict surveillance of police due to suspicion of having links to LTTE (Dasgupta, 2003). Out of the total 100,793 Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu 73,397 live in camps while another 27,200 live in non-camp areas (Valatheeswaran, 2010). While the largest number of Sri Lankan Tamils are concentrated in Tamil Nadu due to their ethnic relations there is a considerable number who also stay in the states of Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Pondicherry and Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Valatheeswaran, 2010). In 1995 under the Shastri- Srimovo pact many Sri Lankan Tamils were repatriated (Valatheeswaran, 2010). However, repatriation is a complex issue due to the fact that many may have lost their registration due to moving out of the camps into non-camp areas or due to not having proper documents (Dasgupta, 2003).

In India many of the Sri Lankan Tamils work in tea, cinchona plantations, cooperative spinning mills and various agricultural and industrial schemes. For many of the Sri Lanka Tamils informal networks of the community and the religious organisation refugees often help them to survive and access shelter, land, employment in the informal sector (Kok cited in Valatheeswaran, 2010). However, the services received by the refugees are not always uniform and depends on the whims of the government which was reflected when after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, the Sri Lankan refugees have been facing hostility and loss of sympathy on the part of the people and also the government especially so with the later who tried to move the non-camp refugees into the camps, reduced the number of refugee camps and also cancelled the educational facilities that the children of the refugees availed,

keeping the refugees under twenty four surveillance apart from shifting the camps from coastal areas to interior regions due to security reasons (Valatheeswaran, 2010).

Next we come to the education of these several refugee communities. However, one must understand that displacement and migration often forces refugees to abandon their basic education practices. This is true for many of the Afghan refugees. However among the Afghan refugees who had arrived in India and had been staying on for years in India education is being increasingly seen as a major skill development and parents often take interest in their children's school education seeing that private sector occupation demands atleast a graduation level of education (Sharma,2007). Education for many of the refugee communities especially among the Tibetan refugees as Michael (1985) has argued is crucial in maintaining the Tibetan community's cultural and ethnic unity into the future. Education for the Tibetan refugees is a primary survival strategy to safeguard traditional ways of life, culture and language and is also seen as provider of modern and scientific knowledge and skills required to build a future free Tibet (Mishra,2007). Education is thus crucial as children are seen by members of this community as the future.

Many refugee communities like the Tibetans have fled the land where the native government was interfering with their education. This could be seen in case of the Tibetan refugees, who when they were in Tibet had to deal with the Chinese government interfering with their education by changing the curriculum of the education taking place in the monasteries so as to introduce communist, propagandist education and also discouraging Tibetan language which left the minority students with no linguistic competence or cultural capital in order to access more marketable and more modern occupations (Mishra,2007). Thus such an education came to be related to a choice between giving up the right to education or abandoning their Tibetan identity, all of which were resented by the people of Tibet (Mishra,2007).

Certain host government such as some of the state governments in India have tried to encourage a Tibetanisation of education (from 1984 onwards) through setting up of Tibetan schools which saw to it that the medium of instruction in the lower classes was shifted from English to Tibetan and the content of the textbooks helped to suit the needs of Tibetan children in exile; build up a relevant curriculum based on Tibetan cultural heritage, values and languages; preserve the linguistic and cultural heritage and connect modern education to an intimate understanding of the Tibetan cultural heritage and national identity in content and process (Mishra,2007). Also for Tibetan students studying in the non-Tibetan schools education has allowed them realise that they as truly Tibetan citizens are capable of being

taken seriously, as rational and global citizens rather than being portrayed as charming, passive, intriguingly religious and politically helpless (Mishra,2007).

Other refugee communities such as those from Afghanistan too value education. On the other hand among the Afghan refugees, the Sikh Afghan refugees have formed their own association called the Khalsa Dewan that helped in paying tuition fees of five hundred fifty children and which had made arrangements with Don Bosco School for training the children in computers, office management and English language. However, many of these ethnic Afghans cannot educate their children beyond class ten due to lack of funds (Bose, 2004). However, since the Indian governments attitude to each of the refugee community has varied from community to community the attitude towards education have also varied. While, in case of the Tibetans the treatment with regard to their children's education has been favourable the attitude of the Indian government has not been so with regards to the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees whereby, soon after Rajiv Gandhi's assassination the government had stopped the refugees access to education. However, even for the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees education was seen as an asset that they could carry back to Sri Lanka and education was seen as practical, intellectual and social skills that would serve throughout their lives (Valatheeswaran, 2010). Therefore, education is seen in different light and accessed in different manner by each of the refugee communities in India.

When it comes to the Hindu refugees from Sindh in Pakistan there is no such study on their recent migration except for their migration at the time of Partition. However, one can find reports of their plight in the media-both print media and the social media. Back in Pakistan the members of this community had been treated as the "other" and have faced discrimination if not always persecution based on religion in their home and native land.

It must be remembered that the identity of the members of this community as the minority back in their native society has influenced the person he is deeply and permanently and thus plays played a decisive part in his life and decisions (Maalouf, 2000). The wounds that an individual may have suffered because of his identity determines his attitude towards their affiliation and the hierarchy that decides the relative importance of these ties for often people see themselves in terms of identity that is under most attack (Maalouf,2000). However this may not be true always for if the person has no strength to fight the attack he

is likely to hide this identity that is under attack.¹⁶ The answers from the respondents seem to reflect the fact that members of this community had often been ridiculed and forced to undertake education that went against their Hindu culture. Thus, Maalouf (2000) had pointed that belongingness to a faith community is the most global and universal kind of particularism and is also one of the most natural and deep-seated feeling.

A minority in Pakistan, these Hindu Pakistani refugees are a majority in India. This however eases some difficulty in the resettlement that may be affected by the size of the refugee group in the host country and the cultural continuity (Huyck and Fields 1981). But even in India their condition is precarious as they negotiate their everyday lives as urban poor in their city of refuge. Their identity as Pakistani- Hindus doesn't hide what Arjun Appadurai (2005) had reflected when he had said that the formula of hyphenation has reached a point of saturation and the right hand side of the hyphen can barely contain the unruliness on the left hand side. One of the main reasons that had been cited by the respondents had been the dichotomy between us and them as part of their identity whereby they identified us with India. However, one must understand is that before a migrant comes to one country he always leaves another as he had been rejected in the previous country in the form of facing repression, insecurity, poverty, lack of opportunity (Maalouf,2000).

Also the feelings that a migrant has towards the country of adoption can be ambiguous for he had migrated thinking of a better life for himself and his family but this expectation is too tinged with apprehension due to the various disadvantages that greet them such as being rejected, humiliated and bearing the brunt of sarcasm, pity or contempt (Maalouf,2000). Even though, they belong to the religious majority in India, many of their old customs had to be abandoned to be accepted by the host society. Therefore, as they negotiate their everyday lives, they search for means of social promotion that will help them to improve their economic and social condition. It is here that education plays an important role.

Education as a Political Tool

Before, we go further into the chapter, one needs to address the issue of education as political tool. So far as South Asia is concerned, literature clearly establishes the fact that education in several countries of Asia where there is some kind of social turbulence, is used as a political tool (Lall and Vickers 2009). According to Lyon and Edgar (2010)

¹⁶ This attempt to hide the identity among the respondents could be reflected from the fact that many of the respondents had their own Islamic name back in their native society along with their Hindu names.

education has often captured the attention of those that are interested in social engineering and transforming society. It has been used for socialising the masses, laying down the priorities, vision and perception of the state, spreading hegemony of the elite within the state, spreading a particular vision of national history, modernising and sacralising narratives, creating a particular self-image along with a particular vision of the country's history, a vision of self-hood, defining citizenship and thus plays a role in the identity creation process (Lall and Vickers, 2009). Thus, education is never to be seen as mere teaching of children to read and write but is ultimately about creating, reproducing and maintaining the societal values that are to shape the future (Tarar in Lyon and Edgar,2010).

Intrinsic to the understanding of the role of education as a political tool is what Ahmad (2011) had reflected as the politics of religion i.e. the increasing role of religion in the public sphere as seen through symbolic and substantive measures introduced by a state to institutionalise one particular religious identity as the official state identity and ideology. South Asia has several states where religion plays an important role in the politics and some of these states are Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar where Buddhist Socialism have a predominant role; Philippines, East Timor, Papua where Christianity have an important political role and in states like Malaysia, Indonesia, Pakistan where Salafic Islam plays a crucial role in the politics (Singh in Ahmed, 2011) while there are other states such as Singapore that guards against religion's involvement in the public sphere but doesn't seek to wholly eliminate it (Tan in Ahmed, 2011). Such a process creates a basis for differentiated rights instead of equal rights for individuals and groups within the nation towards those that are outside of the particular religious community (Ahmed, 2011). When religion becomes a political ideology it has specific goals in the political arena and in the arena of national ideology and is no longer something that is only relatable to the meta-physical realm (Singh in Ahmed, 2011).

According to Lall (2008) the nexus between education, religion and national identity is a very complex one and can have not only domestic effects but also international repercussions. Education has often been used as a political tool across the world to define national identity and underlie the political rationale of many regimes (Lall in Lyon and Edgar,2010). When a political struggle revolves around religion in a form of notion of ideal life and national self-identity in such a society the issue is likely to boil down to the moral promises that education holds (Kumar,2001). An example is seen in case of Pakistan where Aziz Talbani (in Lyon and Edgar, 2010) had reflected that the teaching of religion as part of the education

in Pakistani schools is associated with emphasizing justice, equality and spreading the importance of practical goodness, piety and virtue, fostering in students a sense of loyalty to Islam, being a dutiful citizen of the Pakistani nation as part of the universal Muslim community and having a full knowledge of its movement and ideological implication based on the concepts of Sunnah and Quran. Thus discourse on identity in the school textbooks in countries like Pakistan uses religious ideology as Kumar (2001) has pointed out, as a rationale for creating a discourse of national self-identity formation which is surrounded by anxiety and which revolves around the internalization of a masculine, war oriented and anti-Hindu ideal of a nation state and a self. The curriculum that had been introduced after 1979 included the teaching of issues such as – the difference between cultures of Hindus and Muslims, the need for an independent state, the ideology of Pakistan, the malicious intentions of India against Pakistan, the Kashmir dispute, the need for defence and development of Pakistan (Lall, 2008). Thus, education is often as Lall (2008) had pointed out, is used as a tool for creating artificially, antagonistic identities based on religious and ethnic definitions of who belongs to the nation.

Moreover, it is important to understand how education is a political tool as seen from the relevance put on the role of Islam in curriculum in Pakistan. This process of Islamisation of educational curriculum had been a prominent occurrence especially under General Zia-ul-Haq's regime (1977-1988) and this Islamised curriculum was only changed in 2006. Such a process of Islamisation had been based on the belief that Pakistan cannot survive except as an Islamic state on the lines of rules laid down by the prophet (Akbar 2011). The Islamisation of education is associated with the representation of particular knowledge representations as legitimate while at the same time excluding others as wrong (Lyon and Edgar,2010). After the coming into power of Zia-ul-Haq, the Islamisation of education that took place promoted a particular kind of Islam propagating antagonism between Hindus and Muslims (Lyon and Edgar,2010). The educational system has been used in Pakistan to foster a national identity that is completely immersed in Islamist ideas and especially under the rule of Zia-ul-Haq the confessional type of state sanctioned Muslim nationalism was used in the field of education to the fullest extent (Ahmed, 2011).

Under such a process of Islamisation of the curriculum, the curriculum was rewritten and textbooks content changed so as to create the other (Lall 2008) apart from active measures to enforce the head scarf among women in educational institutions, organisation of congregational afternoon prayers during school hours, compulsory teaching of Arabic as a

second language, use of reading of Quran as a matriculation requirement along with religious knowledge as a base for selecting teachers at all levels of education and the revision of conventional subjects to emphasize Islamic values (Talbani in Lyon and Edgar,2010). This was done as Lall (2008) has argued to suit the governments politics and ideology and as a measure to increase the states control on the society through the curricula and also for controlling the identity discourse of the day. However, the Islamisation of the Pakistani educational system and the emphasis on ideological education had led to widening of the cultural and religious differences thereby, resulting in communal conflicts, resentment of other cultures and other areas of knowledge (Talbani in Lyon and Edgar, 2010). The process of Islamisation is also related to Pakistan's foreign policy choices (Lall in Lyon and Edgar, 2010).

Under the regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Islamiyat as a subject was introduced in schools which also permeates the teaching of Urdu, English and the Social Studies (Lall in Edgar and Kyon,2010). The Islamization of education that took place under Zia-ul-Haq's regime in terms of curriculum taught the difference between cultures of Hindus and Muslims, the need for an independent Islamic state, ideology of Pakistan, the malicious intentions of India towards Pakistan, the Kashmir dispute and the need for defence and development of Pakistan was never reversed even after the end of his regime especially during the years between 1989 and 1999 (Lall in Lyon and Edgar, 2010). Around 2000, curriculum was sought to be de-Islamised but this too was opposed on the grounds that the curriculum was too western (Lall in Lyon and Edgar,2010). Religion therefore has played an important role because the elite have exploited the religious sentiments of the masses when everything else have failed to hold the group together or have used religion to gather support from the Western allies (Lall in Lyon and Edgar,2010). Thus religious nationalism is seen as over-riding ideology and fostering centralisation and undermining the claims of all sub-national, religious and demands for rights of other groups such as the Balochis, SIndhis, Seraikhs, Pashtoons, etc. (Saigol in Lyon and Edgar,2010).

Infact such a curriculum played an important role in the creation of the "other". In this portrayal of the other the national culture is often evoked. With regard to this, if culture is seen as an adjective, it then becomes a heuristic tool for highlighting the points of similarity, differences, contrasts, comparisons between all sorts of categories: classes, genders, roles, groups and nations and it then becomes a tool for boundary maintenance and brings in the question of group identity (Appadurai 2005). The construction of predatory

identity with regard to culture is related to majority-minority discourse that is often traceable to colonial census, statistics, population maps which in turn further leads to the creation of epistemic insecurity about the numbers on a part of the majority towards the minority who are seen as threat to the collectives such as nation (Ahmed,2011). According to Ahmed (2011) discrimination of groups or individuals occur when they are believed to have characteristics that is threatening for the dominant group. These characteristics may range from inappropriate religious, sectarian, racial, ethnic, linguistic, etc.

However such discrimination occurs especially when the state adopts constitutional and legal measures against groups and thereby limits the rights as equal citizens for members of that group (Ahmed, 2011). Such categorisation and classification of groups is a political decision which is guided by economic, cultural and ideological considerations and refer to real or imaginary concerns (Ahmed, 2011). This is true in the depiction of Hindu and their culture in the curriculum/textbooks in schools of Pakistan. The curriculum has often projected the other as different from us/the rest and thus have led to inequality or inferiority (Lall 2008).

The other or the Hindus have been presented as backward, clumsy in their dressing, superstitious in the curriculum (Lall,2008) and cowardly, devious, burner of their widows and depriver of lower castes and Muslims from education (Akbar 2011). In social science textbooks Hindus are often portrayed as speaking different language, eating different food and dressing in different manner and are seen as outsiders to the Pakistani society (Talvani in Lyon and Edgar, 2010). Also the non-Islamic history in the social science curriculum was vilified and mocked and transformed into the evil other (Akbar 2011). Thus, Pakistan uses religious nationalism against its own ethnic minorities (Saigol in Lyon and Edgar,2010). Therefore, culture stresses possession of certain attributes and their naturalization as essential to the group identity. According to Lall (2008) when the proper identity is set off against the inferior other ,the latter defines the antithesis of the desired identity. Thus, the nexus between religious nationalism and education seem to have grave consequence.

Objectives of the Study

- a) To study the historical and socio-political context of Pakistani Hindu refugees living in Delhi.
- b) To describe the education and occupational profile of cross-border refugee group of Hindus from Pakistan.

- c) To understand the everyday life experiences of refugees from Pakistan and the reasons behind their decision to relocate and seek refuge in India.
- d) To study the journey of re-settlement of refugee families in the host society namely in India.
- e) To explore the constructions of their native society through memory.
- f) To understand the refugee's plans, strategies and aspirations of education for their children in the host society.

Methodology

The field-work on which this study have been based was started by the researcher from the month of August,2016 and had stretched up to April, 2017. The field-work was divided into three phases. The first phase saw the researcher familiarising herself with the settlement from the months of August to November, 2016 with the help of the non-governmental organisation that worked in the camp. The researcher would roam the camp and sit with the interns of the non-governmental organisation ¹⁷ as the latter helped the primary children with their education (such as helping them to write alphabets and numbers, etc). The second phase of the research work stretched from December, 2016 to January, 2017 in which the researcher aided by the informants (from within the settlement and population under study) could perform a survey of the whole settlement's hundred and ten households.

The study was initiated with a pilot study of the families living in the Sri Ram Sena Hindu camp. The sample of the study has stemmed from twenty in-depth interviews aided by a loosely structures interview-schedule. Snowball sampling has been a helpful tool in this study as the respondents were either referred by the individuals working with the non-governmental organisations or the respondents themselves. Also a focus group interview had also been conducted with twelve school going children so as to understand the nature of educational institutes that the children had attended after coming to India.

Some of the informants who were insiders residing within the settlement were Kirshan Mal, the homeopathy doctor; and Rajaram a student in the neighbourhood school. Apart from them the other informants were the Anganwadi worker Rama who visited the Anganwadi located within the camp since beginning of 2015. Informants can be defined as a person

¹⁷ The name of the Delhi based non-governmental organisation is Centre for Social Development and Research Foundation.

who emerges as a validator of information, a collaborator of evidence, a referral for other sources of information and a provider of alternative explanations for observed phenomenon (Wing, 1989). However it is always good to have multiple informants as they may even act as provider of triangulation by validating each other's input. The interns from Delhi University working under the non-governmental organisations and the director of this same non-governmental organisation too were helpful in making the people comfortable with the researcher as the latter was an outsider. However, by this second phase at least eight to nine families had left back for Pakistan especially, after their dwellings burned down on November, 2016 fire. The third phase of the field-work stretched from February, 2017 to April, 2017 whereby the researcher conducted the in-depth interview with the twenty respondents. The sample of the study has been base on snowball sampling of the non-probability type whereby the respondents had referred to further individuals to be interviewed to the researcher.

The study has been based on ethnography of the Pakistani Hindu refugees migrated from Sindh in the city of New Delhi living in the Aruna Nagar neighbourhood of the Civil Lines. According to Appadurai (2005) as groups migrate, regroup in new locations, reconstruct their histories and reconfigure their ethnic projects, the ethno in ethnography takes on a slippery, non-localized quality to which the descriptive practices of the researcher will have to respond. Researcher Grahame and Grahame (2009) had reflected that when it came to ethnographic work the ethnographer would often make a journey to a field where he is likely to be a stranger. The researcher then is likely to enter an unfamiliar social milieu in which participation in the local activities is seen as a means of gaining knowledge, acquiring an informant, gaining sponsored entry to restricted places, taking part in unfamiliar activities and developing new understandings so that the research work reflects how the insiders see the world themselves (Grahame and Grahame, 2009). This has been true of this study also for when the researcher was deciding on the topic to choose for her research work the media reports of the people of this community interested her. However, after entering the field the unfamiliarity of the social milieu that she would study greeted her. The different phases of fieldwork saw the researcher transforming herself from being a stranger /outsider to the respondents and even a partial insider.

This aspect can be understood better if one realises that the insider-outsider dichotomy is a feature of the social relations of research rather than a reflection of concrete structural positions (Griffith cited in Grahame and Grahame, 2009). The experience of the researcher

too reflected this when initially the people of this community would ask the researcher to introduce herself, ask the purpose of her visiting the camp everyday and ask her to explain as to why she as a women stayed alone in this city to pursue her education. The shift from being an outsider/ stranger to a partial insider occurred when many of the family approached the researcher to come and teach the children with the education and also when one of the respondents (i.e. Kirshan Mal) had explained to the researcher the fight that he had with other members of the settlement and asked for solution to it from the researcher.

Thus, according to Kusow (2003) the insider/outsider must not be seen as pre-determined roles but a result, of the nature of research topic under investigation, the status characteristics and biographical particularities of both the researcher and the participants, the local condition in which the field work takes place. All of these reflect the degree of outsidersness or insidersness emerging through the process of research that links the researcher as well as participants in a collaborative process of meaning making but in which the role of the researcher or the participant is neither external but is related to the particular moment in which the fieldwork takes place.

One of the methods used in this ethnographic study had been participant observation. As a method participant observation is a generic term for the variety of observational methods through which the researcher develops much more than a purely research relationship with the people that he studies (Gans, 1962). Thus participant observation can be described as a participative activity that helps in generating knowledge and is often a two way process where the subjectivities of the research participants influence data collection and the process of making meaning (Shah, 2004). The benefits of participant observation provides the chance of witnessing a different lifestyle and be part of a culture that many would only see from outside and the researcher many even get an insight that challenges aspects of his own culture (Wing, 1989).

When it comes to sensitive topics, the tools of in-depth interview and participant observation relying on sustained and intensive interactions with the studied are the ideal methods for building trusting relationships between the researcher and the researched (Ger and Snadikci in Belk,2006). Participant-observation can be classified into three approaches as Gans (1962) had reflected based on the role of the researcher such as - the researcher acting as observer (whereby the researcher is physically present and observes but does not participate so as not to affect the phenomenon under study) or, researcher

participating as a researcher (whereby, even though the researcher became an actual participant in an event among the population that he studies his participation is determined by his research interest) or, the researcher as participant (whereby the researcher gives up his role as a researcher and becomes a real participant among the life of the people that he had been observing). Thus in light of these classifications, in this study the researcher had conducted the study by being both researcher acting as observer and researcher participating as a researcher. The researcher had acted as 'researcher acting as observer' by being present during the day and observing the people lead their lives, engage in interaction with one another, do their household chores (especially, women stitching that struck the researcher as interesting) and also being present in the mourning assemblies that the people held for their dead and especially during the fires that had occurred twice within the camp (once in November, 2016 and March, 2017). As a 'researcher participating as a researcher' the researcher conducted her semi-structured in-depth interviews with the her respondents often veering the latter towards the topics that interested the former. However, as a sociologist the researcher has tried to follow what Schuetz (1944) had advocated as the role of a disinterested scientific onlooker of the social world who refrains from participating in the network of plans, means-and-end relationships, motives, chances, hopes and fears that the actor uses to interpret his experiences. The researcher has tried best to observe, describe and classify the social world in terms that are in accordance with the scientific ideals of coherence, consistency and analytical consequence (Schutez,1944).

The core of this study has been based on narratives of the people interviewed which are the 'personal experience stories' (Maine, 1993) of the each of the respondents. Each of the narratives have been acquired from the respondents only after an in-depth interview. However, some narratives like that of the school going children have also been captured using focus group interviews consisting of approximately 12 respondents and the researcher. According to Henri Lefebvre(1971) things and people that are part of a narrative are never static and they change, expand, contract and the process of writing can only show an everyday life inscribed and prescribed for words are elusive and only that which is stipulated remains. This researcher while doing this study had kept this mind and through her study had sought to capture the experiences of members of this community at a particular moment in space and time. Any narrative is always experience centred (Cihodariu,2012). However, one has to realise that when a sociologists starts focusing on encounters between

people and their narratives it is the already interpreted person in their everyday world as narrators whom the sociologist confronts (Maine, 1993).

Narratives in a methodological sense refers to the scientific use of stories, story-telling and writing activities that are instrumental for scientific investigation (Cihodariu, 2012). When it comes to narratives the elements of a narrative is selected from the past and is transformed into a story in terms of establishing a plot, setting, characterisation that gives meaning, structure and context to the events that have been selected along with a temporal ordering of the events so that questions about how and why can be answered and the narrative element can acquire a tempo, duration and pace (Maines, 1993). Therefore, each narrative is arranged in terms of certain principles of logical coherence and linear organisation connected in an orderly sequence in which they are also presented (Franzosi, 1998). Thus, the narrative mode is concerned with the verisimilitude or probability and consists of believable stories or accounts which focuses on agency, action and consciousness which are processed by a story structure (Maines, 1993). Thus, narratives which is the product of social construction of one's experience is one of the most important means to construct and fix meanings about things and people (Cihodariu, 2012). Infact, the teller of his/her own story becomes through the act of narration both the observing subject and the object of investigation, remembrance and contemplation (Cihodariu, 2012). This study specifically deals with the exploration of narratives of the respondents in terms of their educational experiences along with their past and the present as they live their life in the city of New Delhi. Each of the respondent's narrative has been treated as unique to him/her and is thus an integral part of this research work.

Next we come to the issue of ethics as part of the research. Often the issue of ethics is related to the issues of entry within the community and the identification with the people being studied. On the difficulty of entry into the population under study, Gans (1962) had written that the problem of entry was vexing and it became all the more so if, the population to be studied belonged to the low-income group which had never been interviewed by any sociologists and were unfamiliar with the methods and goals of sociology coupled with the group being suspicious of outsiders. In the researcher's case the initial suspicion of the people was put to rest when the respondents and even the others in the camp were said that

the researcher is associated with the non-governmental organisation¹⁸ and also after the researcher gave a brief detail for the purpose of her work in terms of working towards her research degree.

Therefore, how access in terms of getting on and getting along is gained and granted influence the interviewee's consent to be interviewed. (Shah,2004). Also, in an interview there are multiple obstructing factors such as the interview being perceived as threatening or time consuming or lacking a transactional element and also the interviewee wondering as to why the interviewer had chosen them (Bogdan and Biklen cited in Shah,2004). This could be reflected by the multiple questions that the respondents had about the biography of the researcher i.e. there were questions on the researchers age, 'class' in education¹⁹,region from which she hailed, the mother tongue of the researcher, etc. However, the respondents maybe due to politeness's sake never wondered aloud as to why the researcher chose them and their settlement and some even felt gratitude towards the fact that the researcher would visit their camp so often.²⁰

Thus, it is important that the researcher who doesn't have prior familiarity with the community that he is likely to study should make contact using multiple sources of entry and avoid making one person the arranger of entry into the community and should also spend some time as a visitor within the community before undertaking the research even though this process can be time-consuming for in the end the researcher is likely to save time, energy and expense by facilitating an appropriate entry (Wing,1989). The issue of identification is also very crucial and is especially so if the community that researcher is studying suffers from view-point is not being taken notice outside(Gans,1962). However such identification can detract the researcher from pursuing objectivity (Gans,1962). Of this the researcher in this study has been conscious of and have tried throughout the study to maintain an optimal level of objectivity. However, the identification is likely to be stronger in the beginning and decreases in intensity as the research proceeds with the end of field

¹⁸ However, the researcher was very loosely affiliated with the non-governmental organisation which asked her to get a written permission from the department in which she studied. But even without this the director of the non-governmental organisation had given verbal permission to work among the people and allowed the researcher to work with his group and observe the interactions and also helped in a few of the interviews.

¹⁹ Since majority of the respondents are educated up to the school level education levels are understood by majority in terms of "class". So often when the respondents asked the researcher as to which class she was in the former had to reply that she was not in any class but pursuing a university degree. Very few of the respondents understood that education was pursued at the university level.

²⁰ This was reflected in one of the respondents Kuawar's responses who thanked the researcher for visiting their camp and being concerned about them.

work, the data analysis and writing the report (Gans,1962). However, the researcher is likely to be aware of the value clashes especially during the time of the field work. This was evident during the field-work too for the researcher preferred a more secular outlook. However, the quality of responses depend on the ability to get on with the respondents or achieving social access which require relevant knowledge and skills (Shah, 2004). The knowledge and skills the researcher felt could be developed with time and only after a certain level of comfort had been created with the respondents.

At times the ethical validity of the research is brought into question when the researcher didn't always describe the motive behind attending all the social gatherings due to the opposition of the roles of the guest and the insider in spite of initially informing the respondents the purpose of doing the research (Gans,1962). However at times the researcher is also likely to meet a feeling of guilt from the realisation of the fact that he is exploiting friendly relations for the collection of data (Gans, 1962). This guilt was felt by the researcher when she attended the death assemblies and also when she was invited by the people to sit for some time with them. Gans (1962) had pointed out that sometimes if the research purpose is bared to the respondents the researcher may be denied access and especially, if the researcher is completely open about his participant observation or interview questions the respondents may hide information and thus give the researcher access to not the actual behaviour but only appearances or things are favoured to appear in public. This was faced by the researcher with one of the respondents, Mahadev Advani who on being asked to narrative how he coped in India had lied that from Sindh a meagre paltry Rs.4000 was sent to his family in Delhi when one of his distant kinsmen had reported that the actual amount that comes from his Sindh is Rs.20 lakhs. In this case the intervention of the spouse who on being alarmed by the nature of questions had said to Mahadev something in Sindhi seemed to have influenced the interview. Therefore, when it comes to sensitive issues it is more likely that informants may lie and thus to minimise this problem the researcher needed to be engaged in prolonged interaction with the informants, observe them in their daily life, raise related issues and use various sources to check the accuracy of the information given by the informants (Ger and Snadikci in Belk,2006).

The issue of ethics is also related with the issue of the sensitivity of the topic chosen for research. A sensitive topic stems from the relationship of the topic with the social context in which the research is conducted and it has the potential for threat for the researcher and/or the researched and even influence the holding or even dissemination of the research data

(Ger and Snadikci in Belk,2006). The problems arising from sensitivity of a topic may range from those revolving around political, ethical, methodological or legal issues and can arise in the process of dissemination of the findings as well (Ger and Snadikci in Belk,2006). At time if the respondents see themselves as marginalised or sensitively places or vulnerably positioned they may be reluctant to share information (Adler cited in Shah, 2004).

This alertness towards the question was especially true if it comes to interviewing children and Saeeda Shah (2004) too had reflected that in certain collective patriarchal cultures the parents may distrust an outsider-researcher and may try and obstruct interaction between the researcher and their son or daughter. This dimension was felt to be true by the researcher when she was interviewing Darshana²¹ the daughter of Mahadev Advani which had gone for long and Mahadev Advani's wife had approached with alarm on her face as to why the interview was taking so long but never said anything. Also, the likely ethical issues that may crop up when researching on sensitive topics revolve around harm, consent, privacy, anonymity and confidentiality (Ger and Snadikci in Belk,2006). This dimension when many of the respondents had mentioned the researcher not to write but had pointed out that they "would like to share it". One of such instance came up in case of one of the pradhans Chota Laxman who had asked the researcher not to write and had recounted how prosperous they were back in Sindh and that their condition had only been deteriorating.²²

Some of the drawbacks of the study had been the shortage of time which did not allow the researcher to access the neighbourhood schools for further information about the education of the children living in this settlement. Apart from that more time to research would be an added asset for understanding subtle nuances of the life of this community.

Outline of the Chapters

Chapter 2 deals with the Being a Minority in a Majoritarian Society: Hindu Communities of Sindh in Pakistan. This chapter has sought to give a brief account of the geographical location of Sindh along with, its history in terms of pre-British, British, Partition and Post-Partition periods respectively. The socio-cultural lives of the people of Sindh too has been mentioned in this chapter. Apart from this, the chapter also gives a brief outline of education in the

²¹ Darshana is not Mahadev Advani own daughter but is the daughter of his elder brother Kunwar Ram. She along with her brother Radhe and sister Parinkavati are the children of Mahadev Advani's elder brother.

²² Here one of the respondents Chota Laxman had recounted how he had to leave behind the vast land of plantation that he had back home in Benazir district of Sindhand also businesses (outof which he ahd been cheated out) and how here the conditions of his family have deteriorated due to lack of proper earning prospects.

history of Sindh and also have dealt with how education can be a site for reinforcing majoritarianism.

Chapter 3 gives a brief Profile of the Pakistani Hindu refugees in Delhi focusing on bringing into focus the study setting and the profile of the people studied. The educational and occupational profile of the sample along with the educational status of children and religious and cultural practices have been dealt with in this chapter.

Chapter 4 gives a detailed description of the Experiences of Settling-In and the Making of An Identity of A Stranger in terms of paths of settlement and the production of locality in the urban area of the host society by this crossborder refugee community so as to find stability in their lives. The process of settling-in and the process of finding work, earning and spending have also been discussed in this chapter. The making of the cultural identity of the refugees also finds mention in this chapter. This chapter also addresses the sense on being a stranger on part of the members of this community along with their aspirations and anxieties that characterises the lives of this refugee community

Chapter 5 deals with Education in Native and Host Society: Construction of Opportunities, Perceptions and Aspirations focusing mainly on the memories of education in Sindh and educational triggers for migration into India. It has also dealt briefly with the types of educational institutions that has been accessed by children from this community. The meaning of education among this particular cross-border refugee community have also been brought into focus along with particular investment that the parents make in their children's education. Such investment in the education of their children as seen in this chapter is seen as a means to achieve prosperity and also put a stop to the 'bhataknaah' or nomadic lives that the parental generation have been leading. This notion of 'bhataknaah' seems especially relevant in the context of such refugee lives and their search for stability. The final chapter, Chapter 6 is a summary of the work and an attempt to understand it through the lens of Schutzian concept of life-world.

Chapter 2

Being a Minority in a Majoritarian Society: Hindu Community of Sindh In Pakistan

This chapter provides an account of the history and socio-economic background of the Hindu community in Pakistan. It has tried to focus on the different periods of Sindh's history and the status of minorities (such as Hindus in it). These periods of transformations have been divided into pre-British times (i.e. the period prior to 1843), Sindh under British era, the post-British era and the post-Partition era. The chapter is divided into different sections that revolve around the geographical account of Sindh, the nature of political rule and history of Sindh prior to the British rule, the period associated with the advent of the British rule in Sindh, the change in the political regimes and the worsening of the status of the minorities. Finally it gives an overall picture of education in Sindh and also how education is a tool of majoritarianism.

Geographical Location of Sindh

A geographical account of what we known as Sindh today is crucial for an understanding of the history of Sindh be it in the political or social or economic or linguistic sense. Sindh has been known by different names such as Sindomana by the Greeks, Sindhudsha by the ancient Hindus, Sind by Arabian geographers and Sindhu by its present inhabitants. The word Sindhudesh according to M'Murdo (1834) refers to a country of the ocean. The territory of Sindh is located between 23rd and 29th degrees of the north latitude and 67th and 70th east longitude with a length of three hundred miles and breadth of one hundred and twenty miles (Burton, 1973). Sindh is surrounded by the Bahawalpur territories in the north; the Indian Ocean in the south-west; the sandy deserts in its east; the rocky ranges known as the Hala Mountains, the Kirthar mountains along with the rocky Baluchistan desert in the west. Geographically, the river Indus divides the whole length of Sindh into two (Burton, 1973).

Sindh as a region has been surrounded by natural barriers in such a way that it has been made into a distinct geographical entity (Agarwal, 2012). Malkani (1984) had reflected that since it was only through the Indus that Sindh and Multan was connected, the ancient Sindh was thus, semi-isolated. The river Indus that runs from north to south and takes on various local names such as the Narrah, Arral, etc. is thus one of the most important geographical features of Sindh. It is also called the "sweet water sea" as it not only acts as a great fertiliser for the country but also is a medium of transit for merchandise and has been the

main line of communication among the inhabitants along with being a source of shift in the political power of the various rulers of Sindh historically (Burton, 1973).

Thus, historically the fertile lands of Sindh has made it prominent in history as has been reflected in the words of Malkani (1984) who has described Sindh as the cradle of the civilization. Sindh has always been seen as a political asset by invaders, conquerors and even those seeking refuge. Some of the reasons that were common to all these groups was the importance of Sindh's commercial position; its ability to serve as a depot to store materials for war and its ability to function as a base for concentrating forces and flank-movements to other nations of the north and the north-east apart from, controlling the trade of Central Asia (Burton, 1973). Other factors have been its nearness to the opium trade, strategic position and quick access to Khorassan (Kothari, 2009). Thus, a focus on the political aspect of Sindh is crucial to understand its history and its socio-cultural and economic life. Politically for many invaders and conquerors Sindh was seen as the gateway to India (Burton, 1973).

History of Sindh Prior to the Advent of British

Sindh has been under the rule of a large number of political powers hailing from different ethnic groups. It has been divided by many of these rulers into three districts such as Lar or the Southern Sindh district; the Central Sindh or Wicholo and the Siro or Northern Sindh (Burton, 1973). Hindoos were one among the many rulers who ruled Sindh (who ruled up to A.D. 711). One of the Hindoo groups that rose to power during this period was the ancient tribe of Sambos who ruled numerous places in Sindh before A.D. 711 apart from ruling over the Girnar in Junagadh area (Malkani, 1984). The Sammah who were Rajputs of the Jadava stock are believed to have descended from this ancient tribe. Several of them had been said to have migrated to Saurashtra after the Arab conquest of Sindh and it was only after A.D.1391 that they became Muslims (Malkani, 1984). Today the descendents of the Sammah's such as the Samejas and Jarejas are still present in the Kutch area (Malkani, 1984). The detailed mention of Hindu rulers who were Rajput tribes becomes crucial since the section of the population on which the present study is based belongs to the Rajput ethnic stock. The predecessors of these various Rajput tribes seemed to have emerged, as Lari (1994) had pointed out, around 465 A.D. when the Huns invaded Sindh and destroyed or dispersed the older martial tribes of Rajasthan and took their place. According to Jones (2002), the Rajputs are also known as Pukka Sindhis and many of them had migrated prior to the Arab conquest around A.D. 711.

The other political rulers of Sindh had ranged from the, Ommiad Caliphs (who ruled up to A.D. 750); the deputies of Abbasides who ruled till Mahmud of Ghazni annexed Sindh in A.D.1025; the Sindhi tribe called the Sumrah (who ruled up to A.D.1315) to the Sammah Rajputs (who started their rule in the year A.D. 1315 and became the sovereign princes of Kutch and Sindh). Malkani (1984) had also pointed out that dynasties of the Soomrah or the Sumrah (who ruled for three hundred years up to A.D.1315) and the Sammah chieftains who had ruled over south-east Sindh (from A.D. 1315 onwards) were likely to have been Hindu Rajputs who converted to Islam when they gained power. While, the Soomrah or the Sumrah may have some Arab blood they were without doubt Parmars²³ and were Hindus who had under the Muslim influence converted to being nominal Muslims while still retaining their Hindu culture (Malkani, 1984).

Other rulers who ruled Sindh were Shah Beg Urghun (the prince of Candahar who ruled from A.D.1519 onwards); Humayun Padshah (who ruled in A.D. 1543); the Tarkhans (a family of military adventurers who ruled in A.D. 1545); Akbar (who ruled in A.D. 1591); Nur Mohammad of the Kalora Clan (who became governor under Nadir Shah); the Kalohra dynasty (that was overthrown by the Talpur Balochis in A.D. 1786) and then the British under Sir Charles Napier who annexed Sindh to the British dominions in India in A.D. 1843 (Burton, 1973).

Also, during the rule of the above mentioned rulers several communities have historically migrated from present day India's Punjab, Rajasthan, Kutch and Kathiawar region, prominent among who are the several Hindu Rajput tribes (Agarwal, 2012). Therefore, Sindh had traditionally been a country of immigrants and its population has been historically mixed (Cheesman cited in Kothari, 2009). These rulers brought with them transformations in the social structure of Sindh. One such transformation occurred with the arrival of the Rajput tribes who arrived in Sindh in A.D. 465. They brought with them a change in the social stratification. They i.e. the Hunas, Gujjars, Maitrakas constituted the upper rungs of the society and deemed themselves as Rajput clans (Lari, 1994). The lower rungs on the other hand constituted of Hindu castes of less respectable social status such as the Ahirs, Jats and others (Lari, 1994). The role of the Brahmins in getting these invaders accepted into the local society was also crucial as they coined the term Rajputs which refers to sons of kings and this in turn allowed for the latter to be absorbed into the caste system and be made the

²³ Parmars are a Rajput clan.

representatives of the Kshatriya clan (Lari,1994). Proof to these predecessors of the Rajputs also lay in Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang's (Hiuen Tsang) account of his visit to Sindh in A.D. 489 to A.D. 652, whereby he found that Sindh was ruled by a Sudra, a term that either implies a low caste or an impure foreigner (Lari, 1994). Later historians too confirmed this by describing the ruler of Sindh to be a Rajput who was related to the Kings of Kabul, Punjab, Gujarat, Kanauj and Rajasthan all of whose rulers had been classified as Rajputs (Lari, 1994).²⁴ Thus the ancestors of the Hindu Rajputs of Sindh is associated with tribes like the Sammah, Sumrohs, Unars, Jats, Mohanos and others (Kothari, 2009). Transformations were also brought under the Arab conquest of A.D. 712 whereby, Ali (1993) had observed that from A.D. 712 onwards the internal history of Sindh had become one of proselytisation and constant movement of people. A large number of Hindus were converted into Muhammadan religion during this time (Ali, 1993).²⁵ Sindh under the Arab rule was also introduced to the Sufi culture around 16th and 17th century whereby, it was also able to assimilate the cultures of Iran and Iraq (Ali, 1993).

When it came to the socio-cultural and linguistic history of Sindh under the above mentioned rulers one could see that the diverse political rule that it was subjected to saw to it that diverse communities inhabited the lands of Sindh such as the Afghans or the Pathans, the Hindoos, the Belochi, the Meman or the Mumin, Jats, Khwajeh, Mohana, Kolis or tribal groups such as Sayyid, the Hosayni, Bhils or even African slaves (Burton,1973). Many of these groups such as the Meman's or the Mumin were converts from Hinduism into Islam. Thus Syed (1974) had argued that in the pre-British history of Sindh one can come across several traces of Dravidian, Aryan, Semitic and Mongoloid races.

This in turn also influenced the languages that were spoken in Sindh for, languages such as Arabic, Persian and Sindhi were frequently used in Sindh. However, according to Ali (1993), while, Sindhi was the commonly spoken language, Persian was used for correspondence as Sindhi had no alphabet and thus was not standardised. The Sindhi language was spoken by the Hindu inhabitants and mass of the population of Sindhi proper and was even spoken with a little variation among the Jhareja of Kutch, Bhattias, Lohanas and other Sindhi tribes who inhabited Kutch (Syed, 1974). The language Sindhi was a Prakrit (or people's dialect) of an

²⁴ Today the Rajputs in Sindh mostly occupy the cultivator class of Sindh along with those having ancillary occupations such as blacksmiths, carpenters, washer-men and dyers.

²⁵ Majority of these Muhammedan converts till date retain Hindu names (Syed, 1974).

Indo-Aryan language which had gathered its vocabulary from the Dravidians, Turks, English and Persian tongues (Syed, 1974).

The multiple rule by multiple rulers belonging to various religious and ethnic stock saw to it that the socio-cultural life of the people of Sindh in terms of religion was never to be found in their pure form be it Islam, Hinduism or Sikhism. Burton (1973) had reflected that in pre-British Sindh, religions such as Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam influenced each other as had been reflected in the reverence towards various the Pirs such as Lal Shah Baz or Bhartari Raja; Patto Sultan or Pir Alim Shah; Khwajah Khizr or Jenda Pir; Pir Mangho or Lalu Jasraj and Shaykh Tahir or Uddhero Lall irrespective of whether they were Hindoos or Muslims or even, Sufi saints like Saeen Sachal and Saeen Bedal, etc. (Agarwal, 2012). Different philosophies of Hinduism such as Nirvana, Vedanta and Vahdaniyat, Advaita, Ahinsa, doctrines of Hindu Sanyas apart from those of Jainism such as the doctrine of the Yogis and those of Islam such as tauhid (or absolute oneness of the other), affirmative stance and music of the Sufis had thus found their place in Sindh which if seen historically had been a place of confluence of ideas and thoughts (Syed, 1974).

Hinduism in Sindh also showed an affinity towards Sikhism in the form of wide-spread influence of Nanak Shah. When it came to the religious life of the Hindus of Sindh, apart from the Pirs mentioned above, various Hindu deities such as Durga who is also referred to as Devi, Kali, Parwati or Singhawani are revered and temples are present in Hinglaj, Mekli Hills near Tatta, at Dhara Tirth near Sehwan, etc. in Sindh (Burton, 1973). Kothari (2007) had pointed out the togetherness of the Hindus and Muslims was evident in the ways in which they responded to certain common worship be it that of the Muslim Sufi saints like Shah Latif and Sachal Sarmast or goddesses like Mata Hinglaj, various yogis and Guru Nanak. The togetherness between various religious communities was also reflected in the fact that the Muslims had transformed many old Hindu gods into their Pirs along with, adopting the Hindu style of morning and evening drum-beats even in the Muslim shrines. While the Hindus visited these Muslim shrines (Malkani, 1984). The context of Sufism was often shared by Muslims and Hindus of Sindh alike for both the communities had a tradition of worshipping the Pirs (Kothari, 2009).

Writing on the Hindus of Sindh prior to A.D. 1843, M' Murdo (1834) had pointed out that the western Hindu knowing no other government but one which is based on Islam and being out of intercourse with their Indian brethren and being always surrounded by Muslims,

had lost the feelings of caste and distinction that characterised the same race elsewhere. Trumpp (cited in Kothari, 2009) had reflected that Hinduism and the culture of Sanskrit literature had been so completely swept away from Sindh's borders that it was a country without caste or Brahmans. This non-Sanskritic Hinduism had helped in creating a pluralistic way of life when it came to matters of religion (Kothari, 2009). However, there did exist some form of caste system that was not at all rigid. Several castes of the satvarna system was to be found among the Hindus as Burton (1873) had noted such as the Brahman (further divided into Pokarno and Sarsat or Sarsudh); Lohano (further sub-divided into Amil and Sahukar); Bhatio; Sahto; Waishya; Panjabi and Sonaro apart from service castes such as the Wahun, the Khatti or dyers, Sochi or shoe –maker, Hajjam or the barber, etc. Even then the Hindus of Sindh were much unlike the Hindus of the rest of India for they believed in the oneness of God under the dual influence of Islam and Sikhism and also idolatry and its attendant rituals were often conspicuously absent among this population (Kothari, 2009). In fact the centuries of proximity with Islam and the cultural distance from India had modified the religious practices of the Hindus to a large extent (Kothari, 2009). Therefore, the heavy Islamic influences on the Sindhi Hindus was unmistakable and could be seen as manifesting in external matters like food, clothes, language and even a socio-religious world view that often departed from Hinduism (Kothari, 2009).

Sindh under the British Rule

The communal harmony that had characterised Sindh between the periods A.D. 465 to A.D. 1843 initially also extended under the British rule from A.D. 1843 to 1920s. The British arrived in Sindh in 1819 but were able to annex it only in 1847. The social life of the people was characterised by communal harmony under the influences of Sufi- syncretism, Sikhism and the geographical distance from the rest of India before the 1920s. Therefore, Sindh as Agarwal (2012) had observed had been a land that had absorbed people from different regions and one in which spiritual leaders from all faiths have wandered freely, were respected by all and had gathered their followers. This in-betweenness which was neither unequivocally Hindu nor Islam was common in Sindh up to the early decades of 20th century (Kothari, 2007). Thus, in such a state of society there would remain no doubt that there must be existing a tendency to extinguish all feelings with regard to difference of religion and caste (M'Murdo, 1834). In fact, the folk tales of Sindh show the influence of Greek, Zoroastrian, Vedic, Buddhist, and Sufi philosophy (Agarwal, 2012). Kothari (2004) had pointed out that identities were so often blurred and so much porous that religion was not even a marker of

identity. In Sindh the borders between Hinduism and Islam were not hermeneutically closed off (Malkani, 1984). Often as Kothari (2009) had noted there was a disregard for differences between castes or, between Saivism and Vaishnavism or, the visit to the Sindhi temples or Gurudwaras or Sufi shrines. Thus, the personal relationships between the various communities, according to Agarwal (2012), had nothing to do with religion.

Such feelings of togetherness was also reflected in the manner in which the shared culture often sat next to the conservative ideologies in the 20th century especially after the 1940s (Kothari, 2007). However, fissures in the inter-communal relationships appeared in the late 1920s and again in the late 1940s. However, one should remember that the province of Sindh had witnessed the longest period of proximity between the Hindus and the Muslims whose relationship although unequal (in terms of one community being the minority) was the most intimate one in the sub-continent (Kothari, 2009).²⁶

However, the geographical isolation that allowed Sindh to enjoy inter-communal peace did not last long under the British. Soon after annexation in 1847, Sindh was added to Bombay Presidency because the prevalent norm was that under the colonial rule any newly annexed province would be joined either with the nearest Presidency or province. This annexation opened up new vistas especially with the merger with Bombay (Malkani, 1984). Sindh thus started seeing large-scale migration of Gujarati traders, Marathi and Parsi administrators (Malkani, 1984) and even the migration of Jews, Christians and minority sects of Islam like Ismailis and Bhoras (Lari, 1994). Lahri (1994) had also pointed out that due to this annexation, Sindh also saw the large-scale influx of Hindus from Rajasthan, Kutch and Gujarat areas. However, this sudden influx led to some insecurity that Sindh would gradually become a Hindu majority province among the Muslim elites (Lari, 1994). The insecurity was fostered due to the fact that the Hindus who prior to the British invasion hardly owned land ended up within a century of British rule with 40 percent of the land and another 20 percent that was mortgaged to them (Malkani, 1984).

²⁶ This inequality in the relationship between the various religious communities of Sindh was reflected in the pre-British time (i.e. prior to A.D. 1843) in the control over commerce by sea which was controlled entirely by the Hindu castes such the Bhatti and Lohanna (M'Murdo, 1834). On the other hand, the Memans who were a community of Muslims participated in trade too while others like the Multanis occupied positions as bankers (M'Murdo, 1834). However, the Muslim masses of Sindh were mostly agriculturalist and were landless living under conditions of extreme poverty and suffering (Syed, 1974). The masses were under the control and influence of the Muslim land-lords, officers, Pirs (or holy men) and mullahs who were often self-seekers of power and anti-people (Syed, 1974). However, after the British succeeded to power since A.D. 1843 the Hindus were increasingly employed by them and inhabited the urban areas. Also within a century of British rule, the Hindus were able to take over much of the land that the Muslim landlords owned as the latter lost these lands in mortgage.

In spite of this insecurity however the first demand of separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency rose in the Karachi session of the Congress in 1913 when Harchandra Vishindas Bharwani voiced the demand and asked for a province of Sindh separate from the Bombay Presidency. Khan (2002) had pointed out that this demand by Harchandra Vishindas was not only based on Sindh's distinctive cultural and geographical character but, it was also the voice of a comparatively fragile commercial class of Sindh that was feeling threatened by the more prosperous Bombay traders. Vishindas was joined by Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri who was a Muslim land-lord and a lawyer (Khan, 2002). Another reason for the demand for separation lay in the difference of Sindh from the rest of Bombay Presidency in terms of language, religion, physical shape of the land and neglect that it had suffered in terms of infrastructure like communication, roads, internal development as it was very far from the administrative centre (Agarwal, 2012).

However, when it came to the issue of separation of Sindh as a separate province from Bombay presidency, the Hindu population was divided. While they felt that a separate Sindh meant for them an increase in the employment as they were better educated Sindh as an autonomous province would also be economically, culturally and otherwise different with a Muslim majority and this they thought might affect the security of the Hindus (Malkani, 1984). As part of this deliberation, an agreement was formed whereby, thirty leaders from both side i.e., Sindh and Bombay agreed that Sindh shall be separated with 10 percent weight-age to be given to the Hindus, having joint electorates and having justice and equality for all (Malkani, 1984). However, the Sindhi Hindu Conference in Sukkur failed to ratify the agreement from apprehension of Muslim aggression (Malkani, 1984). On the other hand, the Muslims were not divided like the Hindus on the issue of separation. Thus, the separation of Sindh on April 1936 also saw inter-communal discord.

However, due to this annexation with the Bombay Presidency, Hindus did grow prosperous and this created a communal wedge between Hindus and Muslims which after separation didn't disappear fully (Khan, 2002). This wedge was also a result of the attempts of the Sindhi Hindus to become 'proper' Hindus with their growing interaction with Hindus from mainland India that led to transformations in the collective consciousness of the Hindus of Sindh and a gradual narrowing down of the definition (Kothari, 2009). However, with the separation, the Muslim majority had little to worry about being dominated by a Hindu minority (Khan, 2002). But this was true only of the Muslim elites and not the masses. Kothari (2006) too had pointed out that under colonial Sindh, the growing unequal

economic opportunities and widening class cleavages had started creating ruptures in self-perception among the Sindhi speaking Hindu and Muslims and this rupture was fast moving towards polarised religious identities in contrast to the previous sense of identity that had stemmed from territory, language and Sufism. During this time under colonial rule the new education that appeared was seen as unsuitable and was also inaccessible for the Muslims whose indigenous education had already taken a blow due to lack of funds (Kothari, 2009).

Therefore, the Muslims of Sindh were caught in a vicious cycle due to the lack of education and service opportunities which slowed down their process of empowerment (Kothari, 2009). Also while the upper castes like Brahmins, Banias and Kayasthas had remained Hindu, the landlords, peasants, artisans and soldiers had become Muslims and therefore, the earlier caste-community differentiation was replaced by difference in creed which with the coming of modernisation was also reinforced by class differentiation (Malkani, 1984). The fact that the higher caste-class Hindus were also urban only led to heightening of the difference and widened the gulf (Malkani, 1984). The presence of certain political parties such as the Muslim League and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh only concretised this polarisation (Kothari, 2006). The situation worsened due to the sale of land owned by Muslim landlords due to mortgage of property under heavy debt especially in the rural areas of Sindh, the growing poverty of the Muslim masses and the concentration of wealth in the hands of Hindu moneylenders all of which, saw to it that in the twentieth century when political mobilisation took place the Hindu money-lender was seen as the chief villain for the suffering of the Muslim masses (Kothari, 2009).

The Muslim League initially in Sindh could not gain a foothold. When in 1937 it had to stand for the provincial elections, the Sindhi Muslims were reluctant to contest on a Muslim League ticket as they thought that it would annoy their Hindu counter-parts and thus jeopardise the formation of their future government in Sindh with the support of the Hindu members (Lari, 1994). This was so because the Sindhi notion of identity was more important to the Sindhi Muslims than any polarised identity. The Muslim peasants remained loyal to their Pirs and attached to their landlords, protected the Banias and respected the Amil²⁷Dewan for his accomplishments (Malkani, 1984).

²⁷ Amil was a title given to those from the Hindu community employed under the British in the government jobs.

Thus, during the mid 1930s the Sindhi Muslims adopted a strong pro-Sindhi outlook and ignored all larger issues faced by India which later got softened when the leadership became open to larger issues so as to improve their political position and one of the main reasons for this was the fact that the Hindu leadership failed to respond to the overtures of the Muslim leadership by joining the newly formed political parties and continued to be member of the Congress party (Jones, 2002).

However, the winds of change that were yet to affect the Muslim peasants had, influenced the Hindus beyond recognition (Malkani, 1984). Gradually the Muslim League did manage to acquire some hold due to certain factors. However, with their increasing hold, attempts were made to topple the secular provincial Government of Sindh by politicising certain issues such as the Ziwal-haj, Om Mandali and Manzilgah incident.²⁸ Also as Khan (2002) had reflected, the fact that Sindhis were not ready to form alliance with Congress because its anti-imperialistic and confrontational politics did not suit the interest of the Sindhi elite and also dominance of the economic and administrative sectors of Sindh by Hindus was not a happy option, led to the rise of Muslim League. Malkani (1984) too had pointed out that the rising popularity of the Khilafat movement that brought in a feeling of fanatics and extra-territoriality; the views of Mahatma Gandhi such as those pertaining to satya (truth), ahimsa (compassion), brahmacharya (celibacy), ramrajya (ideal state based on renunciation, sacrifice and idealism) warmed the heart of the Hindu but left that of his Muslim neighbours cold; the British presence; the complicated status of Sindh whereby the demand for separation of the province of Sindh was transferred into a Muslim majority demand, etc. all added to the gradually widening rupture. The Muslim League after the 1930s had also started to use divisive categories (Kothari 2006).

This rupture was further widened due to the presence of organisations such as the Arya Samaj, Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh in Sindh. Throughout history, Sindhi Hindus were prone to conversion into Islam due to the syncretic atmosphere prevailing in Sindh (Kothari, 2006). When the Arya Samaj saw this they started propagating *shuddhi* or purificatory rite that involved giving up some of the Islamic practices such as

²⁸ All these incidents involved inter-religious disputes. In the Ziwal Haj, pilgrims had gathered at a shrine calling the *pir khudah* and this was denounced as un-Islamic (Malkani, 1984). In the Om Mandali issue the government under the Hindu pressure had regularised a small unauthorised Hanuman temple while, in the Manzilgah incident a dilapidated structure near Sadhbela Island Mandir of the Hindus was declared as a mosque (Malkani, 1984).

Nikkah (or marriage rites), rites associated with burial of their dead, visiting the *dargahs* (shrines), circumcision, etc., aimed towards bringing the converts back into the Hindu fold (Kothari, 2006).

This brought the Arya Samaj in direct confrontation with other religious communities and created tension in Sindh and this was especially true in the decade of the 1920s (Kothari, 2006). Thus, revivalist organisations such as the Arya Samaj tried to form an all inclusive Hindu identity to create notions of collectivity that could withstand threats from Christianity and Islam (Kothari, 2009). Therefore, what Kothari (2006) had pointed out is that the Arya Samaj seemed more interested in ensuring that Hindus remained Hindus rather than cultivating the very spirit of Hinduism. In fact, the Arya Samaj were able to bring back certain communities that had adopted Islam and had partially Islamized practices such as the Sheikhs of Larkano or the Sabrai Labanas of Ludhiana (Punjab) and the Marwaris of Ajmer or Rajputana (Kothari, 2006) and the Sanjogis (Malkani, 1984) amongst a few others.

Malkani (1984) had pointed out that the Arya Samaj, around 1893, was undertaking re-conversions of Hindu groups apart from raising inter-religious debate and questions on Islam and Christianity that was uncomfortable for the Maulvis who had never dealt with such situation in Sindh. Also, Sufism was treated as a fringe phenomenon and a mild form of Islam whose aim was seen to entice Hindus towards Islam (Kothari, 2006). However, in reality it was a historical falsification and rejection of Sindh's tolerant syncretic tradition (Kothari, 2006). Thus, as Kothari (2006) had argued, the Arya Samaj had contributed directly to the creation of exclusive categories such as Islam and Hinduism. In a way all of this would lead, in the future, to a growing tendency to focus on a proper Vedic identity and a removal of blurred religious lines of the past (Kothari, 2004). In fact, the Arya Samaj paved the way for organisations like Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (Kothari, 2009). The *shuddhi* or purificatory movements undertaken by the Rashtra Swayam Sevak Sangh were geared not towards the promotion of spiritual or moral and religious values but by strong anti-Muslim passion (Kothari, 2006). RSS that was seen more as a cultural organisation fostering the Hindu identity had spread by 1942 in every corner of Sindh and was responsible for politicizing and radicalising the Sindhi youths (Malkani, 1984) as it was in the Larkano riots of 1928. Even organisations such as the Brahmo Samaj that started its work in Sindh with a non-divisive and cosmopolitan beginning and liberal reforms, soon shrunk down to the more purificatory practices similar to that of the Arya Samaj (Kothari, 2009).

Thus, one can see the growing gulf between the two communities. The demands for Pakistan too were raised simultaneously with this growing gulf. The Muslim upper classes and also the commoners of Sindh were incited to join the movement for Pakistan by citing certain temporary prospects such as the establishment of independent sovereign Muslim state in their province, the introduction of a way of life that was close to Islam, freedom from the domination of the non-Muslims (such as the Hindus) and a false promise that the establishment of unity among all the Muslim countries with Pakistan at the centre was the hub of the chosen brotherhood (Syed,1974). All of these temporary prospects were advocated as realisable. Also each of these prospects revolved around the idea of political independence, economic prosperity and cultural advancement of Sindh (Syed, 1974). Kothari (2009) too had mentioned that the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh also played on the insecurity of the Sindhi Hindus in a Muslim majority province. The effects of all these were reflected in the increase in incidents of communal violence and coalescence of religious identity that occurred parallel to the growth of the Indian National Movement and between the years 1923 to 1928 (Ispahani 2015).

All these instances culminated into the rupture of relationships between the two communities and eventually into the partition of the country. According to Kennedy (1991) the Partition saw most of the Hindus fleeing Pakistan. Sindh's Hindu population was being replaced by an equally modern and urbanised Urdu-speaking Muslim population from northern and western India. This migrating population from India were called Muhajirs and they had certain advantages over the Sindhis. About 70 percent of them were literate (compared to 10 per cent of the Sindhis) and they also had entrepreneurial and administrative experience that the Sindhi population lacked (Kennedy, 1991). Most of this migrant population along with the later migrants who would arrive from elsewhere in Pakistan settled in Sindh's urban areas. In this context Alavi (1989) argued that the Sindhis became minority in their own cities.

Such changes in the demography of Sindh's cities led to protests against the dominance of the Muhajirs and the Punjabis evident from the Jiye Sindh Movement and the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (Syed, 1974). Alavi (1989) wrote that one of the causes of the rise of this movement was the occupation of the salariat and the upper echelons of the administration and the military by the Punjabis and to a lesser extent by the Muhajirs. This led to Muhajir's protesting for their own sub-nationalist demand for Jinnahpur (Korejo, 2002). According to Korejo (2002) the demand for Jinnahpur included Sindh's Karachi division along with Hyderabad, Kotri, Tando Adam, Tando Muhammad Khan, Tando

Allahyar, Mirpur Khas, Shahdadpur, Nawabshah and Sukkur. However, gradually these extremist sub-nationalist demands mellowed down be it those of the Muhajirs or those of the Sindhis. This change of stance on part of the Sindhi nationalist movement which was once based against the Muhajirs was based on the fact that Sindhi nationalism was seeing a phase of moderation whereby they had increasingly been realising that the future of Muhajirs and Sindhis was tied up together and that the Muhajir was a sub-nationality within the larger Sindhi nationality (Alavi,1989). Thus the sub-nationalist demands of both the Muhajirs and the Sindhis within the nation of Pakistan were geared towards discrimination towards them.

Post-Partition Period: Changing Political Regimes and the Worsening Condition of Minorities in Pakistan

*Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, had envisaged a nation where people would work together in spirit as citizens of a state with equal rights, social justice, equality, brotherhood of man, tolerance, equity, justice and fair play with no privileges and obligation on the basis of community, religion, colour, caste, creed (Korejo, 2002). In such a country, there would be no minority based on religion and Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims not in terms of religion but in terms of being equal citizens in the political sense (Korejo, 2002). This was mainly to reduce the angularities between majority and minority communities and ensure progress (Ispahani, 2015). However, this vision of pluralism and secularism in an ethnically diverse country was not followed by his successors who either openly disfavoured such ethos or were bogged down by the demands of the extremist forces. The first death knell to secularism occurred under the Liaqat Ali Khan regime when he moved the Objective Resolutions in 1950 and following it the twenty-two point plan whereby, it was realised that the non-Muslims in the Islamic state were to be treated as *dhimmis* (or the payer of the jizya tax) who even though were given full protection and religious freedom could not be equal citizens when compared to the Muslims. Thus they had no voice in the making of laws and were not eligible for any high office or executive authority and all of this put an end to Muhammad Ali Jinnah's vision for equality for all (Korejo, 2002).*

This process of putting an end to secularism was further followed under the regime of Zia-ul-Haq who shifted the Objectives Resolution from the Preamble to the main body of the Constitution and in terms of giving a definition to the non-Muslims, set up a separate electorate, omitted the word freely with regard to minorities practicing their religion and

developing their culture apart from making certain Islamic provisions in the 1973 Constitution (Korejo, 2002). All of these laid down that Islam would be the state religion, that the president and the prime minister would only be Muslims and the laws would be in conformity with the Quran and the Sunnah (Korejo, 2002). Under Zia-ul-Haq's regime draconian punishments were imposed based on medieval interpretation of Islam; secular critics were silenced; sectarian violence prevailed; school curriculum was changed through introduction of Urdu and Arabic and textbooks with a strong Islamic tone trying to propagate the idea that the basis of Pakistan laid in its common religion of Islam rather than racial, linguistic or geographical factors were introduced (Ispahani, 2015). Also, Islamist militias who once trained to fight the communist occupation in Afghanistan were asked to point their guns at non-Muslims such as Ahmadis and Shias. Other changes included: introduction of religious courts to supplement the conventional court system; discrimination against minorities in legal system whereby they were not allowed to represent clients and occupy the judges' position; imposition of an Islamic lifestyle; reduction in the power of the franchise of the minorities in elections through the creation of separate communal electorates (Ispahani, 2015).

All these measures may have led to the glorification of jihad and warfare, creating a monolithic image of Pakistan, falsification of history, denigration of religious minorities and instilling of religious prejudice, bigotry and discrimination in the minds of the children (ibid). Due to the changed curriculum of school textbooks, non-Muslim minority students had to suffer a sense of alienation towards their motherland along with, the denial of equal rights and equal national identity (Ispahani, 2015). Pakistan's leader Nawaz Sharif also added to this by introducing the 15th amendment to the Constitution of 1973 to make Pakistan a truly Islamic state (Korejo, 2002). Thus, since Pakistan was not a territorial state, each of its government had followed a way to raise its *raison d'etre* in religious terms and the ideology of Islam (Ispahani, 2015).

When it comes to the ground reality of the minorities inhabiting Pakistan, Ispahani (2015) notes that the percentage of minority has dwindled to 3 percent from a 23 per cent. In fact, as per the 1981 census, the minority population had dropped which included Christians, Hindus, Ahmadiyyas. Further Ispahani (2015) writes that a drive to purify Pakistan has been increasingly occurring by imposing religious conformity which requires the exclusion and marginalisation of people of other religions. The culture of the non-Muslims have been defined by several politicians as destroying the vitality, blurring the vision, befogging the critical faculties, breeding inferiority complex and gradually sapping all springs of culture

from Islam . Many of these religious minorities such as Christians, Sikhs, Ahmadiyyas, Shias (Hazara) and the Hindus have not only been victims of physical but also, social and legal discrimination (Ispahani, 2015). Legal discrimination against minorities especially the Ahmadis and Christians and to a lesser extent the Hindus can be seen in the blasphemy law. The law was introduced in 1982 and underwent amendments in 1986 that laid down that the highest punishment under it would be capital punishment. In 1991 imprisonment for life was replaced by death penalty (Ahmed, 2011).

Minority communities in Pakistan have to face blasphemy laws, nationalisation of their institutions, land grabbing, confiscation of their graveyard, abduction of daughters, vandalisation of property, forcible conversion among other such atrocities (Ahmed, 2011). However, violence against each of the minority communities have varied with time and the regional politics involved in and around Pakistan. According to Mehmood and Akbar (2015), violence against the minorities have ranged from targeted violence, damage to worship areas, kidnappings, damage to the graveyards, forced conversion, sexual assault, accusations of blasphemy, mob attack and exodus. For example, violence against the Hindus had accelerated between 1965 to 1971 and again in 1992 because it is closely linked to diplomatic and political issues across the border. Thus, it depends on the relationship between the two countries of India and Pakistan and, Hindus in Pakistan are often seen as hostage from a country which is often at war with Pakistan. However, from 2008 onwards to present times, atrocities against the minorities such as Ahmadiyyas, Christians, Shias and Hindus have increased. Islamists in Pakistan have sought to purify Pakistan and make it the land of the pure but, in doing so has led to creating bigotry and prejudice for the religious minorities.

The province of Sindh too has seen the rights of its minorities being violated, be they the Hindus, the Shias, the Ahmadiyas, the Sikhs or Christians. Time and again the government has also demanded the return of its minorities from the neighbouring countries. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government in 1973 had demanded the return of those Hindus who had fled Sindh during the 1971 war with India. It is well known that at the time of war many of the Sindhi Hindus uprooted from their villages in Tharparkar desert had crossed over to Rajasthan. However, in recent time's minorities such as Shias and Hindus, and to a lesser extent others, are targeted by extremist organisations such as splinter groups of Taliban and ISIS and also Deobandi militant groups (Syed, 2016). Such targeting in the form of forced conversion of young women and abduction have been on the rise in areas and districts such as Tharpakar, Mirpur Khas, Sanghar, Umerkot where Hindus are to be found in large numbers. Instances of forced conversion has been on rise in many places like Jacobabad, Tharparkar, Umerkot,

Kashmore, Kandhkot, Ghotki, Larkana and Sukkur areas of Sindh.²⁹ One of the causes of the rising extremism is due to the rise of Deobandi and Ahle-Hadith/Salafi madrassas (Syed et al) and the rise of its sub-groups such as Tablighi Jamaat al Huda groups. Mehmood and Akbar (2015) had pointed out that it is also due to the increase in the presence of seminaries. This has led to the formulation of some legal bills that seek to protect the minorities in Sindh. Some such bills that are proposed are National Council of Minority Rights of 2014 which would monitor whether minorities have rights and policy recommendation for achieving such ends (Mehmood and Akbar, 2015). However, certain proposals by the Pakistani government were introduced under Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif such as the National Action Plan which had brought out twenty points to fight extremism while, the Sindh Assembly has passed the Hindu Marriage Bill.³⁰ Also the judiciary in the form of apex courts have called for the constitution of three task forces to formulate strategies for religious tolerance in Pakistan, curriculum reform and guard the places of worship (Mehmood and Akbar, 2015). A national database and regulation authority has also been established so as to maintain a registration of minorities. The Sindh provincial government had also undertaken revision of school curriculum and removal of any instances of hate against the minorities from school text-books (Mehmood and Akbar, 2015).

Other such measures for protection of minorities in Sindh have been the formulation of a private bill under rule 94(1) of the Rules of Procedure of the Provincial Assembly of Sindh, which allowed formulation of the Sindh and Minorities Rights Commission Bill, 2015. This bill seeks to address the grievance of the minorities; create avenues for their socio-economic development and protect identities of the minorities through guaranteeing their rights. It also aims at non-discrimination; equality; promotion of their education; promotion of their participation in all aspects of public life; inclusion of their concern in development and poverty reduction processes and reducing the disparities in the social indicators such as employment, health, status of women and housing. This Bill also attempts to reiterate the values of religious harmony, tolerance, respect and peace that were inherent in the initial phase of creation of Pakistan. One of the means through which it aims to spread religious tolerance is through introducing appropriate curricula at the school and college level to promote a culture of religious and social tolerance. According to Sindh Minorities Rights Commission, it is envisaged that all measures taken by the government on issues relating to

²⁹ See 'Sindh Assembly adopts Bill against forced religious conversion' Dawn. November, 2016.

³⁰ See 'The plight of Pakistani Hindu community' The Diplomat, June 2016

equality of minorities, empowerment, protection, political participation, representation, education apart from undertaking projects to alleviate the status of the minorities, mobilize grants from domestic, international, bilateral and multilateral agencies will be under focus of this body which will have the authority to inquire into matters involving minorities. Other bills like the Sindh Criminal Law (Protection of Minorities) Bill, 2015 also seeks to penalise forced conversion with five to three years of jail term.

However, the growing instances of targeting of religious minorities goes against the very ethos that Sindh has historically stood. It goes against the father of Sindhi nationalism, G.M. Syed (1974) who had argued that bigotry and tolerance are mutually contradictory states of mind. According to him, where there is tolerance, bigotry will find no place and Sindh being the centre of tolerance and Pakistan being that of intolerance and bigotry, the kinship of the two is impossible. The remedy for such discrimination against religious minorities lies in efforts geared towards improving the status of minorities, curriculum reform through inclusion of the message of religious tolerance, regularisation of the seminaries, educational reform and standardization of curriculum in seminaries (Mehmood and Akbar, 2015).

Education in the History of Sindh

When it comes to education among various populations of Sindh, each community had their own system of education that they preferred and this education also varied under different rulers during the period A.D 711 to A.D 1843. Very little knowledge of the system of education prevailing in Sindh before the British conquest exists (Ali, 1993). Education under the Aryans before A.D.711 was in the form of the *ashrama* system whereby, pupils between the age group of 6 to 21 spent time in the house of their preceptor (Ali, 1993). On the other hand education, as Ali (1973) had pointed out, under the Talpurs (around A.D. 1786) was imparted by three different agencies-the Sayads, Maulvis and the Mullahs. The Sayads imparted religious education to the Muhammadan children; the Akhunds gave secular education to the Hindu and the Muhammadan children and the Brahmins taught the children from the various Hindu trading classes. The Sayads imparted instruction based on Islamic religion and were more like theological institutions. They also taught several higher branches of study that were deemed essential such as theology, metaphysics, astronomy, etc and some of them were patronised by the Mirs especially in places like Thatta and Rohri where they even got allowances from the state (Ali, 1993). On the other hand, the Maulvis and the Mullahs were scattered across the country and while, the Maulvis taught in Madrassas where the education was imparted at an elementary level; the Mullahs were

restricted to the teaching of Quran and usually held school in the open or in a mosque (Ali, 1993).

Apart from them, Ali (1993) had spoken about the Akhunds that taught Persian to the children of the officials and also taught the methodology of writing letters but the teaching was more individualistic and was limited to learning of a few books. Also, children from the trading caste of the Hindus went for education to the Wajeho or the Hindu schoolmaster who taught Sindhi (Burton, 1873). There was no system of fees but gifts in kind were accepted. On the other hand, the Brahmins taught book-keeping in a script locally known as Hatai Akhara to the children of the tradesmen (Ali, 1993). Ali (1993) had reflected that in majority of these systems of education fees were not accepted but gifts in kind were.. However, in spite of this such education was only availed by families with good monetary condition rather than the masses who continued to be illiterate in large numbers (Ali, 1993).

Much of this changed with the coming of the British soon after the 1819 when they occupied Kutch and forced unequal treaty on the Mirs of Talpur. The British first occupied Karachi and Thatta and by 1820 had signed a treaty with the Mirs that allowed them to keep all foreigners outside of Sindh and acquired the right to navigate the river Indus (Malkan, 1994). Under the British, many of the endowments were confiscated and the allowances of the Tatta Sayads stopped which in turn led to the death of many of these indigenous agencies of education (Ali, 1993). In 1853 the British encouraged vernacular schools by giving grant-in-aids amounting to Rs.2 and 8 annas to the Anglo-vernacular schools (Ali, 1993). In 1863 one third of the cess collected by local bodies was used to setting up primary schools in the villages (Ali, 1993). After the decentralisation occurred the Government of Bombay separated instruction, organisation, administrative control and finances of the primary and the secondary schools and also, change took place in the total allocation of cess collected by the local bodies that were fully devoted to primary education (Ali,1993). Ali (1993) had reflected that by 1887 English education had acquired a firm footing in Sindh and many parents would encourage their children to leave the villages and come over to the towns to avail the schooling there. Also to deal with mass illiteracy the British encouraged the spread of elementary education by handing them to the local bodies and urged them to spread education in rural areas (Ali, 1993).

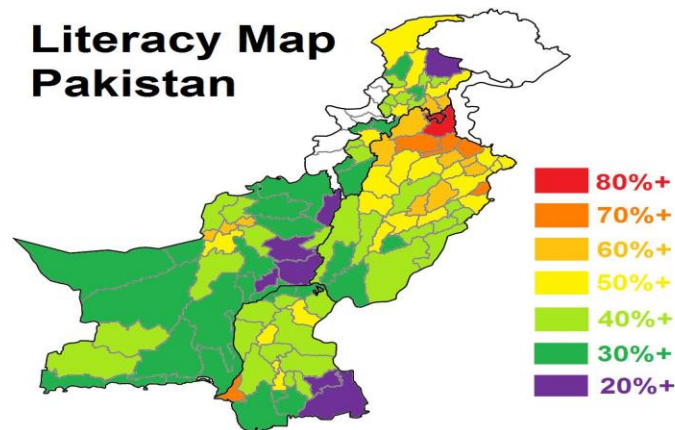
When it comes to education of girls in Sindh, historically (i.e. A.D.711 onwards) as well as in the present times, it remains no priority. Ali (1993) had pointed out that when women

attained the age of ten or twelve years they were put into *Purdah* due to orthodoxy and conservatism and thus education made little headway among girls. However, the preferred education for girls was religious education whereby, girls from Hindu families learned Gurmukhi and Arabic-Sindhi while, girls from Muslim families learnt the Quran (Ali, 1993).

Status of Education and Education as a Site for Reinforcing Majoritarianism

Before, we go further into the discussion of education as reinforcing majoritarianism , we need a brief mention of educational levels in Sindh and Pakistan.

Literacy wise Pakistan is ranked at 113 out of 120 countries (Rehman, Jungdong and Hussain,2015). However, one must take note of Pakistan coming a long way from having a literacy rate of 16.40 percent to 56 percent in the year 2012 (Rehman, Jungdong and Hussain, 2015). There are wide disparities within the country when it comes to the literacy rate. While in 2012, some cities like Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad had a literacy rate of 75 percent, there are others such as the tribal regions where the literacy rate is as low as 9 percent (Rehman, Jungdong and Hussain, 2015). A literacy map of Pakistan (of the year 2016) is given in Map 1.2 with each of the provinces marked out.



Source: www.archivistonline.pk/literacy-rate-in-Pakistan

Map 2.2 The literacy map of Pakistan of 2016.

One may see from the map that districts of Sindh like Tharparkar, Badin and the lower portions of Umerkot have a literacy rate of 20 percent and above. On the other hand districts like Thatta, upper portion of Jacobabad and upper portions of Kashmor Kandkhot have literacy rate of 30 percent and more. Districts like Sukkur , Nausheor-Feroze and Tando Allahyar have a literacy rate of 50 percent and above. Only Karachi has a literacy rate of

80 percent and above. The rest of the districts such as Dadu, Larkana, Nawabshah, Matiari, Sanghar, Jamshoro, Hyderabad, Tando Mohammad Khan, Khairpur, Ghotki, Shikarpur and parts of Umerkot have literacy rate of 40 percent and above. One must however take careful note of the fact that Karachi's above average performance in education often tends to skew Sindh's data on education that allows in turn to actually overlook the educational crisis in Sindh at times. When it comes to the overall picture of Pakistan, according to the Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey of 2012-2013, the percentage of population that has ever attended school in urban areas is 77 percent (84 percent male and 70 percent female) while, in rural areas the percentage of population who have attended school is 53 percent (66 percent male and 39 percent female).³¹

So far formal education in Sindh is concerned, it has improved over the years. The literacy rate was 30.20 percent in 1972 and 56 percent in 2014 (Rehman, Jungdong and Hussain,2015). According to the Ailaan-SDPI survey (2016) province-wise Sindh stood in the sixth position out of eight provinces with a educational score of 60.44 percent but with none of its towns or cities within the top 40 educational scores. According to the Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey of 2012-2013³² the percentage of population from Sindh that has ever attended school is 78 percent (85 percent male and 70 percent female) in urban areas while, in the rural areas of Sindh it is 41 percent (57 percent male and 22 percent female).³³ In case of Sindh however, according to a Multiple Cluster Survey of 2003-2004 (undertaken by the Bureau of Statistics, Government of Sindh Planning and Development in collaboration with UNICEF) among those never enrolled in school (between the ages 5 to 9 years) was 42 percent of the boys and 51 percent of the girls.³⁴ The provinces of Sindh and Balochistan have shown the highest rate of out-of-

³¹See

http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files//pslm/publications/pslm2013_14/complete_report_pslm_2013_14.pdf

³²See

http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files//pslm/publications/pslm2013_14/complete_report_pslm_2013_14.pdf

³³ See See

http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files//pslm/publications/pslm2013_14/complete_report_pslm_2013_14.pdf

³⁴ See Sindh District Based Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey 2003-2004. Pakistan :Government of Sindh, 2005

school students, ratio standing at 33.8 per cent and 29.1 per cent respectively for children within six to sixteen years of age.³⁵

The fact that poverty affects education becomes relevant in Sindh's case seeing the high level of drop-out. One of the barriers to education is poverty for poor households withhold some or all of their children from education either because they cannot bear the cost of education or cannot lose the income that the child is likely to bring (Lyon and Edgar, 2011). In this study too it is clear that the poverty of the families influenced their view of education and the levels upto which they accessed it. According to Mahmood, Zahid and Ghafor (1992), Sindh is the second poorest province after Balochistan (with 84.6 percent rural population that is poor) in Pakistan excluding Federally Administered Tribal Area.³⁶ Some of Sindh's districts like that of Umarkot have 80.7% of people living below poverty line. Districts like, Thatta had 76.5% and Tharparkar had 84.6 percent people living below poverty line in the years 2012-13.³⁷ However Karachi fared better as it had only 4.5 percent of its population living below poverty line and this reduced the province's poverty ratio.³⁸

The province of Sindh along with the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have often been singled out for faring poorly in official assessments of primary education performance.³⁹ The primary school enrolment rate of the province of Sindh for ages five to nine years was 52% in 2014 which was 5 points lower than the national rate (Rehman, Jungdong and Hussain, 2015). To deal with the problem of dismal state of primary education more than a one-third of the Sindh government's expenditures is geared towards education affairs and services for the fiscal year ending March 2015 which, was increased to 38 percent from the 36 percent of the previous year.⁴⁰ When it came to the net primary enrolment rate (two out of five children i.e. 39 percent) within age group years were enrolled at primary schools during 2002-2003 and this enrolment rate varied from 57 percent in urban areas to 31 percent in rural areas. But, within this 31 percent of those accessing primary schooling in rural areas there was present gender disparity in enrolment between boys and girls as seen

³⁵ See 'Learning Level in rural areas tumbling', Dawn, January 2014

³⁶ See 'Poverty Afflicts 75 % people in rural Sindh', The Express Tribune, July 2016

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ See <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/sindh.pdf>

⁴⁰ Ibid

in the fact that boys accessing primary education was 36 percent and those of girls was 25 percent respectively.⁴¹

According to the Ailaan-SDPI survey (2016) not only did Sindh have the highest number of primary schools numbering about 41,724 but also the highest number of schools with single teacher which stood at 19,486 (about 46.70 percent) schools along with the presence of the highest number of schools with single classroom numbering at 11,071 (26.53 percent). Therefore, one can see that the presence of large number of primary schools is not enough to quell the crisis at the level of primary education if infrastructure and the services provided by it is not sufficient. One can also see several factors that contribute to the dismal performance such as the shortage of qualified and specialized teaching force especially, for the females in the middle and higher levels and in rural areas; limited capacity for effective school governance and education management at all levels, etc.⁴² When it comes to the drop-out at the primary level in Sindh it is quite high for boys, it was 49 percent and for girls it was as high as 50 percent in the year 2015-2016 (Ailaan and SDPI,2016).

In Sindh, there is also disparity in terms of urban and rural areas. In the year 2014, while overall education rates among Sindh's urban residents was almost equal to those of urban Pakistan overall, the province's rural populace is notably less likely to ever enrol in school.⁴³ This is especially true at the secondary school enrolment level. Among the children (aged between ten to twelve years) who attended secondary school (who are one out of six children and are in classes between VI and VIII) the number varies between urban areas (26 percent) and rural areas (8 percent).⁴⁴ In the rural areas, in the year 2003-2004, children (94 percent) were likely to attend government primary schools, while, only 2 percent attended private secondary schools. The attendance of private secondary schools however has increased in the urban areas to 19 percent.⁴⁵

According to the Annual State of Education Report of 2015-2016, it was found that 88 percent of children aged (within the age group of six to sixteen years) in Sindh were enrolled in public schools. Prior to this year only 83 percent were enrolled in such schools. Majority of Sindh's schools according to the Ailaan-SDPI survey (2016), be they primary (41724) or middle schools (2316) or secondary schools (1706) or higher secondary schools

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² See <http://i-sapseducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Sindh-Sector-Plan-2013-2016.pdf>

⁴³ See Sindh District Based Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey 2003-2004. Pakistan :Government of Sindh, 2005

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

(293), are largely concentrated in the government sector (61 percent) rather than in the private sector (39 percent). However, often these government run schools are in dismal state (in terms of infrastructure) or lack efficiency (in the qualifications of the teachers and the teaching time devoted by them amongst others). This is reflected by some of the respondents of this study too. They complained that the government run schools are pathetic in both the countries of Pakistan and India and only if they could afford a private education they would eagerly do so. The fact that private schools are likely to be efficient could be reflected in the fact that the Annual State of Education Report of 2015-2016 which had reflected that 41 percent teachers in private schools were graduates in comparison to 46 percent in government schools and also that in terms of performance (be it in terms of Urdu or, English or Arithmetic) private schools fared much better than government run schools.

Sindh also has regional disparities in education. Only certain areas of Sindh seem to have performed better. Districts like Karachi, Naushehro-Feroze, Dadu, Larkana, Khairpur, Sukkur fare better while the rest fare poorly (Ailaan and SDPI, 2016). However, it must be noted that when compared to the other provinces, the Sindh province has been only above the tribal provinces of FATA and Balochistan in terms of educational performance and have always been ranked below provinces like AJK, ICT, Punjab, Gilgit-Baltistan, Kyber-Pakhtunkhwah (Ailaan and SDPI, 2016).

The Alif Ailaan-SDPI District Education Rankings of 2016 have sought to bring attention to the level of educational crisis in Pakistan. In their rankings, Sindh has persistently achieved lower positions. Districts like Shaheed Benazirabad and Hyderabad had scored 63.08 percent and 61.59 respectively while, other districts such as Tando Allahyar (56.74 percent), Matiari (54.30 percent), Jamshoro (54.01 percent), Mirpurkhas (52.20 percent), Tando Mohammad Khan (48.57 percent) and Thatta (42.23) seemed not to fare very well.⁴⁶

Education in Sindh is also characterised by gender disparity. Education among the women is a neglected issue not only in Sindh but almost in the whole of Pakistan. One of richest quartile of literacy in Pakistan is to be found among the urban men whose level of education is as high as 87 percent (Lyon and Edgar, 2011). According to Mahmood, Zahid and Ghafor (1992), the enrolment levels in the period between 1980-81 to 1984-85 for Sindh varied from urban (51.3 percent for boys and 52.1 for girls) to rural (35.0 percent for boys and 39.4 for girls) areas with regard to primary level. At the secondary level too it varied between

⁴⁶ The data on these few districts have been reflected as residents of the settlement under study have some link in terms of origin with these districts

urban (78.9 percent for boys and 59.1 percent for girls) and rural (34.6 percent for boys and 7.8 percent for girls) areas (Mahmood, Zahid and Ghafor,1992).

One may also take into account that in Sindh there are three categories of schools for a child to get enrolled in – the mixed co-educational schools where girls and boys attend (comprising 61 percent of the total schools); girls only school and boys only schools. It is found that families and communities are more inclined towards sending their girls to girl's only schools.⁴⁷ In 2014, it was found that 22% of Sindh's rural female population has attended school when compared to 37% of rural Pakistani women.⁴⁸

Apart from these factors, the fact that the political, legal and the educational system has been used by various regimes that have formed governments in Pakistan, have only worsened the state of education in Sindh. Ispahani (2015) called such a process of Islamisation as the 'economic and social boycott' and even 'political boycott' of the minorities. The role of the educational system is especially of importance for us. The religious ideology of Islam was seen as influencing the sphere of education whereby, the several policies and plans of education always cite religion. Some such examples are that education should be in consonance with Pakistan's history, culture and with Islam (in case of All Pakistan Education Conference, 1947); that character development is to be closely related to compulsory religious instruction and that such education should be the basis for creating unity and an idea of nationhood among the people of Pakistan through inculcation of the spiritual and moral values of Islam (National Commission of Education of 1959); enforcing loyalty to Islam and to creating an awareness of Pakistan is part of the Universal Muslim Ummah. Therefore, targeting of the minorities occur through the stigmatisation as a result of the biased school textbooks who paint them as evil and untrustworthy (Mehmood and Akbar, 2015).

All these factors have led to the migration of the Hindus of Pakistan to the neighbouring India and the study presents experiences of this community in host society and their educational aspirations. The next chapter describes the profile of the Pakistani Hindu refugees settled in one of the camps of Delhi.

⁴⁷ See <http://i-sapseducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Sindh-Sector-Plan-2013-2016.pdf>

⁴⁸. See Sindh District Based Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey 2003-2004. Pakistan :Government of Sindh, 2005

Chapter 3

Pakistani Hindu Refugees in Delhi: A Profile

This chapter discusses the provisions that are provided to the Hindus refugees from Pakistan by the Indian government along with, focusing on a brief profile of this community in terms of the nature of their settlement, their initial experiences, causes of migration to India and their initial experience in Delhi. One need to understand that at times the provisions that the host country provides becomes an important factor in attracting refugees from the neighbouring countries. This seems to be true in case of this refugee community.

Cross-border Migration of Hindus from Pakistan

The study has been conducted among the Pakistani Hindu families, hailing from various districts of Sindh province in Pakistan settled in Delhi. About 1000 of Pakistani Hindus migrate to India annually as refugees and hope to acquire its citizenship which they can apply for only after waiting for seven years under the Indian Citizenship Act of 1955.⁴⁹ However, India has till now refused to recognise the Pakistani Hindu community as refugees even though it offers asylum to populations migrating from Afghanistan, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Myanmar and Democratic Republic of Congo⁵⁰. The Government of India has proposed that the process for acquiring citizenship for approximately 2 lakhs Hindus and Sikhs migrating from countries such as Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan would be simplified along with the process of acquiring bank accounts, Aadhar number and Permanent Account Number. However, this proposal is yet to be implemented and if it is done, it shall allow the District Magistrates of 18 districts across the country for two years such as that of Raipur (Chattisgarh); Ahmedabad, Gandhinagar, Rajkot, Kutch, Patan (Gujarat); Bhopal and Indore (Madhya Pradesh); Nagpur, Mumbai, Pune and Thane (Maharashtra); South and West Delhi (in National Capital Region); Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Jaipur (Rajasthan) and Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh), to grant citizenship to these refugees at heavily reduced fees.⁵¹

Apart from granting facilities like manual provision for acquiring a Long Term Visa they also provide a reduction of the registration fees from Rs.15,000 to Rs.100; opening bank account without approval from the Reserve Bank of India; ability to purchase dwelling for

⁴⁹ See 'Pakistani Hindus unwelcome in India' Aljazeera, February, 2014

⁵⁰ See 'Pakistani Hindus unwelcome in India' Aljazeera, February, 2014

⁶ See 'India mulls granting citizenship to Pakistani Hindu migrants' Dawn, April 2016

self-occupancy; ability to make suitable accommodation for self-employment without prior approval of the Reserve Bank of India provided that certain conditions are fulfilled. They are also allowed movement from one state/ union territory in which they are staying to another; transferring the Long Term Visa Papers from one state/ Union Territory to another; ability to apply for Long Term Visa at the place of their residence, etc.⁵² The Home Ministry has proposed amendment to the citizenship law that will exempt the minority citizens of Bangladesh and Pakistan who come to India for fear of religious persecution from being tagged as illegal migrants through the proposed amendment to the Citizenship Act of 2014 under Section 2(1) (b) and this is seen as one of the first steps for the refugees to remain in Indian legally and even later claim citizenship⁵³. In the 2014 Lok Sabha polls the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party had promised citizenship to the Hindu refugees in their manifesto.

The migrant's decision to move is not only related to an economic choice but a political choice too (Samaddar, 1999). The policies of the Indian state have also indirectly or directly affected the migration of these refugee families. On September, 2015 a notification was passed by the India government whereby it excluded Hindus, Sikhs, Parsis, Jains and Christians from Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan from being deported or imprisoned even if they did not possess valid documents and also, apart from this on July, 2016 the government decided to grant long term visas, open bank account, purchase property and obtain identity documents to such populations.⁵⁴

According to Samaddar (1999), the Bharatiya Janata Party has always maintained a distinction between refugees and infiltrators or illegal migrants for while, the Hindus are deemed as refugees for they are persecuted the Muslims are seen as wanting to enter India for economic reasons. The Partition as Samaddar (1999) had reflected reminds one that Hindus have a right to come back to India and naturally seek assistance.

All of these steps that had been taken by the government is related to relaxing them limitations placed by the Indian Citizenship Act of 1955 that attempted not to portray an ethno-religious based picture of India. Also the Citizenship Amendment Bill, 2016 which was introduced in 2016 in the monsoon session of the Indian parliament by the Home

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ See 'Hindus from Pakistan, Bangla will get claim to Indian citizenship' The Times of India, June 3, 2016.

⁵⁴ See https://www.giga-hamburg.de/en/system/files/publications/gf_asien_1608_en.pdf

Minister Rajnath Singh sought to ease the path to Indian citizenship for persons belonging to minority communities such as Hindu, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis and Christians from countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan by reducing the period of naturalisation from twelve to seven years. The proposed amendment bill was under the review of a Joint Parliamentary Committee and is likely to come up for discussion under the budget session of February to May, 2017. In fact this bill could be seen as a step towards Bharatiya Janata Party's 2014 election promise to make India the natural home of all persecuted Hindus world-wide and threatens to open a debate about Indian identity that has its roots in colonialism and is likely to negatively affect not only minority relations in India but also in the neighbouring countries too⁵⁵.

As mentioned earlier, small groups cross over the border to reach Delhi and other Northern states. There are already 400 settlements in cities like Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Jaipur, Raipur, Ahmedabad, Rajkot, Kutch, Bhopal, Indore, Mumbai, Nagpur, Pune, Delhi and Lucknow.⁵⁶ From time to time those migrating from Pakistan into India after Independence have been given citizenship- such as 55,000 individuals in the year 1979, approximately 289 individuals in 2014-2015 and about 13,000 individuals in the year 2005.

The Study Setting and its Profile

The camp of Pakistani Hindu refugees lies on the left side of the Gurudwara Majnu-ka-Tila Shahib in the northern portion of Delhi. The camp is officially known as Sri Ram Sena Hindu Camp and, locally as the Aruna Nagar II neighbourhood. The river Yamuna flows behind this camp. The nearest metro station to this place is Vidhan Sabha that is well connected by the local transportation. This camp is situated on the main Grand Trunk Road that is also known as the NH-1 highway or Delhi's Outer Ring Road. The locality is also known as New Charawal of Civil Lines in New Delhi.

All the residents of this camp had arrived from Pakistan since 2011 and the migration still goes on till date with fresh families arriving in the year 2017 as well. This area has historically sheltered many refugee communities fleeing persecution be it they those who had migrated during Partition or Tibetan refugees in early 1960's. These communities continue to reside here even today.

The study is based on the only the families who stay in this particular camp and not in the other camps where other Pakistani-Hindu families have settled in the Delhi and the National

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ See 'Indian citizenship for Hindu from Pakistan to be made easier: Government, New Delhi' India Express, April 2016.

Capital Region such as in Bridgevasan in Kapas Hera or, Rohini Sector-11 or Adarsh Nagar locality in Faridabad. Even though during the Partition of India, large-scale migration of Hindus did take place from Sindh yet, for the purpose of this study only the post-Partition and more recent migration of Sindhis (who have been migrating since 2011) is taken into account.

This settlement in Majnu-ka-Tila is under seven pradhans who deal with the issues faced by the community from time to time. The pradhans of the Hindu community of Pakistan are Sonadas, Sukhnandan, Bada Dayal Das, Nandi Ram, Chota Laxman, Dharamveer and Hiralal. Each of the pradhans has the responsibility of a few lanes of houses. It is also they who maintain order within the camp and solve disputes. It is often they who along with the members of the civil society, work in this camp to arrange for admission of children from this community into the nearby schools, facilitate connection for electricity and water from the government and protect against eviction and help in the process of citizenship. The responsibility for the houses has been divided on the basis of the region they hail from back in Sindh, Pakistan and also the initial number of families who arrived across the border with each of these pradhans. Infact each lane in this camp consists largely of kinsmen.

Something akin to this had been reflected by Barnow (1954) who while writing on Sindhi refugees who had settled in the Pimpri region of Maharashtra soon after partition had mentioned that the refugees stayed as a regional group based on the same locality that they had hailed from Sindh and also had their own regional panchayat. In fact this manner of settling within the refugee camp had served the purpose of settling disputes and also fulfilling social functions related to marriage and funeral that only helped in increasing the cohesion of the group (Barnouw, 1954). However, such regional divisions within a refugee camp created lack of trust and those from other locality being treated as strangers (Barnouw, 1954).

When reflecting the causes for their migration, the community members point out that in Pakistan Hindus are not trusted nor are fully accepted. They are also defined as external enemies of Islam and the antagonistic feelings towards them are perpetrated by the public school curriculum that foster intolerance, hate and prejudice towards the minorities.⁵⁷ The children of the Hindus thus face taunts at school as well. The ideology behind the creation of Pakistan and Pakistani nationalism is portrayed in the textbooks and it is usually in opposition to and in competition with Hindu India which the former feel is ready to devour it. A common grievance against the school education of their children in Pakistan was that the education was either in Urdu or Sindhi or Punjabi.

¹⁰ See 'The plight of Pakistani Hindu community' The Diplomat, June 2016.

Hindus in Pakistan are also not allowed to cremate (or burn) their dead and thus, had to bury them. Thus, many of them hide the bones of their dead in the temples. This is seen as going against their culture. This made the refugees feel the need to bring those bones over to Haridwar to cremate them later when they could gather enough money to travel to India. This cultural practice is closely related to their religion and a sense of being a Hindu. For this very reason they flee a land where they are the minority to a land where they are in majority at least religion wise.

Some of the respondents like Pooran had reflected that back there in Sindh the community had to suffer from *“the lack of proper job”*. Also there was a threat of conversion. Untouchability was also prevalent as water was not given in a container to Hindus and neither would the utensils used by Hindus to eat their food was touched by others. There was also present segregated neighbourhoods for different religious communities. Comparing it to Delhi, Pooran said that *“out here all are treated same. Everyone eats from the same plate. All are equal. No one is low or high. Say for example while travelling in the metro all travel together”*. Other respondents like Daulat Ram had pointed out that it was only the rich among the Hindus in Pakistan who had job and education and not the poor like himself and majority of the people in this camp. Some like Dayal Das had pointed about Pakistan that it *“was an Islamic country where Arabic language is taught. There are no lessons in schools in Hindi and nor is the language respected. They are not of our religion”*.

Others like Hari Om Sharan son of Mohini had reflected *“that country was never ours. Education, language all were theirs. Living was not right there”*. Another respondent Shivani on being asked the state of Hindu minorities in Pakistan pointed out that Hindus were not allowed to achieve higher positions in politics adding that this was also true of her father-in-law who once was in politics back in Matiari. Narayan Das the son of Kirshan Mal had pointed out that back in Sindh *“Hindus should never catch attention of others be it while speaking or even otherwise”* speaking in the context of flashing something that the majority do not have, like for example some educational degree or some consumer goods. But he at the same time had pointed that the Muslim landlords back in Sindh were also good enough to forgive the loss that they at times incurred back home during a bad harvest season. On the other hand Kuawar Advani who had arrived in India in the year 2014 had reflected that Pakistan consisted of *“barbarians who have no religion. Neither would they allow you to be something nor can you”*. He said that the difference between his state of living could be very well seen in India for what he did not achieve in thirty years back in Sindh had achieved that

in India even though it entailed a lot of sacrifice. Migrating over to India was thus beneficial due to the progress that he could achieve in terms of “*house, land and success*”.

Respondents like Mahadev Advani had cited that fact that there was no “*respect*” for Hindus along with the fact that education in Sindhi language seemed useless in today’s world especially if one had to succeed. He also cited the fear of losing one’s “*religion*” through forced conversion as one of the reasons for leaving Sindh. Researcher Nikos Papasterigiadis (2000) had reflected that migration can also threaten for it may act as intrusion and disruption especially when, the balance of a culture is seen to be located in its ‘rootedness’ within a particular place. This as the researcher would like to point out may not be true especially so, when a minority community flees into a country as a refugee where those similar to it in terms of ascriptive characteristics (such as religion in this case) is the majority for then migration, could be seen as a search of their own roots.

While some spoke of forced conversions, others spoke about how preachers would come and preach about benefits of conversion. Yet, others spoke of looting from homes and lack of security. The rampant abduction for ransom, rape, forced religious conversion and forced marriage are some of the reasons that were cited by the refugees as reasons for leaving Sindh. They note that, by targeting the Hindu community, the extremists are able to spread fear and drive the Hindus to migrate so that they can take over their business and houses⁵⁸. Hindus migrating from Pakistan also allege that they are often treated as untouchables.⁵⁹ Mehmood and Akbar (2015) argue that the degrading governance, apathy and negligence of the state lead to rampant persecution of the minorities.

When it comes to their migration to India the families of this settlement had arrived in small groups of families using traditional routes of migration such as entering India through Jodhpur and even through Wagah border. Among those who have migrated through Jodhpur had arrived in India in the Thar Express⁶⁰. On the other hand the few others who have arrived through Lahore border via Amritsar have travelled in the Samjhauta Express.⁶¹

Often the pretext for migration for this community was their need to undertake pilgrimage to places like Mathura, Haridwar, Akshardham (and on which their visa is based) either to visit

⁵⁸ See ‘Pakistani Hindus unwelcome in India’ Aljazeera, February, 2014

⁵⁹ See ‘Pakistani Hindus are still waiting for better life in India’ Human Rights, January, 2017

⁶⁰ The Thar Express is an international passenger train operating between India and Pakistan. The last station at the Pakistani side is the Zero Point Railway Station while the important stations of the Indian side is Munnabao in Barmer district of Rajasthan and it finally arrives at Bhagat ki Kothi in Jodhpur.

⁶¹ The Samjhauta Express is a bi-weekly train operating between Lahore, Pakistan and Attari, India that is locally known as Delhi-Attari or Attari-Delhi Express in India.

or to immerse the ashes of their ancestors. However, these visits would often act as a precursor to their final migration to India where they stay at least before getting a Long Term Visa and then go back to Pakistan for a few months to come back again. Most of these families have arrived in this camp after travelling through many places and they even stayed in those places for few days to years and have finally arrived in this settlement.

Shivani and her family hailing from Matiari arrived in Delhi after travelling through Lahore, Amritsar, Chadni Chowk area of Delhi and finally reached this camp. For others like Sita their migration has seen them in places like Kapas Hera (where they stayed for two years) then, Majnu-ka-Tilla then and thereafter Bridgevasan (where they stayed for a year) and finally to this settlement.

Even after migration many of these families especially those who used to work as landless labourers in other's farms back in Sindh did undertake seasonal voluntary internal migration to earn their livelihood within Pakistan. This has been reflected in Shivani's story: *"We used to travel here and there in search of work."* Migration for work was thus an important part of their life in Sindh as has been reflected in what Siya Ram the father of Chander from Latifabad, who said that even though their house was in the proper town itself he and his companions often travelled for one to two days for working in the fields and would stay there for sometimes for months.

Initially there were hundred and twenty families in this camp up to mid-2016, but while the field-work was being undertaken, many went back to Pakistan for practical reasons as their huts or jhuggis had got burned in a fire in November, 2016 while one family shifted to Faridabad where they had built their own cemented house with modern amenities. So the camp today houses only hundred and one families. The first of the families arrived in the year 2011. Initially it was only approximately fifty families that had arrived in the area and were taking shelter behind the Majnu-ka-Tilla Gurudwara Sahib.

The government then did not encourage them to stay and asked them to either get visa or go back or get a sponsor. The police tried to move them forcefully too. It was then that a retired civil servant, Mr. Nahar Singh saw their plight in the media and decided to help them out. This experience was recounted by Rani, the wife of Sonadas, one of the seven pradhan's of this community:

"At first, only it was three or four families who arrived at Baba-ka-dera. We were not living in these huts that you see today but in tents. Only later did another forty or fifty families arrive. The whole area in which the camp stands today was full of vegetation....Nahar Singh is our

God. He sheltered us at a place called Jhuppi across the Yamuna where we stayed for a day and then moved onwards to other places.”

Today their house has a big courtyard with boundary made of woven dried grass. Across the lane is the one-room dwelling of each of her two sons who are married but all of whom have food from the same hearth.

The ordeal of clearing the vegetation and making a hut for themselves in this camp on the right bank of river Yamuna has also been recounted by another resident of the camp, Kirshan Mal, the doctor of this camp, who also acted as the insider informant for the study. Kirshan Mal said:

“When we had first arrived here, my house was the last in the lane. It was much later that the nine houses came up behind my house that you can see today. Instead of the houses there was vegetation and often we had to worry not only of snakes that could harm my young children but also men hiding in the grasses who could harm my daughter since my eldest daughter was unmarried then.”

Today his daughter is married and stays in one of the huts almost opposite to that of her natal family. Thus here we see an attempt to build a neighbourhood on the part of Kirshan Mal and the few others who arrived here first by doing what Appadurai (2005) had reflected as constructing recognizable, social, human and situated life-worlds and creating a context for social action, an autonomous site for interpretation, value and material practice through exercising power over hostile or recalcitrant environment. Appadurai (2005) had reflected that the production of neighbourhoods is always historically grounded and contextual. However, one has to realise as Appadurai (2005) had reflected that a refugee camp is a darker version of the problem of producing a neighbourhood. Such version is reflected in the quasi-permanent refugee camps which combine the worst feature of urban slums, concentration camps, prisons and ghettos for these are the starkest examples of “*conditions of uncertainty, poverty, displacement and despair under which locality can be produced along with being extreme examples of neighbourhoods that are context produced*” (Appadurai, 2005). Therefore, within such neighbourhoods life-worlds are produced in the darkest circumstances if not always barbaric circumstances (Appadurai, 2005).

The dwellings in the camp are mostly made of dried grass or straw woven together with narrow un-paved lanes running in between them. Some of them are just made of some bamboo poles covered with thick cloth that are used to build tents. Very rarely does one come across proper one-room dwelling that is made of mortar and brick. However, very few such

dwellings do exist and most of them came up after their huts made of woven straw or grass had caught fire. They received Rs.25,000 in their bank accounts from the government in 2017 to re-build their dwellings. Kuawar Advani, a young man's, house was one among the 28 huts that were gutted in the fire that spread in the camp on 27th November, 2016. In spite of his loss, he observes:

“Coming to India had been beneficial as it has brought growth. I could not have acquired had I stayed back in Pakistan. Initially when I brought my family others were reluctant to come to this settlement as it contained a graveyard. Even though, our hut had got burned my uncle helped me to re-build my dwelling. Also I have brought a plot in Faridabad whose registration has been done but the full payment is yet to be completed.”

It is to be noted that his house is in the most interior of the camp just beside the Yamuna's bank. However, new dwellings are coming up a little bit ahead from his dwellings which are inhabited by fresh migrants who have just arrived in this year, i.e. in 2017.



Picture 3.1 The huts still burning from the 27th November, 2016 fire



Picture 3.2 The burned savings that the people had converted to new currency during the de-monetisation in November, 2016.

The Hindu refugees from Pakistan have arrived from various places and districts of Sindh such as Hyderabad, Karachi, Tando Muhammad Khan, Tando Alahyar, Saeedabad and Tando Jam. Table 3.1 gives a brief account of origin of the families staying in this Aruna Nagar II Camp.

Table 3.1 The places in Sindh (Pakistan) from which the respondents hail from.

Places in Sindh	Number of Households (in percentage)
Tando Alahyar	22.77
Hala	9.90
Hyderabad	31.68
Tando Muhammad Khan	18.81
Matiari	1.98
Tando Jam	3.96
Karachi	0.99
Saeedabad	9.90

The table reflects the origin of the families staying in the Aruna Nagar II camp. The largest number of families (31.6 percent) hails from Hyderabad which is the capital city of Sindh province and its most important commercial centre. Another 22.7 per cent of the families hail from Tando Alahyar which was previously known as Allahyar Jo Tando under the Mirs and have been historically and even in the present an important centre for trade, agriculture, sites of worship (such as that of Rama Pir, Sufism and Sunni Hanafism). There are significant number of different ethnic groups inhabiting this district who are speakers of Urdu, Baloch, Punjabi, Khanzada, Jatki, Marwari, Balochi Punjabi and Brahui and Pashto apart from Sindhi and Siraiki languages. About 18.8 percent of the families hail from Tando Muhammad Khan which is a district in southern part of Sindh. Another 9.9 per cent of the refugee families hail from Hala one of cities of Matiari district which is a leading centre of the Suhrawardi sect of Sufism. Another 9.9 per cent are from Saeedabad which lies in Baldia town area of Karachi. Only 0.9 percent of the families hail from Karachi which is one of Sindh's leading industrial and financial centres. While, 1.9 percent of the families are from Matiari, another 3.9 percent are from Tando Jam which is a town of Hyderabad district.

Educational and Occupational Profile

Education doesn't count as an important asset for themselves among the head of the households (whose ages range from 30 to 60 years). This fact is reflected from the table too. Earning a lively-hood is given more pre-dominance. However, such low educational aspirations are also closely related to the occupational profile. All of the individuals have occupation that are informal in nature (with extensive migration undertaken in search of work) and none from this community have ever been occupied a salaried position be it back in Sindh or presently here in India. Table 3.2 will give a brief account of the level of education among the head of the household living in this camp.

Table 3.2 Education Level of the head of the household

Class/college standard up to which passed	Educational level (in percentage)
I to V	24.75
V to X	21.78
XI and beyond	0.99
Uneducated	52.47

When it comes to the head of the house-hold the main bread-winner of the family has been referred to here, except for one household in the camp that is run by a woman (who is forty years of age) all the other house-holds are headed by men (whose age-group rangers from ages thirty to sixty years). As has been reflected in the table, approximately 52.47 percent of them are not educated. Those who had studied up to class V are 24.75 percent. Thus, on the whole, nearly 76 percent of the heads of the families of the refugees have no or little education. However, when it comes to the education of their own children and their next generation, they seem to be quite determined to provide good education to their children. When it comes to their children, these families have a positive outlook towards education. According to many even if education doesn't get them jobs, it will increase their understanding of the world. This is reflected in the words of Kuawar Advani who is been educated only up to Class III:

“With the little that the children study, using that they will have a better understanding of the world.”

Education is thus seen not as improving their social situation or status but is thought of as something that provides them with an understanding of the world. Further, majority of the respondents, except a handful, worked as labourers in someone else's farm and never had a salaried job. Narayan Das the, eldest son of the Kirshan Mal (the Homeopathy Doctor) notes:

“You will not come across a single one among all of who had held salaried jobs. Its either business but mostly, landless labourer.”

However, the ones with educational level of class V to X and classes XI and beyond who constitute 21.78 and 0.99 percent respectively are sad that, in spite of their education, they haven't got a better job. This is true of Kirshan Mal the homeopathy doctor:

“I came to India in search of a better livelihood but, I cannot practice medicine as the government doesn't recognise my degree. Instead, I have to depend on my eldest son who sells mobile covers for money that is required to run the household.”

His household is one of the biggest in the camp. In the afternoon people from within the camp flock to him to get their health check-ups.

However, a striking feature is that none of the married women have ever attended school except for one in this camp. The only exception is Chandrama who had studied up to Class VI in the government High School at Hyderabad, Sind. Chandrama in the interview had lamented that she couldn't study further and had remarked that back at her home-town once the girls turn eleven or twelve years of age they are withdrawn from the school by the parents citing security reasons.

The occupation prevalent among this refugee community in India is mostly concentrated in the informal sector. The occupations ranges from selling mobile-covers, owning small local shops, labourer, farmer in the nearby fields, homeopathic practitioner to social worker. Unemployment is also present in many of the families and this is especially common those families that have arrived in India and in this camp very recently (be it in the end of the year 2016 or the beginning of the year 2017). This fact is reflected in the following table.

Table 3.3 Occupation among the refugees in the city of Delhi

Occupation of the Head of the Household	Total Number in the occupation (in Percentage)
Mobile cover and accessories seller	64.36
Shop-keeper	10.89
Labourer	0.99
Farmer	4.95
Taylor	0.99
Social Worker	0.99
Doctor	0.99
Others	0.99
Unemployed	14.85

As seen in Table 3.3, 64.3 percent are engaged in selling mobile accessories in cart in various places across the city and the National Capital Region such as Moolchand, Barakhamba, Laxmi Nagar, Azadpur, Faridabad and other places in the city. Most of the materials are brought in whole-sale (or in bulk) from the Kamala Nagar market. Many of them have taken up this occupation because it gives them easy and sure return unlike agriculture back in Sindh in which they had been engaged. Infact some of the members of this community are nostalgic of their agrarian roots and say that the job of selling mobile accessories is not for them but the work of agriculture. The occupation of selling mobile accessories has been taken up by many because some of their kinsmen who had arrived in India before they did were engaged in such occupation. This was true for one of the respondent, Kuawar Advani who says the reason for his selling mobile-cover was because:

“When I came to India, my brother had already come five years before. He helped me with setting up my own or cart of mobile accessories. This business is more lucrative than the other jobs that I had worked in before such as being a waiter and even working in one of the marriage bands back in Sindh.”

This makes one realise the importance of networks in accessing informal job opportunities on part of these respondents. Apart from this some of the bread-winners of the family work as shopkeepers (10.89 percent). A majority of them except one have their own grocery shops within the camp itself. Only one has his grocery shop in Faridabad. Only 0.99 percent of the breadwinners work as labourers who sell pesticide and also works as labourer while another,

0.99 percent of the household head work as tailor. The tailor in the sample is a middle aged-woman who had arrived in the year 2013 with her daughter-in-law while her husband and other children have stayed back in Hyderabad, Sindh. Negligible proportion also works as social workers. Approximately 4.9 percent of the respondents are farmers who go to Faridabad to work on farms. What is significant is that about 14.8 percent of the house-hold heads are unemployed. Few of them are old while, a majority of the unemployed have freshly arrived in the year 2017 from Sindh, Pakistan and are in search of jobs. And so the latter haven't been able to find work yet.

Upon their migration to India some of the families have taken up occupations that are either agrarian or are related to farming activities to supplement their income. Such circumstances range from their having no small children in their nuclear family or sharing of information on time among their networks which usually travels from the seven pradhans of this settlement to the other inhabitants; ability to bear the expenses of travelling to the field and staying over and arranging meals which in most cases are located in other nearby states or outside Delhi, etc. However, it is not always that individuals find work in the fields. When Mehengi and her husband Nanak Ram visited Uttar Pradesh to search for agricultural work in the month of May in 2017 they met a dead end as they couldn't find the mango plantations that they had heard of and had hoped to work in. Chander in spite of running a tea shop just outside the camp beside the highway preferred to go every year with his wife to harvest crops such as wheat and cotton in the surrounding areas of Delhi.

They however are not the only ones who undertake such activities. As an anganwadi worker within the camp, Rama had reported individuals from this camp such as Kirshan and Bagri; Mohan and Sita; Shawan and Sita; Amarlal and Nunga who had gone to cut wheat in the month of April among whom some had brought with them at least twenty to thirty maunds of wheat⁶². In the year 2017, Chander and his wife Sita had gone to cut wheat in April-May in Palwal, Haryana. Chander had described as to how individuals and families go to work in the fields in Haryana (Faridabad such as Sohna Road, Palwal); Uttar Pradesh (in Nagla Charah) and Punjab (near Amritsar) during the harvest time of wheat and cotton. On being asked by the researcher as to why they prefer working in the fields during the harvest of such particular crops and not others, Chander had replied that it was so because the people who hail from Sindh mostly had a prior experience of dealing with the harvest of

⁶² 1 maund is equal to **37.3242** kilogram.

such crops during the time they were living in Sindh. The rate for such harvesting work as Chander had pointed out may range from Rs.400 (for harvesting Cotton by two person in Palwal, Haryana to Rs.250 in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab). The returns from such work are often in grains that the workers can bring with them home. The usual returns would from working in the fields may vary sometimes. Chander who heads a family of seven, reveals the following in conversation with the researcher:

Chander: In 1 kilo, I got 6 maunds.

Researcher: Why doesn't majority of the other family of this settlement go for such work in the fields during harvesting season?

Chander: Those who have the cost to sustain themselves they go. Others don't go. The place we go, we buy the tools from there itself. The costs are mainly those of food, drinking and the cutting tools for the work in the fields.

He added that the farming tools and implements and other expenses apart from the travelling are approximately Rs.2000 to Rs.3000. In Chander's family, not only did he and his wife undertake such seasonal work during harvest season but, two of his sons also went to cut wheat spending Rs. 100 everyday to reach the fields across the Yamuna river just behind the camp where they got one to three percent of the harvest in lieu of wages for working in the fields.

Another such family that had gone to work in the fields of Palwal during harvest time in April-May 2017 was Sita and Sawan and their son Amarlal hailing from Hala in Sindh. Last year too, i.e. in 2016, they had gone to Palwal in Haryana to cut the harvest, and out of which they had brought back some grains to give twenty kilos to Sita's brother and another twenty to the son of the pradhan, while about 10 to 15 kilos was given to Sita's daughter-in-law's uncle. Sita in the interview with the researcher had said that every year that they went for cutting the harvest, about two to five kilo was kept reserved for the relatives who are given free of cost. She also gave some of the harvest to her brother's family as his children were still very small for him and his wife to go and work in the fields. She recounted how some people from within the camp even had come to her family and asked for some wheat sacks and she pointed out that she had given the grains to the poor fellows and that together they could always make something and added that she never liked begging herself.

Sita this year had brought back with her three kilo and six maunds of wheat which filled up approximately twenty five sacks, out which five had been sold off. Her son Amarlal had got Rs. 6000 by selling one kila of his share of the harvest. From among the total harvest that Sita bought she had given off three maunds to one of her son. Some (about twenty kilos) was sold off to a stranger who had come to the camp. She added that for that much amount one could get as much as Rs.15,000 to Rs.20,000. Each of the sacks of wheat could be sold for Rs. 1000 to Rs.5000. From the harvest that they had brought with them this year, half a kilo was extra and this she had given off to her son who had newly married and also gave him Rs.1000 to give to his father-in-law. Approximately, ten maunds were consumed by the family. She recounted how working in the fields especially in places like Palwal could be costly in terms of acquiring one's own food and she reflected that to sustain three of them they had to borrow about Rs.5000 from the shopkeepers in the settlement. She said that the decision to go and work in the fields was partly undertaken for paying off debts of Rs. 20,000 (in Sindh) and Rs.10,000 (here in India) respectively that she had taken. When further questions were asked about the wages received from doing such work, the conversation went like the following:

Researcher: *Have you received any wages for working in the fields?*

Sita: *No. I never asked. Whatever they gave, I took. But there was no force.*

One of Sita's sons also works in the fields across the Yamuna as a farm labourer and had recently cut about five bigha out of total of fifty bigha of harvest. Other respondents like Rani, the daughter-in-law of Mohini who had arrived only four months back too had gone to work in the fields across Yamuna and had brought ten maunds and two kilo. She hadn't got any wages. The cost of the expenses of staying over there had been Rs.500. She had gone there in April. She had gone there along with eight other persons. To save money she had pressed some wheat to make bread from the harvest.

Thus, taking up of agrarian work does not come as surprise seeing **the history of these families being engaged in agrarian work** back in Sindh. Be it in history or in recent times much of rural Sindh still runs on a feudal economy which is marked by "unfree" or bonded labour who are often tied to the land through obligation to its owners either in terms of fusion of economic and political power or, the existence of a subsistence economy at the village level or from a simple process of reproduction where the surplus is generally consumed by the landowner class.⁶³ Evidence towards this aspect of their occupation came up

⁶³ See <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/sindh.pdf>

in all the interviews. Respondents like Mahadev Advani had pointed out that “*within this community no one works nor had worked before as a salaried professional*” and instead all had worked in the fields and not in salaried jobs.



Picture 3.3 Cultivated fields across the Yamuna and just behind the camp

One of the respondents who also happen to be one of the seven pradhans in this camp is Dayal Das who hailed from Hyderabad in Sindh and who had arrived in Delhi in the year 2013. Back in Sindh, Dayal Das had his own house but, did not own any agricultural land. Unlike others, Dayal Das used to take land on lease for agricultural purpose and did agricultural work which is evident when he said that “we used to take on lease like say of 20,000 kilos. Half of it, we had to give to the land-lord”. It is also evident when the following conversation is to be considered:

Researcher: *Do you prefer the work that you are currently engaged in, i.e. in running a grocery shop or do you like working as a peasant?*

Dayal Das: *My heart lies in working in the fields. We used to do agrarian work there and sometimes even cut the crops at the time of harvest. Back in our place we used to grow water-melon, tomato, wheat and cotton.*

Thus, many of the respondents after migrating to India has got engaged in informal work in the non-agrarian sector. Yet, they remember fondly the agrarian work that they did back home in Sindh and would gladly shift to such work. Another respondent, Pooran, like Dayal Das had replied that *“working in the field is always better. Our ancestors were all peasant. Rice, water-melon, garlic, potato, spices, brinjal were produced by us. In villages working in the fields was enough to sustain ourselves in daily life.”*

Further, Sita Devi from Hyderabad points out that, back in Sindh, even though they had their own seven roomed house it was shared among her large conjugal joint family. They never owned land for farming (both her conjugal and natal family), but only leased it from the landlord in lieu of turning in half the produce to the latter. Sita Devi’s natal and conjugal families were thus engaged in working in others fields during the harvest season of wheat, cotton or did labour if such farming opportunity was unavailable. Respondents like Parvati, who had arrived from Hyderabad in 2011 while, recounting her family’s life in Sindh noted *“We used to stay in the houses provided by the land-lord himself. Mother and father would often go for work in the fields for one month”*. She further added that money or income earned from the fields of tomato or some fruits like melon or banana that they would take on lease and cultivate used to come like once a year or once in two years.

Her family would earn as high as two and half lakhs to two lakhs of rupees out of which they saved savings would range from Rs, 5000 to Rs.10,000. to even Rs.1,00,000. All of saving which would be spend on daily expenditures. Sometimes while taking fields of tomatoes on lease her family would get savings as much as Rs. 5000 to Rs.10,000. Parvati also had pointed out how last year i.e. 2016 her parents had reaped a profit of two and half lakh from the land that they had taken on lease back in Sindh.

Respondents like Pooran from Latifabad in Hyderabad, Sindh in an interview with the researcher had pointed out that they used to work as peasants back in Sindh by taking ‘lease of fields’ of mango or banana. Citing example from this work he had explained that if out of the 10,000 kilo of lease they were able to retain 20 to 30 percent they could earn a profit of Rs.8000 or above on each lease of banana that they were able take to the local market and added that the *“plantation work is bit different and all of my friends used to work in the plantations”*. Sometimes, Pooran would invest on the plantation by taking it on lease for Rs 2 to Rs.3 lakhs and would incur mostly profit but in the past few years they were incurring losses too. Based on the money available with them they would also use it to lease

land for three to four months to take up the business of banana and papaya and get paid in terms of cart-loads full of such fruits.

Therefore, going by their occupational trajectory one can call the refugee community of Hindus from Sindh in Pakistan as being similar to what Gans(1962) calls as the “urban villagers”. However, there are subtle difference between the respondents of this study and those of Gnas (1962). The difference that first comes to the mind is in terms of the nature of dwellings. For while, Gans’s (1962) respondents lived in storied buildings, the respondents of this study live in dwelling more closely resembling that of villages. Gans (1962) had based his study on the urban villagers of Boston’s West End, Italian immigrants who mainly hailed from agrarian backgrounds. These peasants and farm labourers had a history of working as farm labourers in Italy living in poverty in densely built-up and overcrowded small towns barren of vegetation and working for absentee owners and managers (Gans, 1962). While the peasants owned or leased tiny plots of land, on the other hand, the day labourers looked each day for work on the estates and were rarely employed more than a third of the year (Gans, 1962). This is also true for the cross border refugee community which is the focus of this study. They too had worked as peasants in various cities, towns or villages that they lived in back in Pakistan.

Educational Status of Children

All of the children attend the neighbourhood government schools. The Table 3.4 reflects the number of school going children. The number of school going children is affected by demographic factors such as age. The reason behind this is that most of the school going children are within the ages five to twelve while, those older than this rarely attend school. Often when it came to school admission the later’s over-age is seen as deterrence in pursuing education.

Table 3.4 Number of school going children per household

School going children per household	Number in percentage
1 to 5	67.36
5 to 10	7.92
None	28.71

About 67.36 percent of the families have one to five children attending school. Interestingly, 28.71 percent of the household do not have a single children attending school. About, 7.92 percent of the families have five to ten children attending school. The children from the refugee camp attend the neighbourhood government schools. Since, many of the families prior to coming to this camp at Majnu-ka-Tila had been staying in Faridabad much of the prior education for them have taken place there in both public and public schools there. This is true for girls like the daughter of Sona Das who had pursued her education there in Faridabad. However, a common problem they all reported was about the difficulty in getting their children above 11 years admitted to the local schools as they do not have the requisite documents or certificates. Another problem that is faced by this community is that often their children are refused admission in schools and thus cannot avail education due to their Pakistani passport⁶⁴. This is reflected when Shivani who has migrated from Matiari in Sindh says that her children doesn't have their school certificates from the schools that they attended back in Sindh especially her son Bhagwandas.

Also, aspirations for their daughter's education are also less. This has been reflected in the opinion of Mahadev Advani who talks of the education of his nephew and niece who stay with his family and call him and his wife as their parents. When asked about the education of his nephew, Radhe Kishan, who studies in class VI of Kendriya Kanya Vidyalay, Majnu-ka-Tila and that of his nieces Darshana, Jaishati and Parinkavati, he says:

“Radhe Kishan can study upto whatever standard he would wish and it is his wish as to what he wants to become. But the girls will be married off.”

Religious, Social and Cultural Practices:

When it comes to their social and cultural lives, the notion of border and border making is important. This dimension was reflected when in the initial days of the fieldwork Sukhnandan, one of the pradhans of this settlement said:

“We do not identify with the Hindus here as they are bad Hindus since they inter-marry with Muslims and even others beyond their own community.”

On the other hand, the cultural practices are reflected at the time of wedding of their daughters and sons. Among the Hindu refugees, marriage happens within the other Pakistani Hindu families of Rajput descent who live in various camps across Delhi and the National

⁶⁴ See 'Pakistani Hindus are waiting for India to accept them' News Laundry, May 2016

Capital Region. When it came to the socio-cultural practices that the members of the refugee community retained, one of the prominent characteristics is clan exogamy. When asked about the nature of clan exogamy, Parvati had pointed out that a Panwar Rajput would not marry a Panwar but could marry other clans like Kori. This statement also reflects a tendency to intermarry among the same group of affine that is seen as a risk reduction strategy (Parry cited in Durrani, 2013). Other respondents like Chandrama had pointed out that there was a hierarchy between families that are Saraunki or Dabi which are placed higher in the hierarchy when compared to others like Kori, Vadiyari, Rohodawada, Tekhrawada, Gadiayariahwadi, Madiyahwada, Hariyahwada, etc and these would sometimes be referred by the families that fell under them.⁶⁵ For example, Chandrama had pointed out that if Minu's family is a Saraunki it would often be referred also as Minuwada.

Another practice that the members of the community have continued to follow and which preceded their migration is the lack of rigid dowry system. Chander, hailing from Nawabshah who when asked about dowry at the time of girl's marriage, said that "*dowry is not like here in India. Whatever the girl's family gives the groom's family accepts it and even if nothing is given it is fine*".

An interesting practice that the researcher found in terms of marriage was that engagement for marriage happens at a young age (as children) even though the actual marriage takes place later between the ages of thirteen to eighteen years. Some of the respondents like Sita Devi had pointed out that in her community children get engaged in childhood and get married between ages fifteen to eighteen years. However, this age of marriage also affects the refugee community especially their education. It leads to either school drop-outs or non-enrolment. This had also been revealed by one of the respondents, Kirshan Mal, who said that when back in Sindh he was to be promoted to class VII, he was married off by his family and by the end of class VII he had his first child which led to disruption to his education. His son, Narayan Das who is twenty years old has still not married today. Most of the adults in this camp seem to have been married between the ages of thirteen to sixteen. However, today the age at marriage seems to have increased as this community began to live in India. Many of the girls however, are getting married at eighteen and above years of age. Such practices maybe in anticipation of the citizenship that families from this community eagerly await for.

⁶⁵ However the spelling could not be verified of these names as the researcher did not come across any literature citing them but acquired them from the interview with her respondents.

One finds various deities or their symbols that are worshipped by this community such as Shiva, Hanuman, Jhooley Lal, Hanuman, etc. What Steve Ramey (2007) notes with regards to Sindhi Hindus is true when he says that such communities and individuals often have to construct and defend their own definitions of religion in environments where non-Sindhis challenge their practices as the Non-Sindhis definition of the practices may not be the same as that of the Sindhis themselves. This can be applicable even for these communities. Rama the anganwadi worker had pointed out to the researcher that the timing of fasting for this refugee community is different from the locals and more similar to Mohammedans. However, the paradox of their situation is visible when one realises that while in Pakistan they had to hide their Hindu identity here in India too they have to hide their Pakistani identity. This had led them to feel that they inhabit the no man's land because in Pakistan they are treated as Indians and in India they are treated as Pakistanis.

However, a profile of the social life of the members of this community would not be complete without a mention of the power differentials within the families of this community. During the field-work the researcher had come to realise that there are power differentials among the various families of the camp. The camp had seven pradhans- Sukhnandan, Dayal Das, Sona Das, Dharamveer, Chota Laxman and Nandi Ram and Hiralal. The houses under each of the pradhan have been divided on the basis of area of Sindh they had hailed from. It is also based on the number of families who had arrived with them initially across the border in case their area was the same. Majority of these pradhans had either lands i.e. they were zamindars (as in case of Nandi Ram) or had their own flourishing businesses (as in case of Sukhnand). Some of these pradhans are related to each other by relations as in case of Dayal Das and Sona Das. Back in Sindh, Sona Das had resided in Tando Mohammad Khan that was only forty kilometres away from Dayal Das's home and are also kins-men on the father's side. However, among these pradhans, the say of Sona Das, Dayal Das and upto a lesser extent Sukhnandan's hold sway in case of disputes. The popularity of Sona Das and Dayal Das could be seen in their ability to access work networks and distributing them among the houses that are under them. Further, Dayal Das often took an active role in helping in the admission of the children to schools as evident in cases such as Sita Devi whose daughters Gulbai who is currently in class IV in Nagar Nigam Balika Vidyalay and Rampriya who is in class VII in the same school. One of her boys was aided in admission by Dayal Das who accompanied the children's father to help with the documents and talking to the teachers.

The disproportionate power held by some of the pradhans was reflected in one of the dispute involving Kirshan Mal, the homeopathy doctor. Around the beginning of 2017 a quarrel took place between Kirshan Mal and the house opposite to him across the depressed land. This depressed land had been kept by Kirshan Mal to extend his clinic but needed Rs 50,000 to complete it for which he did not have the money. The house opposite had been encroaching on this depressed land. Another newly arrived family too has laid claim to this land. On asking the pradhans for help, Sona Das, Dayal Das and Sukhnand had decided in favour of the others. Kirshan Mal had been trying to put his case before Dharamveer but he said that when the latter is needed he hides. At the time when Kirshan Mal had met the researcher, Dharamveer had gone across the Yamuna just behind the camp. About his own pradhan Laxman, Kirshan Mal says that he had no power and recounted how Sona Das had snatched the former four feet of land while building his home. Kirshan Mal had lamented to the researcher that the families from Hyderabad are also usually better off and therefore have a greater say in the decisions.

Kirshan Mal had said that a few days back people had beat him up and would almost come to murdering him had some of them not stopped the others. In the conversation Kirshan Mal had also lamented that there was no solution. Some of the families from Matiari are settled in Fardibad and had asked him to shift there so as to solve their problem but Kirshan Mal had pointed out that it was not a viable option as five of his children were already studying in the neighbourhood schools while another three were in the local primary school and also because bank accounts of his children, his wife and himself along with the Aadhar Cards had been issued in the name of this camp. Kirshan Mal had pointed out that he was tired of the entire journey and did not have the energy to shift elsewhere and also that he didn't know where to go even if he shifted. He had also narrated a previous incident that had happened with Mahadev Advani (who is also from Hyderabad) who had taken away some of the former's land without knowing it and had settled with his tents when he had initially arrived in this camp.

With this we come to an ending of this chapter. The next chapter presents the experiences of these families in settling in the host society, namely in the Indian society and how they cope and strategise their successful integration into the new social context.

Chapter 4

Experiences Of Settling-In And The Making Of An Identity Of A Stranger

The chapter deals with the experiences of Hindu refugees from Pakistan and their coping strategies – be they social and cultural, economic, political or educational - that they adopted in the host society in the Indian city of New Delhi. When it comes to their socio-cultural strategies of coping with the notions of the ‘urban villager’ and ‘stranger’ are evoked. The chapter explores what is meant by these notions. The strategies of coping include aspects pertaining to their work and means of earning their livelihood and the expenditure for running their families as also for the education of their children. On the other hand, the political and educational aspect of coping has been seen through the lens of the respondent’s aspirations for themselves and their family.

Paths of Settlement

Contemporary migration has neither single origin nor a simple end; it is rather an on-going process more akin to a voyage (Papasterigiadis, 2000). This has been reflected in the migration experiences of various families of Pakistani Hindu refugee community too. As we have mentioned earlier they too had to undergo a series of migrations before arriving in New Delhi, the place where they are currently settled in. The process of migration included halts ranging from few hours to months to even years. All the respondents interviewed had entered

India either the Zero Point - Jodhpur or Lahore - Attari border legally with their passports and travel visa based on pilgrimage to either Haridwar or Akshardham. However, prior to migration some prior to undertaking their journey, had to halt at multiple places within Pakistan too such as in Karachi, Rawalpindi and Lahore to get their documents, especially visa done. Most of them had brought material goods such as bed (e.g. Chander mentioned that he was gifted that bed at the time of marriage), clothes, utensils (e.g. Pooran) or, only clothes (e.g. Dayal Das). Those who stayed elsewhere before arriving in Delhi noted that they had diverse experiences. Sita Devi who having arrived in India in 2013 prior to settling at this camp stayed at Kanjhawala for two years with her family. Others like Pooran had lived in Bridgevasan for about two to three months and then near Faridabad's mandi ⁶⁶ where they had stayed for twelve months and had briefly worked in No.1 market there. Prior to shifting to Majnu-ka-Tilla or Aruna Nagar II neighbourhood they had settled briefly near Kasmiri Gate Inter-State Bus Terminal where the chaat puja⁶⁷ is held, but they did not feel safe there with small children in the family and anti-social elements moving around. They took the decision to shift to the current camp as it was also nearer to the city. On being asked why they had migrated enmasse from Faridabad to Delhi, Pooran had pointed out that the government had instructed them to come to Delhi so that police inquiry for visa would become easier. The current government has given them no particular time limit for which they can stay in this camp.

Respondents like Shivani before arriving in Delhi had halted for three days in Amristar and then arrived in Delhi's Chadni Chowk area. After this they had shifted to Baba Dunh Das ka dera or behind Majnu Ka Tilla Gururdwara Sahib where they had spent ten to fifteen days. After the family was thrown out from this temporary shelter, they were sheltered at Nahar Singh's house for two months. However, before being sheltered in Nahar Singh's house they had been sheltered briefly at Jhuppi. Finally they had arrived in this camp in Majnu-ka-Tilla's Sri Ram Sena Hindu Camp. Some like Rani who is the daughter-in-law of Mohini and who had arrived only four months back had entered India through Zero Point-Jodhpur border after travelling for four days, found her journey too painful for her to recount: "*so much hardships. What to say. We have forgotten everything.*"

However, few families who had initially arrived in the Aruna Nagar II neighborhood behind Baba Dunh Das-ka-dera or behind Majnu-Ka-Tilla Gururdwara Sahib were also

⁶⁶ Mandi here refers to the main market place.

⁶⁷ It is one of the festivals held in states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in India.

among the respondents interviewed. Parvati one of the respondents who had arrived in 2011 recounted her experience when she pointed out that they had taken shelter in Baba Dunh Das-ka-dera for three to four years before arriving in the present camp. Recounting on the initial experiences, she recounts that, back in end of 2011, the people of the gurudwara or what Parvati refers to as the Baba Dunh Das-ka-dera threw them out from their premises. Somehow they escaped with their belongings to Jhuppi where they had sheltered in a temple. However, even from there the police beat them and threw them out and ordered them to move out with their tents. According to her, it was a very cold night. One of their contacts came with their car and sheltered them for a night. Later, they had again come back to Majnu-ka-tilla where they were not allowed to put up their tents. They took shelter in a temple for two to three days, after which they had been staying with Nahar Singh in his home where he arranged for their rations and from where they started their mobile cover business.

Thus, the turbulence of today's migration is to be seen in the fluid multiplicity of paths, multi-directional and reversible movement and unpredictability of the changes associated with these movements in which all of transitions and destinations in a life's passage is defined as if everything is suspended along a infinite stage (Papasterigiadis, 2000). However, it does not mean that the pattern of movement is random and totally open-ended as strict barriers and counter forces resist or exploit the flows of human movement (Papasterigiadis, 2000). An understanding of where one is from may reveal how one sees the world but doesn't reflect as to where the person is heading. These journeys and associations are never transparent (Papasterigiadis, 2000).

Production of Locality of Refugees

Intrinsic to the process of migration and settling down is the issue of production of locality by the families of this community. The journey of migration often transforms migrants and their presence may also be a catalyst to further transformation in the spaces that they enter (Papasterigiadis, 2000). It is the physical spaces that form the backdrop of the work of production of the locality and these physical places are areas, spaces, roads, streets, locations (Bourdieu cited in Appadurai, 2003). However, appropriation of a space to which a community can declare their belonging is always related to a space to which others lay claim (Holston and Appadurai, 1996). This is true for Pakistani Hindu community as the land in which they had settled in Sri Ram Sena Hindu Camp had been earmarked for Delhi Development Authority purposes. This production of locality is especially true for the first

few inhabitants who arrived in this camp in 2011 such as Rani, Kirshan Mal, Parvati, and Kumar Advani amongst others.

One of the respondents, Kirshan Mal, had recounted how his family had to clean the vegetation beside the Yamuna bank to make place for his dwelling and laying its foundation along with building his clinic for his homeopathy practice. Others like Parvati too recounted that when initially they came to the current settlement they were afraid of the jungle. Parvati adds: *“we came as a group together to settle here. But we were afraid that the government would remove us from the land. Everything that we have today is ours earned by our labour”*. Other respondent, Kuawar Advani, reflected that the land on which his house stands today was initially a *kabaristhan*⁶⁸ and how no one was ready to occupy that space. It was also not preferred because it was more into the interiors of the camp. This project of production of locality thus reflects an effort to work against the corrosion of present by change and uncertainty (Appadurai, 2003). This is to be seen in Kirshan Mal’s attempt to lay the foundations of his son’s house besides his house and also that of his clinic, thinking about the future. This permanence may however be an illusion for nothing is certain- be it the food, shelter, work. It merely points to the ways refugees try and deal with uncertainty in their quotidian way (Appadurai, 2003). Thus the search for permanence and production of locality is closely related to the aspiration and anxiety of the refugees



⁶⁸ Kabaristhan me

Picture 4.1 Kirshan Mal's dilapidated clinic

Settling-In

The issue of settling-in involves to a large extent the economic aspect of settling in. The cost of migration especially across the border had varied from approximately one lakh rupees to twenty thousand. For some families, such as that of Sona Das who hailed from Tando Mohammad Khan's Gularchi Magli and whose family consist of nine members who had migrated to India in 2011, the cost of visa processing fees and other documents amounted to Rs. 1,70,000. For many families, the economic condition has further worsened due to migration. This is evident in Kirshan Mal's son Narayan Das's experience. According to him, their condition in Sindh was better. The cost of migration seems to vary from family to family. Chander had been saving for this journey into India and subsequent migration to the city of Delhi. He had been able to save three lakhs over five years. Dayal Das who before coming from Sindh, inspite of being able to save 5 lakhs by saving for three to five months in the process had incurred a debt of 10 lakhs that he had loaned for the journey into India and settling down.

For Pooran, with twenty-eight children the cost of migration has been so huge that not all his children had been able to migrate to India and the unmarried daughters have been especially left behind. Pooran had pointed out that the passport of each of those family members who migrated cost Rs.3000 to Rs.4000 while the visa expenses amounted to around Rs.8000 each. The mediator who helped the refugees to cross over to India also took Rs.7000 to Rs.6000 per head. Added to this were the transportation costs and those of halting at different places. When asked by the researcher whether any of his relatives had helped Pooran, he replied that *"all the money had been saved with my own labour"*. Pooran had been forced to leave back much of his joint family members in Sindh. Today some of his married and unmarried

daughters⁶⁹ still wait to come over to India. It was Pooran himself who migrated first and following him, came his children, sons and finally his girls. The remaining part of the family in Sindh comprises of nine unmarried girls. Pooran and his sons every month had to save part of their income for sending remittances which ranged from Rs.10,000 to Rs.20,000. One of his sons, Ramchand, the one who runs the grocery shop stays in a different house but shares the same hearth with his father's family, had to undergo the experience of his house catching fire in the month of March in 2017. He said that this time the police came to visit after the fire unlike in November, 2016 fire and the local non-governmental organisation that works with this community had also given them charpoy. For Mohini's family, the migration, especially the cost of making visa and the passports came to around Rs.20,000 to Rs.25,000.



Picture 4.2 Shows Chander who got burnt in the fire in April, 2017 that also gutted his home



⁶⁹ The unmarried daughters in India they could not

and Pooran had felt that a heavy financial burden.

Picture 4.3 Shows Chander's wife Bhakhtawari's burnt Pilgrimage Visa

A common aspect of the migration of all the families of the respondents was that they had left some or the other of their family members back in Sindh. Dayal Das who had left his brother behind reflected that “*gradually the others will come. Right now we do not have any benefits. If we get some benefits, then only will the others come*”. Chander whose family here in India consists of himself, his wife, one daughter and five sons too had left his six brothers and mother back in Sindh with whom he had resided in a joint household. When asked by the researcher whether he sent any remittances back home, he replied that neither did he send money nor does he receive money from Sindh. Respondents like Sita Devi replied that “*gradually they will also come. It is their wish. We have brought our children to our country*”.

In all these narratives, conception of desh is interesting. According to Samadar (1999) based on his study of Bangladeshi illegal migrants, the word ‘desh’ is used to refer to the respondent’s native villages but when pressed further they named India and this expressed a sense of citizenship not only in liberal terms but also in terms of functional requisites such as voting rights, guaranteed access to public distribution system, land deed for housing site (i.e., all the requisites for establishing a transactional relationship with the state). However to make the migration more viable, the researcher found that the refugees before the actual migration took place did perform reconnaissance that was either done by the family members or relatives or neighbours who would often come to visit India on pilgrimage and see the likely places to settle down. Samaddar (1999) too mentioned this in his work when he pointed out that reconnaissance was often accompanied by efforts towards buying land for homestead and sometimes for agricultural property, acquiring ration cards, getting enrolled in schools and colleges, acquiring jobs for the elders. In this process the

journey of Indianization is complete and often before the final migration takes place, reconnaissance is done atleast once or twice so as to make some final arrangements before the migrants enter legally with a valid passport never to go back. Thus at times the family may decide to send one or more members to work in another country or region in order to maximise income and survival chances (Castells and Miller, 1993).

However, in every decision to migrate, the constraints of the past and possibilities of the future are carefully weighed (Papasterigiadis, 2000). Also, once a migration movement is established it is likely that the future migrants will follow the beaten path (Castels and Miller, 1993). This aspect is also reflected among the Pakistani Hindu refugees in Delhi. Many of the fathers and the grandfathers of the respondents had migrated to India, some to Delhi while, others to Marwar region of Rajasthan. But, all had gone back to Sindh as they had their own land and house and found living in India not very viable with whatever land or assest the Indian government had allotted to them. These migrations particularly occur during Partition or soon after. For many of the respondents like Sukhnandan and Dayal Das, India represented the land of their “*grand-father and great-great grandfathers*” for their ancestors had settled briefly in the Chittorgarh area of Rajasthan. Pooran’s ancestors had come to India during Partition and had settled briefly in Rajasthan’s Marwar region but went back as they had five to twenty acres back in Sindh. Sita Devi’s ancestors had stayed in Delhi briefly at time of Partition but, had returned as they had their own land back in Sindh.

While searching for elderly population who could recount their experiences of Partition, the researcher did come across only two such respondents. One of such an elderly person was Govinda, who is lovingly called Gomdo, is one of the few oldest people of the settlement hailing from Hyderabad who had arrived in India in 2014. He recounts how he at nine years of age accompanied by his father and other members of his family arrived in Marwar region of Rajasthan and had even come to Delhi to work on the construction of the Yamuna bank. He recounts how in Marwar, the government had given them land, two bullocks and a well soon after Partition near the local railway station there. Here they stayed for three years trying to adjust to their new life. But, he said that his family left all of this as they didn’t find it viable for as he said “*how can a population thrive on well-water*”. The reason for choosing Delhi was because he had come here too briefly at the time of Partition.

The researcher also came across some elderly respondents who had migrated to India during the 1960’s. One of them was Siya Ram who was ten years old then and who recounted

that he had come with his brother, sister-in-law and other smaller brothers and sisters and had stayed over in the Malwar region for atleast two to three years. The government, as Siya Ram pointed out, also provided them with a well but Siya Ram had said “*we did not like it there. We silently went back*”. During the time they stayed they tried their hand at agriculture but without success due to the dryness of the topography. Siya Ram had a very brief schooling of two years when his family had been staying in Malwar but did not continue it when he went back to Sindh. Other respondents too had come earlier a few years ago only to go back. One among them is Hari Om Sharan, the son of Mohini, who had recently arrived about four months back and who recounted to the researcher how they had first come to India in 2005 and had stayed over for five to six years in Faridabad within which two of the brothers had got married. But then they had returned as economically it was not being viable. Soon after they went back, the border was also closed between 2002 to 2005. He notes that it has been almost thirteen years since that time.

The process of migration, eventhough a regular feature of modern life and no longer exceptional, can vary from being opportunistic to traumatic and is likely to directly or indirectly touch the experiences of most people on a constant basis and one’s understanding of society (Papasterigiadis, 2000). This fact is reflected in the accounts of the migration trajectories of some refugees. While, for most of them, the journey was hassel free, for however few the journey of crossing over to India was not that smooth. Some families that had to pay a penalty at the border that consumed their resources. Narayan Das pointed out that when he came to India it was alongwith a big group of hundred and fourteen people among whom some were carrying gold that they had converted from money that they had got after selling their land. At the border they were asked to pay Rs. 9 lakh fine. Dayal Das pointed out how the community had united and had visited Arun Jaitley, one of the ministers in the present government. Also a court case was lodged whereby; they even had to hire a lawyer. The penalty was about two to three lakhs. However, the court ruled in their favour and not only did they get back the gold that was seized at the border but also their penalty was waived.

Finding Work, Earning and Spending

Migrant group can be divided into categories such as permannent settlers, foreign workers or refugees (Castels and Miller, 1993). Some of such migrant groups are likely to be concentrated in certain types of work usually those accompanying low social status and live

in segregated low income residential areas (Castels and Miller, 1993). Such low status work is usually concentrated in the informal sector. These informal economies have always been a part of urban economies even though they often have been dismissed as marginal or attritional (Oka, 2012).⁷⁰ Informal economies have been defined as complex system of enduring economic transactions involving the sale and purchase of goods and services that often operate on the margins of or are outside the institutional oversight or legitimate social or political regulatory frameworks and coexist and compete with formal or mainstream economies that lie within this framework (Oka, 2012).

Usually these informal economic activities are small scale activities that are highly labour intensive and are often not registered with the authorities (Oka, 2012). Bromley had defined the informal sector as consisting of self employment in petty commerce with linkages with formalised large, medium or small sized businesses or multi-national firms. Often actors from these informal economies attempt to benefit from the formal economies i.e, the protection offered by institutions and regulation and the advantages provided by the informal economies i.e. the flexibility and negotiation that is offered by the lack of regulation (Oka, 2012). According to Oka (2012) informal economies and refugee camps are closely related as the latter's very definition is deemed as not requiring nor possessing any form of commercial economy, as any form of commercial activity within the refugee camps are seen as being outside the realm of regulatory institutions and hence are seen as informal and also because these informal economies are often seen as attritional and encouraged by local relief workers. Infact, Oka (2012) had reflected that often these informal economies are the primary reason that allows refugee camps to sustain itself indefinitely as urban settlements inspite of shortcomings.

Most of these refugees in India work in the informal sector due to which they face harrasement in the hands of the employer and the police (Bhattacharjee, 2008). Such instances of taking up informal work is not only present among the respondents on whom the current study is based but also in other studies based on refugee workers in host society. Samaddar's (1999) study on trans-national Bangladesh immigrants had reflected the fact that most of such people were engaged in informal work like driving cycle rickshaws, collecting rags, housemaids, etc. and thus they became from peasants into a sub-population of the

⁷⁰ Oka (2012) had studied how in Kakuma refugee camp in Northern Kenya how the informal economies had catered to the wants of refugee towns that could not be met by the relief packages and also filled up infrastructural gaps.

metropolis. Majority of the residents of this camp sell mobile cover within the National Capital Region.

Sita Dev whose husband though initially unemployed soon after migrating into India especially, when they had been staying at Bridgevasan and Kanjhawala had found, the work of selling mobile covers in New Delhi's shopping bazaar area where he takes his cart full of mobile covers to sell. The eldest son Pehlaj has taken a mechanic's shop (of scooter) on lease for Rs.3000. One of her son also goes to Tilaknagar to sell mobile covers. This son of Sita Devi earns Rs.200 to Rs.300 per day and is educated upto class II from Masubhurguri, Hyderabad. Her husband is educated upto class V in Kotri in Hyderabad, Sindh. The conversation between Sita Devi and the researcher went like the following:

Researcher: What are the experiences of work that your husband and your son do?

Sita Devi: My husband sells mobile cover and my son works as a mechanic.

Sita Devi: Husband sells mobile-covers but if he gets some place to sell it will be really nice. Out here there is no agricultural work. My husband is educated. My son who has learnt the work of a mechanic is also educated. But out here the cars are different. He took two years to learn the mechanic's work.

Some of the respondent's like Chander had to spend Rs 200 to Rs 500 on running the household expenses per day out of which approximately, Rs.100 to 150 went towards fulfilling the wants of the children. All of the expenditure came from the daily earning ranging from Rs.150 to Rs.600 that Chander got from selling onion and tomato and sometimes other vegetables near Mundka metro-station. Recently their cart that they used to sell mobile cover had broken down and they had invested Rs.2000 in it. So to earn something in the meantime they have been selling some onion and tomatoes and had been earning Rs.100 to Rs.250 per day. Exigencies had threatened the economic stability of this family as on 23rd March 2017 their house had got burned when there was a short circuit in one of the overhead wires.

The households of respondent's like pradhan Sukhandan too is run by selling mobile covers that helps the family in their monthly expenditure that may be as high as Rs.12,000. The household of another respondent, Parvati too runs on selling mobile covers as her husband sells mobile cover near Kingsway Camp and earns approximately Rs.1000 daily out of which

he gives her approximately Rs.500. The cart on which the good is transported and then sold costs around Rs.20,000 to Rs.30,000. The goods i.e. mobile cover must also be substantial if the income is to be substantial. So for Parvati's family the goods had cost around Rs. 3,00,000 and to make it more substantial the husband needed another Rs.50,000. The family could save this much amount of money by saving whatever they could earn by selling mobile cover and by putting in whatever money they had brought from home by selling off Parvati's gold earrings. Also the police have to be given a bribe of Rs.1000. Parvati points out with regard to the bribe that "*if we pay money, we do not have tensions then. Otherwise they beat us up and throw away our goods*". Usually where her husband stands with the cart he has to give the police a bribe of Rs.1500. Otherwise, in a nearby park where he sometimes goes to sell his wares, the bribe is only Rs.1000.

Parvati in an interview with the researcher had added that life was comfortable here and added that "*the children has peace. We get food and water on time. Here we have earning. Working in the fields is hectic as the work increases such as sowing, harvesting, washing clothes, cooking food, etc. Out here the income is also good from selling mobile-covers. But I don't know if my husband is sad or not*". Parvati's house too like that of Sita and Sawan had got burnt in the November 29 fire in 2016 and with it perished not only her hut but also things like almirah, documents, cloth, charpai. However, remaking her dwelling with bricks and cement had crossed the meagre sum of Rs.25,000 that the government had given to those families whose houses had perished in the fire.

Infact, remaking the house had cost her family approximately Rs.1,25,000 and still it is yet to be completed. In mid 2017, her house had one room but the kitchen is yet to be made. Parvati said that with every Rs.20,000 that her husband earns Rs.2000 is saved towards completing the kitchen. The approximate cost of the kitchen would be Rs.10,000. She reflected how the children not knowing their parent's real economic condition and the hardships that they go through demanded a toy car worth Rs.5000 which they saw in their cousin's place.

Other respondent like Shivani's husband too went to sell mobile covers in Barakhamba road. The difficulty that is faced by him is that often those who he calls "*committee waleh*", take away the goods. Shivani had pointed out that six months back, the "*committee waleh*" had snatched away goods worth Rs 2,50,000. Shivani recounts how sometimes in a month goods worth Rs.20,000 are lost to these "*committee walehs*". After enquiring who the "*committee*

wahleh” were, the researcher was told that that they are the local police. The police snatched away one of Pooran’s son’s mobile cover goods’s cart. Mohini’s son Hari Om Sharan had recounted how three to four times the police have either thrown his goods on the road or snatched away his cart and had pointed to the researcher that they were too poor to pay the police bribe and this is why the police kept on doing so. Hari Om Sharan who buys his goods whole sale from Karol Bagh and at a time buys goods worth Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 2,000 which may last upto eight days sold mobile covers in Green Park and from whatever he could earn which ranged from Rs. 4000 to Rs.3000 per month, the daily expenses often ranged from Rs.500 to Rs.1000.

Shivani’s household too ran on the income earned from selling mobile covers by her son Bhagwan Das and her husband. Bhagwan Das goes with his cart of mobile covers to Laxmi Nagar. Her son had left his schooling to support the family by selling vegetables and also because he wanted his other siblings to continue their study. According to Shivani the bread-winners from her family choose this work of selling mobile covers by taking inspiration from others in the camp who did the same. With this work Shivani adds “*we can sustain ourselves*”. Her relatives are however not engaged in this trade but in occupations such as rickshaw pulling (which her father’s elder brother does) in the Azadmandi area.

Some like Narayan Das, prior to selling mobile covers in Laxmi Nagar, used to sell vegetables especially tomatoes and onions (which he still does sometimes now) and had also done some farm work in Kanjhawala in Delhi itself. By selling vegetables he brings home about Rs 300 to Rs.400. Regarding business Narayan Das had said that the more brain one has in it, the more successfully can the person sell off his things and reflects that “*if you invest the returns will also be good*”. But lamented that there is hardly any savings. He describes his situation as that of “*bought and ate*”. However, in India he feels that their financial state is more dire for its “*do or go back*” situation for them.

Pooran’s house-hold has multiple bread-winners earning money from diverse sources. In his family he and his two boys are the bread-winners. Pooran himself goes to the nearby Sabzi Mandi with his own cart-full of vegetables which sells per day at Rs 200 to Rs 500 having, a profit ranging from Rs1000 to Rs 2000. Regarding the mobile covers that one of his son sell, Poorna said that “*sometimes two hundred or sometimes the income is same as that spent in buying the goods. At times we get only the money just as much as the labour. On an average Rs.200 to Rs.400 is earned that is used to sustain ourselves*”. One of his sons also has a

grocery shop just outside the camp besides the highway. Regarding their current economic status, Pooran had said that “*now we are passing our time*”. When asked about the cost of sustaining a large family Pooran said that “*expenditure on clothes and children’s hunger is fulfilled by God. Everyday we need seven kilogram flour, soap, food on which an estimated of Rs.300 to Rs.400 is spent*”. One of Pooran’s boys who sold mobile covers brought his wares from Ghafar Market in Karol Bagh while the goods for the vegetable cart and the grocery shop is acquired at Majnu-ka-Tilla or Aruna Nagar neighbourhood itself.

Others like Kuawar Advani who at the time of the interview sold mobile covers had been working in a number of informal sector jobs such as as waiter in a restrurant in Faridabad apart from having worked briefly at a wedding band and selling remote covers and finally had entered this business of selling mobile covers. Kuawar Advani had added that he would be teaching the skills of selling mobile covers to his brother-in-law who had recently arrived in India.

However, there are few families such as that of Mahadev Advani and his two brothers and also that of Nandi Ram who are rather affluent in comparison with the other members of the camp. Mahdev’s elder brother Kanwar Ram has stayed back in Sindh to like after their extensive property and have send his four children to pursue their education by staying with his brother Mahadev. The fact that Kanwar Ram did not migrate can be related to the fact that can be related to what Hirschman (1970) had said when he had said that at times members who are influential will hold back in exercising their portion of exiting organisations (such as the nation) not out of reflection on the moral and material suffering that may result after that and which they have to go through but by anticipating, that the organisation to which they belong may go from bad to worse if they left. Although Mahadev’s younger brother sells sugarcen juice, Mahadev himself owns a grocery shop and a Xerox machine. Mahadev Advani thinking of the future had been thinking for sometime to invest in a portable camera that would help in taking passport photographs and also that of maariage functions. His family had arrived in the year 2013. Mahadev has no children of his own and had brought with him his elder brother Kanwar Ram’s children with him for giving them better education. In an interview with him, the reasercher realised that Mahadev back in Sindh had a plantation of banana and even the business of selling in and transporting it and infact every job related related with its packaging except for exports. Eventhough, Mahadev had said that he received only Rs.4,000 from home, Kirshan Mal the homeopathy doctor who is a kinsmen of Mahadev’s wife had said that the amount he received was not Rs.4,000 but

Rs.20,00,000. Recently Mahadev had even build a mortar and brick dwelling with a pukka latrine for his son Radhe who would be getting married in mid 2017.

However, some households did have to deal with the plague of unemployment. This state of unemployment with the prefix “un” of unemployment signals an anomaly, an odd, irregular and temporary phenomenon that calls for a remedial action and which is likely to be rectified once the action is taken (Bauman, 2005). Some respondent’s like Rani complained regarding the unemployment of her husband. Rani has three daughters and three boys of her own. Sometimes Rani’s husband undertakes the work of labourer. Information for such work basically travels from pradhans like Sukhnand and Dayal Das and even from one neighbour to neighbour.

The researcher on finding this similarity of occupation very intriguing had asked one of the pradhans and the conversation on went like this:

Researcher: Why have most of the people in this camp taken the job of selling mobile-covers?

Dayal Das: The market for mobile cover is more and sustainability is also better. From labor we can earn not even Rs. 300 to Rs. 500. With the work of a labourer we will not be able to fulfill our needs be they related to visa, health, everyday expenditures.

Other respondents like Ramchand, Pooran’s son, on being asked the same question had replied that the work of selling covers was taken up by most as it symbolised a life based on the notion of “live in the city like a city-dweller”.

Dayal Das, who arrived in India in 2013 juggles two jobs at the same, time that of running a grocery shop and that of a social worker. Dayal Das had established this grocery shop with the help of a loan taken from a organization of Chopal whose real name is Ashwini Kumar Chopra who had given him Rs.15,000 instead of the Rs. 2 lakh that he had wanted after charging an interest of Rs. 7000 to Rs.10,000. This loan had been combined with monetary debt taken from relatives. Thus, apart from selling mobile covers, some of the respondents also had their own shops within or just outside the camp. Dayal Das and Muzawar has a grocery shop while, others like Chander have their own tea shop.

When it came to the expenses for running the household, Dayal Das replied that the monthly expenses of running his family of his wife, four sons, two daughter-in-law, one daughter and himself ranges from rupees seven to nine thousand per month. According to Dayal Das, *“if the income is less, the expenditures will also be less”*. He adds that that his family doesn't have any fixed budget of spending, it keeps varying every month.

Sita Devi finds this city of Delhi very expensive. Her family had spent Rs.10,000 to Rs.15,000 on building their dwelling that is a combination of tent cloth and reed with cemented floor. Apart from this Sita Devi's family spent about Rs. 600 to Rs, 700 for miscellaneous expenses such as those spent on children's school stationaries, repairing their cart. Also, to make a hassel free environment at work in selling their mobile covers, Sita Devi pointed out that those from her family who go to sell mobile covers had to pay monthly bribes of Rs.200 to Rs, 300 to the police. On being asked whether her family sent remittances to Sindh, Sita Devi had replied in negative and had said *“we are living an eating here. They are earning and living there.”* Shivani's family's monthly expenditure per month includes Rs.500 that is spent on the education of each of her children while her everyday expenses towards food and other necessities may range from Rs. 10 to Rs.100.

At times the cost of making requisite identification papers became costly for the families settled in this camp. They had to spend some portion of their income on making requisite official documents which are often demanded for opening accounts in banks or for getting their children admitted to schools. By 2016, all of Parvati's family members got their Aadhar cards. While some of the members got their Adhar card in Faridabad where they were living prior to shifting to this camp. After shifting to this settlement they had to get new Adhaar cards as well. However, here each Adhaar card cost about Rs.300 to Rs.400. She mentioned that the address proof was important because they asked for it in the schools or, even for opening bank accounts.

When it came to savings of the families among the respondents certain factors seem to affect it. For some of the respondents, there was hardly any savings: *“we earn and eat it. Land is not there. All earnings are spent on clothing, food, education of children”*. For some, family the issues of health and availing services related seem to affect their savings.

Making Cultural Identity of the Refugees

According to Papastergiadis (2000), the cultural identity of the migrant needs to be seen as formed by the journey or movement and is not something solely preceding this movement.

As members of a community cross boundaries and mix cultural practices, the old identities are shed as migrants move from one place to another and this process is also fastened due to demands of assimilation from the migrants (Papasterigiadis, 2000). This is true for the respondents. Not only did the respondents retain many of the socio-cultural practices that they had previously followed back in Sindh, some of their cultural identity too had undergone change in the process of migration, especially so in the process of settling down in the city of New Delhi awaiting citizenship.

As seen in the previous chapter, the sections under religious and cultural practices reflects that many of the socio-cultural practices (be it in following clan exogamy or those that are followed at the time of marriage) are retained by the refugee community. This reinforces the identity of the past and juxtaposes it with the present, which may be in the process of evolution with the settling in takes further roots in the host society.

The relationship of the migrants to their original 'homes' is rarely erased for departure seldom includes forgetting and rejection. The links between home and the new society may find new forms of connection and extension (Papasterigiadis, 2000). Not only did the relatives visit the families in the camp but also they bring goods that are useful for their families. Respondents like Bhakhtawari, Shivani and even Siya Ram pointed out how the clothes they wear here had been brought from Sindh by their relatives as they do not favour the quality of clothes found here. Daulat Ram too had reflected that the clothes that they are given by the charitable organisations are sunk into the depths of the Yamuna as their community do not wear such clothes as those worn in Delhi. Also, the *panni*⁷¹ for stitching bedsheets and pillow cases that the women are engaged in making throughout the day and which may take as long as two or three months are brought from their native places in Sindh. One of the elderly respondent Siya Ram had said that "*here the stitching of the clothes aren't good*". So whenever someone from his home-town visit Pakistan he asks them to bring some clothes for him. Siya Ram wore a white traditional attire that had a double lined pocket in the front and he proudly pointed out that their clothes were a bit different pointed as he said so to the pocket of his clothes as he said these words.

This relationship with the native land of refugees is also maintained in their memory. One of the respondents, Shivani had pointed out that often she remembered her family's visit to the Khanot river, the Shivratri in Hyderabad, the Ramleela and the Rama Pir's fair in Tandolia, the goddesses temple at Hinglaj where celebrations go upto five to six days, the

⁷¹ Here *pani* refers to transparent sheets of paper on which designs are drawn to help in stitching on the clothes by tracing an outline of these designs with a pencil.

festivities at Kalandar and even those of Sakhi Sarovar.⁷² Respondents like Siya Ram too remembered fondly the various visits that he not only enjoyed as a child but also in which he took his children, to tourist places like Karachi and Thatta where fairs are held around temples and mentions Machikanun and Manhureh⁷³ and the banks of the dariya as popular memories he yearns for.

Visiting their native places however had become hard especially for those nearing their seventh year of stay in India as that would affect their demand for citizenship but was true even for others too. Respondents like Dayal Das had pointed out how his wife and children wanted to visit their relatives back home but couldn't due to this very reason. However, for Dayal Das himself, this process is very tiring as evident when he said "my heart is no longer interested" when it comes to visiting his home and relatives back in Sindh. Another respondent, Parvati too had pointed out that her parents were hoping to see them soon as evident when she had said that they often looked forward to see her.

When it comes to the family among the members of this community and majority of the respondents seemed to have resided in joint households before migrating to India where they have set up their nuclear families. What Gans (1962) points out, while writing on the nature of family among the urban villagers of Boston's West End, said that the occupational role of the farm labourer made it impossible for the extended family to function as an unit because the bare wages could only support the nuclear family. This maybe true for Pakistani Hindu refugees in Delhi. When it comes to nuclear families, it is handicapped while dealing with emergencies (Gans, 1962). It is also related to the return migration of families such as those of Pathania and Sita. In case of Pathania her husband was a saint who wore the orange robes and roamed about and was unemployed. The earning member of her household was her son who due to lack of success in employment in India took to drugs and was depressed. Around December, 2016 this family went back to Sindh. The return migration was basically to go back and live amongst the extended family so as to tackle the son's drug problem as it was not possible for Pathania's nuclear family to manage him, accompanied with the financial difficulties that they had to face. Thus, the family also acts as social unit apart from acting as an economic unit (Gans, 1962).

⁷² It seemed that Kalandar and Shakhi Sarovar are holy places of worship for the Muslims but even the Hindus equally enjoyed the festivities that were held there. Muslims too Shivani had added many holy places of the

⁷³ The spelling of Machikanun and Manhureh could not be verified as the researcher did not come across any some term in the literature but acquired it from the field in an interview with Siya Ram.

Another family which migrated back to Sindh was that of Sita who was two to three months pregnant. The final trigger to their difficulties came on the November 29, 2016 fire which broke out in the camp destroyed their dwelling made of tent cloth. This family thought it better to return to Pakistan and may come back later. Another perspective that could be taken regarding for the prevalence of nuclear family among the respondents can be the importance of reconnaissance that the present members may be doing to understand so as to see the viability of the other members of the joint household joining them later as discussed earlier.

The lack of the entire family can also create a sense of hopelessness among the refugees. This is seen to be one of the biggest reasons for families to migrate to India and then go back to Pakistan as the wider kin network is left behind. Narayan Das had pointed that "*in India we did not have much benefit*". He also pointed out that if such a state of affairs continued for long even his family would be forced to go back to Halla in Matiari. As the sole bread-winner of one of the largest family in the camp with almost ten members the condition of this family who had arrived to India in 2011 and in this camp in 2013 is quite dire as Narayan Das's father Kirshan Mal had wondered from where would he get ration to adequately feed such a big family or, to give atleast Rs.10 everyday for meeting the children's daily needs needs be it for buying books or shoes or other necessities for school or, money to educate his children to become doctors ,engineers or pilots. This aspect had also been emerged in the account of Shivani. For her, life in India had its good and bad aspects. One of the bad aspects is that most of their relatives who are often one's partners in sadness and happiness had to be left behind in Sindh. When it came to emergencies the main problem was "the lack of one's own people". The vitality of such kin networks was reflected also in Arti's interview when she had pointed out that had her husband's brother not been in the same city of Delhi and had not lend Rs.20,000 for starting of her husband's business of selling mobile-cover (near Moolchand) she didn't know where they would be by now. Therefore, these respondents may have been missing relatives who are often the source of group life and mutual aid. Gans (1962) writes, relatives are the ones who could face without putting on an appearance or without feelings of shame and suspicion of exploitation.

However, some of the respondents like Kuawar Advani did have their relatives staying in the National Capital Region of Delhi and from time to time had helped him during emergencies. His elder brother stayed in the same camp with his family and had helped him in rebuilding Kuwar set up his mobile cover business while, his mother's brother had helped him in

rebuilding his house. Kuawar could bring down the cost of the new mortar and brick dwelling to Rs.80,000 which would otherwise have costed him more than a lakh. Therefore, one can very well understand the importance of relatives in the lives of refugees.

Further, one needs to understand, when it came to migration, one's family and community are crucial in the migration networks in terms of providing financial and cultural capital (Castels and Miller, 1993). The networks based on family or common place of origin helps in providing shelter, work, assistance in coping with local bureaucracy and support in times of personal difficulties and such networks makes migration safer and more manageable for the migrants and their families (Castels and Miller, 1993). However, within a family, the decision to migrate is made usually by the head of the family especially, male members (Castells and Miller, 1993). This is true for families of Pakistani Hindu refugees living in Delhi.

Sense of Being a Stranger

This particular Pakistani Sindhi refugee community is the epitome of the stranger in the city of New Delhi. The stranger in the form of a refugee is seen in terms of general human nature that also connects many people as well but this also tends to put emphasis on that which is uncommon (Levine, 1972). According to Papasterigiadis (2000), identity is associated with a sense of belonging and this belonging is in turn related to a territory. Thus, the question and answers of belonging and identity is hitched to one another (Papasterigiadis, 2000). Migration affected this sense of belonging and identity.

So the question that arises is what happens when identity is no longer related to a territory but needed to be built afresh. Even if many of the families have a sense of belonging to India there is often ambiguity in what they refer to as desh for they refer to both Pakistan as well as India. In the city of New Delhi, the search for identity and a sense of belonging had led the families of this community engage in the production of locality. To gain legitimacy in the eyes of the neighbours these respondents had named their camp Sri Ram Sena Hindu Camp. The researcher, on enquiring with the anganwadi worker and the director of the non-governmental organisation working in this camp the reason behind such a name, came to understand that no organisation had given this camp this name but the people themselves who come and insist on writing this particular name on official documents. Rama, the anganwadi worker, had said that "*they themselves say that name and insist that it be written in the official documents. The government has not given any name to the camp. Otherwise this area is called Aruna Nagar.*"

The notion of the stranger had been brought in by the researcher because of a particular experience that the researcher had met with when initially searching for this refugee camp. After reading in the media the plight of the refugees the researcher in the month of August, 2016 had sought to locate this camp. The researcher knew the address as Aruna Nagar Camp II but when the researcher reached the actual location, none of the localities nearby adjoining the camp such as the Tibetan refugees or the Sikh or Punjabi families seemed to know the location of this camp. When the researcher and her friend were enquiring on the location of the Pakistani Hindu camp majority of the people were referring to the Sikh-Punjabi families who had come to this area during Partition. Only in one house which had a semi-school arrangement in the ground floor pointed across the road to where the camp was. Later, on after crossing the road the address was confirmed by the police who cautioned the researcher and her friend that the area was not safe and to be careful with one's purse and belongings. This can be related to the view that the stranger is always defined in a negative fashion – as beings that are the other to us (Kristeva cited in Papasterigiadis, 2000). Such a view may also have stemmed from the ethnic neighbourhood being seen by the majority group as affirming their fear of a 'foreign' ethnic community (Castells and Miller, 1993). The next thing that struck the researcher when she reached the camp was the attire of the people there and their dwellings which was not at all one which one meets everyday within a city like New Delhi.

The concept of the stranger has been defined in multiple ways by sociologists. The concept of 'stranger' has been defined by Alfred Schutz (1944) as an adult individual who tries to be permanently be accepted or be tolerated by the group that he approaches. However, the cultural pattern that is particular to the group which is approached is, new to the stranger because he has not been a part of the historical tradition in which it has been formed nor does he have the adequate scheme of interpretation and thus, the cultural pattern is not part of his biography (Schutz, 1944). The stranger is often willing to share the present and the future with the approached group in terms of vivid and immediate experience (Schutz, 1944). When this happens the once distant cultural pattern is likely to be one characterised with proximity, its vacant frames occupied with vivid experiences, its anonymous content having definite social situations and its ready made typologies disintegrated (Schutz, 1944). However, the approached group is likely to treat the stranger as a man without history (Schutz, 1944). Thus, for a stranger the cultural pattern of the approached group has to be dominated by his actions (Schutz, 1944). The recipes within the cultural pattern of the out-

group is thus explored by the stranger to see whether they are useful for him as well in solving typical problems (Schutz, 1944).

Georg Simmel had defined the 'stranger' as a man who comes today and stays tomorrow and who does not initially belong to a group whose boundaries are spatially defined and instead brings in qualities into the group that are not and cannot be indigenous to it (Levine, 1972). Thus, the stranger puts everything in question that seems unquestionable for the members of the approached group (Schutz cited in Wagner, 1973). In fact, the identity of the stranger in Georg Simmel's work highlighted the subjective experience of ambivalence (Papasterigiadis, 2000).

According to Bauman (2003), cities are places where strangers meet, remain in each other's proximity, interact for a long time and therefore city is a trade-mark for new-comers with new ways of looking at things and new ways of solving problems which thus, made the city a greenhouse of invention and innovation, of reflexivity and self-criticism, of disaffection, of dissent and urge of improvement. The stranger by very definition is an agent who is moved by intentions that one can only guess but never know for sure (Bauman, 2003). Thus, the stranger is embedded in a series of dichotomies around us-them, modern-traditional, insider-outsider and this pattern of inclusion and exclusion shifts (Papasterigiadis, 2000). Therefore, a stranger is a stranger because he only constructs a social world that is characterised with pseudo-anonymity, pseudo-typicality and pseudo-intimacy rather than having a coherent picture of the group which he approaches.

The identity of the members from Pakistani Hindu community too had to face such dichotomies. Appadurai (2005) had pointed out that the stability in the right hand side of the identity does not hide the chaos on the left hand side of the identity. This is especially true since the stranger as Schutz (1944) had reflected is frequently seen in a prejudiced manner and which is especially true if the stranger is unable or unwilling to substitute the cultural pattern of his home group with those of the new group. It is then that the stranger is seen as a cultural hybrid and thus a marginal man (Schutz, 1944). According to Julia Kristeva (cited in Papasterigiadis, 2000), at times, these multiple attachment may generate suspicion and unease. This is very true with regard to this particular community. Two instances can reflect this dimension. Rama, the anganwadi worker, had recounted how her husband had objected to her working and especially coming over to this camp citing reasons that since they are Pakistani they may not be a very safe community to work with. Another instance is that the members of this camp have an Islamic name by which those known to them call them.

The identity of the stranger is in fact of someone who has come from elsewhere and whose language and practices are foreign, whose attachment is partial, whose historical presence challenge the basis for social integration and whose contrary perceptions offer a different perspective from which to establish critical judgements (Papasterigiadis, 2000). One needs to realise that the further one is located from centre, the looser and irregular and less connected one feels and the more one tends to be towards the periphery and feel like a stranger (Papasterigiadis, 2000). Centre here can be described as the mainstream society. Therefore, according to Papasterigiadis (2000), in Georg Simmel's work, the stranger is not just a social type nor an empirical study of a solitary figure who wanders and has no fixed relationship to a place but is capable of bringing to focus the issues of estrangement, means of solidarity, structures of community and a sense of belonging to modernity.

The plight of these refugees is no less simple. The sense of estrangement was very much reflected in the interview with Daulat Ram who had reflected that in Pakistan they are insulted as Hindu, in India they are insulted as Pakistanis and had added that *“even if we go where should we go. We are hanging like a thread. We were better off in Pakistan. At least we were on one side. Did we invite the government to divide the country? The Indian government in 1947 had decided for the division. You do the division and we have to go. If you cannot give anything why do you even make a show of giving then”* and ends his views in a dejected manner by saying that *“one saying is there if the earnings give you a sore one should throw them away.....What should I even say.”* This view is common not only to Daulat Ram but also majority of the refugees of this camp especially those who were poor in Sindh and here too.

In fact, as Georg Simmel observed, the position of the stranger stands out sharply if the stranger instead of leaving the place of his activity decides to settle down there (Levine, 1972). According to Georg Simmel, the restriction to intermediary trade and even to pure finance gives the stranger the character of mobility and thus, the stranger as a purely mobile person comes into contact with every single element but is not bound up organically through established ties of kinship, locality or occupation with any single one (Levine, 1972). The tension between movement and settlement as Papasterigiadis (2000) says is constitutive of modern life.

Further, according to Julia Kristeva (cited in Papasterigiadis, 2000), the stranger faces increasing indifference and distancing bears the brunt of ambivalent incorporation, faces

abject elimination from the social, withheld from intimate social relations and is often a vilified and abused object upon which the ills of the social is concentrated. One of the respondent Dayal Das had talked of the vilification directed towards his own community as Pakistanis which made him feel humiliated. Such vilification was also visible in Pooran's experience when he had recounted the bad experience he and twelve others of the same community had last year in Palwal. He recounted how some Gujjar landlords had arrived in the camp asking for labourers to work in their fields following which they had gone to work in their fields and worked for twelve months on the condition that they would be given half of the produce. But after the end of twelve months the landlord not only snatched away the 10 kgs of harvest that was the result of their hard work for ten months but also threatened them with violence and ordered them to leave Palwal and go back to Delhi. Pooran lamented "*we worked so hard and he did not give us anything*". When identity is at the at cusp of transformation there is a tendency to retreat into or even fabricate hostile narratives that bolster boundaries and exclude identification with the other (Krsietva in Papasterigias, 2000). Perhaps Sukhnandan's views as had been mentioned in the earlier chapter had stemmed from what Julia Kristeva had reflected in the previous line as well.

Aspirations and Anxiety

According to Appadurai (2003), people in communities always have visions, expectations, plans, wants - all of which are collectively formed. Such visions are related to the capacity to aspire. Such visions, expectations, plans and wants are related to imagination as part of everyday life of ordinary individuals and which is reflected in the lives and thoughts of individuals when they imagine that they or their children will live and work in places other than where they are born (Appadurai, 2005). Such imagination have a projective sense about them especially, if the imagination (especially if it is collective) becomes a fuel for action and creates an idea of neighbourhood and nationhood, of moral economies and unjust rule, of higher wages and foreign labor prospects (Appadurai, 2005). Therefore, imagination is a staging ground for not only escape but also action. Lives lived in the harshest of lived inequalities and the most brutal and de-humanizing of circumstances are now open to play of imagination as people no longer see their life as outcome of something given but as an ironic compromise between what they could imagine and what their social life permits (Appadurai, 2005). Imagination therefore is important for it is not a simple escape for in between the unfolding of lives and their imagined counterparts a variety of imagined

communities is formed that generate new kinds of politics or collective expression and new needs for social discipline and surveillance on parts of the elites (Appadurai, 2005).

In spite of realising that poverty affects the capacity to aspire which depends on the chance to exercise it one needs to understand is that poor people have visions for where they would like to go and hope for themselves (Appadurai, 2003). However, it is more likely that the capacity to aspire is a navigational meta-capacity is likely to benefit the the better off rather than the poor as the former in terms of power, dignity and material resources are likely to be conscious and have the ability to link the various objects of their aspiration (Appadurai, 2013). Also it is likely that the rich are likely to have more number of experiences of meeting ends and means and can use this knowledge stemming from such experiences (Appadurai, 2013). Also while, the rich are in a position to produce justifications, narratives, metaphors and pathways through which the goods and services are tied more to the social context, norms and beliefs on the other hand, the poor are likely to have thinner capacity to aspire as this capacity survives on practice, repetition, exploration, conjecture and refutation and for them empowerment is likely to improve this capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2013). However, the poor are likely to express horizons in the choices made and the choices which are voiced as they often name specific goods or outcomes that are often material or proximate in their aspirations (Appadurai, 2013). Examples of such aspirations towards specific goods and outcomes may range from the need for roof, job, education, good life partner all of which are related to axioms about good life.

Aspirations are more complex than desires or wishes (Appadurai, 2003). Migration and movement then for this community is closely related to the people's aspiration to what Papastrigiadis (2000) calls the 'ability to imagine' an alternative based on dreams of a better life. However, such imagination holds hope in spite of the migrant's life which increasingly is filled up with experiences of itinerancy, ghettoization and illegality (Papastrigiadis, 2000). All of these imaginations and aspiration take place as they lead their lives in New Delhi.

Bauman (2005) had reflected that those in the lower end of the tier among city residents rely mostly on segmented local networks that are ethnically based and depend on their identity as a valuable resource to defend their interest and their being. Thus, their life-world is territorially circumscribed and needs to be understood in terms of the orthodox geographical, mundance and down to earth notions. It is true for member of this community too. It is in the

cities that human urges and desires are born. People live in hope and even risk frustration in cities. This is especially true for the people whose lives are territorially circumscribed in terms of places due to lack power, superiority, domination in terms of flows (Bauman, 2005). Papasterigiadis (2000) had reflected that imagination has become central to all forms of social practice. Majority of the aspirations and imagination of those interviewed was related to citizenship that they await as they lead their everyday lives in the camp.

When it comes to the anxiety of the people, there are several causes of anxiety. For some of the respondents the anxiety revolved around material concerns. Sita, the wife of Sawan, is worried about her husband's unemployment and as to how she could meet the household expenses. For other respondents like Chander, the lack of money causes anxiety and makes them travel here and there for their income.

Other aspirations of the people interviewed revolve around citizenship. One of the respondents, Dayal Das, who on being asked what he would do once he is able to acquire citizenship, replied:

“Land will be taken and we will get our freedom too. Now we do not have any peace. It is likely that we can get better jobs. Children’s education can also be carried on in a better form. I will work in agricultural fields too in my own land. Right now people here look at us with a downward glance. If we get citizenship then it will no longer be the same. In the future I would like to buy some land, educate my children, serve the country and want to earn money. But everything looks impossible. There is neither help nor income. If I get a loan it will be helpful as then I will do some work. I can take some cart-full of mango on lease. Here people from the organisation are with us. But I am afraid as to how we will be able to get some new person to take our gurantee.”

For respondent's like Parvati too her main aspiration was to acquire citizenship had “if we get citizenship, if we get our food in peace, if we are able to complete building our latrine everyone will then stay happy. I will go and meet my mother and father as well. I will look after them and bring them to my house. I have thought this much, nothing else.” Sita Devi while talking about her aspirations about citizenship had replied that “education if good leads

to a good job that feeds the stomach as well. We will make our own homes and we do not have to run here and there then". However, some like Chander are critical and sceptical of the ability of their aspirations with regard to citizenship being quickly fulfilled. According to him, he might acquire citizenship as he would be eligible for it after seven years of stay in India. He pragmatically pointed out that *"the ones who have spent seven years haven't got citizenship, how will I get."* He definitely wants citizenship as he sees acquiring citizenship as having the ability to work anywhere in the country and not having to deal with the problem of applying and making a visa everytime and pointed out that the last time he had submitted the parchi for the visa. Others like Ramchand Pooran's son hopes for citizenship as that would ease the limits on their movement. Also Ramchand too hopes that after acquiring citizenship he would be eligible for a government job.

Some elderly respondents like Govinda who had arrived in 2014 and who is the brother of pradhan Dharamveer had reflected that *"all of us want to be settled somewhere, be given citizenship. We are fed up of running."* He pointed that he would like on stay over in India permanently and looked forward to government introducing provisions for providing social services for the elderly people in terms of providing them with food, clothing and housing. Other elderly respondent like Siya Ram too hoped that the government would provide adequate amenities to help them deal with hunger and financial problems.

Thus as, Samadhar (1999) notes, eventhough nations lay down who their citizens can be and the limits to participation, one has to realise that all willing participants to nationhood cannot be citizens or, in other words, with whom the nation has obligation to transact. Therefore, when aliens demand citizenship to transact, the notion of citizenship then becomes a passport to security which in turn increases the national insecurity (Samadhar, 1999). Therefore as Samadhar (1999) argues for migrants such as refugees or illegal migrants, an Indian passport is the ultimate way to secure identity and citizenship signify not membership in a political community but merely one end of the transactional relation. Thus the Nation then has to flexibilise itself so as to deals with the citizen and the alien (Samadhar, 1990).

Further, Papasterigiadis (2000) points out those services to various migrant communities have only followed after prolonged levels of activism by these migrant communities. Even then, at times, the services were limited and uneven in their distribution across the polity. As had been pointed out by the respondent Dayal Das, whenever the issue of putting their demands came up in front of the Indian government all of them go as a group or community. One of

the respondents Poorna Pooran had recounted how in 2015 the members of the community had undertaken “*protest to demand for a place to stay, a land to live on, help in their occupations*”. Pooran felt that if the government helped them to attain the above mentioned aspects they could fill their bellies. Pooran feels that the government should provide some more help when it came to the education of their children for he felt that if the government assisted the future of the children would be secured in terms of work and occupation for then some could even become doctor, engineer, politician, etc.

A protest demanding their rights in Jantar Mantar was also held in the year 2015 for their several demands one of whom had been the fact that their visa was not extended by the government. During the years 2015 and 2016 atleast two to three times protests were held for various demands. The government agreed to some of their demands and officials working under the present Delhi government (the SDM) arrived with tents and gave a generator to the camp. However, the electricity that is supplied to this camp is not regular. Dayal Das had pointed out how the other camps of Sindhi refugees especially those in Rohini Sector 11 had electricity throughout the day and night due to the existence of a meter, while the camp at Adarsh Nagar lacked electricity. Dayal Das pointed out that this camp had been trying to place an application to the government for the supply of electricity but had not been able to carry it forward as the cost for applying for electricity quota would be Rs. 20 lakhs that they as a community haven't been able to accumulate.

Holston and Appadurai (1996) notes that cities remain the strategic arena for development and negotiation for citizenship with their respective concentration of the non-local, the strange, the mixed, the public and the tumult of citizenship that such cities engage in is true as seen in the demands and aspirations of this community. Infact, the modern public of the city signify both the defamiliarizing enormity of national citizenship and the exhilaration of its liberties. Cities are privileged sites for current renegotiation of citizenship (Holston and Appadurai, 1996). Therefore, as Holston and Appadurai (1996) argued for the excluded, the political question is to change the terms.

Thus, the everyday life of the members of the Pakistani Hindu community continues to be characterised by ignorance and impotence. According to Bauman (2005), ignorance refers to disconnection between what is expected, hoped and desired to happen and what actually happens. On, on the other hand, impotence refers to the disconnection between what one is able to accomplish and whatever one should or wish to achieve (Bauman, 2005). Impotence refers to the fact that inspite of knowing that all the full inventory of factors has been brought

into play, one lacks the tools, resources to set them in motion or disable them. Such a knowledge humiliates oneself by showing how inadequate one was for the task and this is often an unpleasant, irritating, disgraceful, insulting, humiliating condition that one can be into. It is then that one is likely to feel uncertain as to whether one knew the factors that made his situation what it is and realise that he didn't know the factors that needs to be deployed to make the situation more agreeable or stop it from getting worse (Bauman, 2005). Therefore, the hoped for and promised certainty deemed predictable is nowhere in sight and stubbornly remains beyond the reach of its pursuers (Bauman, 2005). However, it was still possible to prognosticate that certainty would appear over the horizon inspite of the continuing presence of contingency that could be explained away by insufficiency of knowledge attained or errors in management rather than a need to rethink the assumed and potential destination of the modern adventure (Bauman, 2005). Such prognostication continue for the respondents within the security of their community of similarity which is based on a a sense of connection and 'we' feeling that saves the efforts to understand, negotiate, compromise and also acted as an insurance policy against risks with which the daily life is charecterised (Bauman, 2005). This is true for the Pakistani Hindu refugees as they continue to lead their daily lives within a community with which each individual share a "we" feeling.

Thus, the life-world of the refugees is seen to be charecterised by hopes, anxieties and attempts to stabilise their anticipations of the future. The next chapter discusses the educational opportunity, aspirations and world-views of the Pakistani Hindu refugee community by focusing on the memories of education, the triggers related to education that has led to the migration, the types of educational institution accessed and the meaning of education for such a refugee community.

Chapter 5

Education, Turbulence and Aspirations: Experience and Perception of Education in Home and Host Societies

This chapter gives a brief outline of the memory of education and how education has acted as a trigger for migration for the Pakistani Hindu refugees. It has also dealt with the experience in accessing education in the host society. The present educational institutions accessed by the children from this community along with, meaning of education for this cross-border refugee community and their willingness to invest in tuitions for their children has also been addressed in this chapter.

An important aspect that repeatedly came up in the interviews has been the term *bhatakna*⁷⁴ that if seen in context of the life-worlds of this cross-border refugee community is quite

⁷⁴ Here the closest meaning of the term *bhatakna* would be leading a nomadic life characterised with frequent migration for work purpose.

relevant. However, even within this community ‘bhataknaah’ has a class dimension.⁷⁵ The role of education in this context thus becomes crucial as a solution to this ‘bhataknaah’ and a way to improve one’s life and achieve mobility as seen in the mentioning of the terms ‘tarakki’ and ‘sudharna’⁷⁶ in many of the interviews.

Memory of Education

Memory according to Nora (1989), is likely to be dormant and be periodically revived. In the process of the interview each of the memories with regard to the schooling of refugee community is revived periodically to understand their experiences. The respondent’s memories can be said to be rooted as Nora (1989) had noted in spaces, gestures, images and objects. For the respondents memories are rooted in the villages of their native places or towns where they had pursued their education as evident in the certificates that few of the respondents have with them. However, what one needs to understand is that memory is absolute and not relative.

It may be stressed that autobiographical narratives, as De Gloma (2010) observed, depends upon one’s location within a particular community, within its unique historical and structural conditions. The biography of most of the respondents as a minority and as rural or urban poor had affected their autobiographical narrative with regards to education. According to De Gloma (2010), such autobiographical narratives can be described as a social memory since individuals while telling stories about their lives mobilise their personal memories that define socially relevant events which had occurred in the past but which is also ongoing in the sense that they work to shape the collective mnemonic record of such events.

Individual memory is part of the group memory as each thought is related and often has its source in one’s social milieu (Halbwachs, 1992). One may also take into account the fact that the respondents while making appeal to their memory to answer questions may place himself in the other’s perspective and may even consider themselves as part of the same group (Halbwachs, 1992) that the questioner belong to. Therefore, it is to be remembered that

⁷⁵ The term bhataknaah is related here with the class dimension because in the interviews it was never the affluent families (i.e. the families of the land-lords) who mentioned this term but it was always the families who in Sindh had been working as agrarian labourers who mentioned this terms in their interviews consistently. For the latter section of the population ‘bhataknaah’ took place in terms of searching for work. However, such ‘bhataknaah’ did affect their ability to pursue education for them.

⁷⁶ The terms ‘tarakki’ and ‘sudharna’ have been used to refer to terms such as progress, mobility and improvement.

even in the process of reproducing the past, the role of imagination remains under the influence of the present (Halbwachs, 1992) which may at times distort the memory.

In light of the above brief discussion on memory, we shall now focus on the memories of education of the respondents from the Pakistani Hindu community. The narratives such as the one of Kirshan Mal amongst others are autobiographical in nature. Such autobiography as De Gloma (2010) had argued, can be said to be a form of social time where the individual while recounting his life splits his life into discrete periods so as to lay the distinction between different communities and the different ways of seeing along with laying certain claims and explanations to understand the world. Therefore, each epoch of a person's life has memories, in terms of which a sense of identity is created (Halbwachs, 1992). De Gloma (2010) points out that the individual narratives reflect their life-worlds that contained morals; plot-lines in terms of settings, props, scenes, acts and events; agents and their purposes along with intentions and which constitutes for each of the individual their life-stories that is constituted by their testimony and experiences.

Kirshan Mal is the only individual in the refugee settlement who had studied upto graduation and beyond. He hails from Matiari. When talking of his education, Kirshan Mal had reflected that his education not only took place in different institutions but also took him to various places where he had to go to pursue his education. He had pursued his school education from classes I to V from Allabaksh Tagar's Primary-High School. The middle and secondary school was pursued from two schools, namely Government Boys Senior Middle and Higher Secondary School, Pallijani station and Government Boys Provincial High School, Matiari. The Primary High school that he had attended was located within his own village and had an equal number of Hindu and Muslim students. However, this school was up to class V and none of his classmates had studied beyond it and thus did not go beyond the primary level. This particular school even though was established originally in 1850 by missionaries was abandoned and people stole off many of its bricks. Thus as time went the school had began to resemble a 'jhupri' or a hut and he studied upto class III in this building. Kirshan Mal observes that this school was once a good school especially, when the local landlord's used to send their children to this school. Once they stopped sending their children the condition of the school had deteriorated Kirshan Mal appreciated the education he received in this school except for the Urdu classes that were taught by Aslam Khan Arain. Kirshan Mal points out as that these classes were incomprehensible to not only him

but most of the students since their mother-tongue was Sindhi and not Urdu.⁷⁷ After class III, from classes IV to V, he had later shifted to a place that was three kilometres away from his village where the local zamindar by the name of Allahbaksh had donated some land where with some meagre help from the local government a two room school was established. Kirshan Mal used to cover this distance of three kilometres everyday by walking from his home to his school. This school was equipped with only one teacher –Sumar Khan Jamali. The students in the class of fifty consisted mostly of children from three to four nearby villages and also consisted of eight Hindu children. From this school, on 30 May, 1990, he had got his certificate upto class V.

In spite of lack of education the neighbours in the village respected him for his education credentials. According to Kirshan Mal, back in his place any children above the age of 3 years or so are made to work in the fields. Lyon and Edgar (2010) too points out that children in South Asia are important economic agents and often become family's income generators if circumstances force them to do so. Often this forces children to be absent from school makes returning to school difficult. Kirshan Mal had also reflected that within his community government salaried job is hardly of any importance and if someone was aiming to get such a job the other members of his community often taunt that individual saying that he is likely to die hungry.

Kirshan Mal himself comes from a large family of eleven brothers and five sisters who were agrarian labourers in Matiari district of Sindh. None of his siblings pursued education beyond primary level and instead either left too early or did not attend school at all and

⁷⁷ The father of Sindhi Nationalism, G. M. Syed (1974) had described how after independence and even later the Sindhi primary schools were closed and instead Urdu schools were started in their place thereby, depriving the Sindhi people of the right to educate their children through their own mother tongue. In this way he says a foreign language was imposed on them at the level of schooling. An order that passed by the government also stopped the compulsory teaching of Sindhi as a subject in the Urdu medium schools in Sindh as a measure to bring the Urdu speaking immigrants closer to the Sindhi people. Also the names of places, roads, streets were replaced with non-Sindhi names. Thus the government had been undertaking attempts at suppressing and changing the culture of Sindh. The Sindhi students have to study Urdu as a compulsory subject from the classes IV to XII while, the Urdu students do not learn Sindhi. This have often led to discriminatory burden of studies that have also affected the life career of the Sindhi students and in all examinations the Sindhi speaking students have to compete with Urdu language. Such sufferings have been prevalent from 1995 when the scheme of One Unit was imposed on Sindh.

instead preferred to help their parents as labourers in the landlord's farm. Even today, his siblings continue to be agricultural labourers in Matiari district of Sindh.⁷⁸ Kirshan Mal fondly adds that whenever it came to his education his parents especially, his father never discouraged him to pursue his education. Infact, the cost of educating him may have been disadvantageous for his siblings at whose cost he was educated by his parents. Kirshan Mal's primary teachers such as Maqbool Baloch, Anwar and Mohammad Umar had encouraged him to pursue his education forward.

One such sacrifice was that during his school days often he had to go without food (except for dinner) as his mother would be busy tending to the cattle or doing household-chores to make food in the early morning. By the time he returned in the evening, the food was eaten by his siblings with nothing left for him. Another such sacrifice he recollected was regarding leaving his family for prolonged periods of time for pursuing education. As Narayan Das, his son mentions, he grew up without the shadow of his father and instead his father's brothers were instrumental in bringing him up and educating him up to class V. Kirshan Mal at one point had abandoned his family to pursue his education (especially when he was in Rawalpindi).

The next school that he had attended was the Government Boys Senior Middle and Higher Secondary School at Pallijani station which was the only school within a radius of five kilometre. Here he had pursued classes VI, VII and VIII. This school was five kilometres away from his home. This was an English medium school that had no routine as such. Even though the timings of the school stretched from 8 o'clock in the morning to 2 o'clock in the afternoon the teacher often either used to arrive at 10.30 in the morning as he stayed far or did not come at all for days. This reflects more or less the condition prevailing in rural Pakistan where even though the villagers have trouble with the teachers and may be unhappy with his/her performance they are often hesitant to complain lest the teacher stop coming altogether (Lyon and Edgar, 2010). Kirshan Mal notes that very few of the students from his original school in the village either came to this school or went on to attend other schools that were as far as ten to twelve kilometres.

Kirshan Mal remembers that although, a bus used to arrive near his place at 9 o'clock in the morning yet it was of hardly any use as he had to miss one of the first periods if he had to take this bus and instead walked all the five kilometres. This bus he recollects used to leave him two and half kilometre away from his destination and thus eventually, he had to

⁷⁸ However, two of his brothers out of his eleven siblings had died in childhood itself.

walk. By the time he was in class VIII, Kirshan Mal was fluent in Hindi which his grandfather had taught him. His grand-father was a college drop-out and had studied up to first year of college.

In the last school he had attended, there were three other Hindu students along with him whom the teacher from time to time would advise on the benefits of conversion. As a result, eventually he left this school too. The reason to leave this school was also because his family had got him married off at a young age itself. Soon after the marriage when he returned to school he was teased. He was only fourteen years when he was married. After a gap of few months he later joined another school, the Government Boys Provincial High School, Matiari to complete his schooling which was at a distance of eleven kilometres by motor-transport and then involved a two kilometres walk. His father had gone with him to get him admitted in this school.

When asked as to whether he had faced discrimination in any of the schools on his minority status, Kirshan Mal had said that discrimination was practised in terms of untouchability whereby the Hindu students had their own plates and weren't allowed to use glasses to access water from the same supply tap but had to had to drink it with their bare hands. Kirshan Mal had also reflected, that at times, the uniform of Hindus and Muslims was different in the schools.

He changed his institutes for his education in classes X, XI, XII and beyond. Kirshan Mal pointed out that he had passed his Matric examinations with a B top degree with which he later pursued Political Science and his pre-medical studies. After class XII, Kirshan Mal said that, at one point, he was pursuing three degrees at a time. He was pursuing a private Bachelor of Arts degree in Matiari college that was fifty kilometres away from his village; a regular Bachelor of Science degree under Sindh University, Jamshoro that was forty-five kilometres away from his home and a Dispensary Training Course (DTC) from Liaquat Medical Hospital and Health Science in Batajamshora, Hyderabad. This attempt to pursue medical education stemmed from a childhood dream of becoming a doctor. However, he had lamented that after passing out from Liaquat Medical Hospital and Health Science due to having a C grade he couldn't upgrade it to a degree needed to become an allopathic doctor.

He exclaims with remorse that had his father been a rich man he would have acquired higher education through capitation fees, but since he was a son of a farmer it was never easy for him. The family did not have enough money to spend on his education. It was then that his family had pressurised him to give up his educational pursuits. To make ends meet,

Kirshan Mal at this stage would often copy notes for other students, earning Rs. 300 to Rs.400 per student. He would also work as a construction labourer on Sundays and even on other days and from here he would earn as much as Rs.300 to Rs.400. At this juncture, he had joined a doctor and would work in his dispensary for two hours where he was paid a daily wage of Rs.20. It was through doing this part-time work at the dispensary that he met a doctor called Trikam Das who advised him that getting a medical degree would take as much as Rs.8 lakhs and instead of paying such high fees, it was better to try for Homeopathy.

Kirshan Mal then joined the Sindh Homeopathic Medical College, Guru Nagar situated in Rawalpindi at forty kilometres far from Hyderabad city. By this time, his family, included three children when he left his home and village for his higher education. He passed his Diploma in Homeopathic Medicine System (D.H.M.S.) which is a course for four years in 2004. In this course, there were Hindus too belonging to the Baniya and the Suttar caste. From writing copies and working at construction site Kirshan Mal saved enough to pay the Rs. 16,000 as examination fees of the last course as well as Rs.1,200 needed to get the certificate. To register for the Registration in Homeopathy Medicine (RHMP), he had to go to Karachi.

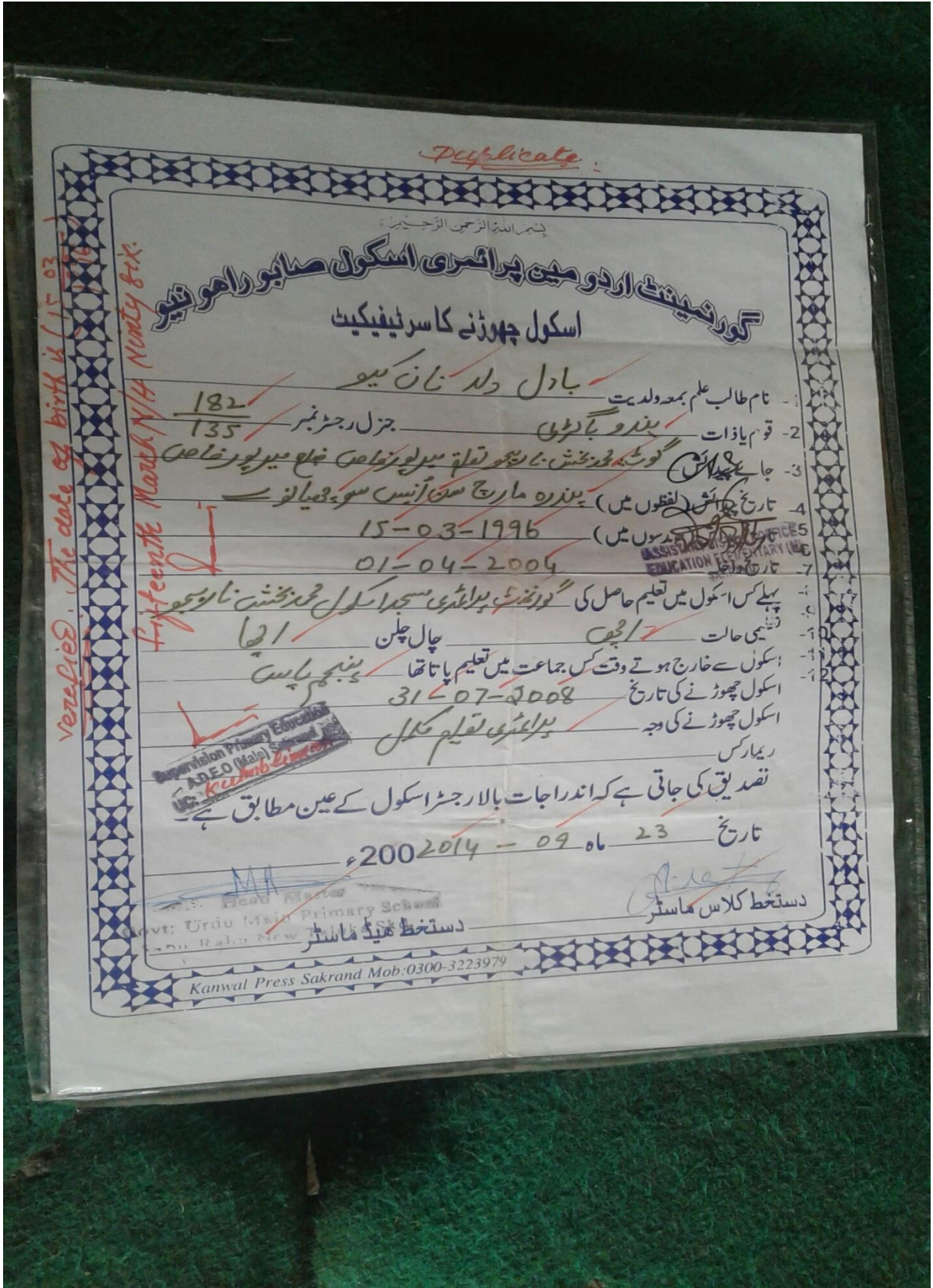
Today, Kirshan Mal has a certificate from the National Homeopathy Board, Rawalpindi. With the recommendation from one of the homeopathic doctors for whom he had worked briefly for two years, he successfully got his registration done so as to practice. In spite his practice he sought to continue his studies, but due to high cost he soon had to give it up. Using whatever savings that he had got and with the contributions from his relatives, he opened his own clinic in a village that was six to seven kilometres from Hyderabad city in a place called Tando Sayid Khan. From this clinic his income would be a minimum of Rs.2000 per day in the least.

Kirshan Mal's family had migrated to India in 2011 thinking of his children's education. The migration to India was undertaken keeping in mind their aspiration for a better educational future for their children. Initially the family had stayed for a year in Faridabad for they had relatives in Bridgevasan. However, Kirshan Mal's aspiration to set up a practice in India was unsuccessful as he is not allowed to practice in India. He tried to seek a remedy to this by writing to the medical board of India which replied by saying that such individuals like him will be allowed on two conditions –that he should either complete 5

years in India or, sit for an exam. He took his case to High Court in the year 2015 too. With regards to the solution offered to him, Kirshan Mal had said that sitting for an exam and getting a certificate from Pakistan is beyond question. He had requested the medical board to grant him a Homeopathy degree or MBBS degree, even if it doesn't allow him to practice he wanted them to give him at least a meagre pension. However, the biggest problem in sitting for a medical exam in India is the language as the exam is in English and all his prior education had been in Urdu.

Currently, Kirshan Mal practices medicine informally within the camp. His clinic is a measly hut whose roof is full of holes and leaks water when it rains and consists of a table and a chair along with a cupboard where Kirshan Mal stores his medical books. Sometimes when doctors from nearby hospital come for free check-up camps they store the medicine in this room. The neighbours have been requesting him to shift this room further down into a portion of land that is at a lower ground that needs to be filled. It requires at least Rs.50,000 to expand. The non-governmental organisation gives him some basic medicine and for serious cases he refers them to the nearby hospitals.

There are a number of others in the camp who did their schooling from Sindh but all of them had left their education mid-way. One of them is Nahru Lal, a young man who sells mobile-covers just outside the camp. Nahru Lal had pursued his education up to class VIII from Maqdoom Shah Dil Government Primary School, Hala. In this school he had studied from class I to class VIII. He had certificate up to class V. Nahru Lal remembers how school



Picture 5.1 School Certificate of one of the respondents

days consisted of classes in English, Mathematics, Science, Urdu, Sindh and Islamiyat. Nahru Lal had added that when the classes for Islamiyat are scheduled, the Hindu students of his class usually bunked it. In the examinations, teachers saw to it that the Hindu students passed in this subject by allowing them to cheat in their examination and making the seating arrangement in such manner. He said that in the whole school there would be approximately forty-five Hindu students with the largest number (approximately 20 to 25 Hindu students) in his class itself.

At times, the teacher teaching Islamiyat (who would usually be the Principal of the school) would preach them the benefits of Islam but never forced them to convert, Nahru Lal had left his schooling one month before his family migrated to India's Faridabad neighbourhood. Others like Mushbandi, who would who studied upto class V in Government Primary School, new Saburao that was one kilometre from his home, remember how seeing his friends earn made him leave his education early and instead had learned how to drive a tractor to earn a livelihood. Another respondent, Badal pointed out that education had taken him to multiple schools such as the Government Primary Masjid School Maumin, Mohammad Bashker Nareh Jo in Mirpurkhas where he had pursued his class II and then in Government Urdu Main Primary School, New Saburao where he had studied from classes III to V. He had reflected how education in his school would start with Bismillah (which he felt went against his culture) and pointed to his friend's certificate to show it.

Kuawar Dabani remembers his life as being a nomadic, one which did not allow him to pursue education beyond class III. Kuwar Dabani's father had died when he was very young. Within this community when the father dies, the children go to live with the father's brother especially, if its a nephew. As the only son, Kuawar did not want to leave his mother's side and instead went with her to work in the fields in a neighbourhood called Dungri Farm and was simultaneously, pursuing his education. It was here that his father's brother followed his mother and came to take him away by force. At his uncle's place in Tando Adam he was treated like a servant and was not allowed to enrol in the school and instead had to work in the fields. Kuawar Dabani often would try and learn from the books and copies of his cousins and in the evening would join classes held in the open by a kindly local master. This elderly teacher who was a Muslim encouraged him a lot and Kuawar fondly remembered him and said the success that he had is due to him for at that time of his life his spirits were broken. His uncle used to beat him up and one day had broken his head. It was then that Kuawar ran away from his home and took refuge in this grandmother's house in Hyderabad

where he found some respite and continued to live but was never admitted to the local school in spite of a zeal to learn. These are some of the memories of education and schooling of refugees living in Delhi that has been revealed here.

Thus, the Hindu minorities in Sindh seem to generally belong to a very poor or moderately poor home backgrounds which placed impediments in attaining educational mobility. Besides poverty, they too were not assisted by the overall social, religious, linguistic and cultural contexts within which schooling was to take place. All the cases presented here had revealed that the schooling system in general and teachers in particular made subtle or explicit attempts to induct and convert the Hindu children of Sindh into Islam. Even formally, the children are made compulsorily to learn 'Islamiyat' in the schools though the community and children invented ways to find an escape from such cultural impositions. It is with these experiences that the cross-border Hindu community have migrated to India and to Delhi, in particular, at present.

The ground reality of education among the families from the community has been quite bleak. A common reason cited for migration among the families living in Majnu-ka-Tilla had been the teaching of a culture that went against their own culture in Pakistan. Infact, in Pakistan, the government run schools are mostly attended by the poor masses and suffer from a stiffer dose of religious-nationalist indoctrination than the schools that are attended by the elites which allow for more wider national space for the children (Kumar, 2001). When it came to education in Pakistan, one could see an increasing difference in terms of the social divisions of the rich and poor. English which is seen as contributing to social mobility is accessible only to the middle classes and the upper echelons of the society, while the poor has to access Urdu education (Rahman in Lyon and Edgar, 2010). This has led to educational apartheid and educational ghettoization (Rahman in Lyon and Edgar, 2010). The Urdu medium schools even though propagate a secular –nationalist exposure breed some of the intolerant and militant students while, those in the English medium schools create more tolerant and less militant students (Rahman in Lyon and Edgar, 2010). According to Lyon and Edgar (2010), even if education in Pakistan has seen improvement in terms of literacy, it has been accompanied by growing social fragmentation and dissatisfaction (Lyon and Edgar, 2010).

Thus, the families who have left Sindh for India seem to have exercised the notion of exit instead of exercising their voice (Hirschman, 1970). Hirschman (1970) proposed that in

spheres like education the importance for voice is crucial for fending off deterioration and gaining some bargaining power instead of exiting from the organisation but this voice is likely to come from the upper sections of the society. It must also be understood in terms of what Sammadar (1999) argues that when a nation allows its citizens to become aliens in an alien land, they follow an exit policy which shows that the nation is devoid of any moral claim regarding the participation of those particular citizens. Such a nation is likely to be marginal to the extent that it doesn't fulfil its obligations as part of the transactional relation for its members are allowed to opt out. The scenario of exit thus leads to trans-border migration (Sammadar, 1999). Thus, such exiting on the part of families from this minority community when it came to the education of their children can be said to be an attempt to what Nora (1989) calls as recovering one's buried past. This brings in the symbolic notion of memory that Nora (1989) had spoken of. The dominant *lieux de memoire* is something that is spectacular and triumphant the latter is characterised by refuge, devotion and pilgrimage and where one is likely to find the lining heart of the memory. The memory of the respondents seem to be of the latter type. According to Nora (1989) when memory is no longer everywhere, the individual may feel the necessity to undertake the responsibility to recapture it through their own individual means. However, one must keep in mind that the various groups that make up a particular society even though are capable of reconstructing their past may distort the past in the process of reconstruction. This seems especially true for the cross-border refugee communities such as Hindus of Sindh in Pakistan.

Educational Triggers for Migration to India

Migration to India hasn't much benefitted the refugee families, except for education of small children who have been able to undertake education and who, had they been still staying in Sindh were likely never to even go to school. The bleak reality with regard to schooling is especially relevant for many of the adolescent children who prior to migrating to India did not have any education and were often over-aged which made pursuing education here in India and especially in the city of New Delhi a very difficult enterprise. This dimension is more true for girls. One of the respondent, Sita Devi, had reflected how back in Sindh there was no schooling for girls beyond a certain age and that girls were not allowed to go outside and therefore did not attend the school. Mahadev Advani notes how girls after eleven or twelve years of age stop going to school out of fear of being kidnapped. Therefore, when it comes to co-education beyond puberty for girls, the issue becomes a concern for the parents for, marriage remains a critical event and women are expected to

play significant role within the household rather than in extra-household occupations (Lyon and Edgar, 2010).

The lack of pursuing education back in Sindh is based on several reasons. One of the reason had been, as Pooran said that in the schools in Sindh they teach the Quran which often went against the culture of the respondent. It was evident when he had said that – *“There they teach the Quran. The words are theirs and none of ours.”* Chander too had pointed on similar lines when he had said that *“There they teach the Quran. What will we get by studying that.”* Pooran too had said that education in Sindh is characterised by *“difference in dharma, karam and gurbani”*. Dayal Das noted that Hindus are never respected in schools in Sindh and that schools in his hometown didn’t teach English but in Arabic language which he felt was not adequate.

One may also relate what Alfred Schutz (in Wagner, 1973) had said that at times, the in-group may feel itself misunderstood by the out-group based on the latter’s inability to understand the former’s way of life which it takes to be self evident and understandable by all human beings.⁷⁹ The in-group can then be held in bad faith (Schutz cited in Wagner, 1973). Due to this, the in-group can acquire a solidarity of resistance against outside criticism and feels repugnance, disgust, aversion, antipathy, hatred and fear towards the out-group and they can come up with several attitudes such as sticking to their way of life, trying to change the attitude of the out-group through educational spreading of information or, persuasion or propaganda or adjust its way of thinking by accepting the out-group’s pattern of relevance even if only partially or, the in group may follow a policy of iron curtain or appeasement or, the in-group may undertake war against the out-group (Schutz cited in Wagner, 1973). However, such a reaction may lead the out-group to fortify its interpretation of the traits of the in-group as detestable (Schutz cited in Wagner, 1973). This seems to be true for this community.

Experiences in Accessing Education in Host Society

It was in the hope of better future that Kirshan Mal migrated to India in the hope that not only would the future of his children be bright but his income would also be enough to send remittances back home. Initially, after arriving in the year 2011, Kirshan Mal attempted to get his children admitted into a school but to no avail. Finally it was retired customs officer, Nahar Singh who came to their help and others like him and got at least hundred to two-

⁷⁹ Here the in-group can be the community to the respondents belong .

hundred children from this community admitted. Kirshan Mal's children were admitted in the primary school at Bridgevasan where they had studied for six months. But this admission was not a formal one but an informal one where the children were only allowed to attend school. After this when the family moved to Kanjavla, the children too moved with them and joined a local Government Primary School. In terms of formal admission, the use of passport and their visa was useful. Here they studied for one year. His children Hariram, Jhulabanti, Damyawanti, Sitaram, Meghnath, Parvati and Dhanwanti began their schooling for the first time.

The family had moved to Adarsh Nagar subsequently. However, before moving, Kirshan Mal had collected the class V certificate for Hariram, Jhulabanti and Damwanti from the Government Primary School in Kanjavla. When the children were already for six months in Class VI in Adarsh Nagar, it was discovered that the spelling of Kirshan Mal was wrong as it was written Krishan Mal instead of Kirshan Mal. Kirshan Mal realising that since they are not citizens of India and his children may face problem in the future, he decided to correct it. Kirshan Mal had lamented that in the process of getting the names of his children corrected in their school certificate he had spend about Rs.30,000 in the travelling expenses. The teachers in Adarsh Nagar did not want to get involved as it a sensitive case involving the visa, passport, birth certificate of the students. However except for Hariram, Jhulawanti and Damwanti, the smaller children's certificates were corrected. In the meantime Jhulawanti and Damwanti were attending the English medium school when they were issued new corrected certificates.

However, when it came to Delhi especially the neighbourhood schools in the Aruna Nagar, the admissions of Sitaram, Meghnath, Parvati and Dhanwanti in the Uttar Delhi Nagar Nigam Prathmik Bal Vidyalay, Arunan Nagar took place after Kirshan Mal had gone to the school and had a discussion with the teachers and the principal requesting them to grant admission to his children. When it came to Hariram's admission in the Government Boys Senior Secondary School, Magazeen Road, New Delhi the Principal of the school did allow for the admission but on the condition that the updated identity proof be immediately submitted in the form of either Adhar card, bank account statement, electricity bill and a renewed visa (the last of which took a lot of time). The certificate with the wrong spelling in the father's name was still there. To rectify this Kirshan Das had to go to the Vishwavidyalaya Directorate at least four times as the principal had held the admission for three months until some of the identity proofs were submitted.

In case of the girls who sought admission in the Sarvodaya Kanya Vidyalaya Senior Secondary School school at Magzeen Road the Principal was not giving admission to Jhulawanti and Damyawanti even after four rounds of meeting that Kirshan Mal had with her. By this time the girls had taken transfer certificate in the government school in Adarsh Nagar and couldn't go back there. The principal of the Sarvodaya Kanya Vidyalaya Senior Secondary School was adamant not to give admission to Kirshan Mal's girls on the basis of the incorrect certificate and did not give importance to the corrected school certificate that the girls had received from the previous school. This adamant attitude of the Principal carried on for a long time in spite of several people speaking to the principal on behalf of Kirshan Mal and his daughters such as Ram Krishna Chowdhury (a local Vishwa Hindu Parishad leader), Ish Kumar Chadha (another Viswa Hindu Parishad leader), a letter and a call from the Directorate of Education, two letters from the Chief Minister's office and a visit by the Inspector General of Border Security Force. The school in Adarsh Nagar too requested her to grant the children admission and sent letters to her office regarding that but the Principal refused to even accept that.

By this time, Kirshan Mal had made at least twenty rounds for the admission of his children who already had missed a year due to all these problems. Kirshan Mal had been requesting the school in Adarsh Nagar to increase their correspondence with the Principal of the present school. They were sincere in their part but at a point the school also was fed up of all the problems and of the Principal of the Sarvodaya Kanya Vidyalay Senior Secondary school at Magzeen Road continuously denying that she had ever received correspondence from them. The school of Adarsh Nagar assured Kirshan Mal that they on their part were sincere but someone else was creating problem. Kirshan Mal was so exhausted with all these problems that at one point he wanted to lodge an FIR against the Principal but he was advised against it by the police officers themselves who had said that since he was a foreigner his roots were likely to be weak and therefore if the Principal decided to place a counter complaint against him it was likely that it could turn against him. After all of these, finally in late 2015, the Principal did allow the children to attend the classes but maintained their separate attendance and threatened that if Kirshan Mal troubled her, the other children from the Pakistani Hindu community studying in her school would also be thrown out too. Also, Kirshan Mal was asked to produce the new visa with prolonged times of stay. The visa had still to be renewed for the children and hearing this the Principal wanted in writing that the children did not have an up-to-date visa.

While the children had been attending their classes they, were continuously punished by being made to stand on the bench or outside the classroom and thus were forced to either miss what was being taught in the classes or were too distracted and distraught to give attention to the lessons taught in the class. The money that government usually gave to each of the students in selected government schools never reached the children for many months and they only had got it very recently in the year 2017. Today all of his children attend school and the problem seem to be temporarily solved.

Another person who faced a lot of difficulty was Sukhnandan. He himself had studied up to class VII in Government Boys High School, Latifabad in Sindh. Two of his daughters had studied upto class V (Poonam) and VI (Durga), while his son is the only one who continues to study in class IX in the Government Boys Senior Secondary School. The children did not go to school back in Sindh but, joined directly from class V onwards in a school located in Rajiv Colony, Faridabad. There the children had also taken tuitions in Mathematics and English for Rs. 300 per month for three of the children. Their father's brother's daughter also taught them Hindi. To get admission in the local school in the Aruna Nagar neighbourhood, the children needed up-to-date proof which they did not have and thus they couldn't get admission. They got their identity proof two years later in the form of Aadhar Card but it was already too late if seen in terms of the increasing age of the children, especially the daughters. After two years when Sukhnandan took the girls for admission they were not admitted even when their father asked the school authorities to admit his children in classes X or XII. Sukhnand for six months after arriving in this camp had been trying very hard for the admission of his children especially his two daughters. Since the daughters do not go to school anymore, Poonam either sits in the mobile cover shop just beside the road or look after the household chores. Thus, Sukhnandan's problems in admission are not solved and so was Rani's for whom pradhan Dayal Das had gone to the nearby schools Sarvoodaya Kanya Vidyalaya and Government Senior Boys School to get the three children admitted. Rani's children – Preti (12 years old), Haritroshan (15 years old) and Sangeeta (20 years old) sought admission but to no avail because their age had exceeded the average age of attending classes there. Others like Nahru Lal who had studied up to class V in Sindh had tried to pursue education in the Government Boys Senior Secondary School, Magzeen Road but to no avail as he was not given admission as he is eighteen years old and couldn't be admitted in either class VII or VIII.

Some of the children's admission problems were however resolved. One of them is Mahadev Advani's (adopted) daughters Darshana who also faced difficulties when it came to admission in the Sarvodaya Senior Secondary School, Magzeen Road. The authorities said that her age was more as she was already 15 years. However, after two months she was given admission especially, after she had got the transfer certificate from Sarvodaya Kanya Vidyalaya in Kanjavla to show the record of her previous education in India. Others like Balram, the brother of Manghan, also faced a problem initially in his admission in Government Boys Senior Secondary School, Magzeen Road due to his over-age in relation. In solving this problem, pradhans Sonda Das, Dayal Das and Sukhnandan were instrumental. Today, he is promoted to class IX. Another group of children who faced difficulties in admission are Rajaram and his two sisters - Gyanwanti and Bhaganwanti who today studies in classes III and IV in the local Nagar Nigam Pratibha Vidyalaya due to demand for address proof in the admission form and their lack of any proofs.



Picture 5.2 Darshana's school certificate from a school in Sindh

Thus, one can see that the difficulties in admission is related to either being over-age for a particular class and is usually applicable for adolescent childrens admission to the school or due to lack of adequate address proofs. Such issues however do not affect the schooling of the very young children. One example of this could be seen in the admission of Arti's children Devraj (in class I) and daughter Devika (in class II) in the neighbourhood school who did not face any problem due to their right ages for the classes in which they had been seeking admission.

Types of Educational Institutes Accessed

Within the camp there is present an anganwadi⁸⁰ which treats women and their children. The very young children who are taken care of by the Anganwadi usually range from zero to seven years of age. This anganwadi (which is numbered 54) was shifted to this camp from a neighbourhood's Main Market, Majnu-ka-tila, in the year 2015 . Today it is run by Rama and her helper Mamta Rani, one of whom usually come everyday and spends time between 9a.m. to 1.p.m in the anganwadi centre. Rama explains that her job also entails giving oral education from 9 a.m. to 11.30 a.m. to the children. She undertakes activities like reciting poems, making crafts, do yoga, learn prayers, identifying plastic alphabets, identifying day of the week, identifying colours, etc.



Picture 5.3 Children studying in the anganwadi centre within the camp

⁸⁰ Anganwadi caters to the health of mother and child and were initially opened under Integrated Child Development Services.

Prior to arriving at the Aruna Nagar neighbourhood as mentioned earlier many of the families had been staying elsewhere where the children may have accessed schooling. In the year 2012 large number of children from this community especially those staying in Faridabad had gone onto attend the Srila Prabhu International Gurukul Ashram in Udhampur run by organisation related with the ISKON temple. On enquiring how the families from this community had come to know about this Gurukul, one of the informants Rajaram, a school going child said that a man associated with the organisation by the name of Achut had visited one of the pradhan's Sona Das who in turn decided to send his children to this particular school and following him so did the others.

Many children who currently attend the neighbourhood schools had also been attending this school in the year 2012 onwards. However, with the government wanting many of these Pakistani Hindu families to shift to one particular place in New Delhi the families had thought it best to withdraw them from the Gurukul and keep the children together with the family.



Picture 5.4 Rani standing with the children who were attending the Srila Prabhu International Gurukul Ashram School, Udhampur in 2012



Picture 5.5 A magazine page written on the Pakistani Hindu refugees attending the Srila Prabhu International Gurukul Ashram School, Udhampur

What Does Education mean for the Cross-border Refugees?

Children’s education is one of the major aspiration and concern for refugees. As per John Berger (cited in Papasterigiadis, 2000) a migrants action even though may seem like a dream and may seem to be acted autonomously, yet it is always backed by intentionality that is permeated by historical necessities and, in every decision to migrate, the constraints of the past and possibilities of the future must be carefully weighed. One of the most common factors of migration cited by the Pakistani Hindu migrants had been that education that their children had been receiving in Pakistan was not teaching them their culture. Therefore, it doesn’t come as a big surprise when the respondents cite their aspirations for the education of the children irrespective to how much little school education that they may pursue.

Overall, parents see education as a means of “*tarakki*” (progress) and as a means to “*sudhar jana*” (improvement) from the previous life of misery. Sita (the wife of Sundar) sees education as a means ‘tarakki’ (progress) and as parents, she observes they are ready to support by giving resources towards the education of their children. On the other hand,

Shivani saw education as being associated with “akal” (brains) and had pointed out that it would benefit her children. This was reflected when she had said “ *the children must improve. Our life is over. They should be able to make their own house. They should be able to open their business.*” Others too used the process of “sudhar jana” when they were asked about the educational aspirations for their children. Illiterate parents like Chander and Bhaghtawari too mentioned this term in their interview.

When asked by the researcher to elaborate further, they respondents were of the opinion that education is likely to give an understanding of the world and improve the lives of their children by bringing in further mobility in terms of jobs and thus a better life. The couple felt that, if educated, their children could settle somewhere instead of “*bhatakna*” (roaming) from one place to another in search of livelihood. This is substantiated by Shivani and Kirshan Mal who passionately argued that they were too tired of “*bhatakna*”. If they couldn’t acquire it for themselves it would be very nice if their children were able to settle down well and this was one of the reasons why they had migrated to India.

Mushbandi hailing from Saeedabad reveals that the children through education could achieve “something better” than what their parents are currently. He lamented that he could not pursue his education due to constraints of family life. However, Pooran remarked that if the government decides to help financially then the families do not have to roam for educating their children. The children can then go forward in their education and can become police-men, doctors and engineers. For him, if the generation of his children do not go forward in life then what about the coming generations. Education he had said helps the current youngsters to go out and deal with the world outside.

When it comes to the aspirations of the parents, Chander hopes to educate his children up to class XII and even up to college. However, among his six children two of the adolescent boys don’t go to school but instead they either work in the fields or sit in the tea shop. However, parents also seem to have differential expectations for their sons and daughters. For example, while Rajkumari one of the students who had attended the Gurukul and who currently goes to a neighbourhood school noted that her father has never voiced any aspirations for her future, but he encourages her brother Ajay to become a police-man. Currently, Ajay attends class VI in Government Boys Senior Secondary School, Magazeen road. Since most of Pooran’s time is spent in Faridabad, his daughters Bhawari and Anjali mostly stay with one of his son Ramchand. Pooran had said that when girls become teenagers they are not sent to school.

Families want them to get married. This is also the fate of his two daughters who are currently studying in primary schools.

Dayal Das's two children attend school. While his son Bharat Kumar is in class VIII, his daughter is in class I in the neighbourhood schools. According to him:

“Children will improve through education. We want them to earn well. If they get a government job it will be nice. Only then will they be able to do anything. Now we don't have any money. Life can only improve if the children get educated and make something out of their education.”

Regarding the schooling of the children, Dayal Das says that learning is not good in the government schools. Particularly, it is true for the children attending the afternoon shift which is even worse. The afternoon shift of the local government schools are usually attended by the boys. He said that girl's schooling is fine as it is in the morning shift. He pointed out how private schools with quota for few students are doing better than the government schools. When it came to his children's education, Dayal Das said that he is a regular with the annual parents-teachers-meeting (P.T.A) and finds them useful for improving the education of his children. Regarding the future of the girl children, Dayal Das had said that *“girls are not able to go ahead in education due to their marriage. The small children will however continue to attend education.”* Respondents like Rani, the daughter-in-law of Mohini said that *“what job will they do after their education. The girls will study. If the girls don't study they will be married off. After marriage what will they study”*.

Other respondents like Parvati had reflected that *“we will educate our son with zeal. If he studies up to College it will be nice. Girls will study up to XII class”*. Others like Sita Devi whose children's are Amarlal Saluanki (in class VIII), Chander (in class VII) and daughters Gulbai (in class IV) and Rampriya (in class VIII) had said that she would wants her children to study up to class XII and added that *“the ones who can go forward in education it will be alright with them. The ones who do not forward will be married off. Their life should improve. Their children's future must be secured”*. As a mother she wanted that *“if the studies go well, then everything goes well. Go for education and progress will come. We will somehow give the expenses for the education.”* One of her daughters, Rampiyari wants to become a business-woman. Another of her son Phelaj who had studied up to class XII back in Hyderabad wanted to study but due to monetary constraint couldn't pursue his

higher education further and instead undertook apprenticeship as a mechanic in a scooter shop near the Vidhan Sabha metro station.

Education in Shivani's eyes was a source of "*brains, improvement and progress.*" She had added in the interview that "*our life is over. We just want their life to improve*". All the children of refugees in the camp study in neighbourhood schools. Chander aspired for his children, especially the sons, to study up to classes XII and go to college. He is ready to support them with means. Bhaktawari whose son Shreenath studies in class VI along with his sisters Sundari and Arti who study in classes III and V respectively aspires that: the children are able to improve their lives. She felt as parents their lives must improve. In the future, the couple aimed to buy some property in Delhi so that "*children can settle*". However, some like Kuawar Advani kept their aspirations low keeping in view the ground reality and had pointed out that education would help his children in their adulthood for "*if the children grow up educated, they can understand something. Education makes the future and teaches duty too*" even though he felt that education could not always guarantee a secured job.

Thus, much of these aspirations are dampened by the ground reality. According to Appadurai (2003) for the bottom half of the population, life is an effort to produce a sense of stability or, continuity or, something like permanence in the face of known temporariness or, volatility that affects all arrangements of social life (be it what is available, where one lives, who has space, who gets temporary housing ,etc). For the members of this community this is true. As, Gans (1962) had pointed due to the high incidence of poverty, children are supposed to work as soon as they are old enough and due to this, the children are supposed to learn the adult skills between the ages of seven to ten, is true even for these respondents whose future aspirations gets dampened by this early employment and early marriage at school going age itself.

However, it is important to note that refugee families are willing to invest in education in order to help their children to avoid what they call '*bhataknaah*'. They believe that education would bring about stability in the lives of communities such as theirs. The families and parents find ways to consolidate their educational aspirations by investing in tuitions to supplement their learning in school.

Willingness to Invest in Tuitions

Tuition is undertaken by many of the children, at least those who can afford it. Parents encourage their children to go to tuitions. Infact the parents felt tuitions to be more important as at least their children learnt something in the tuition rather than in schools. The reasons for

sending the children was summed up by Parvati who said that the children often complained that they are not taught anything in the school and so they had to send them to tuition for study. Her children, Pooja and Mangatram alongwith her sister-in-laws daughter go to the same tuition. Her sister-in-law's son Bharat who is too small to go to school attends tuition from a person who stays behind the local Gurudwara and who charges Rs.100 per month. Virmal, the brother of Bharat is also sent to a tuition in the local market area to a person who charges Rs. 700 to teach him all subjects. Many students attend tuitions together especially, where their friends or relatives children go to and this is true for Rajaram, Balram, Akash, Mahesh, all of whom attend a tuition behind Gurudwara where the teacher takes Rs.300 per student per month. Some of students also attend free tuitions that the interns from colleges working for the non-governmental organisation gave in anganwadi at Sona Das's home in the mornings (for boys) but this had stopped in May, 2016 since the intern had got a job and someone is yet to replace him. Classes for girls is also held in the temple. The timings of tuition however vary. It is between 10 A.M to 12 P.M for boys and between 2 P.M. to 4 P.M for girls. The students who go for such free tuitions are Rajaram and his sisters, Radha, Gyanwanti and Bhaganwanti.

Tuitions seem to also help in the education of those who cannot attend school. This is the case with Rani's children Preti (who is twelve years old), Haritroshan (who is 15 years old) and Sangeeta (who is twenty years old). These three children do not go to school due to problem in their admission. However Preti, Haritroshan and Sangeeta goes to tuition to the nearby market. The tuitions cost Rs. 1500 to Rs.3000. Sangeeta had never gone to school even in Sindh and instead used to take home schooling from her grandfather who taught her Urdu, English and Hindi. Rani on being enquired as to why she doesn't send her children to schools had said that she cannot meet the expenses. Some like Rajesh attended tuitions in Kanjavla for a year and six months in Faridabad after arriving in India in 2013. Currently he attends school and avails the free tuitions given in the Aruna Nagar neighbourhood's Balmiki Mandir which is a five minutes' walk from the settlement.

However, it is found that those who are conscious about education more than the others are also affluent in comparison to others. They have engaged their children in tuitions from the very arrival in India. Tuition is seen as a way to catch up with the educational system in India and to enable themselves to face difficulties in India. One such examples is that of Mahadev Advani's adopted children. One of the daughters, Darshana along with her siblings had been taking tuition since the very beginning when the family had arrived in India.

Initially, the four siblings had learnt Hindi by taking tuition at a cost Rs.200 per student from the locality where they stayed in Bridgevasan. In class VI in Kanjavla, she used to take tuition from a person who lived a kilometre away and whom her mother (who is her aunt in reality but who has adopted Darshana and her three siblings as her children as she and Mahadev did not have any children of their own) had found this teacher after enquiring in the neighbourhood. After migrating to Delhi, her mother and her another aunt had gone to search for a tutor in the nearby market where they had met their present tutor who takes Rs.300 per child but teaches all subjects.

Apart from this, tuitions are seen as a means to learn the local language (which is Hindi) and this had been especially true for Darshana's cousin Rajesh who had learnt Hindi by taking tuition when his family had initially arrived in 2013 in Bridgevasan, India. For Nahru Lal too, tuitions allowed him to learn Hindi and Mathematics for a month by paying Rs.200. Therefore, tuitions can be said to be contributing to the children's integration into the educational system and practices in the host society and also leads indirectly even to the families integration with the local population.

Thus, this chapter had sought to put forth a brief discussion on memories and experience in the host society for the members of this cross-border refugee community. As this community searches for a stable life which has been shown in this chapter education thus becomes a vital component of their life-world.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The study aimed to describe and understand the life-worlds of cross-border refugee communities such as Pakistani Hindus who have migrated to India to escape from the majoritarian social context of Pakistan where they are relegated to second-grade citizens in their native lands. The notion of life-world has been used to describe their plight. The notion of life-world has been defined by Alfred Schutz (in Costelloe, 1996) as the sum total of objects and occurrences within the socio-cultural world that is experienced by the common-sense thinking of men living their daily lives among fellow-men. Such objects and occurrences of the socio-cultural world as Alfred Schutz (in Embree, 2011). had argues also involves the individual's previous and the actual experiences of known things and their inter-relations.

These experiences have their own varying degrees of clarity, distinctness, consistency and coherence (Embree, 2011). The life-world also involves the biography of the individual in the sense that each of the actor is located in their daily life which is interpreted in terms of his special interests, motives, desires, aspirations, religious and ideological commitments - all of which influences the totality of his experiences (Embree, 2011). This biographical situation stemming from the unique social position that the individual occupies in the social world is associated with the stock of knowledge which is the stock-piles of typifications of the common-sense world (Natanson, 1962).

However, one must also understand that the life-world has a spatial and temporal sense. In the spatial sense, according to Alfred Schutz (in Embree, 2011), the life-world is open to all elements of the outer universe that are within and beyond the reach of the actor while, in the temporal sense it includes the past and future world beyond the individual. The life-world also consists of empty anticipations, dreams and imagination that is rooted on the assumption on part of the individual about the expandability of his life-world (Embree, 2011). It is this kind of life-world that the present study aimed to explore in the case of migrant refugee community.

Further, the life-world of ordinary individuals according to Alfred Schutz (in Schutz,1970) is taken-for-granted. It is only when the taken-for-grantedness becomes questionable that it

becomes a problem of emotional, theoretical or practical interest that has to be analysed and solved (Schutz,1970). This aspect of disruption of the taken-for grantedness had interested the researcher. As refugees it is more likely that the process of migration and re-settlement in the host society is likely to disrupt this taken-for-grantedness. As refugees fleeing their native country, the respondents such as the ones in this study cannot be easily assumed to take the world around them without questioning and for granted in terms of its history, past, present or even the future. The life-world of the respondents from within this community had their own moments of taken-for-grantedness and questioning. However, questioning the taken-for-grantedness have come up in a number of instances in the process of settling down in India.

The initial lack of certainty in the lives of the refugees could be seen when the initial families who had settled behind the Majnu-ka-Tilla Gurudwara (or what the respondents had locally referred to as Baba Dunh Das-ka-dera) were removed by the police and the families had nowhere to go. The second instance when the taken-for-grantedness was questioned was when the fire had occurred on November 29th, 2016 and later on March 23rd, 2017. The first fire made eight families from this camp realise that their anticipations of the future could not happen and that the pragmatic thing after weighing the ends and the means to do was to go back to Sindh. This was not true for some refugees but, for others it was a point of no return. The third reflection of taken-for-grantedness was questioned when the community spoke of the uncertainty of their future since they did not know who would take their guarantee in the host society. Thus, the notion of taken-for-grantedness that had been defined by Alfred Schutz (in Embree, 2011) as related to the familiarity of the purpose at hand had at some point or the other become questionable.

Moreover, Alfred Schutz (in Embree, 2011) observed that at times interruption can occur in the sedimentation of an individual's experiences due to the nature of things beyond the control of the actor and such nature of things is likely to be not of his making. This is true in case of the cross-border refugee community who have been forced to migrate from one place to another in India and who also had to take up occupations that are not present within their stock of knowledge at hand. While, initially many of the families had settled in areas like Kanjavla or Kapashera in the National Capital region, they had been forced to move to New Delhi on the instruction of the government. The initial places of settlement were chosen by the respondents as the agrarian lands were available in these neighbourhoods from which they could earn their livelihood. The compulsion to move

from one place to another has led to disruption of their life (especially the occupational life) as there is very little agrarian work within the city of New Delhi.

When many of the respondents had initially arrived in India they did undergo a process of waiting before they could make arrangement for livelihood or they could stay in their own dwelling. Initially as had been recounted by respondents the initial families who had arrived in this neighbourhood were living in tents before they were chased by the police and were sheltered in Nahar Singh's house. It was this period following their re-settlement in the Ram Sena Hindu camp that is characterised by waiting. This period of waiting was also associated in the lives of these respondents with clearing up the recalcitrant environment that was characterised by forest in the Yamuna bank within the camp that many of the initial respondents had cleared to make their huts. This can be related to what Alfred Schutz (in Natanson, 1962) argued when he said that individuals in trying to understand the world around him try to dominate it rather than comprehend it.

Waiting, as Zygmunt Bauman suggests is a synonym for low status. This is true for the respondents who today inhabit the city of New Delhi as the urban poor. This process of waiting that even characterises their life (be it in finding a livelihood or waiting to get their children admitted to school) is also characterised with fatigue and is connected to the ontological situation of man within the world that is reflected in the notions of "so and so forth". This notion of "so and so forth" is an idealisation that Alfred Schutz (Natanson, 1962) had reflected as the notion that the individual can start again tomorrow from where he had left it today and involves the feeling of "I can do it again" attitude.

Schutz had proposed that individuals use certain kinds of typifications. One of such a construct that has been used in the case of the group under study is that of the 'urban villager'. Such constructs are self-typifications of the scientist and they are what Alfred Schutz (in Natanson, 1962) refers to as 'homunculi' or 'puppet' with its own set of motives, goals, interests and relevance that resemble as closely as possible the problem being studied. These constructs are not arbitrary but have their own formal logic; the possibility of relating to all kinds of human action to the subjective meaning that the actor attaches and must be understandable to the actor himself. Gans's (1962) concept of the 'urban villager' is relevant if one sees it as an homunculi. Gans (1962) had used the term 'urban villager' to describe Italian immigrants in Boston who although had come from agrarian backgrounds due to high value based on enterprise decide to shift to the latter

occupation in two or more generations. Such a construct is used keeping in mind the occupational history of the members of the Pakistani Hindu community and to also explain the choice of occupations for many of the bread-winners of the families living in the camp situated in Aruna Nagar II area. The respondents in this study have migrated too recently to warrant a shift from their agrarian backgrounds to that of running their own independent enterprise. However, the striking aspect about the respondents is that while the older generation favour agrarian work, the new generation favour their own independent enterprise of selling mobile-covers.

The daily life of refugees takes place within a community within the settlement itself, which is the epitome of their community life. As part of their life-world the individual shares with other members of the community the relationship of being consociates or contemporaries. Such relationship that the refugee share with the other members of the community can be described as “living in” or living as consociates whereby the individual are involved in the other’s biography in terms of sharing a community of time (be it both outer and inner time) in the life of the other and thus are able to grasp the others thought apart from understanding each others anticipations of the future as plans, hopes and anxieties. Therefore, individuals are seen sharing a reciprocity of perspectives. Sharing of reciprocity of perspectives and living in is beneficial for the refugee community as it provides the individuals with security in their precarious life-world and also because such relations between contemporaries act as networks for availing benefits like jobs.

Thus, as Alfred Schutz (in Costelloe, 1996) had pointed out, it is through the structures of the life-world that individuals become aware of other subjects and their intentionalities as part of the social world. However, one needs to understand that, for Alfred Schutz, the world of contemporaries consisted of not only fellow men but also potential fellow men. This is also true for the group under study. Thus, much of the lives of these refugees revolves around those of their contemporaries or consociates with whom they share a face-to-face relationship on a daily basis and also a ‘we’ relationship apart from sharing the same temporal flow and even common spatial limits (Natanson, 1962) of the camp.

The decision to migrate had emerged from many of the refugees stock of knowledge, handed down by the predecessors who had once upon a time had migrated to India (either in Marwar region of Rajasthan or in Delhi itself along the bank of Yamuna) or in terms of their own experience within their own biography. This stock of knowledge for each of individual refugee consists of the previous definition of situations (Schutz, 1970). Thus, each of the refugee have their own unique stock of knowledge at hand that is the

sedimentation of all their previous experiences either handed down to them or stemming from their own biography. The motive and experience of coming to India has been different for different individuals and their families. For some, it was to avail useful education and for others it was an attempt to reunite with her kins. While, some had never come to India, others had stayed briefly for a few months in the past. One may thus arrive at the notions of the 'home-comer' and the 'stranger'.

As per Schuetz (1945) the main difference between the home-comer and the stranger is that the latter anticipates that he is likely to find himself in an unfamiliar world which is organised in a manner that is different from his original society while, the home-comer on the other hand expects to go back to an environment that is present in his memory and which he thinks he has an intimate knowledge of and thus takes for-granted so as to find his bearings. Yet, both the stranger and the home-comer share the need to be made wise about things with the help of a mentor (Schuetz,1945). However, the paradox is that eventhough members from this cross-border Hindu community are treated like a 'stranger', they have the common symbolic feeling of home present within them. Such symbolic feeling of home is similar to that of a home-comer who has had a history in an environment in India and carries within him memory of such stay.

Here the symbolic meaning of home refers to a we-relationship revolving around the existence of a way of life that is cherished and is characterised with a sense of familiarity and intimacy apart from having a presence of certain goals that can be reached with certain means (Schuetz,1945). However, even though India is mentioned as home by many of the refugees yet there is ambiguity in this definition of home which in this context can be collapsed to one's own country. Some of the refugees claim that Pakistan was never their country as the ways of life differed in terms of culture, living, education and language. Yet there are others from the same community who have called Sindh as 'ghar' or home and related how their family members missed the life back there.

When we come to the notion of life-world for this refugee community we realises their daily life is a struggle for survival in terms of earning for themselves and accessing educational facilities for their children as they try to cope with their life in the metropolitan city of New Delhi. Within the refugee camp that presents a common life-world of struggle and poverty, the individual is likely to share a common anticipation of uncertainties. The earning that each of the refugee earn to sustain their families is just adequate to sustain themselves. However, as part of their life-world these refugees either anticipate and even invest in making the lives of their future generation better. Such investment in the lives of

the future generation reflect what Alfred Schutz (in Natanson, 1962) had pointed out as investing in successors who occupy a ghostly presence in the individual's life and the result of such investment is often unknowable.

The families of this cross-border refugee community have arrived in India with a pragmatic motive to access education that is aligned with their culture. Thus all of them had talked of choosing among projects of action which are in turn closely related to each of the individual actor's motivation (Embree,2011). The various projects of action that were open to the refugees were either to stay back in Sindh and educate their children till the minimum level after which they would drop-out or, to educate them in private schools whose education was more secular than the government run schools that almost all the migrants had attended and where Islamic education was mandatory.

Migrating to India especially to access educational facilities for their children figure as an important part of the refugee community's life-plans. According to Alfred Schutz (in Schutz, 1970) an individual's life-plan determines the current interest of the individual. Such interests are determined by the elements of the ontological structure of the pre-given world (Schutz,1970). Therefore, it comes without doubt that education is seen as a means to progress, a way to improve oneself and to understand the world. However education is not always associated with a good job. However, such projection with regard to education seems to be not of much success as accessing educational facility is a struggle for them and many of their children had to forsake their education due to lack of admission due to their over-age.

Thus, action as human conduct being based on a pre-conceived project is true for these respondents (Embree,2011). The very act of migration for members of this community represent a pre-conceived project towards a better life even if for not their own selves but at least for their children. This dimension has been reflected in many of the respondents views. They claimed that their lives were finished but, hoped that their children would do something good of their lives here in India (especially through education). Often such pre-conceived project involves the process of thinking in terms of a series of mental operations or performances that is present in the working stage (Embree,2011). Pre-conceived project involves the process of projecting that involves the anticipation of future conduct by way of phantasising. However, one must always remember that as Alfred Schutz (in Embree, 2011) had reflected all forms of projecting is uncertain. The projecting of the future act is anticipated in the future-perfect tense and is based upon the actor's previous knowledge of performed acts that are similar to the one to be performed

in the future. This dimension was reflected in the fact that the pre-conceived project of migrating to India. However, the projecting of starting a better life may have failed miserably in cases for certain families. This failure had stemmed from the harsh conditions that met these families upon their migration to India.

Thus, what Alfred Schutz (in Natanson, 1962) had observed when he had pointed out that individuals are likely to suffer from fundamental anxiety which is a sense of primordial anticipation stemming from hopes, fears, satisfaction, wants, chances and risks that influence individuals to master the world and overcome the obstacles by drafting projects and realising them, seems true in this case. Therefore, the biographically determined situation sees to the fact that a particular notion of conduct for the future is present in the way the actor sees the future irrespective of whether it is transformed into a project or not.

The findings of the study may thus be relevant for other similar communities. The condition of minorities in India's neighbouring countries such as the Rohingyas/ Arakan Muslims of Myanmar, Tamils in Sri Lanka, Chakmas of Bangladesh, Tibetans in China, Nepalese in Bhutan seems to have cropped from political aspirations of the nation state to which these and many other communities belong. Samaddar (1999) argues that the nature of nationalism in South Asia being reflexive allows for ethnic suppression and suffering. Such suppression and suffering leads in turn to forced migration that at times is even tolerable to the ethics of a nation. Infact, all such suppression and suffering stems from the fact that states that are nationalising states or that are not sufficiently nations in their process of developing so as to gain legitimacy go on producing majorities and minorities in the process of building an ethnic core and thus, in the process marginalises others (Samaddar, 1999). Migration then becomes a way to put to an end to the misfit groups in terms of out migration of waves of misfit groups which only results in subversion of the nation-state and results in more and more waves (Samddar, 1999). In a way, for a refugee community, 'settling -in' into a host society is an eternal process in which memory of the past and the native are merged with the search for future and liveable host society. Whatever be the nation-states that the refugees originally belong to or whatever society they intend to become members of, the struggle for a better life and education continues for such groups. It's in a way an unending process of reconstructing identities and re-establishing the new native. It is this constant strife of finding out themselves that the present study eloquently demonstrated.

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