

**DRUG ADDICTION IN RURAL PUNJAB: A
SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY**

By

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE
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DEDICATION

This work is first and foremost dedicated to my sweet Mum Manorama Devi, because whom I could step my foot on this beautiful planet, to my dearest sister with whom I could unravel the gems of sibling bonding. To my father because of whom I feel continue to dance into the future

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DECLARATION

This is to declare that the thesis titled '**Drug Addiction in Rural Punjab: A Sociological Study**' submitted by me in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted, in part or full, for any other degree or diploma of this or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

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INTRODUCTION

Located on a strategic trade route since Harappan times, Punjab has an important position in the border states of India for all the social, economic and security aspect. Precisely for this reason it remains at the centre of conflict between India and Pakistan. Being a breadbasket of India, since the times the colonial times, Punjab emerged as the mainstay for the recruitment of soldiers in British Indian military and for the Indian Army post-independence, famously known in the history as the *Garrison ground*, it is also for this reason that Punjab is important for security of the Indian state from all accounts. In the backdrop of unequal distribution of wealth during the green revolution. Since early 1980's, especially after the Operation Bluestar and its aftermath of Anti-Sikh riots in Delhi and other parts of India the insurgency rose in Punjab and rendered the state tumultuous till 1993. With a fall in the economy of the state in the past decades Punjab is witnessing distinct youth subcultures for e.g., like the "*Gedi culture*" are resistive of cultural hegemony of the Punjabi society that also overwhelms the administration of the state. Being on the trade route to Afghanistan, which has been a fertile ground for opium cultivation, Punjab has been plunged into whirl of unstable future due to continuous drug infiltration into the state facilitated by neighbouring country Pakistan also due to intersection by river channels crossing into Pakistan from India creating porous boundary for such illegal trafficking. These rivers also offer Punjab the most fertile tracts of land called '*doabs*' for wheat agriculture, a large chunk of which was transferred into Pakistan in the history's bloodiest partition and the resultant mass human migration. Various past and present circumstances have left its mark on the social fabric of the society in Punjab and traumatic imprints on the state and its inhabitants, which then and now surfaces as fissures in the form of disturbed and destructive youth subcultures sometimes taking route to violent insurgency for the demand of separate nation called *Khalistan* (the land of pure) as the only alternative option to get rid of the distresses of the everyday life in the society of Punjab. The factors that have played into the boiling cauldron of the state, like dominant caste comprised of Jat Sikhs, who with the monopoly over the resources of state have mustered political powers and captured key Sikh religious institutions of the state like *Gurudwara Prabhandan Committees* and the members of the caste group have majority representations in the membership and election of *Jathedar* (religious custodian of Akal Takht). The above factors have intertwined only to create a good recipe of a state and its society plunged into sickness of drugs and haemorrhaging from the injuries of insurgency. In the aftermaths of insurgency which fermented on ethnoreligious

grounds, frustrated and depressed youth, members and supporters of the movement became fertile grounds for consumption and sale of drugs. The movement though initially picked up grounds on religious lines but later on became a medium for exhaust anger and frustration against the increasing economic inequality, job insecurity as well as for the small landowners who were the target of the nexus of a caste alliance of large landowners, members of caste groups in state administration (petty bureaucrats) who were after grabbing the lands of the small farmers who could rarely siphon off profit from the benefits of green revolution due to high cost of the seeds of HYV seeds. The seeds of the green revolution were manufactured and provided by US based agrochemical and agricultural biotechnology corporation Monsanto, the exploits in the name of new technology soon became the eyeball of hate and came to symbolise the brutalities of East India company amongst the angry youth and farmers of Punjab, the generational cohorts, who were conscious witness of the excesses of the British Raj as well as have heard the dents inflicted to their pride by the East India company in the last Anglo-Sikh battle and orally transmitted the folklores of the pride of the Khalsa to the youths born in post-independence Punjab. It was precisely this past and historical experience of Punjab that the operation of the Armed Forces on the Golden Temple became the reminder of the excesses of the British Raj more specifically the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, which took place near the Golden Temple, where hundreds were gunned down in 1919 by the order of the British governor General O Dwyer under the command of General Dyer. The operation Bluestar soon captured the imagination of Punjab filled with the folklores of pride and humiliation inflicted on the emotional sentiments of the society of Punjab and came to see the decision as the repeat and revocation of the hatred and humiliation of the British raj. Indira Gandhi and Indian Army became the progenitors of the British cruelty and system of exploitation. The hatred imaged in the reflection of historical excesses became the rallying point for youths into joining the movement, although soon being with the movement soon became a prestigious tag and ways to afford luxuries for the otherwise unemployed Punjabi Sikh youth. Two of the traumatic incidents in the history of Punjab has been categorical in boiling the cauldron of anger in Punjab and gradual alienation of the youth from the state and has left scars forever on the innocence of social and political plain of Punjab that had enjoyed cultural and political sovereignty till the British overthrow of the Sikh rule in 1849. Apart from the cosmopolitanism of modernity that took over the landscape of imagination of Punjab in the city of Chandigarh that gradually acquired place in the Sikh rule of chivalry as well as proudful self-rule under the religious banner of Khalsa and then to becoming retirement home of bureaucrats, seat of administration, large landowners, that is, the centre of magnate for power elites of the state of Punjab. The city

soon developed power and political nodes that could be best seen in the form of numerous gated communities popping over the city, bourgeoisie and gentrification went hand in hand and hijacked the suburban rest. It was around and in reaction to this inherited cultural and social capital mustered by this regional bourgeoisie or the traditional power elites of the state, that insurgency developed and so developed the youth subculture for pride and status. The insurgency became a tool for the unemployed, uneducated and alienated rural and urban youth to fashion for itself the status and pride in the rather highly unequal society of Punjab. The youth Brandise gun that became the symbol of the insurgency, volunteered for the separation and establishment of Khalistan, sword of medieval era times of sacred connotation and symbols of religious and historical importance, flaunting of richness extracted from the participation in the movement became the new youth subculture within the social and cultural milieu of Punjab that could be cashed in political power gain through muscle power of the youths who were part of different insurgent groups, gradually the demand for Khalistan in the name of religious symbols and Khalsa flag revived the medieval religiosity and political sovereignty for cultural preservation with new rural and urban youth as the renewed Khalsa soldier who found in the movement a new sense of pride and identity to the unemployed rural and urban youth the resistance against the excesses of the Indian state. Civil-bureaucracy, politicians and muscle nexus was the mainstay of the movement. Money flew in from various sources, legal and illegal, it was precisely at this moment that drugs became the single largest source of revenue for the funding of the movement apart from extortion through kidnapping of affluent Sikhs in other part of the country, which entered from scores of points, largely from the porous boundaries of India-Pakistan, bordering the Punjab region and through the ports of Mumbai, also a place where the insurgents had fled in the later part of the movement when security forces were getting successful in their operation in eliminating and inflicting heavy damages to the insurgents. My interest in this theme began with my visit to Punjab where I witnessed the changing landscape of Punjab from a hub of religious hotspots to mushrooming centres of drug rehabilitation centres and the resultant changes that has produced alternative centres for the maintenance of organic solidarity with Drug as the new agent of anomie. The infiltration of Drug as a product of globalisation travelling from distant parts into the remote villages of Punjab makes it expensive and the consumption pattern dispels the related conspicuous consumption as a symbol of status. Can also be added that Hannah Arendt places that in the time of globalisation international forces will influence the social. The effect of the drug has penetrated into the Oikos, that is the house. In many of my observations I have come to see the devastating effect of drugs in the families and specially the subtle trauma it inflicts over the

females of the families inflicted with addiction. Their stigmatisation runs into the cultural psychology and lexicon to show them as vulnerable women and having sexual predisposition for sex in return of money or the Chitta for addiction. The effect of drug economy has taken toll on the economy of the state. The chapters are organised on the same line, the initial chapter gives a brief introduction to the tumultuous history of Punjab. The state has a history of reorganisation of the society on the new lines of religious genesis. The chapter invokes the past history of the state in order to show the historicity of the trauma the state and its society has gone through. One of the historical facts that comes across us is the infliction of continuous psychological injuries on the region due to constant conflict and clashes in between which we can locate the rise of the Sikhism following through the voluntary altruism through religious means by Guru Nanak. The second chapter tries to locate the political economy of drugs and its effect on the economy given the expenditure being diverted from other vital sectors of investment to the eradication of drugs. The third chapter seeks to explore the changes in the lifestyle of the people due to percolation of drug economy and widespread consumption which tampered the resource consumption pattern of the state. The chapter also seeks to examine the changes in the sexuality and its understanding in the region. The recurrence of masculinity invoked since medieval times after the formation of the Khalsa and tales of chivalry and bravery within the cultural landscape of Punjab. The chapter is the crux of the study, it seeks to examine the changes in the society of Punjab since the percolation of drugs in the lifestyle of people and the culture of the region. The drug economy has also provided people with alternative sources of occupation which has again hit the lifestyle pattern of the people. The main effect is on the cultural psychology of the people this work tries to filter out. The changes in base that brought the change in the superstructure becomes apparent in the conclusion of the study. The study also traces the impact on the women in the society increasing violence always takes toll on the women and their habitat. A study needs to be undertaken on the neuroticism of the women in Punjab and the effect on their psychological and mental wellbeing which as a sociologist I cannot undertake. In during my stay at different places in Punjab while on a visit to a friend's marriage I got to know the business and corporate style functioning of Drug cartels. Their meddling and nexus with the Politician and Bureaucrats, we can say that it combines a social network of corruption. The drug cartel operates much like big corporations, Ian Wainwright in his *Narconomics*, focused on the study around the south American countries reveals the corporate style functioning of cartel and the macro to microeconomic details in their operations. The study also links the microeconomic details in their stockpiling and hoarding costs in the sale operations. The sale of the drugs through agents spread in the region and cities

and towns also have added yet another problem into the lifestyle of the people. Such businesses have created a leisure class at the level of people running the cartel and the foot-agents who serve as the salesman of the drugs. This leisure class finds its status enhanced through consumption of lavish brands and commodities whether imported vehicle or weapons. The consumption pattern also dispels the underlying motive of the drug addiction pattern, some drugs have been brandished through media industry and through this demonstration effect, the novel drugs of new chemical composition acquire status symbol through access and consumption. The patterns of consumption highlight the income disparity and rentier class economy that runs across the society in Punjab. The chapter on change in lifestyle focuses on the youth subculture and the perversion of youths and the recurrence of deviant personality in their course of action in their daily lifestyle activities. The occurrence of deviant personalities in the Punjab based youth in the form of punk culture like *Geddi* culture highlights the lack of socialisation in front of lack employment and opportunity has been cultivating a cauldron of social crisis and the falling apart of organic solidarity. The society in Punjab has faced the wrath of modernity and the side effects due to the change can be attributed largely to the state and its failure to keep in check and position required laws and regulations. The youth's course of action towards deviant activities owes largely due to the failure of the state to reinvest in future employment opportunities and keep up the youth with skills and required technical know-how on the back of huge profit rip by the state of Punjab during the Green revolution. The agricultural politics of the state led to the rise of a leisure class or rentier economy in the state which made its living or even maintained high standards of living through the subsidies of the state in the name of poverty elimination, one of the factors identified as the cause behind Khalistan insurgency. The politics of agricultural welfare and subsidies which also entangled with Jat politics to monopolise the resources at the back of numerical preponderance congruent with the electoral politics of modern Indian democracy. The tribal Jat ethos juxtaposed over the principles of Sikh religious solidarity gained force against the central government and its authority to keep check over any subversion of law and order in the state. Although the regional exertion of sovereignty under the Khalsa flag has been there in Punjab since the late medieval period or the Mughal rule, this ethos in the modern time got translated into the rebel and dissent against any paramount power ruling from Delhi. The intentions of Delhi based temporal power have always been looked upon with suspicion, the after effects of green revolution and operation blue exemplified as the evidence of this deep-seated suspicion of the central regime conspiring against the Sikh religion and its basic tenets of adherence. This historical antagonism between the region and its inhabitants and the Central power has been the reason

behind the contemporary agony. The insurgent groups and the drug mafia's exploit this discord of relation and continued to fuel and push their agenda through the sustained efforts to show their commitment towards the making of an independent theocratic state called Khalistan. The study also investigates through the use of sources in public domain and the literature written in decades about the contemporary issues of Punjab related to Drugs and its effect to deductively arrive at the root cause of the problem in contention. In my graduation days tour of Punjab, the plight of the farmers was verily linked with the problem of Drug addiction, a totally new economic pattern resulted in the erection of a new superstructure, that is, culture. The culture was of leisure class economy, to keep siphoning off large sums of money to keep up with the supply of drugs, this patterning of behaviour from individual to collectives in the society results in the subversion of the culture and values of Punjab, a gradual but complete break of the order from the medieval world it was stuck in. The sudden exposure to modernity or the post-modern world when not just efficiency but also the entertainment became the basis of individual social action, this sudden exposure to the new and modern world became the force of spin in the society of Punjab. This study is a result of serious review of literature and academic writings on the issue of Punjab and its contemporary challenges. The society in Punjab and its rural community facing gradual urbanisation and loss of soil against the rampant use of fertilisers and pesticides has disrupted the rural and agrarian class with the loss of the fertile soil. The rural community of Punjab which is at the brink of the loss of its agricultural toil. The rural Punjab and its youth are slowly losing its income and youthful positive qualities to deviant course of actions. The actions of the youth took toll not on just the family in focus but also on other members of the society, their perversion of the cultural patterning and socialisation made serious impact on the society. The first chapter takes suicide as a serious effect of drugs and post insurgency epiphenomenon. Although the study takes into consideration if suicide is an intentional act or a mishap, but given the social value of drugs and the addicts' case history it appears that taking drugs out of dose may have been an intentional act to get rid of the stigma of drugs and the addictive compulsion. Although, suicide cases have been filtered out to be arising out of domestic discord in family there are cases of suicide due to over intake of drugs. Recourse to punk or subversive culture is reflection of the destructive capabilities given hopeless situation at the front of employment and skill-based opportunity. The phenomenon of addiction has been intersectional to state and society which proves the bilateral relation of state and society and how both are reflective of each other. The alienation at the level of individual in the society from state and society as a result of continuous addiction resulted in the anomie and anarchy. State's mobilisation of resources to counter the effect of drug resulted in the lack

of finances for other welfare related work the required welfare related work to compensates for the lack or waning of solidarity and adhesive in the society after the arrival of modern methods of agriculture for increased efficiency in production on quantity and quality. The effects of modernity translated into religious sphere and brought serious illness on the shores of Punjabi religious solidarity. The religious weaving in the society of Punjab around the Gurudwara lost the quality against the percolation of modernity in the private and public life sphere, this loss of force has been regained in the modern times by the Deras, Deras have been the modern centres of religious revivalism, as Prof Surinder Singh Jodhka says the reappearance of the loose structures of the Punjabi cultural imagination of devotional religiosity. The essence of religiosity in Punjab has a historical-geographical connotation, given that Punjab is an arid state and it is only in the modern times that with modern methods of irrigation that Punjab has been getting water supply for efficient agriculture, in the times of Gurus Punjab was seriously devoid of water supply also against the wrath of Mughal rule which disfavoured the region for its support to the dissenters. It was only in the aftermath of the revolt of 1857 when the Sikhs were pitched against the Hindu revolutionaries that the region became flourished owing to the large no of recruitment of Sikhs in the British-Indian army. This work takes into consideration the historicism of Punjab and the social construct of knowledge, religiosity and social norms of Punjab which is a product of historical process. It is here that literature from history to that on contemporary society becomes imperative for review. To overcome the issue of biasness in the literature we have also included the modern empirical researches to keep in check the literary oversimplification of epistemology of society and social in Punjab. We may also owe to the numerous institutions in Punjab that there are good empirical researches on the pathological issues of society in Punjab. It is also to be taken into account that there is a methodological contradistinction between sociology and history, we cannot deny that sociological studies over Punjab cannot escape the sight of historical precedent and inquiry, but to be careful, history and sociology both are stand contrary to each other in their selection of data, the primary data in history becomes secondary in sociology and vice versa. This coagulation of data and the required categorical filtering or decontamination from chronological deception is an obstacle to keep in coherence the unfolding of events leading to other and to locate ethe social lake that led to the germination of other events, or to discover the conditions that led to the birth of the next event. It is important to note here that several of the historical methodologies conform to this theory of investigation of the conditions germinating events, in the famous theory of Annal school in historical methodology, the temporality of events enlarge from Individual based events to the geographical events shaping

the individual which also constitutes the collective society. This method helps us to uncover the set of conditions that patterns the society or has shaped the historicity of situations in Punjab. The classification of social facts related to the society of Punjab yields immense knowledge on the layers of social construct the fact has gone through. The literature review which this work takes as a source of knowledge about the facts that recreate the sociological imagination of Punjab has been careful in the cross verification of the facts on the ground of its contradiction with values. The regional history to reconstruct the historical fact of the region with sociological imagination as a junction of History and Biography. We have taken biographical sketch as an important marker to reconstruct the Historical landscape and the social environment of Punjab to gain insight in to the making and unmaking of medieval and modern Punjab with the crisis in the state as a processual result of the factors in spin. The state of Punjab till in the modern times faces the precipitation of the historical wrongs and crisis the region has witnessed since the medieval times. The historical trauma adds into the Punjab's contemporary crisis with the blame that the central authority at Delhi or the temporal power of the Mughal times. In this lack of trust of the regional masses over the central authority agents of crisis brew to exploit every opportunity to replace and to oust the state authorities from maintaining the apparatuses of the state, in this regard Althusser's study of the apparatuses of the state as Ideological state apparatus and repressive state apparatus were the Repressive state apparatus being a derivative or subordinate to the Ideological state apparatus does make sense for the fact that the organisational or the Institutional nature of the Sikh religion makes a good case for the Gurudwaras being a part of the Ideological state apparatus made the repressive state apparatus like Police, Court being handicapped against the theological challenges to the state authority. This divine ordeal in favour of the theocratic state flew down from the religious fountains of the Sikh religious centres. The demand for the state had the rationale of religious and ethno-linguistic preservation. My earlier trips to the state had been crucial in comprehending this intricate knit between the language, the script, the geography and the devotional religiosity. The transforming power of language can be witnessed by the fact that the theory of divine runs similar across the Hindu and Sikh theology of devotionalism. The solidarity between the two communities wielded the organic partition of landscape in the name of divergence of the latter from the former's understanding of divine divided on the cognitive understanding of the linguistical flavour of the divine worship. The Sikh who would call the divine supreme as Onkar was the Sanskrit name of the Om with Punjabi dialect of the Gurumukhi 'Om'. This attrition of the Sikh theological distinction from Hinduism became a marker for the solidification of identity-based divide. Punjab's vitriolic phase starts with the

loosening of religious syncretism fuelled and fanned by the Colonia design of vicious exploitation of the masses through disunity among the masses through the active use of census, data and geographical knowledge of the occupied territory, in Foucauldian term, what he calls the “modern technologies of power”. The cultural industry of Punjab has been a focal agency in Punjab in the gyration of colonial poison of divide and rule. The perpetual circulation of alterity in the youth and the chase for economic gains at the expense of identity and culture became the motivational drive for economic savagery and the resultant emergence of leisure class lifestyle and the emergence of intrepid state of trepidation in the region were all linked in some way or the other to three factors identified in this research study

- a. Historical Trauma
- b. Insurgency
- c. Percolation of Drugs sometimes seen as a result of the precipitation of multiple factors post-Insurgency.

The chapters have been organised accordingly for the purpose of clarification in the mind of the readers. The first chapter deals with the history of the state or the concurrent region. The second chapter takes a stock of the state and its role in the brewing of the drug economy and the third chapter in the lifestyle the rural Punjab has come to witness. The second chapter is followed by the third chapter which shows the relation between the state and society, that is, the percolation of the agents of change from the state into the society or from the society into state. This relationship has been verily examined by taking close look at the research journal and existing literature on the state and its related public issues. The proliferation of factors of change into the rural and urban sphere of Punjab establishes the bilateral terms of exchange with minor and major transpose in the cultural settings. The pure economic estimation is also one of the

CHAPTER. 1
SOCIAL HISTORY OF PUNJAB

1. HISTORY OF PUNJAB

Home to one of the oldest civilizations of earth, the Harrapan civilisation, Punjab is the cradle of human civilisation, if not in the world, then at least in the subcontinent. Situated near to an ancient trade route known since the *Mahajanpada* era and surrounding period as *Dakshinapatha*, Punjab has shared cultural proximity with the Central Asia because of the route this that passes through the region. This historical proximity is because of the fact that the earliest human settlers in the subcontinent, the Harrapans, found Punjab suitable to dwell due to the fertile plains created by the 5 rivers passing through the region creating bands of fertile tract called Doābā, literally, created by do(Two) āb(river), from where the name is derived Punj(five) āb(river), that is, a land of five rivers. The territorial expanse of the Harappan civilisation spanned from Punjab region to Afghanistan. It is because of this geographical location and its past that Punjab also shares historical intimacy with Afghanistan. During 326 BC, Alexander arrived at the banks of Jhelum River while ravaging through Central Asia kingdoms. The region suffered continued invasion at the hands of Central Asian marauders or nomadic tribes trying to infiltrate into the fertile lands of the subcontinent, or to be more precise into India, as the drainage pattern of India was divided into the Indo-Gangetic river systems, in which Punjab was located in the Indus river system created by Indus a Himalayan river system which was perennial throughout the year and its tributaries Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej also originating from Himalayan water sources, also run across the same region of Punjab. While the Gangetic River system traversed through the Northern Indian plains creating fertile plains with other river systems joining in the middle, namely Yamuna, crossing through the Delhi region which was bordered by the Aravalli Hills. But it was this Punjab region that witnessed continued changes and became a land of numerous cults and sects giving birth to a different devotional sect during the Bhakti times and acquired for itself a distinct identity of being a different religion in the cultural milieu of India marked by the dominance of Hinduism during the colonial times patronised by colonists in the process of survey categorisation and classification. Our interest for this dissertation centres around the medieval times when Sikhism started forging ground in Punjab between masses as the offshoot of Bhakti tradition endeavoured by its first reformer and Guru, Guru Nanak Dev. It was not just the reformation that characterized the popularity of Nanak's teachings but also the charity in the name of building ponds in the otherwise arid region of Punjab which receives scanty rainfall most of

the year except in winter when the western disturbance brought rainfall from the Mediterranean region fruitful for wheat cultivation.

2. THE MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF PUNJAB

For the purpose of our study which revolves around the region of Punjab and the aftermaths of green revolution and Operation Bluestar, it becomes imperative to study the medieval history of Punjab region, especially with reference to the birth and rise of Sikhism and the gradual solidification of Sikh identity.

Initiated with the teachings of Guru Nanak dev Sikhism developed a distinct concept of the institution of Guruship, although it was already in wider acceptance within the warrior cults and the religious-textual parlance of Hinduism as well as within the cultural and geographical landscape of India, which can be evidenced in the term Guru itself, a Sanskrit term meaning master or more appropriately a spiritual guide. But Sikhs adopted the term Guru as their ultimate authority of rule also determining the religious as well as divine position of its authority. Though Guruship was the accepted norm in most of the bhakti cults of the era where the knowledge of the tradition was handed over from teacher to disciple, it was only Sikhism that give the position a codified religious status amongst the followers and disciples. The word Sikh meant Disciple, is also of Sanskrit origins. Though Sikhism has a unilinear history of birth and expansion but it was also a matter sociological enquiry that explains the cause of its appearance on the religion-cultural landscape of India that was fertile for its insurrection as a possible alternative to the inescapable violence brought in by the marauders of Central-Asia for the sake of religious mission as well for the economic exploitation of the riches of the fertile plains of India. It is precisely for this reason that several new developments took shape in the cultural as well as socioeconomic realms of the country. The sixteenth and seventeenth century northern India has been characterized by continued endeavour of several movement, sects and cults concentrating on reforming the life of people which strongly centred around religion. It is because of this that the era has been termed by the scholars as the Bhakti era. Although South India witnessed the Bhakti tradition starting in the early 6th and 7th century in the form of *vaishnavite* and *shaiivite* bhakti sects such as *alavaras* and *nayannaras*, but it became dense in north India only in during the 16th and 17th century due to the strangling orthodoxy characterized by castism, resultant of continued onslaught of invasion from Central Asia, the frequency of these invasions increased after the coming of Islam. It was the 16th century that became famous for two of the most distinct personalities who brought significant changes in

the socioeconomic life of the people of India and Punjab in specific, they were, Baba Nanak and Babur, both of whom share the same era in the epoch of Indian historical timeline as both stand opposite to each with respect to their mode of action. Where Babur steps his foot in India as an invader and marauder plotting to exploit the riches of the country on the edge of sword, Baba Nanak gradually carved for himself popularity in the process of his preaching, in the innocent and anxious masses disturbed by the violence and blood spill due to the dynastic wars and plunder campaigns of the invaders who would often inflict traumatic injuries on the emotional and psychological fabric of the society. During the Nanak's time Islam in Mughal court was relegated into the hands of Muslims clerics who were retrograde and at the same regressive in their orthodox and fundamentalist approach to the empire and statecraft, at the same time Hinduism had developed practices of ritualistic orthodoxy and castism dominated by the Brahmin priests. In Nanak's spiritual tradition, mysticism had special place to dwell it has a universal commonality to search for the heart of religion, and it is because of this that Sikhism has been successful in attracting followers from all the faiths(Tully and Jacob, 1985)ⁱ. Nanak took the doctrines from both the faiths of Islam and Hinduism, primarily Karma and reincarnation from Hinduism and the doctrine of brotherhood from Islam to countervail castism of Hinduism, and monotheism(belief in one god), to effect this he preached in the oneness of god, which in the words of Nanak also as stated in Vedanta philosophy of Vedas is eternal, ineffable and never incarnates, he described the God as *Nirankar*, that is, formless, with sheer condemnatory rejection of Hindu practice of idol worship of deity. Although in the later period of its evolution Sikhism developed a kind of idol worship of its own kind by revering and worshipping the Adi Granth. Devotion and meditation became the ways of approaching the divinity enshrined in the teachings of Nanak, while rituals and castism were rejected in harshest words starting from the first Guru till the last. Although charity was introduced by the fifth guru Arjun Dev but it was in principle started by Nanak to serve the lower caste through *Guru ka langar* or Guru's Kitchen, a community dining with the Guru and disciple eating together as a symbolical gesture of rejection of caste-based segregation as well as charity for the hungry and the poor. Even after Nanak's rejection of Brahminism, Hindus still regarded Sikhs as Hindu due to the geographical connotation of the word and the situatedness of Punjab within the definition. But slowly with the arrival of British identity politics for electoral representation and patronage-based divide and rule policy slowly Sikhs felt it better to part away from Hinduism to gain sovereignty and political self-rule. Nanak's own endeavour in this direction were nonetheless, he wrote in Punjabi to segregate his didactic teachings and save the ethnoreligious movement from being absorbed within the large systems of religious and

geographical believes of Hindus and Hinduism. This process was further carried by Nanak's chief disciple and successor Guru Angad who following on the work of his master crafted a new script, the *Gurumukhi* script to compile Nanak's teachings. Guru Amar Das, the third guru carried further the attempts to widen the Hindu-Sikh divide by choosing a calendar for assembly of the Sikhs and rituals and the liturgy for birth, death and marriage concerning the Sikhs. Ram Das, his son-in-law, took to charitable mission to spread the community and laid the initial foundation of the Amritsar city, a pond to be erected and the city to evolve in future a fountainhead of Sikh religious sojourns or pilgrimage.

Meditation and scholarship continued to be the main activities of the first four gurus, the fifth guru, Arjun Das, took the endeavour of compiling the Adi-Granth aka Granth Sahib (Chandra, 1997, pp. 324)ⁱⁱ after realising the necessity of dissemination of authentic saying and teachings in a scripture he also went on to raise Harmandir on the site of pond constructed by his father Guru Ramdas. He was the foremost amongst the former Gurus to work in separating the Sikh identity from the Hindu (Kaur & Rai, 1985, pp.3)ⁱⁱⁱ. It was the handwork of Arjun Dev who wanted to personify the position of guruship as worldly and spiritual so much so that Gurus henceforth created an aristocratic lifestyle around themselves. A decision that was to be the genesis of more changes in the direction in upcoming future (Chandra, 1997, pp. 324). Lofty architecture, fine clothes, horses of Central Asian descent came to symbolise their royal and divine appearance (Chandra, 1997, pp. 324). The charity, that became the main driver of the popularity of their movement was also the initiative of Arjun Dev (Chandra, 1997, pp. 324). Arjun Singh took important decisions in the direction of preservation of the community his sacrifice became the catalyst of change and the community got transformed on the lines of military, a stratagem for preservation and sovereignty of the Panth from the evils of Mughal empire followed by his son, the sixth Guru, Guru Hargovind Singh who armed his followers established himself as both the spiritual as well as the temporal tip of the community, constructed the Akal Takht (throne of the timeless God) against the imperial throne of Mughal empire, which was to serve as the seat of military planning for the expansion of the community and the institution of Khalsa, which helped them create a communal identity (Kaur & Rai, 1985, pp.4) despite the community being regarded as the militant wing of Hinduism. The martyrdom of ninth Guru, Guru Tegh Bahadur, only pacified the expanding divide between Sikhs and Hinduism when he was forced to execution for arguing for the case of the protection of the religious rights of Hindus of North India. The tenth Guru and the son of ninth Guru, Guru Govind Singh in 1666 AD infused the final transformation of the community as a religious military fraction to serve and protect the rights of the community by transforming the

community into Khalsa Panth, that is, Community of the Pure. He extended the realms of rituals into battlefields and wars to show martial objectives and designs of the community and to indicate levels of transformation into the religious realms of the individual as well as collective Sikh identity. Amongst his decisions in this respect was the clear categorisation of his followers to reflect his level of belief, he asked his followers to keep their hair (*kes*) uncut and beards unshorn, to have “Singh” as a title for all the male followers in order to consolidate and effect the essence of brotherhood of Khalsa across caste and military camaraderie to be accompanied with carrying the famous dagger known between them as *kirpan*. The practise got colloquially known as Five Ks to be identified as a devout orthodox Sikh, they were, hair (*kes*), carrying a comb (*kangha*), steel bangle (*kara*), breeches(*kachcha*), and dagger (*kirpan*), So the real Sikh were the one who kept their hair uncut, or the *Kesadhari Khalsa*, the one who did not subscribe to the commandment was either *Sahajdhari*, that is, a gradual believer or a Hindu who believes in Sikhism. This conversion of Hindu to Kesadhari Khalsa was self-evident in the expansion of the community and the tradition of sending the eldest son of the family into the Khalsa, one such famous example being the conversion of the Rajput named Lakshman Das to Baba Banda Singh Bahadur (AD 1670 – AD 1710) under whose leadership Khalsa armies won most victories and territorial expansion reached its peak. Till the time of Akbar, Gurus enjoyed cordiality in the imperial courts largely due to Akbar's deep interest in unfolding the religious and the mystical landscape of contemporary India for his personal goals, which can be epitomised by his visit to Amritsar to create for himself a divine stature for the sole purpose of mass acceptance and legitimacy of his rule in the garb of religious syncretism and tolerance. The rivalry later got relegated into the domain of politics, represented during the contemporary times in the form of shifting alliance, best witnessed in the friendly relationship shared between the successor of Arjun Dev, Guru Har Govind and Jehangir.

3. PARTITION HISTORY OF PUNJAB

Although the ancient history of Punjab has been mentioned above, the history of the division of this territory equally runs along the history of the region. During Akbar’s reign (1587-1605) the territory was divided into two separate territories as mentioned in the *Ain-I-Akbari* written by Akbar’s court gem *Abu Fazl*, the account mentions the two territories the region was divided into- Lahore province and the Multan province (Gladwin, 1785, pp.594) ^{iv}. The descriptions of the region divided were as follows, Lahore province that was called the upper province and the Multan province he called the Lower province, the Lahore province was described as-

“The length from the river Sutlej to the Indus is 180 cose and the breadth from Bhembeer to Chowkundy measures 86 cose. On the east lies Sirhind, on the north Cashmeer, on the south Beykaneer and Ajmeer and Multan bounds it on the west. This Soobah has six rivers issuing from the northern mountains”.

The Multan province as-

“On its east lies Sircar Sirhind, the Pergunnah of Shoor joins it on the north, on the south it is bounded by the Soobah of Ajmeer and on the west are situated Kutch and Mekran both of which are independent territories. The six rivers which have been described in Lahore also pass through this Soobah”

The territory of Punjab has often been identified with the contemporary Punjab, references to the same is found in the writing of many historians and authors of the contemporary periods of Mughal empire, like, Sujana Rai Bhandari, author of *Khulasatu-T-Twarikh* (Hassan, 1918, pp. 67)^v compiled during Aurangzeb's reign (1657-1707) uses the Punjab to identify with the province of Lahore under the Mughal rule, the practise continued onwards, in *Twarikh-i-Punjab* by Ghulam Mohyuddin, known by the name Bute Shah, also delineates the same Lahore region as Punjab (Shah, pp.4)^{vi}. Following the decline of the Mughal empire the region was disintegrated into numerous small principalities into the hands of Sikh chieftains, only to be united for once under the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799-1839). The British started using Punjab synonymous with the territory of Ranjit Singh's rule. It was also the axial geographical limitations that delineated the region into a complete unified geo-morphological block of terrain. Pir-Panjah mountain chains in the north, Sulaiman mountains and River Indus in the west and river Sutlej separating what was then known as British India. After the death of Ranjit Singh, the rule passed into the hands of rather disunited chieftains and weak rulers who could not unite the factions that were separated on ethnic, racial, linguistics and caste lines all acting at the same time and the ruler at the intersection of these differences negotiating the power differences. The formation of the modern Punjab was kick started under the colonial rule and it took its present form under the evolving British cartographic skills to acquire and effect monopoly over the demographic dividend of the region. The Administrative report of the state during 1849-51 A.D.^{vii}. gives a good detail of the areas incorporated in the formation of the British Punjab. The areas that were marked were indexed in the report as Punjab proper, Trans-Sutlej territories and Cis-Sutlej territories. With the defeat and breakdown of the Sikh rule in 1846 Anglo-Sikh war, Kashmir was sliced out from the Lahore kingdom, and the area intervening between the Sutlej and Beas was incorporated into the British territory while the rest of the territory annexed post second Anglo-Sikh war 1849 was called the *“Punjab Proper”*,

the portion of our interest on which our study will focus and the area that was partitioned. Other areas included the old Punjab which was comprised of Trans-Sutlej region and the territories in the Alpine region around Kangra valley were all one and unified under old Punjab

The colonial rule over Punjab started with the defeat and annihilation of the empire led by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors in the year 1849. The British –Indian army was then the mainstay of the empire whose recruitment ground came from the states of UP and Bihar and shifted drastically in a sudden to Punjab. During the time of partition, the state had a majority population of 57% Muslims. The members from the Sikh community that were entrusted with the task to negotiate with the British for the partition of the region were Master Tara Singh, S Baldev Singh and Giani Kartar Singh. Although the partition became a reality near around the years after the end of second world war, but various scholars have argued that the seeds of the partition were laid much before the partition was even in the speculations of the political elites and leaders of the then Indian freedom struggle movement. The first time the intentions of partition became obvious was through the *Lahore Resolution*. The resolution laid the groundwork for future political discourse in the direction of partition and also for separatism in the modern times of Punjab. Slogans were raised in favour of Pakistan in the Muslim league in March. The anger and the state of emotional turmoil that was gripping Punjab during the intervening periods when the movement for partition was taking shapes and was near to becoming reality could be well sensed in the statements that were made by the Sikh political leaders who were overlooking the preservation and protection of the rights of Sikhs, Master Tara Singh, the then President of the Shiromani Akali Dal had highlighted the possibility of the civil war, the blood spill that the declaration will bring when he said that the Muslims will have cross the chests of the Sikhs. Baba Kharak Singh called for the boycott of the call for Punjab partition. As an alternative to this devious idea of partition of Punjab that was in the plans of Britishers, Master Tara Singh suggested the “*Azad Punjab scheme*”. The scheme proposed demographic reorientation of the state or the region then into 40% Muslims, 40% Hindus and 20% Sikhs with the course of the Chenab River as the mark for identification of the region that was to be partitioned. Delhi was separated from Punjab in 1911 when it was declared as the capital of the colony. Cis-Sutlej, Trans-Sutlej and Lahore kingdom (Proper Punjab) were annexed into one unified administration. An administrative report of the British Punjab (1868-1869) explicates the boundaries of the state as surrounded by the Himalayan Mountain chains in the north and north-east, river Yamuna bordering Delhi also as its boundary Sutlej being a historically accepted boundary between Mughal province of Delhi and Lahore.

Also, British accepted the river as the border of the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the Treaty of Amritsar 1809 AD. After its formation, Punjab became too huge and vast a territory to administer and a need to divide the territory was felt soon. It was decided to separate territories on the margins of the region, the wild west of Punjab, that is, the five districts at the frontier of the region Peshawar, Hazara, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan were made into constituting the North-West frontier province with Peshawar as its headquarters. The British Punjab before partition was comprised of 29 districts with tehsils or sub-divisions made of districts, like, Ambala division, Jullundur division, Lahore division, Rawalpindi division and Multan division.

4. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

Popularly known as the Granary of India or India's breadbasket as a result of the vigorous policy of green revolution undertaken by the government to battle the food crisis of 1960-1970, became "a model province" and "an object of envy" for the remaining states (Grewal, 1990, pp, 209)^{viii}. The state suffered insurgency that lasted from 1970's till 1993 and to be more precise from 1984 till 1993 that rendered the state into a battle ground between the central government and the protracted unconventional war led by the Sikh of extremists, the movement underwent critical phase because of the close vicinity and long border shared with the neighbouring country Pakistan with whom India fought 4 major battles since their independence and separation in 1947. It was in the depressing after effects of insurgency that the state underwent major upheaval due to spreading menace of drug addiction, highlighted by scholars as a signal of an upcoming pending threat to the economic stability and external relations of the state^{ix}. According to a study undertaken by Amritsar based Guru Nanak Dev University 70% Punjabi youths were addicted and hooked to drugs and illicit liquor and alcohol, the consumption pattern follows the socioeconomic divide that runs well into the caste and class divide of the state, it states that the well-off population takes Heroin, while the poor on lower strata of the society consumes sedatives or other medicines easily available at pharmaceutical shops which have become as the new focal points in the drugs trade in Punjab (Sandhu, 2006)^x. The consumption pattern shows how drugs has become a factor for the determination of lifestyle and status and influencing the class position in the society of Punjab underlined by Weber in his remarkable article class, status and party. The study famously

known as the "Drug Addiction in Punjab: A sociological Study by R S Sandhu (2006)." highlights some shocking and disturbing trends in drug addiction in the state.

* Derivatives of opiate and synthetic opiate drugs comprise 70% drug consumption by the drug addicts, while the rest follows dangerous combination of clinically available morpheme and other sedatives and opiates.

* The survey reports that there is at least 1 drug addict in 65% households of Majha region that is spread over 4 districts: Gurdaspur, Pathankot, Amritsar, and Taran Tarn and the same follows for *Doaba* which covers Kapurthala, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur and Nawanshahr, and 64% families of the Malwa region which is the largest part of Punjab comprising of 14 districts of , Ferozepur, Faridkot, Fazilka, Bathinda, Barnala, Sangrur, Mansa, Patiala, Mohali, Moga, Muktsar, Ludhiana, Rupnagar and Fatehgarh sahib.

* Among the rural district Taran Tarn emerges as the most affected and Amritsar amongst the urban district in Punjab.

* Taran Tarn has emerged as the top per head consumer of alcohol in Punjab.

* Highest concentration of substance abuse is found in border areas affecting age group from 15-25 to 35-60 years.

Although studies have been done with respect to instability and security concerns related to drugs and substance abuse in Punjab, but this research will concentrate upon the sociological factors contributing to the rise of distinct patterns of drug abuse in rural and urban Punjab, which will also take into account the undergoing rururbanisation in Punjab since the onset of Green Revolution. Youth subcultures arising out of substance abuse is a rising sociological study in British and American sociological trend. This study will concentrate on the emerging trends in the Youth Subcultures of Punjab as a result of widespread use of drugs in Punjab which is intersectional to age groups and class position in the society in Punjab and the resultant distinct lifestyles that takes form in this groups and communities. Our research will focus on the key areas and the percolating questions intersectional to the social conflict and the resultant changes. Our investigation will focus on-

A What are the differences in consumption and addiction pattern of drugs in rural and urban Punjab.

B Sociological and historical causes regarding these differences.

C What is the changing pattern of drug addiction synthetic and semi-synthetic.

D what reasons can be accounted for such change.

5. LITERATURE REVIEW

The prime importance of literature review is that it lays the ground work for theoretical estimation of this study, and the required contemporary historical situation to comprehend the events leading to the present condition of society in Punjab infected with drug and substance abuse. The work analyses relevant published papers and studies regarding insurgency in Punjab and panoptic and viral widespread of drug abuse infecting the administration in the state and its society. It approaches the study with authoritative theoretical works on terminologies that will be widely used and deliberated upon in this work.

5.1 STATUS

This study thoroughly employs sociological theories and employs them into different varying contexts for the purpose of reproducing the true state of society in Punjab. Drugs having been infiltrated the society in Punjab across age groups and sexes has also acquired a factor for determining status position of individual in community. Until the time of Marxism, class conflict remains a focal point of study in getting to know and counter pin the Hobbesian trap, that is, the war of all against all, it was in this context that Weber's study on status acquired distinct importance in relation to the study of stratification. The works of Weber are marked as a paradigm shift in the development of stratification theories, he employed concepts of Malthus in ascertaining that the struggle for limited resources in society renders different positions in society, this struggle in his view can also involve struggle for prestige and for political power. For Weber, like Marx, class remained in the economic realms (Weber, 1947), classes developed as a by-product of market economies due to the competition for scarce resources. A class, according to Weber, was a group of individuals sharing similar position in a market economy and hence squeeze similar rewards for their participation in the struggle, which for Weber, became a person's class situation reflecting his market situation. This market situation gives contradistinctive chances of survival from one section to another section of society, it is this context that gave birth to Weber's idea of 'life chances'. Apart from class as basis for the formation of group leading to collective action for acquisition of political power, Weber asserted that there is other basis as well for the formation of such groups, he called status. Here he argued that groups form because of the shared status situation, where similar to class, status refers to presence and allocation of unequal 'social honour'. So, while accepting social class as a required condition of social stratification, Weber proved the equal importance of prestige and power in the determination of the same.

5.2 INSURGENCY

In the words of Bard O' Neil (Neil, 1990, pp.13) insurgency is " a struggle between a non-ruling group and the ruling authority in which the non-ruling group consciously uses political resources and violence to destroy, reformulate, or sustain the basis of legitimacy of one or more aspects of politics"^{xi}. Insurgents intend to achieve political goals by strengthening their control over local population at the same time manoeuvring against the government to make it difficult for them to administer the region while eroding the government's capacity and ability to organize governance in the territory^{xii}. Insurgents acquire objectives through both violent and non-violent means of coercion, terrorism, propaganda, and political mobilization^{xiii}.

5.3 INSURGENCY IN PUNJAB

The Khalistan separatist insurgency in Punjab took the form of ethnonationalism. Although the movement had roots during the Independence when Subah-e-Punjab was demanded by popular Sikh leaders like Master Tara Singh, but later it created for itself a space for violent struggle post-independence, specifically from 1970-1990. In the words of Tara Kartha (Kartha, 1999, pp.167) insurgency in Punjab was a complex by-product of economic, political malfeasance, opportunism shrouded in the cries of religious-ethnic overtones^{xiv}. Though major explanations have shown economic reasons behind the insurgency but Paul R. Brass (Brass, 1989)^{xv} disagrees with such explanation and puts the onus on the fundamentalist Sikh militant orthodox groups who created rifts with the Hindu sects. Those who follow the economic reasons like Hamish Telford (Telford, 1992, pp.970) ^{xvi} highlight the rising disparity in Punjab after the profits of Green Revolution were ripped by the landed elite upper caste and class of Punjab and resulted into the unequal distribution of wealth. Other scholars that agree to Hamish Telford like Murray Leaf (Leaf, 1985, pp.498)^{xvii} elucidate changing socio-economic factors behind the escalation of conflict, while Shekhar Gupta^{xviii} states that most of the conflicts in India have ethnic, linguistic, or regional underpinnings while they appear to be plainly a religious and political on the surface and Rajshree point to web of social, economic, and political that gripped India during the era that resulted into Sikh alienation. The immediate aftermath of insurgency and in between the phase was the gradual percolation of illicit drug trade to finance the insurgency in Punjab. Rural Punjab became the hotbed of the recruitment of young bloods in the cadres of the militant organisation who in order to enhance their status against the urban elites took course to the religious cause in the insurgency which legitimised their divine status

in the society. The effect of this trend precipitated into the potential of the demographic dividend of the state, given that the contribution of the youth and specially the less educated rural youth instead of getting into the job market instead found itself into the market of violence and conflict bringing further economic damage to the state and its economy. The insurgency also re-routed itself into illicit drug trade to finance the organisations with the required money. The rural Punjab also turned out to be the cultural locus of the legitimacy to the movement given the vast resources and cultural capital that could be mustered for the sustenance of the movement. Gurharpal Singh^{xix} interjects that the militants utilised the cultural capital of the Sikh religious identity and society to accumulate the resources for the movement, his study provides that the organisations in the militancy were intricately linked with the rural social structure. The cultural Jat history asserted itself into the loops of the militancy glamourisation. Gurharpal Singh makes here his point that Heroism, resistance and an inevitable will to power functioned as the driving force for the movement, their engagement with the local and rural social network to settle out local disputes and kinship network also laid before them the network and resources for the functioning of their operation with the society. Joyce Pettigrew observes that

“The movement [militancy] had been ideological in intent and a people's struggle. What distorted it was that rural society, where it was located, gave primary importance to the personal bond and to the individual . . . Guerrillas working within a framework based entirely on personal connections rather than associational ties were fighting a modern war with primitive forms of organization^{xx}. ”

5.4 DRUGS IN INDIA

India lies between the two of the most infamous opium growing regions known as the Golden Triangle and the Golden Crescent. Golden Crescent being at the north-western and the north-eastern borders of India's porous boundaries, comprised of countries lying on both the sides of the western and eastern boundaries of India. As per N. S Jamwal (Jamwal, 2002, pp.145)^{xxi} the nexus of narco-terrorism by elements within Pakistan to fund their terrorism related activities within Pakistan was the most trusted source of funding that has kept the Indian state of Punjab and Kashmir destabilised for so long. Whereas according to S. P Sinha (Sinha, 2012, pp.234)^{xxii} drugs in the prime source of funding for terrorist groups in North-east India, while the most alarming fact is that the law enforcement seizes only a fraction of the entire trade racket (Kumar, 2002, pp.285)^{xxiii}. The evolution of some of the organised crime groups like that of

Dawood Ibrahim's gang into a business corporation based on logistics supply chain management to push in drugs, launder money and aid terror plots have seriously threatened India's sovereignty and presented new and upgraded challenge by illegitimate groups. This work will concentrate on the impact of drug abuse in rural Punjab and will only take a glance on the overall state of drugs abuse in India for a better understanding of the emergent issues.

5.5 DOMINANT CASTE

It was M.N Srinivas who first propounded the concept of Dominant caste in relation to India caste based socio-political reality. His concept of dominant caste was closely related again to another famous proposition by him called Sanskritization. Sanskritization for M.N Srinivas was a process in place unlike dominant caste which was a result of a somewhat similar process happening in the village societies in India. Sanskritization for Srinivas was mirrored by other contradistinctive processes like "Westernization" and "Secularization". By Sanskritization, Srinivas meant the positional change and not the structural change of caste hierarchy under which the lower caste groups in Indian village society imitate the lifestyle and attributes of higher caste groups or the *Dwija* castes, that is, the castes in the upper hierarchy which have gone through the Brahminical ritual of *Upanayana* samskara and get upward mobility within the Brahminical structure of hold. Change was to be accompanied in all the aspects of life including dietary habits, that is, from non-vegetarian to vegetarian codes of Brahminical conduct in the realms of dietary discipline, dressing and lifestyle due to change in occupation from unclean occupation to clean occupation, such shared attributes become the basis of interaction between castes. Remembered for his pioneering methodology of surveying caste through studying villages Srinivas view caste as a segmentary system, that is, every caste was segmented further into sub-castes, they were products of various socio-cultural and economic factors taking place, these sub-castes reflected that they were the

- a. units of endogamy
- b. whose members shared similar occupation
- c. they were units of social and ritual life.
- d. members share a common culture;
- e. members get governed through the rules promulgated by the authoritative governing body viz., the panchayat

Apart from these factors the attributes that Srinivas ascertained as crucial for determination of status, were hierarchy, occupational difference, restrictions and the most crucial amongst all of

these, pollution. Hierarchy, for Srinivas, was the foundational core as well as the essence that defined the principles of caste differentiation in Indian society. It was M.N Srinivas who first said that the occupational difference of caste was important marker in the identification of the caste in rank order of hierarchy and it was here that he said that caste was the “systemization of occupational differentiation”, one can witness this in the titles adopted by people belonging to various caste groups or the names of the various caste groups, like, *Lohar*, *Chamar*, *Teli*, and *Sonar*, divided or placed in the hierarchy as high or low caste depending on the proximity of pollution with the occupation undertaken by the caste group. Restrictions was well intertwined with pollution proximity, for e.g., if pollution was in the near proximity, then restrictions were placed on various behavioural interactions of these caste groups with other caste groups like restrictions on commensality, on dressing, speeches and customs and rites de passage on various stages of life proscribed for different castes. Pollution exactly enters where restriction is employed, that is, to ascertain the requirement and prerequisites of restriction in the context where the call to determine the authenticity of its use is called upon. Here, Srinivas argues that the caste must not reach contact level proximity of anything that is polluted, object, human beings and even any animal species as well. Contact with polluted entities brings the breakage of the sacred virginity or the modesty of the purity of the caste in question and hence the caste is called upon to revisit or re-enter into ritualistic cleansing or the purification rites. Pollution due to sexual intimacy is taken seriously and may call banishment or excommunication by the commune, panchayat, called for the purpose. Closely linked to Sanskritization was the idea of Westernization and Secularization which not exactly but seems to have overtaken Sanskritization in the colonial and post-colonial Indian society. Westernization for Srinivas was a colonial and post-colonial effect. Again, both were processes, taking place under certain context of socio-cultural realities of the respective time. Westernization took spin under the colonial rule in India and is still a residual process taking shape gradually in reminiscence in the past and in the present figment of reality. The concept of dominant caste was proposed in his study in the village of Rampura (Srinivas, 1978)^{xxiv} nearby Mysore in which he defined the concept in the terms of six attributes, each having been concurrent and in conjunction with the other identified attributes (Nagla, 2008)^{xxv}

1. Sizeable amount of arable land
2. Strength of numbers
3. High place in local hierarchy
4. Western education

5. Jobs in the administration
6. Urban sources of income

For Srinivas three of the above attributes' numerical strength, economic power and political power were vital in determining the dominant caste among other, that is, a dominant caste is caste which has three of the above attributes, these attributes relegated the ritual ranking and established secular code of ranking in deciding the dominant status. The as the necessary prerequisites do not only subscribe to the ritual ordinance but to various social, political and numerical strength of the community, although Srinivas accepts that caste with higher ritual ranking will find it relatively easy to be estimated amongst the dominant caste.

5.6 DOMINANT CASTE IN PUNJAB

Punjab witnessed extensive changes affecting almost all the spheres of life during the colonial era, after the defeat of the Sikh empire of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1849 and specially after the 1857 revolt when Punjab gradually became the recruitment ground of soldiers for the British Raj, the British Indian Army, the mainstay of the colonial rule. Large tracts of canal work were spread in the region, administrative reformulation was undertaken to ensure renewed collection from the allotted agricultural lands, and railway networks connecting interior Punjab to the ports of Mumbai, Calcutta and Madras. Infact Punjab was one of the first region where the practice of surveys was undertaken to enhance understanding of the region to control. A series of survey was done in the region starting from 1855 till formalisation of a systematic decennial census in 1872 until 1947. These pre-partition data help us determine the plethora of changes that Punjab has witnessed in the intervening period of time. The pattern of distribution of population in the region was by and large in consonance with the arable tract of land in the fertile region. In during the last census around 1947, Punjab was comprised of 29 districts under British territory and 43 princely states known as the Punjab states recorded a population of 34.3 million distribution over 52,047 villages and 283 towns. The data reveals a population density of 248 persons per square miles, the population was scattered over an area of 1,38,105 sq. miles of area, the villages had at any point of time 109 occupied houses with 562 persons, on the other side towns had 3150 occupied houses with a population of 17,812 persons. The area under British rule within Punjab shared 71.7 % of the total area of Punjab. From the data it becomes clear that profits accrued from Punjab flew directly into the hands of British coffins, as the population residing in the British territory numbered around 28.4 million, that is, 82.8 % of the total population. The heartlands of Punjab or the *Bist Doab* under which fell Lahore, Amritsar,

Gurdaspur and Sialkot were marked by high population density numbering around 500 to 900 persons per square miles. The population distribution of Punjab then was typical of wheat producing areas in fertile old alluvium areas, a fertile soil formation around the Doab, or the interfluvium. Apart from population settlement pattern was organised for defensive purpose, that is, Agglomerated pattern of settlement to secure resources and security for the clan and hamletted pattern in the hilly region probably in and around the *dun* area. The religious composition is an interesting addition to the study of demographic study of Punjab. While Sikhism attempted to fill the gap between Islam and Hinduism for peaceful coexistence of both the communities in Punjab which was continuously torn by the religious endeavours of Islamic invaders against the idolatry of Hindus, this composite culture due to the religious syncretism offered by the Sikhism entered into the demography of Punjab in the early phase of British rule. In the words of Douie as cited in Gopal Krishna (Krishna, 2004)^{xxvi}, formerly Professor of Geography, Punjab University, Chandigarh

” If a map of colonial Punjab is drawn by marking districts and states with either Muslims or Hindus accounting for at least 60% of the total population in 1881, the sharp divide between the western Muslims and eastern Hindus becomes conspicuous. A revealing feature of such a map is that the zone sandwiched between the two extremities described above is the one that roughly coincides with the Indian Punjab today. Neither the Muslims nor the Hindus exceeded more than 60% of the total population. This was an area where the Sikhs displayed relative concentration, the Sikhism seems to have spread more in the contact zones of Islam and Hinduism. Here Punjabi was the main language spoken as compared to the Lahindi in the west and Hindi in the east and Pahari in the northwest.

It was this same composite culture that was the result of the religious syncretism offered by Sikhism that later became divisive for the polity under making in the early British rule and post-independence Punjab continued till present day. Around 1941 Muslims were in absolute majority, numbered around 53.2 % of the total population of Punjab. The Hindus were near around 30% and the Sikhs numbered somewhere around 15 % of the population, while Christians 1.9% , a totally different picture from the earliest census of 1881 when Hindus numbered 44%, Sikhs 8%, Muslims 48% and Christians 0.1%, a significant decline in population of Hindus was observed in the state in this time interval, largely due to conversion of Lower caste Hindus into Sikhism, Islam and Christianity and on the contrary, least or no conversion was recorded in the higher caste Hindus (Krishna, 2004) like Brahmins, Arora, Khatri and Aggarwal castes people, that is, in during the earliest census Hindus and Muslims accounted for almost 80% of the state’s population. The urban setting was found to be secure

for minorities, the Muslims made the majority towns in the western side of Punjab and Hindus made the majority of towns in the eastern side, the Hilly states, Sikh principalities and south-eastern states, in all these above social settings of the urban milieu of Punjab, minorities could secure their preservation near the centres of rule in the proximity of urban public sphere, a fact that can be well substantiated through the fact that Hindus marked their presence more in the urban sphere and simultaneously Muslims were more in the urban sphere in the regions where Hindus made the majority. The geographical landscape of India had pervasive intrusion into the mainframe of the religious settings and systems, this can be witnessed as many caste groups can be seen on both the sides of the religious divide, like Jats, Gujjars and Rajput castes (Douie, 1916)^{xxvii}, who were the adherents of Islam in the western side and within the Hindu fold in the eastern/ south-eastern side while Sikhism found the space in the region in between both the sides with its space open for the peaceful transition, escape and refuge that it provided against the sharpening divide and deepening clash between the two communities in Punjab that was the frontier of expanding Islam and the defensive span of Hinduism. There were also two kinds of Muslims in Punjab, the Kamboh caste Muslims inhabiting the area around Maler-Kotla and the Dum caste Mirasi Muslims (Judge, 2015, pp. 55-76)^{xxviii}. Paramjit Singh Judge (Judge, 2015, pp. 55-76) explicates that the caste hierarchy is itself a system of domination in Punjab and that there is no status of dominant caste in Punjab. In his postulation, P.S Judge (Judge, 2015, pp. 55-76) entails theoretical distinction propounded by Srinivas between the very complementarity of Varna and Caste. Srinivas concluded his study in the light of various pervasive factors that caste hierarchy is a local phenomenon embedded in the cultural landscape of India which renders two types of Hierarchy, Varna Hierarchy and Caste Hierarchy. Srinivas through textual and ritual explication came to establish that Varna was static and fixed throughout the geography of its observance in India while Caste was dynamic practise. The Indian constitution has ascribed only Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism as Caste-laden religious community apart from Hinduism in its Article 25. Infact as per the Hindu marriage Act 1955^{xxix} the definition of Hindu in the Act up until 2012 included Jain, Buddhists and Sikhs as well, it was only in the year 2012 that a separate personal law for Sikhs was brought in the parliament through the passage of Anand Marriage Act named after the Sikh marriage ceremonial ritual called *Anand Karaj*, that is, *Act towards happiness*, that was introduced by Guru Amar Das ji. The act was an amendment to the Anand Marriage Act 1909, which made registration under the act compulsory and legalised the traditional Anand Karaj. Despite this separation from the Hindu ritualistic umbrella, Sikhism could hardly escape the Brahminical social organisation entrenched within the Hindu society of Punjab. The minor Christian group is coterminous with

the scavenging castes of Punjab (Judge, 2015, pp.60). The human geography or to be more precise the caste and geography relations of Punjab can be witnessed in Punjab as it is divided in three regions, the most fertile Doab region, Majha region and the Malwa region. The Hindu belt is concurrent with the Doab region, mostly comprised of Dalits except for few non-Hindu lower caste like Bazigar and Julaha castes (Judge, 2015). The lower caste Bhangis are Balmiki's, the proportion of Chamar's is low in the Majha region. Balmiki's dominate the Urban areas while the Mazabi's make the majority in the rural area. Jat Sikhs are the predominant landowners in Punjab and qualify to be the dominant caste as per the Srinivas's criteria. Malwa is the largest among the regions with the prevalence of Jat Sikhs (Judge, 2015). While the rest of the major castes like Mazabi, Balmiki's and Chamar's make their strength in the different sub-regions of Malwa. The castes coterminous with landownership is different for different regions, the landownership of Doab region is dominated by the Thakurs, Saini, Lobana, Ahluwalia and Mahato while Kamboh, Saini and Rajput are the predominant landowners in the Majha region after the Jat Sikhs. In the largest region, Malwa, despite the numbers in favour of Jat Sikhs, the landownership is under the Rajput, Saini and Kamboh castes. The artisan caste is uniformly present throughout Punjab. The Doab region which has most of its OBCs under the Hindu fold with the exception of Ramgharias and Chamba's. While in the rest of the region Sikhism has engulfed most of the OBC's. Khattris, Baniyas and Aroras famously known in the local social knowledge as the mercantile castes are dispersed in the demography of Punjab but are extinct in the most of the villages. Baniyas, that are mostly Hindus, dominate the Malwa region, while Khattris and Aroras are both Hindu and Sikh and they traditionally intermarry across their caste lines. As per the 2011 census the 39 scheduled castes make up the 31.9% of the total population of Punjab with the Bhangis and Chamars as the centre of Dalit politics in Punjab. Although there is no formal data on the proportion of OBC that makeup the demography in Punjab, it is known that there are 69 OBC castes in Punjab, among which Kamboh, Ramgharia(carpeneter caste) and Lobana are the three most prominent among them, Kamboh and Lobana share similar status in Punjab as they are vegetable growers. The rural Sikhs are the peasants' castes such as Jats, Sainis, Mahatons, Kamboh and Lobana. The upper landowning caste are, Jats as the strongest in numbers, then followed by Rajput, Sainis and Mahatons. Brahmins own lands and cultivate around Amritsar and are numbered very few in the landowning category^{xxx}. The strongest among the landowning Sikh community is the Jat Sikhs, the strongest in number within the Sikhs. The status of Jat Sikhs within Punjab is extremely different from those of the Jats within Hindu fold in the adjacent regions of Rajasthan, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh to distinguish which they claim themselves as the *Jatts*

or the real Jat. Many scholars (Habib, 1976)^{xxxii} have pointed out the conversion of Jats into Sikhs in elevating their position within Punjab and within Sikhism particularly. The Jats had otherwise lower caste status within Hinduism, Jats were also resented within Muslim clergy during the Islamic rule (Judge, 2015). Although this assertion is not supported by the data of the census, the census of 1881 shows that the conversion of Jats into Sikhism is recent 20th century phenomenon, the Hindu Jats numbered around 14,45,374 against the Jat Sikhs 11, 22, 673, the 1931 census shows a complete turn of event, the Jat Sikhs numbers soared to 21,33,152 whereas the numbers of Hindu Jats dwindled to 9,92,309, the prime reason attributed to this change part from Singh Sabha Movement has been attributed to British policy of army recruitment(Fox, 1985)^{xxxiii} by showing the Sikhs as martial race, the construction of this identity was in line with the history of Sikh past, the doctrines of Sikh faiths were enforced by the British in the army recruitment. The numbers of Jat Sikh comprised two-third of the population of Sikhism in Punjab. P S Judge (Judge, 2015) argues that population of Punjab kept fluctuating due to various reasons like drought, influenza and plague, but the conversion of Jat Sikhs maintained the population of Punjab and emerged as the dominant caste primarily due to the contribution of three factors that were the products of previous forces in action, namely the partition of Punjab, the creation of Punjabi subah and the Green Revolution. These factors have allowed for the dominance of Jat Sikhs in the political governance of Punjab. The rural peasantry that was mainly comprised of Jat Sikhs who were in majority after the partition of Punjab benefitted from the Green Revolution and became prosperous enough to grab the social and cultural capital as well the political governance in the state on the basis of its number strength. As the study points there is no caste hierarchy in Punjab cutting across religious lines in Punjab and the dominance of Jat Sikh is in the economic sphere and that there are multiple caste hierarchies in the region or the state to be in precise. Marengo (Marengo, 1986)^{xxxiii} has argued that Sikhs have perpetuated caste system with rearrangements within the regional rearrangement of the socio-religious system.

Population data of Jats in Undivided Punjab

Community	1881 Census report	1931 Census report
Hindu Jats	14,45,374	09,92,309
Jat Sikhs	11,22,673	21,33,152

Religious composition of Undivided Punjab

Religion	1881 Census Report	1941 Census Report
Hindus	44%	30%

Christian	0.1%	1.9%
Sikhs	8%	15%
Muslims	48%	53.2%

5.7 THE RURAL AND URBAN SPHERE IN PUNJAB

With a marked difference in caste composition in rural Punjab, Urbanization since the Harappan times has been locus affair in Punjab which requires thorough examination and detailed study of the patterns, development and changes that the subsequent stages of changes in the modes of production have brought. In 1881 the urban population in Punjab was around 2.48 million, that is 11.9 % of the total population of Punjab, which made a climb to 14.7%, in 1941 numbering around 5.04 million (Krishna, 2004). Though the share of Urban population was on continuous decline till 1921, which was an observed phenomenon in the country due to continuous onslaught at the hands British engineered plagues and epidemics like Malaria and cholera. The urbanisation was also accompanied by the increase in the number of towns in the state under colonial rule, the numbers soared from 168 towns in 1881, 185 in 1921 to 283 in 1941 due to the acceleration of growth post-1921 that was witnessed countrywide (Krishna, 2004). The emergence of these new towns was the result of a process of instigated by the Britishers which was closely interlinked with the caste composition of the state, the process of canal building post-1857 as a reward for the support of the recruits from these areas in the crushing of the revolt of 1857. The process of canal networks was taken in Western Punjab densely. The peasantry of the eastern region that was dominated in the rural side by the Jat Sikh who also participated in the crushing of the revolt of 1857 and was serving earlier under the army of the empire of Maharaja Ranjit Singh were also invited to settle in the regions classified as command areas like Lyallpur, Montgomery and Sargodha (Krishna, 2004). The rural-urban divide of Punjab runs along the occupational and associated cultural span of Punjab, though the Jats represented the rural peasantry of Punjab, have undergone significant occupational transformation evidenced in their preponderance in the urban spaces of inhabitation in Punjab (Judge, 2015). Unlike the Hindu Jats, the Jat Sikhs of Punjab have no caste association like the Khap panchayats in Haryana, Joyce Pettigrew (1978) in his remarkable study in this relation has observed the numerous factions within the Jat Sikhs, in her views there is vertical unity between these factions at the village level, with different sets of the classes of Jats and other lower castes as labourers aligned with the big landowner in the village, this village level relation of caste demography and land economics runs along the political dynamics at the state and state level, thus infiltrating the entire political spectrum of Punjab from the all the corners of

entry and exits. The rural-urban sphere has experienced unique changes and also continuation of the stagnancy generated by caste hegemony that was experienced under the processual introduction of capitalisation of agriculture during the era of Green revolution. P. S Judge (Judge, 2015) argue that there could have been some transformational changes in Punjab and its intersecting society on the pretext of the gradual decline of agriculture and the simultaneous propping-up of the diverse forms of occupation to fill the surfacing void, but contradictorily the opposite has happened on the back of high agricultural productivity that was achieved objective behind the endeavour of green revolution, in his view(Judge, 2015)

“Without the decline in the dependence of the working population on land, the caste structure cannot change in villages. Punjab experienced the reverse process in the sense that it experienced high agricultural productivity - a process known as the Green Revolution. Seen retrospectively, the Green Revolution was the phenomenon of capitalist agriculture. The strengthening of agriculture in Punjab might not have necessarily reinforced the caste hierarchy, but it certainly raised the labour requirements in the initial phase. The introduction of multiple cropping and intercropping transformed the feudal mode of production into capitalist agriculture. Decline in the sepindari/jajmarti system and the introduction of payment of wages in cash changed the relationship between the farmer and the labourer. The farmer developed market orientation and began to move away from his traditional obligation towards artisans and labourers. However, the decade following the onset of Green Revolution did not only benefit the farmers, but also improved the conditions of the labourers “

On the back of a negotiable labour wages due to the influx of labourers from UP and Bihar, the Punjabi landowning class continued to exercise dominance in the region while the local occupational class switched its occupation on the grounds of the change in educational availability for other modern skills. These middle castes which moved onto other occupational skills left an incumbent void that was filled by the lower caste of Punjab that was the chamars (Judge, 2015). Emigration has important part to play in the rural-urban demographic structure of Punjab, till 1960's emigrants mainly came from the Doab region of Punjab, the pattern witnessed some changes around 1970's when Canada emerged as another destination for emigrants from the region, around this time the oil boom played its own part and constituted a good proportion of emigrants to Gulf, with one-half of the emigrants comprised of the lower castes and another half preponderance of Jat Sikhs(Judge, 2015). The foreign money that was earned by these caste Sikhs proved to be status enhancer for lower caste Sikhs, who used the money to muster luxurious assets of life and constructed big houses and brought land, it was exactly at this juncture that terrorism found its way into the society in Punjab. In the opinion

of P. S Judge (Judge, 2015) terrorism played a significant role in caste-class inequalities in the rural areas of Punjab. The Jat Sikhs dominated the cadres of terrorist organisations and ran mostly on their own money and because of which they operated largely from their areas and kept close eyes on their village as the fractions of Jat Sikhs that dominate at the village level under the political edge and advantage of number strength that Jat Sikhs possess as shown in the study by Joyce Pettigrew. The situation changed after the movement led by Kanshi Ram known as the DS4 movement, that is, Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti in 1980's, changed the socio-political scenario of Dalit Sikhs in Punjab. The rural Dalit Sikhs joined the movement en-masse. However, the caste relations remained unchanged in Punjab and also it may be said that on the contrary it was strengthened as the Jat Sikhs incorporated the landowner-worker relationships with the onset of the terrorism and the wealth required to keep the movement afloat was now being extracted from the same economic changes that came into effect by the Green revolution. Sikhs make up the 60% of the population of the state of which Jat Sikhs constitute 40% of the state's population, other caste that comprise the rural majority is the *Chamars* and the *Mazabis*. It is on the back of this majority, the Jat Sikhs have hegemonized the entire socio-economic sphere of Punjab and Punjab has been gradually and simultaneously been recognised with the Jat culture and lifestyle. The community has subverted the rather egalitarian commandments of the religion, and hegemonized the cultural and social capital and the doctrines of Sikhism and simultaneously of Punjab for the advancement of the Jat community as such. As P. S Judge notes (Judge, 2015) "*Most of the Punjabi songs mention Jat in terms of the cultural ethos of Punjab: most of the Punjabi singers belong to the Jat caste. The most important issue for politicians, fiction writers and singers are the peasants and his problems, the cultural ethos of Punjab has become synonymous with Jat ethos* "

5.8 SUICIDE

Suicide has been dealt within the paradigm of sociology with conceptual tools and theoretical and methodological separation from the domain of psychology. It was Emile Durkheim first who undertook rigorous study of phenomena of suicide and its causes in his famous work called *Suicide* (1897). The study in the sociological parlance brought paradigm shift during the contemporary period on the knowledge about the causes and the scientific examination of suicide. Durkheim in his remarkable work *Suicide* (1897) explored the sociological explanation for suicides, it is also exceptional for its unique methodological innovation that became the

bedrock of methodology in sociological examination taken by scholars in their field work and also for Durkheim's endeavour to dispartate theoretical sociology from the overtone of psychology and philosophical trivialization. His academic and scholarly orientation helped move and carve sociology out from the coercive and superimposed umbrella of philosophy (Cormack,1996)^{xxxiv}, In *Rules of Sociological Method*, he propounded that the subject matter of sociology should be the comprehensive and empirical study of social facts. He clearly explicated that *social facts are to be treated as things* (S Jones, 1996)^{xxxv}. In his proposition regarding the social facts, he set forth that social facts are *external to* and *coercive of* the actors and that sociology was to be the subject focused in construing social facts and that the psychological facts were to be the domain of psychological studies. He split social facts for clarity of the conceptual tool and cognitive contradistinction into material social facts and non-material social facts, Architecture and Law were material social facts which were of lesser importance in his attention on the other hand he was contend with studying the non-material social facts like morality, collective consciousness, collective representations and social currents. Related to suicide is the concept of anomie, by which Durkheim was mostly occupied. Durkheim was contended with getting to know the reasons of declining common morality, for him weakened common morality was all that was a threat to the solidarity of the society. In this relation he divided the levels of morality in society on socio-historical basis into societies with Mechanical and Organic solidarity. The concepts were elaborated in his magnum works *Division of labour* and *Suicide* (Durkheim 1897/1951). In his theoretical skeleton and speculative proposition Mechanical societies were characterized by repressive, as mechanical solidarity represented societies in the pre-modern era when industrial mode of production was not in the drive of the economy, in such a society division of labour was extinct and the members of society shared the similar nature of skill in their contribution to work and production, on the contrary, in societies with organic solidarity, that is, modern industrial societies, distinct members have distinct skills in their possession and contribute in the production process with this division of labour acting as an adhesive to bind the social fabric of the society and keep up the production process primarily also to countervail the Hobbesian trap, that is, the war of all against the all. In his theoretical scheme of design, he was countering the Hobbesian fall, which was best manifested when he proposed that central pathology of the modern society is the anomic division of labour, in his silent formulation prophecy, he theoretically conceptualised that the structural division of labour in society acts as an adhesive to counter the waning common morality, that was cohesive agent in the pre-modern society. In his cognitive intuition Suicide was the appropriate manifestation of the anomic pathology of

the modern society. In his magnum opus *Suicide*, his endeavour and scientific strive to create for sociology a distinct place from psychology was best reflected and was monumental in laying the foundational bricks of sociological methodology separate from the domain of psychology. It was here in his investigation of the causes of suicide that his theoretical proposition was enhanced with primary data and empirical study to back his argument. Durkheim divided suicide into 4 types theoretically complimentary to other, they were *Egoistic suicide*, *Altruistic suicide*, *Anomic suicide* and *Fatalistic suicide*. The basis of typification and categorization followed his prior theocratisation like collective common morality and anomie which were innately knit in his methodological scales called integration and regulation. By Egoistic and Altruistic suicide, he meant High and Low levels of Integration of the individual in the society and on the contrary Anomic and Fatalistic suicide represented High and Low levels Regulations imposed on the individuals as the members of their society (Thorlindsson and Bjarnason, 1998)^{xxxvi}. Integration meant the degree of sentiments collectively shared between the individuals of the society and Regulation which is synonymously interchangeable meant the degree of external constraints imposed on the people (Ritzer, G. 1992). Egoistic suicide indicated the lack of integration of individual in the society or in any collective groups, often his lack of integration would lead an individual to existential dread leading to the catastrophic decision to end life, what Durkheim termed as egoistic suicide. In what he termed as altruistic suicide Durkheim found excessive social integration deriding individual of the capacity to separate self and the society and decide the interest of the self, in other Altruistic suicide takes place when “*social integration is too strong* “(Durkheim, 1897/1951: 217). In altruistic suicide individuals find themselves internal compulsion of the conscious or subconscious self-pushing him/her to the edge of ending life. Durkheim was highly contended with the Anomic suicide which took major portion of his deliberation and simultaneous abstraction with the available furnishing data. In his conception, Anomic suicide was a result of disrupting and pulverizing regulation imposed on individual by the society or community. possible reasons have been identified as individual detachments from the traditional structures of socialisation and disappearance of the internalized values and decreasing effects of social life. Although people have identified anomie as anarchy, but anomie is mood of normlessness and anarchy indicate Non leadership or non-authority (Munch, 1974, pp.1)^{xxxvii}. Durkheim ‘s scientific zeal proved that suicide was simply not a personal act but rather as a social fact.

5.9 SUICIDE IN PUNJAB

For sociological examination of suicide, Punjab presents a plethora of complex difficulty in analysing and even categorisation and to render appropriate study based on appropriate methodology of data collection and investigation errors on the part of state, partly due to ignorance, rampant corruption and political face saving majorly connected to the distribution of benefits and welfare scheme to contain the menace which is always political issue and keeps surfacing in the manifesto of political parties time to time in every pending and upcoming election in the state and largely due to interconnectedness of the drug menace and farmer distress due to credit and debt issues with the agricultural investment that has grappled the state economy since onset of Green revolution and gradual introduction of HYV seed which soon captured the market economy of agricultural produce in the state and economy. The cultivation of HYV seeds and their purchase requires heavy investment on the part of the farmer, though still subsidised by the state debt from the bank for agricultural purpose constitute a major portion of the causal list behind suicides in Punjab, together with death from substance abuse due to mental breakdown and brain haemorrhage and chosen suicide makes it a complex task for the scholars as well as for the state to furnish actual and authentic causes of death and reason for suicide. The gradual shift of Punjab into list of suicide prone states can be witnessed in the comparative study of report of National Crime Recording Bureau of the years 1993, 1994 and 1995, where the size of the data being in per lakh population. The report furnishes that the states of Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Goa, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh appear on the states highly prone to suicide, with Kerala at the top with 29.9 suicides per lakh population. An even previous data shows the malaise spreading its leg in the country and surely Punjab being no exception, from 1985 to 1995, the suicide rate rose from 7.0 per lakh population in 1985 to 8.9 in 1990 and straight away to 9.7 in 1995, an increase of 68.8% in the meanwhile. Although in the given duration Punjab does not configure in the suicide prone list of states and appears at the eighteenth rank. However, like the overall trend of the country, Punjab also witnessed a serious increase of incidents of suicides. NCRB Data in relation to Punjab shows a disturbing trend of increase in suicide incidents and related deaths in the state since 1993. The data shows an increase of 51.97% increase of suicides in Punjab against the all-India average of 5.11 % which was at decline. Around the year 1995-1997, the state recorded an increase of 21% where India recorded a decline to the extent of 19%. An in-depth and comparative study of the trends in the incidents of suicide rates in Punjab highlighted in a monograph series undertaken by the *Institute for Development and*

Communication, Chandigarh, titled *SUICIDE IN RURAL PUNJAB*^{xxxviii} published in the year 1998, the state has recorded stage wise increase in suicide rate with the corresponding contemporary social turmoil, the data corresponding to the period 1988-91 reflects a nominal increase, the period 1991-92 shows a turn of moderate increase, the trend that catches attention is the data corresponding to the year 1993 and onwards which is coterminous with the post-terrorism phase also primarily taking place in the habitations of Malwa region^{xxxix}, the largest part of Punjab with numbers in favour of Jatt Sikhs and Hindu caste group called Baniya. The districts specifically disturbed from this current are Sangrur, Bathinda, Ferozepur, Mansa, and Faridkot together with the border districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur. Sangrur, Bathinda, Mansa, Amritsar, Ferozepur and Gurdaspur together constitute more than 72% of the total suicides in Punjab during 1988 to 1997^{xl}. The other major contribution comes from Hoshiarpur district in the Doab region accounting more than 10% of the above-mentioned share^{xli}. It gives us the impression that this issue of suicide was geo-cultural in the beginning and gripped 6 of the 17 districts of Punjab. A micro-study based on occupational categorization reveals further details of this social current in the state, the percentage share of cultivator farmers in the incidents of suicide in the state from 1991-1997 was 23%^{xlii}, in the district of Sangrur, half the share of the suicide is of cultivator farmers, that is, 50%^{xliii}. The study highlighted that the percentage share of the suicide rates of cultivator farmers against non-cultivator farmers is comparatively low with an exception of Sangrur. Also, districts along international border share the 25% those bordering Haryana have 61% share during 1991-97 in the cases of suicides among the cultivator farmers accounting for almost 45% of the total population of the state these districts account 85% of the suicide of the cultivator farmer in the state^{xliv}. Sangrur and Bathinda have the highest rates of suicides 12.08 and 6.24 deaths respectively in the category^{xlv}. There is multi-causality of reason that have been assigned to the suicide in Punjab, monthly spread of data in relation to the farm distress to compare with the season of cultivation have been denied having considerable effect in the same study with the data of suicide collected over a long span of time. The data ranging from 1988-98 have shown no such agrarian patterns of suicide to determine debt trap and crop failure as possible reasons of suicide in the state^{xlvi}. Amongst the means adopted to commit suicide, ingestion of pesticides has been established as a major means of committing suicide in the data of the year 1995^{xlvii}. Amongst the other conventional methods adopted like self-immolation, suicide due to the overdose of drugs constitutes significant 7.50 number of victims, the fourth significant means and cause of suicide. The method gathers attention in the light of the national data of the same year which has nowhere drugs as a significant means and cause of committing suicide^{xlviii}. Suicide due to

drug abuse presents a complex explanation since it could be both, a means as well as cause. Interestingly, majority cases have shown the primacy of self-immolation as a means adopted which is in accord with the major factor of causation that has been identified as a common pattern of suicide in India and Punjab, that is, domestic discord. Domestic discord as a cause, accounts for a majority of cases of suicide. In a comparative analysis of the data of the causes of suicide in the country against Punjab again in the year 1995 shows similarity of pattern, domestic discord being the primary reason behind suicide (26.1%-India, 19.26%-Punjab) followed by illness, with the only contradistinction of suicide due to drug abuse in Punjab (0.00%-India, 0.16-Punjab), the sixth major cause of suicide. Although multi-factor causal phenomenon has been attributed to suicide cases in Punjab instead of the single cause of indebtedness as always exaggerated for embellishment. The study also found that the cases of suicide due to drug abuse is again contiguous with the same districts of Sangrur, Bathinda, Mansa and Ferozepur. Sangrur having an overwhelming number of cases registered under the Narcotic and Psychotropic Substance Act^{xlix}. Drug cases have added to the factors of debt trap and social ostracising adding to shame and guilt have been seen as the prime reason of suicide in the region. Other reasons like overdose also makes the case confusing given that the intention still remain a question if the overdose was intentional or a mishap on the part of the victim given that those addicts have been consuming the drugs in right doses since long and found dead due to overuse of drug, subject to further investigation. It is in this context that suicide can be taken as an act of social action approach to decipher into the embedded meanings or verstehen in the intentionality of the victim who commits suicide. The act of suicide takes in larger social ecology to the victim who feels helpless stigmatised and guilty of an immoral crime. The reasons that dwell around the context of suicide can be exemplified in both the cases typified by Durkheim, fatalistic and anomic suicide. In cases of stigmatisation of the victim and social shaming the victim might be forced to commit suicide to get rid of the stigma, in other sense the cases could be of anomic given that anomie is an objective state of society when normlessness prevails in the decline and degradation of the society, which can be seen in the failure of the social systems and the state to put a full stop to the menace of drug forcing the victim to look for the termination of the life as the only solution to escape the sufferings. It can be conjectural but the circumstantial evidence in the lack of further data can be seen as evidence to support the Durkheimian argument.

Rates of Suicide in Punjab from 1985 to 1995.

YEAR	SUICIDE RATE/ LAKH POPULATION
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1985	7.0
1990	8.9
1995	9.7

CHAPTER. 2
STATE, DRUGS AND POLITICS

2.1 ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DRUG AND DRUG ABUSE

With an all-round effect of drug on society the menace is still fast spreading despite all the endeavours of the state to stall its advance. Almost all the spheres of human life get affected by its introduction and use health, crime, public safety and governance, they all fall into an abyss of inevitable chasm of widespread crisis highlighted in an annual report from the table of United Nations *International Narcotics Control Board*ⁱ. The report underlines the difficulties in peaceful development and smooth functioning of many societies. The report rejected many of the false notions around the spread of drugs and its positive effect in boosting economies against lack of proof to prove the same and on the back of strong data as a counterⁱⁱ. The spread of its use and abuse only costs the state to strengthen policing, healthcare system and de-addiction programmes schemes and projects to counter its malaise. The data of expenditure in this regard by different affluent and non-affluent economies prove the burden of drugs over economy in negative shade, United States in the year 2013 alone spent 193 billion dollars^{lii}, compare against Colombia, a small country in comparison to US in size and economy, their cost of expenditure went up from 1 billion dollar in 1991 to 12 billion dollars in 2011 annually^{liii}. Merrill Singer (Singer, 2008)^{liv}, Fabio Mesquita (Mesquita, 2006)^{lv} and Giorgio Giacomelli^{lvi} argue that effects of drug abuse maintain the prevalence of social inequality and relative poverty in every society it spreads. Often such social inequality leads towards alienation not just from society but also from the state. The economic burden and the destruction of life brings state on the brinks of collapse, government machinery finds itself extremely incapable to battle out the multiplier effect of the abuse which often also finds space inside the houses of the official and bureaucrats as a member of the state itself. Mexico's case study highlights that not only the positive programmes and scheme ran by the state into countering this malaise takes a huge burden of economy but also the methods of offensives used by the state disrupts the regular pattern of economy, Jose Roberto Balmori de la Miyar (La Miyar, 2016)^{lvii} has shown in his study remarkable for its unique and precise selection of methodology and data, that how regular military operations in the regard disrupt regular economic operations in the country and stall the economic process of production and wealth creation due to lockdowns and violence. In his article named "*The Economic Consequences of the Mexican Drug War*", la Miyar highlights the exploits and military strategies of President

Felipe Calderón of the Federal administration, in his words- *“Mexico’s previous federal administration (December, 2006–December, 2012), headed by President Felipe Calderón, launched an unprecedented military strategy to capture as many drug-lords as possible. The military crackdown consisted in sending approximately 45,000 soldiers to the streets to cover local police duties (Shirk and Wallman 2015). According to the government, this hard-handed security strategy came about as a response to an expansion in drug-related violence: Between 2001 and 2006, prior to the launching of the Mexican Drug War, total yearly drug-related homicides increased 94%, from 1080 to 2100 (Chabat 2010). However, after the implementation of Calderón’s military crackdown, drug-related homicides spiked to over 16,000, eight times more than in 2006. The existing literature suggests that the main causal link between Calderón’s military strategy and the spike in drug-related violence was the fragmentation of drug-trafficking organizations, hereinafter DTOs (Calderón et al., 2015; Dell, 2015; Guerrero, 2011; Merino, 2011; Shirk and Wallman, 2015).”*

Punjab represents no different story, the state has registered declining growth against the flourishing growth story of other states, from 2013 to 2014 the state registered a growth rate of 5.3%, against states like Bihar and Gujrat which have astounding growth rate 13% and 9% respectively (Chadha, 2015)^{lviii}. Scholars like Sukhpal Singh (Singh, 2015)^{lix} have identified many factors giving rise to this slowdown in the growth story of Punjab especially due to excessive expenditure in the agricultural sector. Low investment in the social sector and industrialization has increased the chasm of relative poverty, social exclusion and inequality due to the outdated of traditional occupational skills even in the agricultural sector. Excessive use of pesticides as discussed in chapter 1 have not only become means and methods of committing suicide but have also turned Punjab into hotbed of India’s cancer affected belt due to groundwater pollution and the resultant food products mired with carcinogenic pesticides. The drug abuse has not only been economically and socially been costly to the society and state in Punjab but also became an opportunity for extremist organisation to grab opportunity in the midst of the helplessness of the state machinery to tackle the menace. Although most of the states in India affected by separatism have drug problems as drugs provides enough economic returns to keep up the movements of insurgency that requires large scale expenditure. N S Jamwal has claimed such a hybrid sense of declaration of war against the state by using methods inhuman to any civilised society as a means of profit as the most profitable option with such organisations and Punjab in this case stands no different. Khalistan demanding organisations readily use drugs entering Punjab from different direction to exploit the affluence and purchasing power of the state that shot up since the green revolution and the large number

of people employed in the armed forces bringing good amount of money and increasing the relative economic advances of the state against other states. In his message to the ANNUAL REPORT 2018 of the Narcotics Control Bureau of India, former Director General. Rakesh Asthana^{lx} points out this challenge that the state of Punjab and India as an all faces-

“The changing paradigm of the global drug trafficking places India in a spot which characterizes it both as a source as well transit country. The ever-changing challenges for the drug law enforcement are multi-dimensional. The counter narcotic efforts are on strong foundation and NCB has amply demonstrated its capacity to deal with the emerging challenges. The spill over effect of the Afghan Heroin heading for Asian markets poses additional challenge in terms geographical proximity as well as networks of overseas drug groups targeting India as a transit base. The seizure of 1258 kg of Heroine has significant share of Afghan variety smuggled from across the Indo-Pak border. 3911 kg of Hashish seized, which is higher compared to last few years. The seizure of cannabis has also increased from last years. The “in-baggage” and “on-person” are frequently used concealment methods for the transportation of heroin. The other methods like “swallowers” and “body-cavity” are also on the rise. These trends are indicative of the strong network of drug traffickers in the region. It has been NCB’s constant foray into the realm of international cooperation for sharing actionable intelligence in the real time.

NCB’s ongoing commitment is reflected in the international arena by placing India at the forefront of the global fight against drugs. These commitments have been translated pragmatically through several Joint Working Groups meetings with countries sharing mutual concern and goal. The efforts are further buttressed by Bilateral Agreements to engage other countries on a common agenda.

The changing dynamics of organized crime is a constant battle for drug law enforcement agencies and I am sure NCB shall continue to strive forward and receive the cooperation of all concerned.

The director’s message not only highlights the concerns of India at the transit route of drug trade but also the evolving methods of illegal trade to conceal the drug, taking the crime into the biological realms of human activity for committing the crime, gives us a glimpse about the nature of the trade and the racket that requires experts and skilled group members in the organisation. Surely to counter the ever-evolving methods and tactics to conceal the load the law enforcement would need to spend far more than the peddlers and rackets to detect the load while paying attention to the Human rights concerns. The report cites regularly increasing

opium seizures in the country during 2014-2018. The amount of seizure reflects the vulnerable position India shares with the drugs affected countries, the point that needs attention here is that the data shared is of seizure, the actual amount that got slipped from beneath the net of the agencies might be double or even triple in size and estimates

2.2 POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN PUNJAB AND THE STATE'S IMPORTANCE TO INDIA'S SECURITY.

The state of Punjab has witnessed political instability due to the widespread pervasion of drugs into the institutions required to maintain the law and order in the state. The negotiating parties, the civil societies will continue to exploit the condition of drug abuse in the state to muster political sympathy and in rather conditions to squeeze economic and financial fortunes from the flourishing in the state. The political instability in the state due to the introduction of drug trade has alerted the central security agencies time to time, even recently during the Pathankot airbase attack in 2016. The attack as known took place on the Indian Air Force base situated in the Pathankot district of Punjab. Lying closely to the Pakistani border, a notorious drug trade route.



SOURCE: Rediff news^{ki}



SOURCE: USA TODAY^{lxii}

The trade route as discussed is situated near the infamous Golden crescent as well on a crucial route to the state of Jammu and Kashmir, which is contentious between India and Pakistan. As discussed in chapter 1, Punjab's history of turmoil pre- and post-Independence, its representation in military and its location makes it vulnerable to plethora of critical security and sociocultural upheavals. To understand the security concern that Punjab arises in the central agencies of India we need to take a look at the region contribution to the economy of India as well as re-examine its history in the light of the cotemporary issue that keeps surfacing since its formative year of distinct geo-cultural landscape. The state as already discussed is situated near the hydrologically abundant region traversed by the famous five tributaries of Indus River, from where the name Punjab came, that is, *Punj (five) and ab (waters), the land of five rivers*, those are Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. As per the census of 2011, Punjab's population accounts to 2.29 % of India's total population, that is, 27.7 million people

with the state and its formal economy dependent on agriculture to a good extent. Sikhism constitutes the majority religion (57%) of the state, Hinduism (38%) rest is followed by minor representation of Islam and Christianity. Being a major contributor to India's food requirement post Green revolution Punjab remained one of the essential states in terms of Food security after the onset of the green revolution, only recently other states have entered the domain of states with surplus grain production. Apart from grains its historical-cultural past has turned the state into the major supplier of milk in the country. Rinku Murgai (Murgai, 2001)^{lxiii} has estimated that the state 's wheat production increased gradually since the onset of green revolution against rice production, while other produce continues to lag behind than wheat, also that Punjab geographically falls in a climatic region suitable for wheat production rather than rice since the monsoon clouds do not transverse through the region but in during the winter season rain touches the region with the clouds carrying rain from the Mediterranean region becoming a boon for wheat cultivation which requires little amount of water for irrigation during the process of growing. The region was found suitable due to the already found network of canals given to the state during the colonial rule by the British administrators already discussed in the chapter 1. The security concerns related to Punjab can be largely attributed to the British colonial policies, one among them is the recruitment and representation of Sikhs in the Indian Armed forces. Although they make up a little contribution of around 2.29% into India 's population^{lxiv}, on the contrary their representation in Indian armed forces stands around 13% (Khalidi,2001, pp.536)^{lxv}. This representation in Hindu majority India renders India with geo-cultural and ethnic approaches as a precaution in many issues related to religious-cultural domain, whether during formulation of legislation or state-based action and approaches. to the population of Punjab in many matters. One such situation arose in the aftermath of Operation Bluestar by the late Prime Minister of India Ms Indira Gandhi whose decision to execute military operation in the year 1984 to flush out militant and Sikh religious separatist leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale also famously known as Sant Bhindranwale from his hidings in within the premises of Golden temple in Amritsar, the seat of religious and political sanctions of Sikhs in Punjab and also the place of the rule for various Gurus of Sikh divine hierarchy. Her decision to execute military operation to flush out militants from within the temple premises resulted into violence within the temple premises and blood spill inside the sacrilegious places of the temple which captured huge aggression and anger in the hearts of the Sikhs in India as well as abroad. It shows that the geo-cultural and the political geography of Punjab presents a complex dilemma to the Indian state, it can be said that the Indian state of Punjab is situated at the intersection of caste, religion, culture and geography. It is this cocktail

that prompts Indian state to undertake precautionary measure in relation to the matters relating to the state of Punjab. The reactions were not restricted to the domain of public anger, it grew into the cadres of Sikh officers in the Indian armed forces. A total of 2000 Sikh recruits mutinied (Khalidi,2001, pp.536) including 170 officers who went publicly supporting the separatists. The anger was largely against the use of military inside the temple and the blood spill as well false rumours together with the use of military shoes inside the holy place where shoes are not allowed. The result of this divide was the separate political identity that was formed under the patronage of British divide and rule policy during the colonial times. Infact, even during the pre-operation time and the events leading to the happening of the Operation Blue star, British involvement was suspicious, as on the request of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi a British armed forces were consulted for expert advice and sent for conducting assessment of the region and the place of Bhindranwale's hiding (Khan, 2018)^{lxvi}. His armed outfit and image as a walker made him popular in the masses as a person religiously and ethically devoted to the cause of Sikhs and Sikhism. His image would spark renewed religiosity in the people and the youth would readily join the movement to upgrade his status in the society as a divine individual. For these reasons, Bhindranwale acquired the face of a charismatic figure who was fighting for the divine and sacrilegious cause of religious preservation of Sikhism (Cibotti, J, 2017)^{lxvii}. The movement was also the culmination of a long-standing demand for the creation and simultaneous separation of the state from regions overlapping their linguistic identity for geographical identification of distinct religious landscape. The movement always had political undertone and married with the electoral and constitutional politics post-independence it became an opportunity for civil society, political lobbyists and negotiators looking forward for political spread in the region.

2.3 THE PARTITION TRAUMA OF PUNJAB.

With the partition of Punjab largely on the grounds of religion, the Sikh political insistence resultant of British legislative sanctioning, started paying fruits. Operation Bluestar reminded the Sikhs of their continued strive for religious and political autonomy and the sacrifices they have gone through in the past. The post-independence treatment of Sikhs has been traumatic in sense of sufferings that the community had undergone under the imperial and post-independence Central authority. These events have helped Sikhs in their political mobilization religious-cultural severance from the cultural landmass of India once shared together without

the severance of cultural unity and cords of similarity that runs across the religious doctrines and practices in India. In the views of Prof Ashutosh Kumar (Kumar, 2004)^{lxviii}, the demographic exchange and shift during partition played crucial role in the formation of the self-identity of the state and its distinct cultural heritage shared by the residents of the state. The partition ploy of the British colonialists was hellbent on side-lining the demands of the Sikhs who felt betrayed in the partition as their state was divided into the Hindu-Muslim divide without them being taken into consideration and account, with two-third of its territory lost into partition the state was left with Hindu majority of 60% and Sikhs making up the rest (Brass, 2003)^{lxix}. The partition resulted in Sikhs being deprived of their ancestral place of habitation and resources over which they had control. With the territory in the middle being divided into Muslim west and Hindu East, it was again the territory lying between the extreme sides where Sikhism flourished as it provided escape for the two sides, the Iconoclastic Islam and orthodox caste Hindu. The region that was left had majority Hindu population speaking Hindi, the only thing that convinced and consoled the Sikhs into accepting India as their homeland was the assurance given the Indian National Congress of creating Suba-e-Punjab, it was also that during the struggle for independence that the idea of a separate homeland of Khalistan was proposed from within the quarters of independence activists of Punjab (Shani, 2007, pp.51) ^{lxx}. It was relentless protest continuing that in 1966 that the state of Punjab was formed. The territorial segregation resulted in the separation of Hindi speaking state of Haryana and the Sikh majority Punjabi speaking state of Punjab, it is important to note that even in the Hindu dominated Haryana, Jats remained strong in numbers, that is, it was the caste that united the two sides of the same territorial landmass that was home to one of the oldest civilisations back in ancient history. The movement also faced similar opposition that was crucial in shaping the identity of Punjabi Hindus who identified themselves with Hindi speaking population under the aegis of the Arya samaj movement that placed emphasis on the Vedic traditions of Punjab where once the Vedas were thought to be written to indicate the ritual and sacrilegious purity of their ancestral and hereditary origin and existence that ran long back than the history of Sikhism. Finally, language became the basis of the separation and creation of the state of Punjab. In case of Punjab, it was language, that also solidified the religious identity and gave a reason for the separate creation of the state. The initiative completely followed the decisions of the Indian National Congress which had sought to organise the party on the lines of linguistic provinces. Marshall Windmiller (Windmiller, 1954)^{lxxi} argued that the complexity of the linguistic divide in India will problematise Indian polity in the coming times after the Independence as Indias course to solving this problem is through democratic roadmap, he said -

“it is safe to say that for magnitude and complexity India's linguistic problem is the greatest in the world, not only because of India's size and population and the great number of languages and dialects spoken within her borders, but also because she has chosen to solve the problem within the framework of parliamentary democracy.”

The linguistic regionalism in Punjab has been more visible than anywhere else, in the Anandpur Sahib resolution sponsored and formulated by the Akali Dal, in which the demand for linguistic preservation was yet again shouted and shares the concerns raised by Windmiller about the capability of the Indian democracy to settle dispute related to linguistic disagreement within regions and linguistic regionalism and its threat to India's security and sovereignty. The resolution was framed during the turbulent times of tensions and heightened political collusions and clashes on the ethnic-religious lines Punjab, when the demand for separate Sikh state was being raised, also it projects the insistence on the part of protesters like Bhindranwala who continued to press for linguistic preservation in states outside Punjab where Punjabi was spoken. The resolution dictates the demands for linguistic recognition in other states for Punjabi as-

This huge gathering of the Shiromani Akali Dal regrets the discrimination to which the Punjabi language is being subjected in adjoining States of Himachal, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Delhi, etc. It is its firm demand that in accordance with the Nehru Language Formula, the neighbouring states of Punjab should give "second" language status to Punjabi because of fairly large sections of their respective populations are Punjabi-speaking.

Somehow, the Punjabi Suba movement pressurised the central authority to secede to the Sikh demand for separate statehood of Punjab, which severed the Hindi speaking areas from Punjab and rendered Punjab with Punjabi speaking Sikhs in majority numbers. The Devanagari was rejected in favour of Gurmukhi script, and this religious-linguistic identity of Sikhism was solidified with the gradual formation of the Punjab state as was once demanded by the pre-independence Sikh activists. With the Punjab reorganisation bill, Punjabi Suba was made in favour of strong arguments presented by the activists. The creation of a separate Punjab state acted like a therapeutic for the traumatic injury of the past for the Punjab based Sikhs. But the boiling cauldron of the separation of Punjab could not be extinguished or blown out from this mere grant of statehood, electoral politics would often cross the redline of sovereignty and security of India in favour of appeasement for votes in the name of political autonomy and eradication of grievances of the populous Sikhs. With the onset of Sikh separatist insurgency in the backdrops of Operation Bluestar, the wounds and trauma of past was reignited in the

memory of Sikhs for whom the operation reminded them of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and soon Ms Gandhi became the new face of General O Dwyer, lieutenant governor of Punjab under whose tenure the massacre took place and who was complicit in ordering and supporting the actions of General Dyer who killed Sikhs on the day 13th April, 1919. Soon after the actions on that numerous Sikh organisations and front propped up fighting against the Indian state for the Sikh cause and for the creation of Sikh pure land called Khalistan. Although the turbulence in Punjab was already there since independence but it was in 1980 that the movement could be witnessed spiralling out. Indian politics was captivated in this lockdown with the Sikh separatism till 1993. In the years preceding the Operation Bluestar, politics and its tumultuous effects on sovereignty of India can be seen. Punjab presented this case of India in a very legitimate sense with respect to the “linguistic-religious border-state” security paradigm of India.

2.4 GREEN REVOLUTION AND THE POLITICS OF AGRICULTURE IN PUNJAB.

Green revolution although was launched during the tenure of Jawaharlal Nehru’s tenure but the project took momentum in the coming time, After the partition, the major portion of wheat producing fertile Doab region was seceded to Pakistan from the Punjab area and the rice and jute producing area was sliced out from Bengal. The result of this geopolitical manoeuvring of British colonisers soon fructified in the face of acute shortage of food and the looming hunger crisis over the country. The United States of America ran free food program called PL-480 under their scheme of countering communist expansion in countries affected from hunger and poverty could not be relied as the quality of that food product was dubious as well as dependency on US was not a good option for overall security of the state and society. Also, that the population was gradually shooting up in comparison to the available resources of food in the country. The era also saw the emergence of biotechnological revolution and the first and foremost among them was the HYV seeds making rounds of revolution in the field of science around the world. The revolution which brought riches on the back-up of strong scientific base had its own ill-conceived socio-economics. The revolution failed to address the already declining solidarity in the society of Punjab. The revolution became the new face of acute economic disparity. The scheme which was largely successful in the geo-climatic prosperity of Punjab, a providence for the success of the project, could not fill the gap of disparity and caste-based monopolisation of the resources and the resultant dividend from the project in Punjab.

The unfair distribution of wealth resulted in the gradual consciousness amongst Sikhs of their contribution to the central economy with no reciprocation from the side of central government about preserving the Sikh values and religious-cultural practices in private and public sphere. This culminated in the face of Anandpur Sahib resolution in 1973 with demands from the Sikh political bodies. The course of action was possible amongst due to largely the literate religiosity of Guru Granth instead of the oral religiosity of Hinduism. Literacy that was prominent amongst the Sikhs for the biblical nature of the religion that revolves around the continued remembrance and recitation of Guru Granth sahib, also amalgamated the modern education system and its planned expansion which was not compensated with the occupational availability and required set of skills for exploring the option of entrepreneurship. The factors of political mishaps at the part of state resulted in the creation of a vacuum fit for the spread of insurgency with youth waiting to fill the ranks of the vacancy in the insurgent organisation for money and retrieval of the lost status that was on continuous decline since the onset of the revolution. The question of modernity chased Sikh traditionality and provoked conservative response. The revolution initiated and sparked on the traditionalist Sikh who were tormented by the loss of the glorious past and ill meted response by the state to preserve the pristine hood of Sikhism. In his article “Why Osama resembles Bhindranwale” Colonel Anil Athale (Athale, 2004)^{lxxii} interrogates this question of modernity chasing and quoting furious response from the traditionalist quarters of Sikhism and Sikh religious public sphere, in light of vanguardism displayed by two of the histories famous figures who displayed charismatic rigour in front of asymmetrical equations of powers and conflict and had nearly changed the face of geography of South Asia and if not then at least the discourse of the study of peace and conflict in South Asia or the Indian subcontinent. Colonel Athale initiates his investigation from the start of the clash that between Nirankari’s and Sikhs that was inside the boiling cauldron of Punjab in 1978, an event that became a catalyst for the series of clashes and conflict that captivated Punjab. He expostulates well against the claims that Indira Gandhi deliberately creating the situation of conflict in Punjab to recreate and reposition her Iron lady image and Akali being a party in the conflict igniting the conflict to surpass the political inter-reciprocity of Hindus and SC/ST ‘s with the Congress party, Athale substantiates his proposition in his words that none of these explanations inquire the sociological root and causes of the situation that ultimately captivated Punjab for a decade and the reasons behind the support for militancy amongst the general masses in Punjab in the beginning. He quotes that to understand this phenomenon we need to undertake a fresh look at the events that transpired in during 1960’s, that is, the green revolution, but from an angle other than economic disparity and the rising unemployment,

Athale underlines the traditionalist and conservative response to the Green revolution from the largely rural society of Punjab which was religiously conscious and had imbibed the religious landscape of Punjab and its wanderlust of pilgrimage of the divine and sacrilegious landmass of Punjab. Athawale makes his point in this regard that-

The origins of the Punjab crisis and Sikh separatism go back to the British days. As in the case of Muslims, giving Sikhs a separate identity, not religious but political, was a part of the divide and rule policy. But the trauma of the partition of Punjab did much to wash off that myth and the Sikhs returned to the Indian mainstream.

The Akali's often used the slogan of 'Sikh Panth in danger' (not unlike the Muslim League's equally false and disastrous slogan of Islam in danger!) to garner votes, but consistently failed in their attempts. Sikhs, by the dint of sheer hard work, prospered and came to occupy a dominant position in many fields, including in the armed forces. A distinction needs to be clearly made between a distinct religious identity and political separatism based on religion.

"In 1965, when the US effectively used food aid to browbeat India, Indira Gandhi and her dynamic minister in charge of food and agriculture, C Subramaniam, fashioned a strategy to attain food self-sufficiency in the shortest possible time frame. The irrigated lands of Punjab, Haryana, and Western Uttar Pradesh were targeted for application of miracle seeds, fertilizers and mechanisation. The strategy succeeded and India became self-sufficient in food grain. But rising incomes and mechanisation brought in their wake social tensions.

In the hard work that intensive agricultural operations involved, the turban and the beard were seen as a hindrance. Sikhs in large numbers took to trimming or even shaving their beards and cutting their hair, both against the tenets of the Khalsa (pure) Panth. The hair and the beard are not mere external symbols for a Sikh, but a major part of his identity.

*Worse, many took to smoking, a taboo in the Sikh ethos. A district like Amritsar, which has a majority Sikh population, became the highest revenue-earning district for cigarette companies. **'Paani piyo pump da te cigarette piyo Lamp da'** was a catchy slogan that linked the smoking of Red Lamp cigarettes with water from the 'pump', subtly linked this symbol of the Green Revolution with smoking.*

In travels through Punjab as an army officer, one was always welcomed with open arms. It was also common to share the charpoy and lassi with the farmers. During all these encounters, one frequently heard a lament from Sikh elders that at the rate at which people were deserting the faith, in a few years there would be no Sikhs left in Punjab.

The relationship between Sikhs and Hindus was such that the moment a Sikh shaved his beard and cut his hair; he became a Hindu. Sikh society felt insecure at the assault of this

'modernisation' and feared for the survival of its identity. This feeling was not confined to the villages but was commonplace even among the Sikh intelligentsia.

In his corroboration, Athale makes his point that it was at this precise moment of time that Bhindrawale enters this disturbed and perturbed socio-religious environment and the state of political turmoil that had then grappled that state of Punjab. He asserts that-

“In this situation of fear and foreboding arrived Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale with his single-point programme of strict adherence to the Sikh symbols. His campaign against trimming of hair and shaving of beards found a groundswell of support amongst the Sikh masses. And he enforced his dictates with ruthless force.

His violent methods brought him into direct confrontation with the State and soon militancy began in Punjab. But 'modernisation', the real threat, is a formless entity. So, the violence first targeted the Nirankaris, then the government machinery, and then the Hindus. In the final stages, the terrorists turned increasingly against the Sikhs themselves and became predatory. It is at this stage that the militants lost support and were finally overcome towards 1993.

Athale concludes in his ending paragraph that calls made by the Akali's that Sikhism is in danger against the forces of modernisation has the exact same semblance to the Islamic fanatics and terrorists. For Athale, Islam is also facing the same onslaught of modernity and westernisation on the religious fabric of Islam and the support it has mustered is explained in the same variate of logic that has been tested against Sikh militancy of Punjab. Osama also tried to cash upon this onslaught at the hands of the forces of modernisation. The green revolution almost acted like an Industrial revolution within the agricultural topography of Punjab in specific and in India in general. The insurgency manifested multi-fold of issues that had gripped the society in Punjab, it was only because of this multi-fold pervasion of crisis in society in Punjab that it entered into the political realm for power grabbing. As highlighted by Telford (Telford, 1992)^{lxxiii}, although communal in its origin the insurgency that infiltrated the socio-political sphere of life in Punjab, whether in reaction against the Nirankari's or the Hindus, the movement, that was primarily led by Jat Sikhs, as underlined in the previous chapter also got diverted into struggle for power amongst Jat Sikhs. As opposite to widely believed that Jat Sikhs had considerably large tract of lands in Punjab, they were in reality owners of small holdings and targets of benefits under the welfare schemes and monetary rewards and subsidies distributed by the state. This ended up creating a layer of elite class siphoning off benefits distributed by the state. Telford (Telford, 1992) has identified an undercurrent of clash that was going between the Jat Sikhs of Malwa region and the Majha region, as those of Malwa were well-off and those from the Majha region were known to be on

the margins. As known Gurdaspur and Amritsar of Majha region failed to coup-up the profit and the accruing technology. Finally, these regions of underdevelopment fell into the hands of insurgents and ground for favourable recruitment into the cadres of militancy. Also, in the Majha region the landownership is in the hands of non-Sikh castes Rajput, Saini and Kamboh castes. It was these Jat youths from Amritsar and Gurdaspur belonging to farming families that filled the ranks of terrorist organisation (Telford, 1992). The impetus for joining the terror ranks was also filled by the fact that the wages for the labourer was also declining and with the introduction of technology as well as hordes of migrant labours entering Punjab to trade-off their labour added fuel to the fire as they were displaced by this sudden change of socio-economic structure (Gates and Roy, 2016, pp.163)^{lxxiv}. The effect resulted in the struggle for dominance in the rural areas and for dominance within the Sikh community which Telford has identified between the Jat's of Malwa and Majha region. The Jat Sikhs became the leading caste in their fight for Khalistan and Hindus were being seen with suspicion as Indira Gandhi started favouring the deplorable condition of Hindus in the state, in this process the state and the Nirankaris provoked the Sikhs to think of the state with Indira Gandhi as the messiah of Hindus which has promoted the heretic cult of Nirankaris the first with whom the clashes bought Bhindranwale into the picture and lead role of clashes which made his cult of personality. The Sikhs also relied on the Hindu traders for the supply of agricultural inputs like fertilisers and pesticides, as market traders Hindu merchants were the suppliers of the same products. In the coming time, this monopolisation of skill and connection that the caste group of Hindu traders had with their counterparts all around India helped them to emerge as an oligopolist of the supply. In the coming time when the agricultural income fell but the cost of input remain this income disparity and price dispute took the face of ugly clashes between the two group (Weiner, 1983)^{lxxv}. The clashes on the economic level transcended the socio-religious and cultural sphere of interaction that the both the community had. Highlighted in the speech of Bhindranwale, the danger of loss of identity as stated by Colonel Anil A. Athale against the forces of modernisation and the economic disparity was most visible, when he said-

We are religiously separate. But why do we have to emphasize this? It is only because we are losing our identity, and the interest of our Sikh leaders who have their farms and their industries at heart have started making them say that there is no difference between Sikh and Hindu...hence assimilation dangers have increased (Pettigrew, 1987).^{lxxvi}

The Hindus were being seen in collusion with the central government, which would often intervene in the state out of straight and dismiss government elected through the democratic process. The economic disparity and cost disputes were being seen by the Sikh major figures,

activists and leaders as a plan of Hindus and central government, it was on this background that the suspension of governments and imposition of president rule on mere protests of the farmers of Punjab.

A discussed the economic rationale entered the religious-cultural domain of society and as dispelled by Athale the questions of religious adherence for the preservation of declining identity of Sikhs was taking a serious space in the religious public sphere of Punjab. In these circumstances Bhindranwale's rise and popularity peaked up. In one sense his personality was a composite reflection or a blend of the two of the Weber's proposition on the concepts of authority, Charisma/ Charismatic authority and gerontocracy (Cibotti, J, 2017). His continuous assertion for the preservation of Sikh identity and religious practices within religious-cultural domain of action and public sphere of religiously conscious Punjab. These were evidenced in the formulation and list of demands made by the Sikh political group Akali Dal famously known in Punjab as the traditional Jats of Malwa and forums like Dharm Yudh Morcha named as Anandpur Sahib Resolution of 1973. Although the primary and the most emphasised demands made in the resolution was to acknowledge distinct tenets of Sikhism. The demands were endorsed by Akali Dal (primarily the Jats of Malwa region) and Sant Jarnail Bhindranwala simultaneously during the politically charged environment of Punjab when both joined hands in 1982 and formed Dharm Yudh Morcha. The demands were largely centred around the preservation of Sikhism and its ethical doctrines and code of conducts be recognised by the state and for the financial assistance in preserving the values enshrined and commanded for adherence from Sikhs. The demands also echoed the sentiments shared by the Sikhs in relation to a suspicious collusion of Hindus, Nirankari and Congress party working together to eradicate Sikhism. In one sense the ASR and Bhindranwale represent the never-ending linguistic regionalism and partition trauma of Punjab which has been strengthened by the visible social changes bought by the Green Revolution into the realms of Sikh religious sphere. The demands only strengthened the memory of partition in many ways, one of which was the demand for autonomy be given to Punjab, and the for the central government to relinquish power in favour of decentralisation and federal unity of the Indian state which will reproduce the religious diversity and composite syncretism of Indian cultural ethos on the front of polity. This demand although was in continuance of many of the past memories of political discourse inside but it somehow paved the way for the separate demand for Khalistan despite the Akali Dal making it clear that secession from India is nowhere in their manifesto and intention. In

1980, Harchand Singh Longowal, President of the Akali Dal made it clear in his statement that there is no mention of separate Khalistan in Anandpur Sahib Resolution-

Let us make it clear once and for all that the Sikhs have no designs to get away from India in any manner. What they simply want is that they should be allowed to live within India as Sikhs, free from all direct and indirect interference and tampering with their religious way of life. Undoubtedly, the Sikhs have the same nationality as other Indians (Shani, 2008).

The demand for autonomy somehow reflected into the past memory of Punjabi society, gradually gained the momentum for demand of separate Khalistan in the masses tormented by the burden and traumatic experiment of green revolution. The effects of the revolution were also visible in the lifestyle of the people in Punjab, the riches made were short lived and exhausted not only profit that was accrued from the changes witnessed due to the revolution but also the cultural inheritance of Punjab. People felt the disappearance of the socio-cultural changes that were vital in keeping intact the solidarity in society or the adhesives of social unity. Youth resorted to alcoholism, which have been already dealt in chapter 2.

2.5 RADICALISATION AND THE POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS DISSENSION IN PUNJAB

As known from Colonel Anil Athalee's article that Akali Dal had been actively pursuing the design for radicalising the Sikhs in Punjab for political gain on the grounds of religious provocation and heretic incitements from different spheres of society in Punjab. Radicalisation program of various factions of religious indulgence in Punjab although were in the active scene in Punjab since the time of the fall of the last empire of Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but as underlined above it was the degrading forces of modernity that influenced the rather static life of Punjab first under the British colonialism and then under the scheme of Green revolution initiated under the directions of Indian government that the radicalisation started gaining favourable ground in Punjab and also partly due to the ill-conceived policies of Central authority with regards to distribution of wealth in Punjab and the required sociological changes engineered through socioeconomic policies in Punjab to let the changes have a smooth flow over the fabric of the rather composite culture of Punjab. On the back of a weak program in its outset, Green revolution brought havoc over the rather joyous culture of Punjab. The commercialization of the culture and decline of humanism from Punjab tormented the society which could not bear the trauma of the changes that was gradually but shockingly spreading in Punjab. The cash culture and relative income upsurge in the Punjabi society soon gripped with

drugs and alcoholism. The changes of these riches made the religious vanguards and traditional audience “upset”. It was also in this context that Colonel Athale mentions the Akali political trap of the “Sikh religion in danger” slogan to capture the rising frustration amongst the traditional patriarchs of Sikh religiosity against the declining religious practices enshrined as fundamental tenets of Sikhism was slowly planned and fed. The first and foremost victim to this upheaval was rural male population which saw only religion as source of values required to combat the ups and downs of the changes of green revolution. But even before the onset of the revolution the contours of politics in Punjab were ignited in during the freedom struggle in Punjab, the history of Sikh religious affairs and its dense involvement in the Punjab politics goes back in the history during the time of British colonisation of India. It was the politics in hand with religion idea of Akali dal that was instrumental in bringing the religious and cultural voices of Punjab on to the surface of politics. Being one of the oldest surviving political parties after the Indian National Congress Party. Akali Dal was the taskforce formed to look after the religious affairs of Sikhs and to act as the palatinates of Punjabi culture. The leadership summoned a confluence of famous Punjab based freedom activists joined even by Master Tara Singh to formulate a body to regulate Sikh religious affairs. The confluence took place near the vicinity of Akal Takht, the fountain of religious commands and canon for Sikhs. It is also to be noted that these things were taking place in politically environment of Punjab that was lit since the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. These movement were taking place for the lack of political action on the part of the religious patriarchs in Punjab heading gurudwaras, the gurudwaras were in the control of the Mahants. Misappropriation of funds and heretic conducts were the repeated complaints against the Mahants. Gandhi rightly observed their conduct in relation to failure to address the concern of Sikhs and Punjab in the light of incidents like Jallianwala Bagh Massacre which tore the silence and heart of Punjabis wo could get over through this trauma of pain and agony inflicted down upon them by the British colonialists when he said that the Mahants have out-died-Dyer (Coward, 2003, pp.175)^{lxxvii}. The Akali movement or known as Gurudwara reform movement, initially started from reforming the religious spaces and institutions but gradually evolved in to acquiring a prominent space for itself public sphere of Punjab partly due to ignorant British religious policies and largely due to the daily religious affairs that were acquiring its prominence in the lives of people who had lost empire and territory from beneath their Sikh empire which took care of the religious affairs of people, it can be well witnessed from the fact that Punjab the Akali Dal operated 30 newspapers in Punjab^{lxxviii}. This was the beginning of the evolution of Sikh religious public sphere within the mass media space of Punjab, the movement took the form of mass participation, and with

support of famous freedom activists it took form of a genuine mass reform movement. Finally, the movement paid the fruit with the passing of the historic Sikh Gurudwara Bill in 1925, this led to the formation of Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. The success of the movement was a milestone in placing the Akali Dal at the political forefront in Punjab with religious affairs as their ideological proclamation. The party has been instrumental in creating alternate political and electoral space against the expansionist, dominating and encroaching Congress party. It was also at the forefront in keeping intact its grip over Punjab politics when every state government in India was under the electoral and political umbrella of congress party, which irritated Indira Gandhi. The colours of religious dissensions in Punjab where being sown in Punjab right from the politics of Punjab and Sikh religious autonomy, the Akali movement also demanded the retrieval and control of Khalsa colleges. A demand that was shared and lauded by the predecessors of Akali Dal, the Singh Sabha members. The Singh Sabha movement was initiated in 1870s after the complete annexation of the territories of Punjab. Interestingly Singh Sabha movement was the one of the earliest religious movements in Punjab. The movement targeted the proselytization and intrusion of other religions in Punjab. The Singh Sabha movement also enquired into the initial Sikh political identity status and increased consciousness amongst Sikh brothers to regroup for the political formulation of Sikh religio-political assertion. The movement henceforth took discursive face in the Punjabi youth specially Sikhs for the formation of separate Sikh state and religious autonomy and paved way for various revolutionary Punjabi insurrection based on religious or ideological undertones. Many of the contemporary political discourses in Punjab that affected the politics in the states up till recently were a by-product of the movement, like the promotion of Punjabi language and Gurumukhi script through distribution of literature in mass media on religion and history of the region or the state, preaching sacred Sikh doctrines and faith and simultaneous inculcation of Sikh religious commands (Harbans, S. 2011, pp. 205–212.)^{lxxix}. The primary reason behind the prominence of the movement was its reaction to the fundamentalism displayed by the intruding missionaries in the state and their doctrinal intrusion into the biblical orientation of Sikhism which had elements borrowed from Islam, another Abrahamic faith. It is undeniable that Arya Samaj 's purification movement and their attempt to re-assimilate Sikhism into the scriptural origins of Vedas became one of the primary reasons behind the expansion of the movement. Still the movement continued to remain active as an eventual congregation for postulation, stipulation and fulfilment of demands and not as a regular organisation active throughout the year. Much of the political and fundamental discourses in contemporary Punjab had their origins in the political struggle led by the Singh Sabha

leadership, like their suspicion against the Namdhari Sikhs (Mandair, 2013)^{lxxx}. The Singh Sabha led the movement to settle the question of the declining patronage for Sikhism and interrogate the alternative course of action to compensate the decline of the political patronage. It was in during these times of turmoil of religious crisis and the question of existence based on the distinct identity that the progeny of the public sphere charged and created by the Singh Sabha movement that the political discourse in Punjab took to ethnolinguistic nationalism against the politics of passive resistance of Congress party, in this course the rise of Akali Dal and its furious assertion for Sikh identity inception took deeper roots in the society in Punjab. The path paved by Singh Sabha acted as guide for future course of action. It was this religious course of politics that was in process of formation in Punjab that various strands and contours started appearing in during the discursive confrontation with the colonial subjugation and domination of all the sphere of life and society in Punjab. One can witness the ever-arising question of keeping intact the solidarity in Punjab, the enquiry reflects in the writing of many activists of the freedom struggle who groped many answers to the question, whether humanism, ethno-linguistic origins or the religious adherence should be the basis of united struggle against the British colonisation and for the simultaneous cementing of the solidarity or brotherhood post-independence. In his handwritten essay “Why am I an Atheist” Bhagat Singh investigates the relevance of God as a motivation and guide for mankind to follow. The essay also reflected the deep existential question that surrounded him in the prison and of course the essay reflects the convergence of public issue in his private life as the religious overtone on the political interwork in freedom struggle and amongst the Punjabi revolutionaries was visible in his arguments against the acceptance of a supreme divine being or the “God”. Bhagat Singh was intersectional to all the social currents in Punjab, a young revolutionary educated in western philosophy and inculcations in Leninist and Marxist methods and witnessed the carnal drive behind exploitation in India at the turn of the history when India witnessed a little industrial expansion during after the first world war as over production became a necessity to keep up the economy and finance the war. The alienation amidst the inhuman treatment of Indians subjected to inhuman mechanisation deprived Bhagat Singh to believe in the superficial idea of religion and God. It is in this respect that a comparative study of his denial of the cultural hegemony of religion at all in Indian cultural landscape in his work becomes visible with respect to the writings of Antonio Gramsci both writing in the same time and context and under the same circumstances of forceful subjection to totalitarian and imperialist domination with both the writings separated by a gap of a year. Prof Harjot Oberoi, Professor of Asian Studies at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, writing about the intellectual acumen and

instincts of Bhagat Singh rejects the lineage of predecessor to Bhagat Singh and makes his point that (Oberoi, 2019)^{lxxxix}-

“Unfortunately, for his hyper-modernist political project the young Bhagat Singh could not draw on any such deep cultural genealogies or intellectual affiliations. For his idea of revolutionary India, he had to start on his own, literally from scratch. He had, unlike the Indian liberals - Gokhale, Gandhi and Nehru - no philosophical predecessors to count upon. It is for this reason that Bhagat Singh immersed himself in the writings of Rousseau, Marx, Engels, Dostoevsky, Lenin and Trotsky. And as he reflected on the epistemic universe of these intellectual giants, we can experience first-hand in Bhagat Singh’s writings a palpable excitement at discovering new ideas, a modern political vocabulary and possible structures of alternate thoughts for postcolonial India. We get a taste of what he was savouring, if we closely read his extensive writings.”

In light of evidences produced by Prof Oberoi, it becomes safe to say that although separated from each other in the writing by almost a year, Bhagat Singh does not carry any ideological lineage or inheritance to Gramsci, neither does Gramsci appears in any of his reading list. The reason behind this complete unfamiliarity is that both were forced into prison around the same time, Gramsci was imprisoned by the fascist regime in 1926, but he started writing on his notebook between 1929 and 1935, Gramsci was out of imprisonment by 1935 and died in 1937, the notebook could get into publication only in 1947, ten years after his death. In during this interval of time, Bhagat Singh was hanged in 1931 for his bombing scare in relation to which he was imprisoned in the year April, 1929. Bhagat Singh’s discontent with the civilisation, cultural and religiously laden Indian past had nothing to explore for, it was full of pain and agony hegemonized by the patriarchs of subjugation. Prof Oberoi argues in this direction that (Oberoi, 2019)-

“Bhagat Singh carried no such brief for the past. He took India’s civilisational distinctiveness as a given fact. The burdens of the past required no excavations. The traumas and glories of the past 5000 years did not call for the performance of any myth-making exercise. And this principled insistence on refusing to deploy the past either symbolically or rhetorically was not because Bhagat Singh can simply be caricatured as a man of action. By all accounts he was reflective, spent long hours scouring and reading books and often what he learned was retained either through spectacular feats of memorisation or taking extensive notes.”

It is for this reason that Bhagat Singh does not configures in the religious designs of Khalistan propagandists and fundamentalist Sikhs, for whom Bhagat Singh’s decision to cut hair and shave beard and his tilt towards getting rid of religion is heretics and a result of British

domination of Sikh religious sphere. Again, Prof Oberoi gives insight into the educational background of Bhagat Singh, a hermeneutics of his private life-

“But what this list does not tell us is the persistent hardships both in terms of logistics and intellectual mapping that Bhagat Singh had to negotiate to get to these books. I will list three challenges that Bhagat Singh faced in his pursuit of an unscripted future. First, the sort of books Bhagat Singh wanted to read in many instances were proscribed by colonial censors. Yet fortunately he found obliging booksellers in metropolitan Lahore who were happy to smuggle texts that the colonial administration, always paternalistic and insecure, deemed too seditious for local consumption. Second, English was not his first language. Unlike Nehru who was home schooled by several European tutors and then went to Harrow and earned a Tripos from Cambridge, and a law degree in London, Bhagat Singh had to do with a patchy provincial education. But Bhagat Singh was not the one to be deterred by the odds stacked against him. What he lacked in formal education he made up through ingenuity and perseverance. To decipher the unknown English words in the books he read, he always carried a pocket dictionary with him where ever he went. Third, it is much easier for any public intellectual to articulate a world-view if one can rely on an established cannon of ideas and outlooks”.

It was in this background that the Akali Dal manoeuvred to capture the young blood into its political design, which could only be successful through the actions in the educational domains in the region and the religious sphere of people of Punjab, acting in this line, in 1920 Akali Dal was successful in bringing Khalsa college into its ambit of control and regulation. Although, these colleges were a contribution of Singh Sabha movement which wanted to inculcate and impart religious and modern education in Sikh youth, patronage was sought from British and Sikh princely states, soon in 1892 the Khalsa college was found in Amritsar after the establishment of Khalsa Diwan in Lahore. And a set of rings of Khalsa colleges and schools were opened in Punjab. With British patronage the colleges were under the supervision of British authorities but gradually became centres of nationalist activities. The British authorities would often inspect the colleges to suggest measures to curb the menace of nationalist activities. It was also the spread of revolutionary western ideas that would find place in the syllabus of the student that was an obstacle for the religious patriarchs of Sikhism in Punjab. Finally, in 1920 the Akali Dal movement got rid of British interference in the affairs of running the college by rejecting the government aids and grants (Grewal, 1998, pp.157-166)^{lxxxii}. The early Akali movement was instrumental in laying the groundwork for the revival of religiosity in Punjab which transcended every sphere of life and activity in Punjab, the movement and as a result the party and its ideology of religious fermentation in Punjab were both solidified in

Punjab in and around the 1920's after the 1919 Jallianwala Bagh massacre that took place in Punjab only a year back. With the Gurudwaras and Colleges secured a favourable ground for future expansion in Punjab, the Akali Dal flourished in reaching and touching the heart of Sikhs who had lost their religious and political fountainhead under the British domination. The movement led to the cementing of SAD as a principle and primary force multiplier in the Indian struggle against the and since then the party has been an active political and social force inside Punjab due to its active involvement in the religious domain of Sikh social and religious affair. The party over the time was fractured into many factions which was also due to the result of vertical unity of Jatt Sikhs at the village level (Pettigrew, J. 1978)^{lxxxiii} unlike the organisational unity of Jat of Haryana under the ethnically sanctioned Brahminical organisational umbrella of Khap panchayat based on the acceptance of Gotra system of kinship. The INC post-independence inherited the British legacy of abrasion with Akali Dal for its intimate relationship with the religious authority of Sikhism and linked political pervasion of the SAD in Punjab. The INCs confrontation with the SAD took egoistic turn when Indira Gandhi sought to remove the party for the spread of congress's political tentacles in Punjab. The battle got intense when the SAD into political coalition with the Janata party in 1978 against the INC which irritated Indira Gandhi against the increasing stature of the party as it placed itself on the map of national politics of India. it was from here that the SAD and INC became envious to each other. It was only after the brief fall of Janata Party that INC under the leadership of Indira Gandhi could plan for the elimination of SAD from political arena of Punjab. The devious plan brought Bhindranwala into the scene, as both the parties found him as a good political third front and as an expandable vanguard to be used against each other to lower the opponents spread in the minorities, as after its collusion with the Janata party, SAD had to lower its Sikh religious politics for acceptance within the larger electoral map of India and within the Hindu caste minorities of Punjab. The tentacles of SADs religious-political framework consisted of three layers of pervasive spread in Punjab, the organisational wing as a junction intersecting and pressurising all the other wings, the religious wing in the face of SGPC which manages the religious affairs and Gurudwaras, and the party's legislative functionaries who multiplies all the pressure nodes of the organisation into electoral gains for legislative convergence. Indira Gandhi's insistence to penetrate into the Akali circle of political deception for complete destruction proved her as the inheritor of British legacy and the masses could only get the message about her interference in the affairs of Sikhism, which proved to be a fatalistic exercise for the INC. The precursor to this secularization of Akali politics was the reformulation of Anandpur Sahib resolution in 1973 for the redressal of Sikh grievances and demands for the

autonomy of Punjab in religious and political matters. In during the course of coalition government led by Janata Party the Nirankari-Sikh clashes in Punjab stirred the Punjab politics yet again into the catch of religious dissensions, the Nirankari's were a heretic cult also seen as Hindu-Sikh sect within the doctrinal and fundamental tenets of Sikhism and as per the commandments by the last Guru about the continuance of the book as the eternal Guru for timeless guidance of the Sikhs. The heroism displayed by the Bhindranwala for the Sikh cause of religious revival in Punjab and to round off the expanding acceptance of Nirankaris played well to radicalize youth against the heretic cult and simultaneously against the Central government which was seen as the vanguard of Hindus of Punjab and in collusion with the Nirankaris to destroy Sikhism. Bhindranwalas saintly image and his endeavour to purify Sikhs and Sikh faith made him popular against even the contemporary religious figures and fountainheads of the Panth. His speeches would instil feelings of divinity in the masses who would worship him as the messiah of the revivalism of their decaying religion and religious values. Adding to this increasing stature of a celibate saint was his position as a Jathedar an ordained leader of the clergy, a symbol of austerity, penance and lifelong devotion. The youth of Punjab already tormented by the disruption of the social fabric of Punjab due to the onset of green revolution and declining religiosity in front of economic questions of livelihood and resource acquisition found in his call a return to the glorious age of religiosity, devotionism and bravery commanded by the Gurus as the fundamental and core values of the faith. His audacity was remembered as the continuance of the Sikh bravery to challenge central powers in India. Radicalization of Sikhs in Punjab was revived with yet another heroic figure like Bhindranwala,, the emotions that were shared in the past reverberated in the sympathy for Sardar Udham Singh. The Akal Takht issued *hukamnama* against the Nirankaris and the congress party over suspicion of their relation with the Nirankaris(Gates & Roy, 2016, pp.165). The INC which wanted to bank upon the minority support saw in the Nirankaris the electoral value for political intrusion in the fort of Akali Dal. The party got fractured into numerous group who retorted to violence in order to suppress the rise of the Nirankaris, Bhindranwala, who would initially target the INC found the support of Akali Dal which wanted to look strong for the cause and struggle for Sikh religious and political autonomy even if through the doors of secession. In between all of this happening the youth in Punjab was either radicalized into joining the stream of the violent movement or the Hindu youth would find themselves compelled to either surrender to the Sikh demand of linguistic acceptance through forceful imposition. The Khalistan movement almost filled the vacuum of political opportunity for all the political players in the gladiatorial arena of spectacles of violence that took the deflected

the state from its politics for structural course correction into religious fanaticism which did not succeed in reforming the socio-economic concerns either.

2.6 POLITICS OF DRUGS IN PUNJAB

The politics in Punjab took a U-turn in the state when a year after the death of Bhindranwala, the Akali Dal came into alliance with a more Hindu nationalist party the BJP a successor of the Janat Party, the alliance was predominantly against the INC which was seen by both as the culturally decadent and a disintegrating party which would do anything for electoral gains. The alliance was also a well calculated electoral equation which would give the Akali Dal free hands to muster votes from the areas of dominance by Sikhs and specially Jatt Sikhs, while BJP would concentrate on getting tap over the votes of Hindus from the Doab region and Urban constituency. An accord was finalised between the accord needed the agreement from all the three branches of Akali Dal the temple wing the organisational wing as well as the legislative wing. The accord was finalised when the three wings came in agreement with each other but the compromise was halted due to the assassination of the Harchand Singh Longowal, a moderate leader who proposed the accord and was overseeing the compromise agreement with the INC then under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi (Thukral, 2014) ^{lxxxiv}. The pressure exerted from the extremist elements of the Khalistan organisation and the small factions of political pressure group which would often lead towards the course deflection of Akali Dal. The party continued to witness fictionalisation until reunited in 2003 when the Badal led group set aside its differences with the G.S Tohra led group who then headed the SGPC in 2003. The reunification resulted in the party gaining ground in the regions and areas lost in earlier election in the state. It was the G.S Tohra led group which separated from the party led by the Badal group that the SAD faced defeat in the Lok Sabha elections losing six out of eight Lok Sabha seats. Tohra after dissenting with the SAD had formed his own All Indian Shiromani Akali Dal (AISAD), after the reunification of the AISAD and the SAD, SAD was successful in setting its image correct and gaining the lost six eight votes with coalition in National Democratic Alliance. In 2007 after few more unification of the party, in 2007 the party in coalition with the BJP won against the INC.

The coalition equation that has gained critical re-assessment of its operational success recently after the victory of Narendra Modi led government had a dharmic force at its base then in during the Atal's time and in the present period of political turmoil, Javaid Iqbal Bhat, Assistant

professor in the Department of English, University of Kashmir, while writing for Greater Kashmir, a Kashmir based daily English newspaper, rightly dispels the coalition equivalence of BJP led by the Modi-Shah an inheritance from their predecessors, and asserts that-

“In the late 1990s and early 2000s the idea which had floated around was that the era of single-party governance was over (fake one frankly). A new phase had arrived. It was felt coalitions reflect the rainbow that India is and have finally come to stay to reflect the humongous diversity of the country. There was an atmosphere of joy and celebration about this change. That happened in the backdrop of the assertion of the regional parties in India and coming apart of the grand old Party of India, which made it impossible for any single party to win a majority in the parliamentary elections. It was compulsory for the national parties to forge alliances with regional parties to win the elections and stay in power. That alliance forging put internal curbs on authoritarian tendencies of the parties. The alliances had to adopt what was known as the coalition-dharma, offering respect to the mutual aspirations and lending sanctity to the mutual existence (Javaid Iqbal Bhat, 2017)^{lxxxv}. ”

Bhat assesses that this theoretical underbed of the Dharma of coalition has undergone structural transformation for the accommodation of unilinear Dharmic hegemony at its base for the superstructure of coalition and proposes that-

“Now the situation has changed. The coalition is superficial and deep down it is dharma that is running the show. The coalition-dharma politics is substituted by dharmic politics. Even now technically the party ruling at the centre is a coalition of parties but practically it is just one party with reins elsewhere. Or maybe just one man, a superman, if you like it. The regional energy of regional parties has almost surrendered before the release of dharmic energy. Apparently, the linchpin of the coalition is the BJP which is soiled with the sound and colour of the dharma. You may call it, in deference to the Hindu dharma, a hijacking of the faith towards a political end, but it is currently reaping rich benefits using the aura of the dharma. The notion of the coalition dharma is replaced by the dharma of the coalition. And currently the dharma of the coalition is the majority-dharma, a certain understanding of the majority religion, which has swayed even the moderate sections. According to this dharma you are an infidel, a Hindu infidel, if you raise questions against its operations. Which are, by the way, in full swing not only in the form of grisly public executions like that of the one in Rajasthan, but also in the churning undergoing in institutions (Javaid Iqbal Bhat, 2017). ”

Although Bhatt postulates this facelift in the backdrop of the recent power transfer from INC to Modi-shah, but the theoretical underbed of this equivalence was already discernible in the alliance politics of BJP and Akali Dal in Punjab even before the arrival of the Modi-Shah duo

on the national political stage. The alliance faced little friction for operational unity in face of the arch enemy perceived by both the parties who have cultural and religious ideas translated in their political force. Although, the insurgency appeared to be of deriving its force from the religio-cultural conflicts and tension point between Sikhs and Hindus, the undertone of the conflict was propelled because of the extreme competition between INC and Akali Dal (J.S Chima, 2010)^{lxxxvi}.

The *beedi* that was initially the cause of conflict between the two communities found itself replaced with drugs for the solidification of the relations between the two communities. With the change of guard for Hindus in national political arena by the BJP which readily accepted the menace of Drugs and common cultural determination of Punjab as common ground for the forging of coalition and for the advancement of the dharmic coalition. The battle in cultural sense the battle against the drugs became a dharmic battle. If the religious

In between this political arrangement, Drugs also became a bone of contention for the arrangement to continue. It was the intrusion of Drug economy in the Akali Dal's organisational operations that got in the way for the Akali's to continue holding position in the state and for the BJP led coalition to continue to ignore the mischief of this partner. It cannot be denied that widespread menace of drugs in Punjab found its way into the political corridors of Punjab for the purpose of patronage and protection as well as the financial backups of the political parties. This political cum religious fermentation of the two parties was also indicative of the inheritance of the religious doctrine of Sikhism from Hinduism and the cultural landscape of the Punjab that was the breeding ground for both Vedic Hinduism and Sikhism. B.N Narayanan, long time editor in chief of The Tribune outlines this shared inheritance of Sikhism from Hinduism and throws light over the effects of effervescence in the evolution of Sikhism out from the forces operating in Hinduism, he points out this delicate intimate interconnection and debt that Sikhism owes to Hinduism and specially of Vaishnavism-

*“To a great extent the flowering of the Sikh religion owed itself to both the Sufi and **Vaishnavite** tradition in north and south India respectively. Many people erroneously attribute Guru Nanak's concept of “**Ik Onkar**” and the doctrine of Vedanta to deny Sikhism its separate status as a religion. Equally erroneously, Sikh scholars seek to repudiate the 'feudalisation of the Sikh movement' by **Vedantisation** of the basic Sikh doctrine and the **Brahmanisation** of the early Sikh society. In fact, the debt of Sikhism to Vaishnavism is not on the latter's doctrinal orthodoxy and exclusivism but the progressive, non-ritualistic ideas which Guru Nanak drew from both Hindu and Muslim saints of yore. In fact, the **12 Aivars** of **Vaishnavism** in South India have a lot in common with the 10 Gurus of Sikhism and the **Naalayira Divya***

Prabhandam (4000 holy verses compiled over a span of 2800 years between the first *Alvar* and the last) is very much akin to *Guru Granth Sahib* in its lyrical beauty and secular stress on *bhakti* and wisdom. The ancient tri-linear relationship of *Bhagawata* (master), *Bhakta* (disciple) and *Bhagwan* (God) finds refined expression in the Sikh exposition of *Guru-Shishya-God relations* (Narayanan, 1990)^{lxxxvii}.”

The space of the Gurudwara was respected by both the communities as worthy of sacred autonomy, a point of social convergence which required urgent revival. The temple unlike the Church in west of being a part of the ideological state apparatus, is a repository of the cultural and historical-civilisational past in both the communities (Narayanan, 1990). Writing about the significance of temples for Hindus in Northwest Indiana, George Pati, Associate Professor of Theology and International Studies at Valparaiso University, USA concludes that the temple in Hindus is point for the self-actualisation and consciousness of the inherited civilisational intuition (Pati, 2011.)^{lxxxviii}. In another way, the functionalist argument of the school being a focal socialising agency holds good for Temple in case of Hindus and Gurudwaras for Sikhs. Based on Durkheimian theoretical premise Parsons had argued that school acts for the child as a miniaturised version of universe, unlike this secular institutionalisation of education in west, George Pati^{lxxxix} underlines the contradistinction that protrudes on the cultural and civilisation contours in Hinduism-

“The temple body, a processual body, personifies the body as microcosm of the macrocosm, transcending the distinctions between the body, the embodied self and the universe”

A statement of contradistinction that sounds in agreement with B.N Narayanan described in his following remarks of this shared cultural trait of Vaishnavism with the doctrinal settings enticed and prescribed in Sikhism as well-

*“For the Vaishnavites the temple is not merely a place of worship. It is the repository of culture and history, the court of last resort for the citizen against abuse of temporal authority and the final solvent of all societal inequalities. The *Guru ka langar*, that ultimate leveller of all humans is a modern version of Ramanuja's concept of *prashad* as meal for the poor institutionalised even today in major Vaishnavite shrines in South”^{xc}*

The ties were cemented between the Akali Dal and BJP on the ground of the sharing of votes and electoral management, but this arrangement started facing stalemates in continuing the relations because of the pressure groups operating in the backdrop to pressurise the Akali Dal and the illicit drug business that intruded into the political spectrum of Akali Dal and simultaneously into all the parties. The groups related to the Khalistan terrorist network having relations with the Pakistani terror organisations and ISI were openly floating political parties

and fought elections, it was also no secret that Bhindranwal himself took help from Sikh expatriates residing in Canada and US and also from the ISI^{xcii}. The continuance of this alliance hit another roadblock when in 2013 a DSP rank officer [Deputy Superintendent of Police] was arrested in relation to illicit drug trade in Punjab which s=discerns the level of politician-drug-authority nexus underwork in Punjab, which why has the drugs been able to infiltrate so deep into the state. The officer named Jagdish Singh Bhola was arrested in relation to running a major synthetic drugs trade in Punjab confessed to having financed electoral expenses of the politicians in Punjab, and named the minister Bikram Singh Majithia, kin of the Badal family which runs the Akali Dal, and also into colluding with the BSF officers in frisking the drug from across the border. The narco-terrorism nexus has been backed by double the force when the nexus gets the support of the police offices in the state and renders the nexus as inevitable to be dysfunctional. The suspicion of this nexus keeps resonating in the political affairs of the state and also in the national security ring, a yet another incident dispels this deep-seated suspicion when in the year 2016 the Indian Airbase in the city of Pathankot district of Punjab lying close to the international borders with Pakistan was attacked by the militants from across the border, in relation to which yet again DSP rank officer was arrested on suspicion of having facilitated the intruders^{xciii}. The coalition of BJP and SAD has witnessed some setbacks when the alliance is questioned on the grounds of letting the drug abuse become normalize since the charges against the centre-based partner BJP has been levelled that the party wants to destroy the Sikh youth to destroy the religion of Sikhism, a claim backed by the narratives preserved in the oral history as well documented in the recent play of events during the reign of Indira Gandhi. R.S Sandhu (Sandhu, 2006)^{xciii} has explained this political relation of drugs which keeps surfacing at the time of election and the onus of which falls on the state government is because of the lack of the state government to address the issue and not to twist the issue as a polemics for politics. To preserve the reputation of being a party with representation in the parliament due to coalition with the BJP, Akali Dal has denied the widespread menace of Drugs in Punjab and termed the public concern for Drugs addiction in Punjab as a political gimmick for electoral gains in the state^{xciv}. In an attempt to evade from the responsibility of tackling the widespread drug addiction in Punjab and to keep the coalition politics intact the Akali Dal's continued ignorance to the issue has only fasten and worsen the process of expansion of the menace in the state. This paralysis points out to the complete lack of understanding on the part of the state machinery to devise methods to erase the problem. Though the pervasion of this problem has only aided the political parties in making electoral gains in during the time of election to posture own 's party as more sympathetic to the emotions of the state and its society.

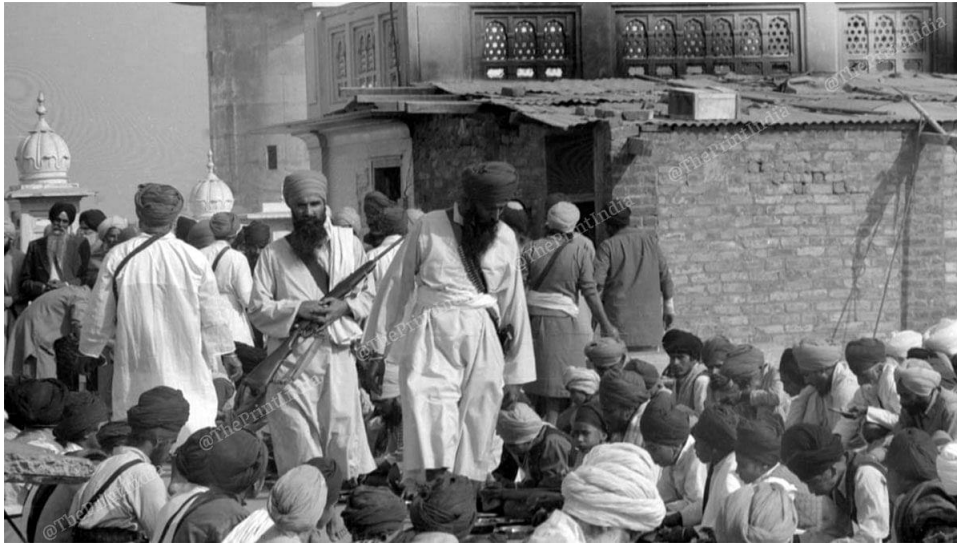
In one such instance the Deputy Chief Minister Sukhbir Singh Badal downplayed the data of drug users in the state as well levelled charges on the congress party and its leadership in defaming the youth of Punjab^{xcv}. This play has been successful in laying grounds for the emergence of an alternative response to this menace which has been tapped by the various players in the electoral arena of political colosseum, one such emergence is of the rise of the Aam Admi Party. The party which has been successful in projecting itself as the political representatives of the common man reflecting in its name easily penetrated in the political landscape of Punjab which was closely guarded by the duo, SAD and Congress party. The presence of AAP in Punjab shows the acceptance of drugs as a prime menace in the society in Punjab. The collusion of Police bureaucracy and politician in the flourishing of the Drug trade in Punjab became a serious political issue also due to the negligence on the part of the state government led by the SAD which has tried to throw the charges on everyone including the BSF officers on ground duty as well as Pakistan except the party itself, what is worth noticing here is that it is not the Pakistan that is responsible for the drug menace but the purchasing power of the state and the people which saw an increase since the onset of Green revolution which brought prosperity in the state as well disparity which reflects in the distinct drug patterns that runs across the inequality persistent in Punjab. In and all the religion caste and religion politics in Punjab has turned the state on an explosive path waiting to outpour the mess that has been accumulating inside the cauldron of the state's socio-political pan. The Deras have appeared on this stage of conflict as the new enclaves of refuge for the discriminated and marginalised sections of society in Punjab. Pramod Kumar, Director of the Institute of Development and Communications, has termed the Deras as the poor cousins of religion in Punjab, and that they have occupied the religio-caste space in Punjab^{xcvi}. He further highlights the rising importance of Deras in the electoral battle in the state also due to their recent clashes with the section of Sikhs in the state and for the fact that the religious consciousness has shifted into the Deras and has taken the toll on the declining importance of Sikhism in the political sphere. The Deras have been the cause of stir in the past as well as the trigger for the insurgency but they have

2.7 DECLINING ECONOMY OF PUNJAB

The economy of the state has been on the track of decline since a significant period of time after the agricultural boom got saturated against the increasing status of surplus state of production in rice and wheat which offered huge competition. The exposure of the inequalities

running parallel across the caste and class lines in Punjab and even within the Jat Sikhs. It was the hardship and the rising disparity in Punjab that created conditions suitable for the emergence of Bhindranwale who exploited this socioeconomic chasm to pressurise the leadership within both the state as well as the central; government to heed to the demands he laid before them. The Akali Dal leadership has turned itself into a bastion of family-based corporation that has drained the state of its prosperity and the need to resuscitate the state out of its continued sinking from the position of wealth attraction. The Badal family's corporate nexus and intrusion in the economy of the state has turned the family as a sore in the eyes of the people residing in the state where the family has its economic tentacles spread, this catenation of the police-drugs mafia-politicians has metamorphosed the religious plane of politics in the state into a struggle against the corporate-political spread of the Akali Dal. It is precisely for this reason that the state has been seeking an alternative political option due to the unescapable binodal political saturation of BJP and Congress party in the political colosseum of the state. The narco-juniors or the peddlers as well as the minions of the party have also captured the anger of the public who have been largely successful in escaping the grit of law but not of the people. The state has been the hotbed of the blasphemy debate colloquially called as *Beadabi*, that is uncultured attitude. The issues of blasphemy were the igniting sparks which had gained momentum and made Bhindranwala popular in the eyes of the religious Sikhs who were in furore due to the disruptions that had surfaced in the backdrop of the waning traditionality against the forces of modernity set in motion by the industrialisation of agriculture in the state. It was this fusion of blasphemy and religious consciousness that were the primal force behind the instigation of social crisis in the state and may become the reason for the same in future. The social crisis soon got translated into the paralysis in policy making and led to the fall of economy in the state with the resources getting drained in fighting the menace of drugs. Interestingly the policy level response of the state in fighting the menace of the drugs a yielded the state as an appropriate ground for the study of the Foucauldian proposition of biopolitics. The pharmaceutical intervention as a suitable therapeutic for eradicating the drug menace as well as the penetration of drug has resulted in the erection of intelligence apparatus furnishing information related to every human activity of the people residing in the state, it is not surprising that within this panopticon of surveillance the social fabric of the society in Punjab has cracked from within to hold the sinking harmony which has yet again drained the state of the crucial resources into replacing those required social institutions with institutions sanctioned by the legislative decree. The state subsidised rehabilitation centres and the distribution of medicines for the deaddiction programs has drained the already burdened

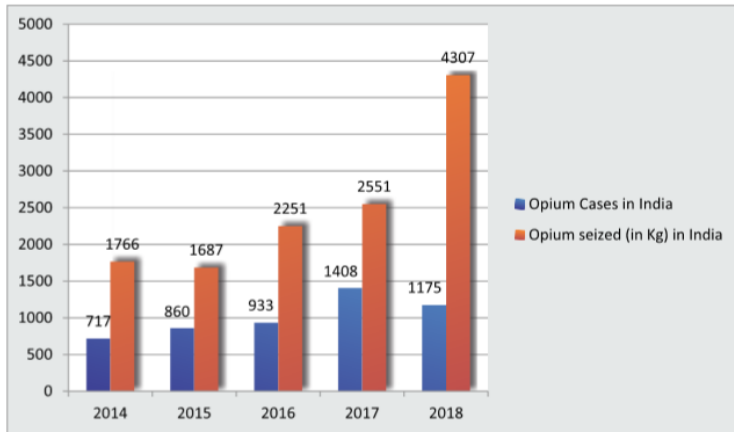
economy of the state. In this religiously loaded political landscape of Punjab, Deras have found followership for the revival and preservation of religiosity and devotion in the divine that was losing ground in the society of Punjab best symbolised in Bhagat Singh own shift of course against Sikhism, Pramod Kumar, Director of the Institute of Development and Communication in Punjab has termed Dera as the poor cousins of religion in Punjab. The Deras have emerged as voluntary organisations with moral and ethical spine to fight the ills of society, the same Deras became a focal point of the convergence of the social reform whether against the caste system or the menace of drugs. The resolve in the Deras to eradicate the drug addiction menace can be understood by the statement of the former DGP of prisons in the state Shashi Kant who visited the Dera to seek help in their fight against the Deras, he said- *“I will also take the help from Sant Samaj, which has a large network in state and go to all those places that can help to stop drug trafficking at the ground level. Religious Deras have a large number of followers and they are taught to stay away from drugs. They can help the society^{xcvii}”*. He has long been critical of the collusion of the politician, businessman and mafia nexus in the state behind the illicit drug trade. The statement underlines the compulsion of the state which has exhausted its resources in its fight against the menace and has failed to achieve the objective through its top-down approach. The rudimentary nature and status of Indian state can be best understood in the context of Deras stepping into the rescue of the declining social solidarity and brewing anomie.



Sant Bhindranwale armed with AK-47 in the temple premise.

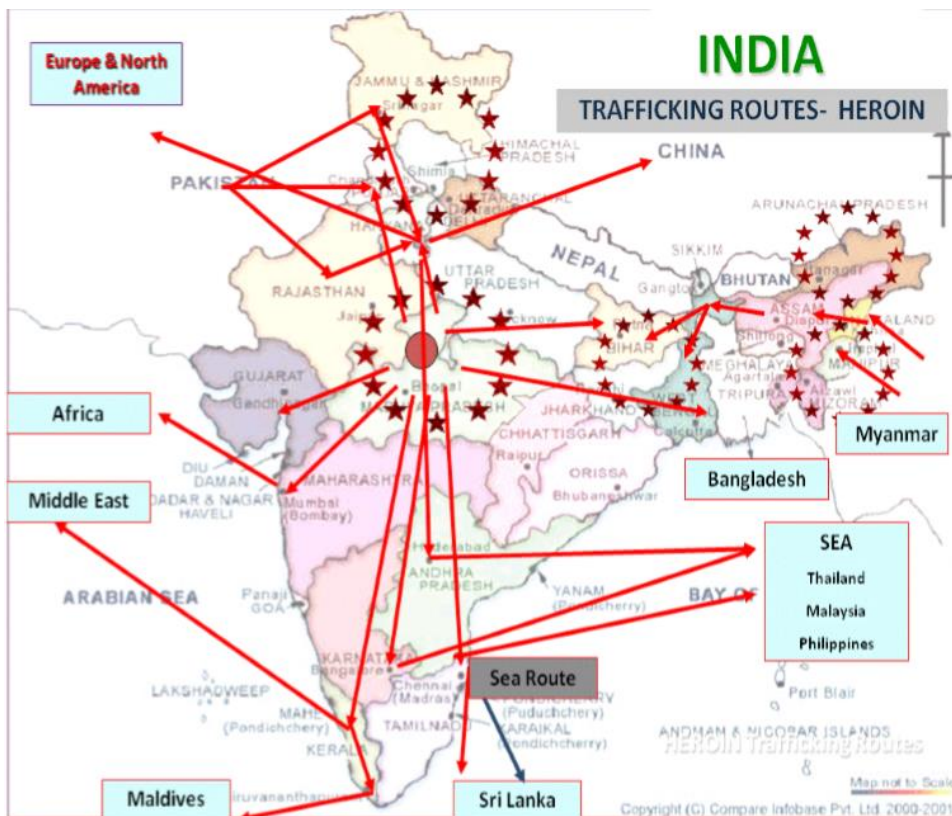


SOURCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018^{xviii}

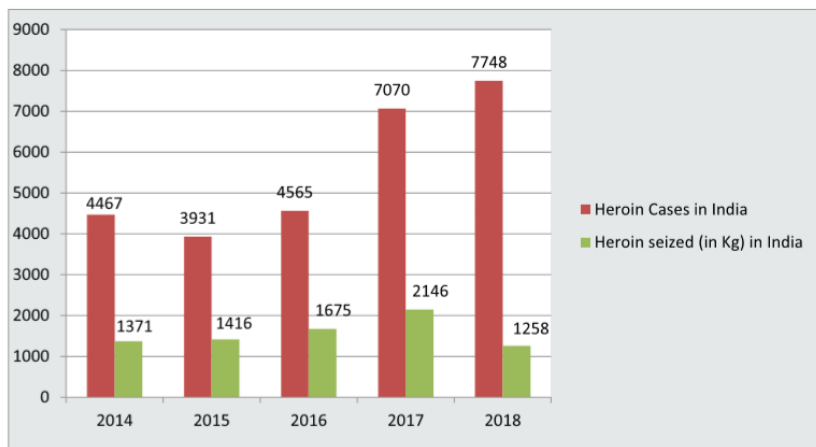


Year wise seizure of Opium during the last 5 years (Figure in kgs.)

SOURCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018^{xcix}

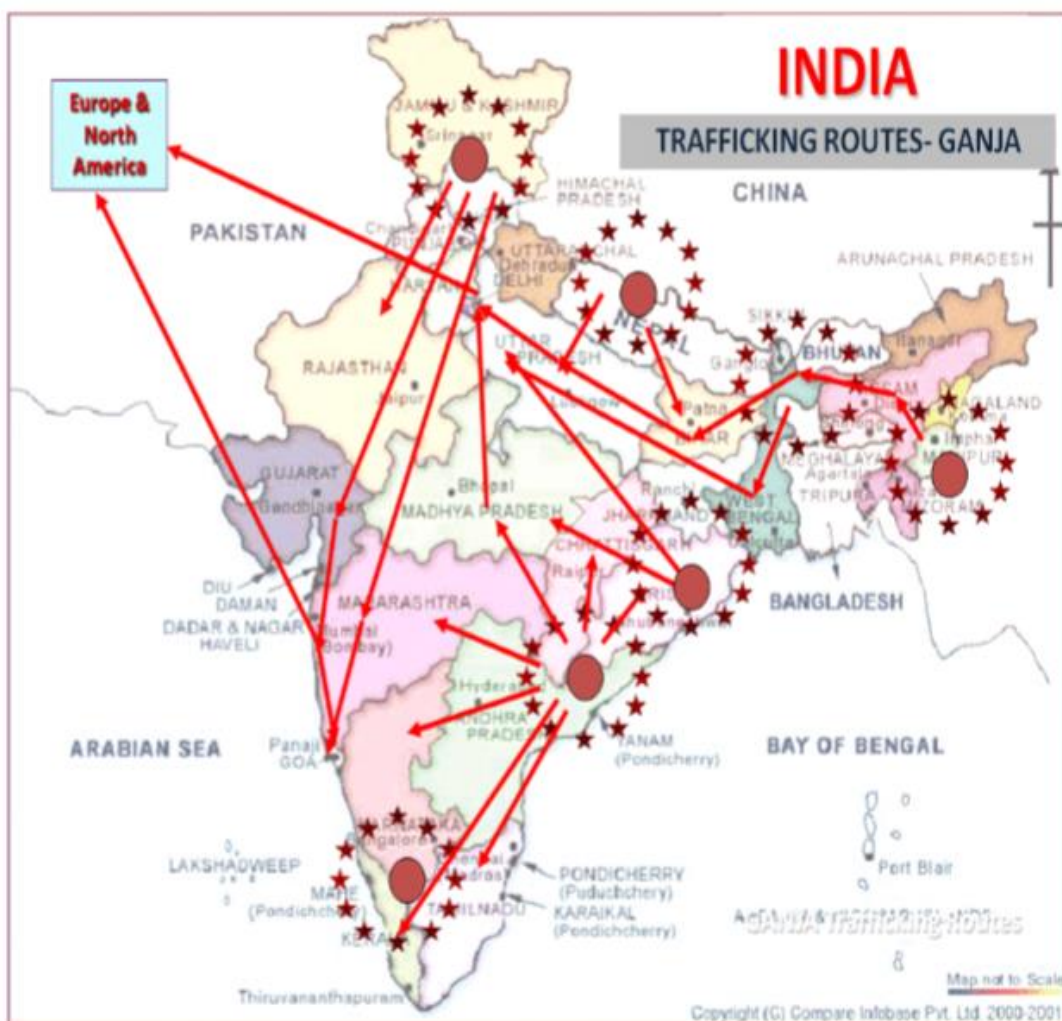


SOURCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018^c

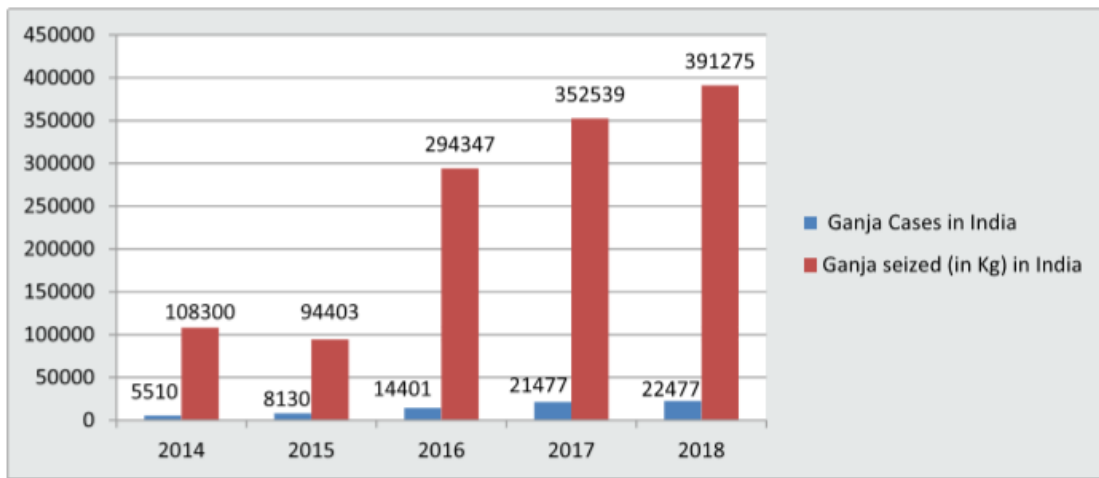


Year wise seizure of Heroin during the last 5 years (Figure in kgs.)

SOURCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018^{ci}



SOURCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018^{cii}

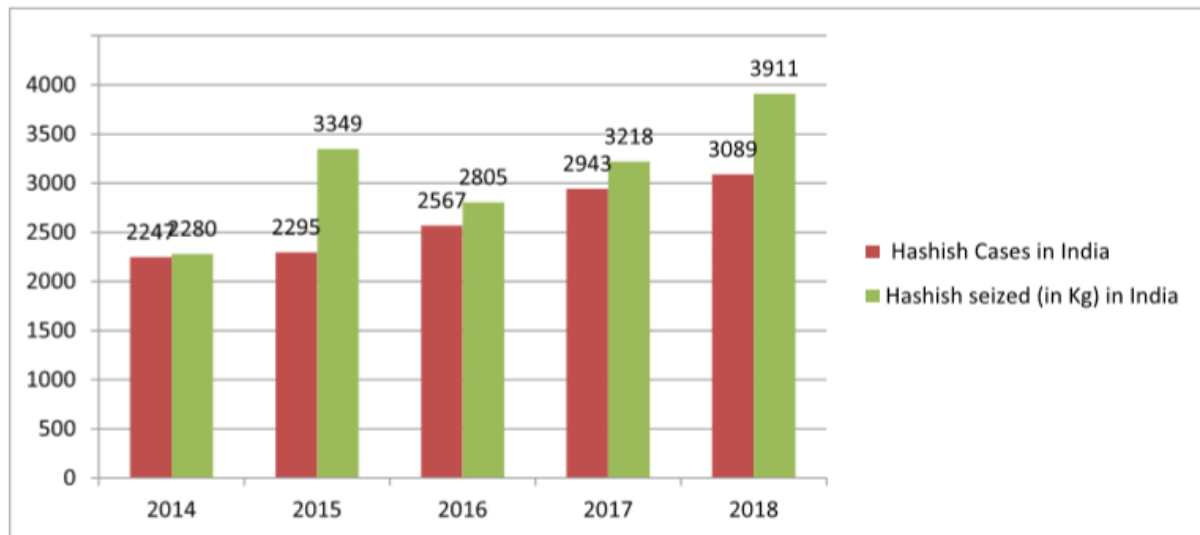


Year wise seizure of Ganja during the last 5 years (Figure in kgs.)

SOURCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018 ^{ciii}

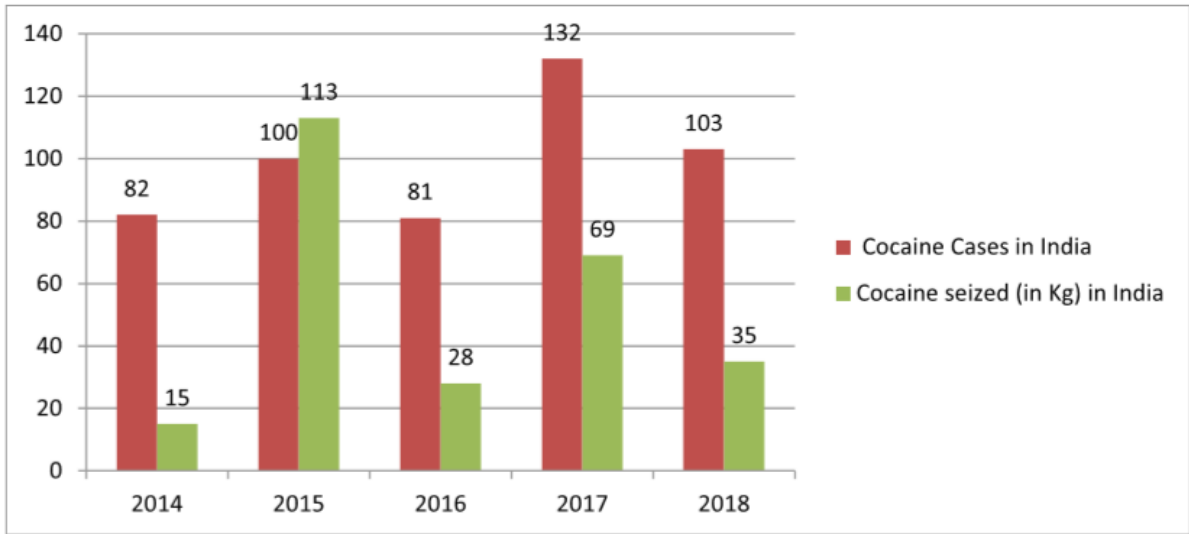


SORCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018^{civ}



Year wise seizure of Hashish during the last 5 years (Figure in kgs.)

SOURCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018^{cv}

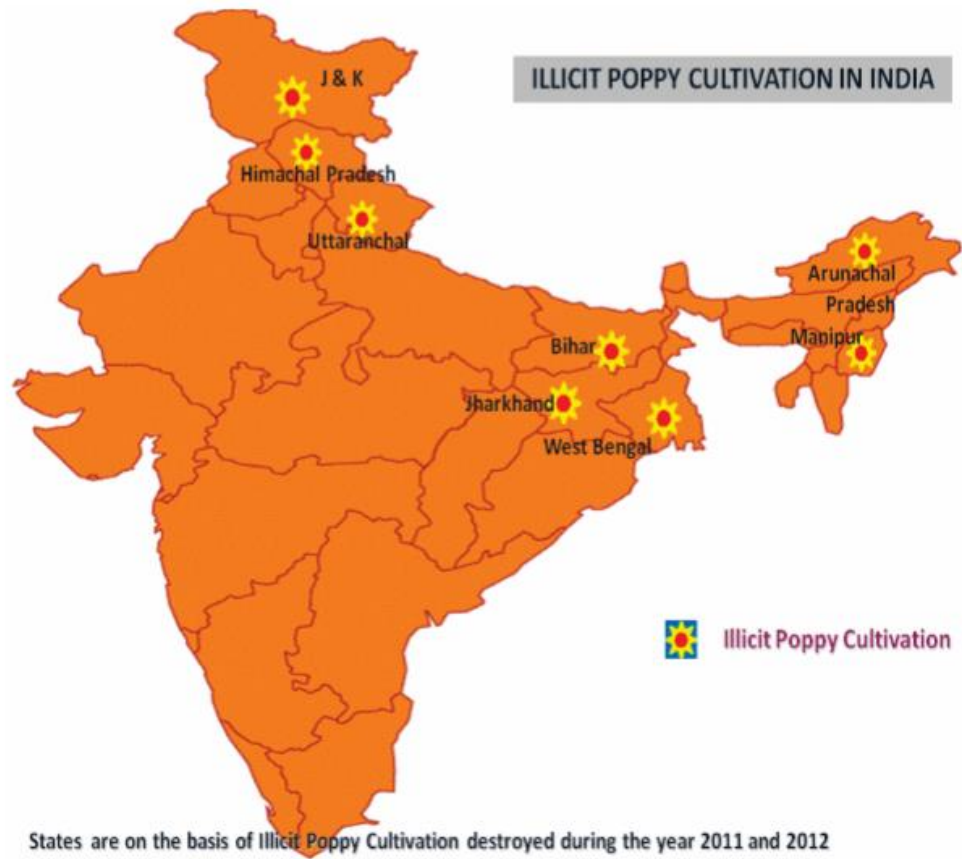


Year wise seizure of Cocaine during the last 5 years (Figure in kgs.)

SOURCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018^{evi}



SOURCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018^{cvii}



SOURCE: NCB ANNUAL REPORT 2018^{cviii}

CHAPTER. 3

RURAL YOUTH, DRUG CONSUMPTION AND LIFESTYLE CHANGES IN PUNJAB

3.1 DEMOGRAPHIC DIVIDEND IN PUNJAB

Punjab will be witnessing an overwhelming population in the working force to supplement the retiring population, a significant addition to the resourceful state with youth comprising a good amount of workforce to keep the production system up in the state. As per the study published by some scholars (Sharma and Nagaich, 2015)^{cix} the state will see 25.7 lakh entering the working age group population between 2012 to 2017, with supplemented by yet another 23.2 lakh population between 2017-2022. If the past trends of the labour participation rates are taken into view, the population of the working age group willing to work will stand around 11.3 lakh during 2017-2022 and 10.2 lakh during the period of 2017-2022. The net result after the mathematics of the retiring pool of force is done will stand around 4.6 lakh during 2012-2017 and 3.6 lakh during 2017-2022. The cities which will witness this rise will be the five districts of Ludhiana, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jalandhar making up the approximately the half of the population (Sharma and Nagaich, 2015). The age-composition graph of Punjab provides a further clarity on the issue, the state as per the census of the 2011, the 36.7% of the state's population will be aged between 15-34 years, while 15-65 years age group will make the 67.6% of the population as per the 2011 census. The data furnished from the educational institution in accordance with enrolment of youth in educational institution complement the gender gap and related data for the state, as per Dr Sangeeta Nagaich and Preeti Sharma (Sharma and Nagaich, 2015), the enrolment data shows the enrolment of boys is higher than the girls, though the data on percentage shows a different graph indicating the increase of enrolment in girls. The level of unemployment has shown an increase at almost all the levels of educational qualification till the year 2010 as per the same study cited above (Sharma and Nagaich, 2015). As per the 2011 census the state of Punjab has registered a population of 2.77 crores, an increase over the data related to the year 2001. The rural-urban divide in Punjab is complex set of data to explain, as per the data available of the previous year and of the present year, the rural population in Punjab in the year 2011 is 66.08%, while the data pertaining to the same year for the child population in the age group 0-6 years is 10.77% for the rural Punjab and 10.35 for the urban counterpart. The rural-urban sex ratio and child sex ratio has an although different story to tell, in the sex ratio Punjab has been on the list of state having the deteriorating position of women in the society, the figure stand around 906 women in rural Punjab against 872 women in urban Punjab, in the Child sex ratio in the age group 0 to 6 years the state has 843 girls in the rural areas against the 851 in their urban counterpart. The data related to the dwindling situation of

gender parity has an although complexity involved at the levels of data and perception of the state as a patriarchal society with the rural Punjab as the hotbed of this traditional arrest. Reasons can be attributed to marriage-based migration in the state from regions across Himanchal and Uttarakhand, regions till where the linguistics-based kinship can be practised, still the data of sex-ratio in the rural Punjab is a remarkable in a society like Punjab. Although the literacy points the continuity of the lag of the rural areas against the urban Punjab. The vocational courses have not been able efficiently as expected to supplement the working population into an able working class through skill dispensation from various educational platforms (Sharma and Nagaich, 2015) the course to drugs and its effect on the changing lifestyle became an expected track for this mismatch of the job opportunities and possession of the required skill. The availability of wealth through the welfare programmes undertaken by the state's religious institution have saved the state from various disasters of complete mismatch of skill and job opportunities and made the availability of required amenities possible. It is because of this that the state despite the rising disparity between the rich and the poor has not suffered major setback in terms of economic challenges to keep the economy up and also largely due to the centre's welfare related schemes in the state. Lying at the intersection of trade route the state has witnessed extreme wealth accumulation at the hands of the neo-feudal class which has translated its wealth into different sectors due to the cultural capital as a historical inheritance. The infiltration of substance abuse ranging from alcohol to drug abuse has severely changed the state's lifestyle and has taken into the development of distinct subcultures amongst the youth. The drug rehabilitation centres are the mark of new identification of the changing cultural landscape of the state in the proper sense of its definition determined by the World Heritage Committee^{cx}, cultural landscape has been defined as "*cultural properties [that] represent the combined works of nature and of man*" which has been broadly categorised into three categories-

1. a landscape designed and created intentionally by man
2. an "organically evolved landscape" which may be a "relict (or fossil) landscape" or a "continuing landscape"
3. an "associative cultural landscape" which may be valued because of the "religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element."

The overwhelming presence of these drug rehabilitation centres are the finest evidence to the spreading menace of drug abuse in the state. These centres are also becoming the new focal socialisation agency in the state replacing the *Gurudwaras*, the schools and colleges both being

affected by the penetration of drugs into the youth peer groups and resulting subculture among them. The drug menace has also tapped into the changing cultural lexicon of the people with the words getting their own twist of Punjabi flavour, for instance *Chitta*, a word for Heroin (diacetylmorphine). Prevalence of medicines have infiltrated the society in Punjab overwhelmingly whether through medicines used for addiction or for de-addiction. The pharmaceutical sale of Punjab is the highest in Punjab alone for addiction, de-addiction or for treatment of various illness because of the inappropriate farming methods due to which the water levels in the state as well as the food grains produced in the state have been found to be carcinogenic.

YEAR	WORKING AGE POPULATION ENTERING THE WORK FORCE
2012-2017	25.7 LAKH
2017-2022	23.2 LAKH

3.2 SUBCULTURE AND YOUTH-SUBCULTURE

Subculture meant the group in the society that shares common traits like problem, interest or practise which distinguishes them with other group in society which may be in majority, that is, the subculture is a blending of the majority culture with subversive values of a minority group. Sarah Thornton (Thornton, Sarah, 1995)^{cx1} expanding the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu had coined Subcultural capital to distinguish a member of a subculture who possess a differentiating cultural knowledge of themselves which raises their status in the society and gives them a distinct identity. Subcultures as well as cultures in the view of Pierre Bourdieu were the results of the intersections of capital one possesses in his/her life. Although the possession of one capital together with the another one may be difficult. Classes get distinguished according to the type and amount of capital one has accumulated. Higher cultural capital or the good taste yields distinct lifestyle not shared by the most of the people but by a layer of people. It was the scholarly research of Alfred Adler which provided studies on lifestyle. In his 1929 book “*The Case of Miss R*” in which Alfred Adler (Adler, 1929)^{cxii} postulated that lifestyle is concerned with distinguishing the *style of the living* of a person and his/her intersectionality in the acquisition of capital with respect to the tangible or the intangible factors. By tangible factors Alfred Adler meant the demographic profile of a community on the other side the intangible factors relate to the psychological aspects of a personality like values, preferences and outlook related to his/her habitus. The rural youth in Punjab is possessed of economic capital that may also run across the caste and class lines in the state, but the lifestyle is completely discernible

with the lifestyle of the youth in the states other than Punjab or the states sharing the boundaries with Punjab. Drug consumption as well as economic disparity has yielded different subculture and resultant lifestyle in the state as well in the society of the city of Chandigarh considered as the capital of the state of Punjab and Haryana. The drug infiltration has resulted into economic hardship as well as misery on the part of numerous families who have either lost the tap over their inherited resources in paying the prices of the drug peddlers or the price of medical intervention prescribed for the deaddiction of their loved ones or the kins. The issue of drugs has its effect permeated into the corners of family life, many have been abandoned by the family either for the lack of financial ability to either to keep financing the expenses for continued addiction or medical help for deaddiction. Many individual either die in the corners of the city for their lack of empathy ever since they fall into the trap of drug addiction. The prosperous life in the city of Chandigarh is yet another remarkable reflection of the Chandigarh culture that has its own distinct “good taste”, as the city was centre to the bureaucrats serving in the Civil services also for the retired military servicemen. Designed for the elite taste of British colonial officers serving in India and for serving as the capital city for Punjab which was later shifted from Shimla to Chandigarh. The city was the earliest planned city of India under the architectural maverick of his time, *Le Corbusier*. Le Corbusier was entrusted the task of planning the city after another famous architects of their times Polish architect Maciej Nowicki and the American planner Albert Mayer died in a plane crash and left the job in the middle of completion. The city since has been the hotbed of crony capitalists, middlemen of Arms deals, smugglers, influential politicians belonging to houses of familism and lobbyists of government contract and plans^{cxiii}. It is because of this centre of economic magnate that the city has appeared in the gradual time as matrix of habitus in the city has engulfed the capitals postulated by Pierre Bourdieu. The architectural design of the city attracted the financial magnates looking for relics of colonial rule to revive their status as the inheritors of the British patronage in the place for living in the city near to the national capital gradually the city became a convergence of the social capital postulated in the works of Pierre Bourdieu as well as Robert Putnam. It is interesting to note that the city was the earliest archetype of the required social networks that one was required to keep himself in the loop of mass networks of relations were generalised reciprocity played in emasculating wealth with each other’s help in deals of worth crores. The dense social network in Chandigarh yielded culture that was in itself discernible with the widespread culture of Punjab and Haryana. The city has also given birth to high class youth culture to resistive subcultures that have taken course of resistance against the dominant or the cultural hegemony of the Punjabi or the Haryana based Jat culture which has yielded

money and muscle derived from the social, cultural and symbolic capital. The rural youth subculture is a consequence of gradual infiltration of addiction with frustration against mounting unemployment on the back of declining economy. The subcultures evolving in the youth is also divided on the lines of economic inequality coupled with the social capitals of Bourdieu and Putnam in the entire cultural landscape of Punjab, the Chandigarh based youth subculture symbolises extreme prosperity and wealth accumulation which is wasted in the expensive punk culture best witnessed in the Gedi Culture. The Gedi culture is the coupling of the social capital and the psychogeography of the Chandigarh city and its architectural engineering. The drifting as a by-product of the psychogeography of the city of Chandigarh coupled with the bourgeoisie or the High-class youth subculture resulted in the solidification or the metamorphosis of the undercurrent patriarchy in the cultural landscape of Punjab into an extreme masculine subculture. Although the word Gedi is derived from the Geri that is circling the route called the Geri route in the city of Chandigarh^{cxiv}. The masculine composition of the subculture has been received with negative cries from the woke feminist quarters of the city against the repeated cases of eve teasing, harassment, and stalking which was gradually getting normalised within the cultural settings of the Punjab and Haryana both of which share similar cultures due to the territorial congruency and presence of Jats in both the region. As noted in previous chapters the Punjabi culture due to the over dominance of Jat castes in the state from demographic to the socioeconomic dominance the culture of the state has evolved in to a Jat culture. The colonial survey reports in this relation highlights the territorial congruency of Jats in the then undivided region of modern Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. The Jats have several sub-castes within them which is why Joyce Pettigrew had underlined vertical unity in amongst them, the oldest surviving details of caste census or demographic details of the Jats were done under Abul Fazl and available in his penned down work *Ain Akbari*, and Ibbetson's (Ibbetson, D. 1916)^{cxv} caste census in his *Punjab castes (dt 1881)*, Iftikhar Ahmed (Ahmed, 1984)^{cxvi} outlines the most basic difficulty in comparing both the data sets which have distinct units of territory for collecting data, since both have different sets of data with respect to unit of territory, the data set from Aul Fazal's *Ain-I-Akbari* takes *pargana* as the basic unit of territory while Ibbetson uses the district system of territorial classification prevalent in British colonial rule, to countervail this difficulty Iftikhar Ahmed uses cartographic superimposition to deduce results, the end results is the yielding of parganas corresponding of the district unit of classification. The jat castes that Iftikhar Ahmed takes in to consideration for the production of his data are *Chima, Chatta, Ghumman, Bajva and Kahlon, the Langah; the Sidhu, Sindhu; the Bhular, the Kharral and Marra*. Ibbetson classifies the first group of classification as those

residing in the foothills west of Lahore, Langah, Kharral and Marral are placed in the *western plain*, that is the area west of the Lahore with the exclusion of the areas of submontane tract and Salt Ranges while the *Sidhu, Sindhu* and *Bhular* in the Sikh tract (Ahmed,1984). Iftikhar Ahmed underlines that the zamindaris returned by the *Ain* were located in the in the areas of dense concentrations of peasants overlapping the same caste group (Ahmed,1984). Chima Jats are the numerous in the Sialkot region and have control over the villages in and around the districts of Gujranwala, the Chatta caste holds sway over 81 villages in the districts of Gujranwala. Iftikhar Ahmed suggests that the pargana Chima and Chatta names must have been derived from the fact that both these castes may have comprised major part of the population in the respected area (Ahmed, 1984), Bajwat as per him were from the foothills of Jammu giving the name Bajwa, Kahlon presently settled area near around the area Sialkot and Gurdaspur had spread from Batala. The territorial congruency of the Jat castes highlights the Jat castes demographic pressure points in the economy and the distinct geo-cultural spread running across the cultural and economic divide in the rural Punjab. In a cross-sectional study of rural Punjab on a sample of 400 adolescents^{cxvii} it was found that the alcohol was the most commonly abused substance, while addiction through non-tobacco and non-alcoholic substances was amongst the second major sources of addiction, the male gender, illiteracy and 30 years above age was found to be intersectional to the addiction sample. It comes through the data that every third person in Punjab was addicted to sources of addiction other than tobacco and alcohol^{cxviii} with high prevalence of heroin and intravenous forms of addiction. The famous epithet for Drug in Punjab is Chitta a notorious synthetic drug, in a recent trend outlining the widening of social inequality and a move to countervail the declining economic status it has appeared that the addicts have now turned to become peddlers to keep up with the economic disparity and the intake amount. The Chitta outlines this trend where actors comprise from spoilt girls, rich brats, bored housewives to cops have outlined what can be the best example of Bruno Latour's Actor-Network proposition, Bruno Latour defined Actor-Network theory as a world made up of constantly shifting networks of relationship and where there is nothing that exists outside the relationship. The new entrants to this Drug economy in Punjab proves Latour's conjectural postulation. In a recent interview to the Economic Times, BSF Commandant R K Arora nudged that the addicts who have turned peddlers, do the peddling to fix their own cut^{cxix}. The economic disposition of Chitta initiated a circulatory loop which keeps up with the track of repetition until the actor in the loop does not dries out. The Chitta is an expensive deal to cut, a Chitta costs Rs 2000 a day and to keep with the consumption, a chain of denigration of cultural capital sparks on with the first snort, with every passing day the

consumption requirement increases up and the debt on the individual mounts on. The process takes away productive quality of men and subjects him into becoming a part of the syndicate. In this acculturation through drug addiction Punjabi songs have been the main agent that helps thrive and drive this industry. In several scholarly works the Punjabi songs which highlight the lavish life of rich Punjabi brats have become the major source of motivation for addiction. The cultural lifestyle has witnessed significant changes in a decade because of the diaspora money that also brings western lifestyle characteristics and taste. The Punjabi music industry has been constantly shifting the Punjabi culture between Canada and Punjab due to the diasporic migration between the two sides and promoting drugs culture through the use of words related to drugs in their lyrics. Assistant Professor Archana Walia (Walia, 2016)^{cxx} argues " *Songs have always been an integral part of the cultural mesh of every society, and the same goes for Punjab. Punjabi songs have always reflected the Diaspora, lifestyle and everyday issues that form a part of the everyday lives of Punjabis*". The glorification and glamourisation of Drugs have forced the Punjabi youth into treading the path of addiction given its glamourisation in the music industry, the songs have now been using drugs like *Afeem*, *Patiala Peg* and *High*. The industry through its glamourisation of Drugs and alcohol has become the marketing industry for the hike of sale of drugs, the situation has become so much so that the state government has to set up culture commission to censure the glamourisation of drugs and alcohol culture of Punjab which is rich otherwise^{cxxi}. It is because of this collusion of music and drug industry that the money keeps flowing in between the two sides and drugs syndicate often finance such songs to keep up the sale through glorification and has made the Punjab music industry as the highest earning non-film music producing industry apart from the Bollywood film industry^{cxxii}. The agricultural rigour of the Punjab which was once the hallmark of the Punjab, the culture of Agriculture in Punjab has taken a back seat since the music industry took to course diversion into highlighting the rich brats of Punjab who indulge in addiction of various expensive synthetic drugs and pills. A Delhi based journalist Dharminder Kumar writes on this trend in Punjab which traces the early strands of this acculturation within the dominant and rich Punjabi culture by hegemonizing the space of media and music industry. The changing tastes of song which has altered the definition of cultural capital in Punjab by rather glamourising the drug culture as the way to achieve status position in Punjab. Journalist Dharmendra Kumar while talking about a new song by the famous rapper Honey Singh says that the glamourisation of car and drugs started with a song dedicated to a car model Pajero-

The trend started a few years ago with a song on Pajero Yaar tere ne number le liya triple zero one, Wich Pajero de rakh li desi gun which talks about VIP registration numbers and illegal guns^{cxiii}.

Tracing the reminiscence of this emerging trend in the changing cultural landscape of Punjab Dharminder Kumar rightly throws light on the upheavals in Punjab set in motion in Punjab during the Green revolution, he writes-

Punjabi music's car fetish can be traced to the green revolution, when heavy mechanisation of agriculture led to prosperity. The car is the new tractor, for a little over a decade ago, girls in songs fancied boys on tractors. Rising land prices in Punjab drove a surge of liquidity, which might explain the craze for global car brands in villages^{cxiv}.

The sociological implication of the music industry and its display of lust and liquor has become a heated topic of discussion in Punjab and its civil society. Prof Surinder. S. Jodhka in view of the cultural distinction in relative terms called this social breakdown as Anomic and the music of the lost youth, which represents the lack of leadership and jobs in his views the violence and denigration of women in Punjabi music industry has arisen out of the alienation and purposelessness^{cxv}. Dharminder Kumar observes this trend in almost all the songs glamourising violence and crimes of some sort, he notes that Singers like Diljit Dosanjh who has featured in an album prescribing girls to stay away from drugs, liquor and love has the album edited in a way that instead glamourises all the above, in another example, he observes that a song by famous singer Babu Mann, land grabbing is glorified, the Jat elite status and muscle power. The controversial movie “*Uda Punjab*” literally meant “Flying Punjab” symbolising the snorting of drugs and the resultant hallucination, has captured the role of the music industry in pushing drugs into youth through the infiltration into the socialisation process of adolescents by the means of access to media. The Punjabi cinema industry has evolved in the time frame to project the Punjabi Hegemonic masculinity^{cxvi}. Defined by R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt Hegemonic masculinity is the symbolically manifests at the regional level through the interplay of local masculine practices producing regional value system (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005)^{cxvii}. H.S Gill (Gill, 2012)^{cxviii} in his remarkable study within his scholarly specialisation in mapping cultural evolution of the community and reproduction of the cultural values on the cinematic stage for the normalised socialisation in the settings of Hegemonic masculinity. H.S Gill in his conclusive proposition argues that the Punjabi cinema operates as a contraption for the cultural superimposition of the dominant caste of Jats in Punjab (Gill, 2012)-

“The performance of their masculinity is typified by their ability to move between different rural, urban and transnational spaces. This ability to successfully navigate the unfamiliar terrains of the world outside their villages serves as a rite of passage to becoming a man, a testament to their masculine affirmation. The construction of the mobile gendered body of the Punjabi hero within Punjabi cinema represents a privileged site upon which Punjabi cultural identity is articulated both in India and within the Punjabi diaspora.”

The diasporic leap of the Punjabi community has operated as a ritualistic transformation of the regional masculinity towards globally roaming son of the soil, mostly, the Jatt Sikhs. This solidification becomes affirmed with the transnational mobility between spaces of existence created by the community as their landmark of achievement.

In research done under Archana Walia Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Kamla Nehru College for Women, Phagwara, titled “Effect of Portrayal of Alcohol and Drugs in Punjabi Songs on Punjabi Youth: A study of the Youth of Phagwara” a semantic study brought into notice the linguistic acculturation underway in Punjab due to the permeation of semiotics glamourising drug culture in music^{cxix}. The research comprised of sampling size of 100 respondents within the age group of 15-40 years residing in the city of Phagwara, in the state of Rajasthan. A simple random sampling was chosen to collect and disseminate data for the final report preparation. The research consisted of questionnaire ranging from getting to know the no of respondents who actually listen to Punjabi Songs as well the no of respondents who feel they want to have liquor and drugs after getting to listen to the songs of Punjabi singers. In the above-mentioned scale of respondents 98% agreed to listening Punjabi songs while 2% were identified as non-listeners, in ad amongst the above people t came out that 63% were the regular listeners of the Punjabi songs while 35% agreed to listening Punjabi songs sometimes and not regular the rest of the 2% consented to having listened to the Punjabi music rarely. People could easily identify that the Punjabi songs frequently or very often mentions drugs in their songs and was agreed upon by 67% of the respondents. In an interesting turn of the questionnaire when it was asked if they feel like they want to have drugs and alcohol after listening to such Punjabi songs which talk about drugs and alcohol, 66% agreed. On being asked if they can recall a Punjabi singer who very mentions drugs and alcohol in their song 45 respondents reported Honey Singh. The male chauvinism and the denigration of women displayed in the songs was one of the most obvious reasons why it was nearly not considered to take up studies or to understand the undercurrent addiction in

and amongst the women in Punjab which remained nearly invisible from the public sphere of Punjab and its civil society which was at the forefront of their fight against the menace.

In a 2018 study done by the state based PGIMER, that is, Post Graduate Institute for Medical Education and Research, titled 'Epidemiology of Substance Use and Dependence in the State of Punjab'^{cxxx}, what appears from the new reports citing the research paper is that the number of Opioids user surpass almost all other users of illicit substances for abuse in the state, Opioids consists of heroin, smacks, cruse opium, poppy husk etc. The study states that the number of male addicts stands around 2,02,817 males and 10,658 females as per ICD-10 criteria have been identified as Life-time dependents on opium^{cxxxi}.

In an award-winning report published by the Indian Express journalist Divya Goel in the year 2019, the issue of Women Drug Addiction could be highlighted^{cxxxii}. In her reportage, a good load of case studies a better understanding of the varying degrees of situations that can lead to entry of drugs in the individual's life can be witnessed, it was only in the year 2019 that the state government could recognise the importance of installing a women deaddiction centre in the state for the first time in Kapurthala. The reportage covers varying degrees of cases, in one such case is the plight of a couple who in their desperation to keep up with the addiction went into extreme crimes and in the end her husband goes missing which she does not remembers exactly how, the women named Harjot Kaur underlines the cause of her situation to the illiteracy of her husband, according to her detailed version it was her husband in the beginning who directed to her to consume drugs to get rid of the extreme pain inflicted by he himself to her during a feud between the two, the women recalls that the worst victim of their situation is her daughter^{cxxxiii}. As per Divya Goel it was governments lack of vision that drugs remained exclusively a male centred social problem, partly also because of the fact that women do not find it fit to report to the medical and state authorities of their declining health and condition out of the fear of stigma and ostracization from the society, the state authorities in 2018 came up with a 15 bed women deaddiction centres named Navkiran Kendra^{cxxxiv}. In her reportage the prime reason behind the pilling cases of women falling into drug addiction has been the influence of their male partners. The influence could be direct or indirect influences like

domestic violence, broken marriages, peer pressure, relationship issues and while other also get into the business of drugs due to their male partners lying in the house unemployed. Feeling of guilt also induces conditions appropriate for drugs consumption specially in and amongst women in the flesh trade as per the consultant psychologist Sandeep Bhola of the Navkiran Kendra cited in the reportage, Dr Bhola yet again highlights the influence of Punjabi music industry on drug addiction amongst students which according to him takes root during drugs party. In a case of young girls getting into addiction due to the relationship issues and emotional disbalances in during the intervening, Shivani says that she retorted to drug addiction after her boyfriend ended relationship with her after being with her for 2 years, Shivani recalls that it was during this time that she was advised by some friend to take a hit of drug for relief from the mounting anger and grief^{cxxxv} .

In another shocking case of rising menace of drug over addiction is the case of 25 years old Manjeet who came into the grip of drugs addiction after she got herself enrolled in a beautician course where drugs were a regular affair amongst peers, she unrolls her story that-

“Girls there used to take drugs. I took heroin for some days with them and then became an addict. For three years, I injected myself 7-8 times a day. Me and my friend used to get a 12 ml bottle, which was enough for two persons. We used to buy it for Rs 100 and then further sell it also for Rs 600 to get money for our own drugs. From heroin to several other medical drugs, I injected all^{cxxxvi}”

Manjeet is now also undergoing treatment for Hepatitis C. The above case studies prove the definition offered by Kaplan and Sadock on the drug consumption who define it as the over use of Drug for non-medical use beyond the “Drug abuse” is defined as self-administration of a drug for non-medical reasons, in quantities and frequencies which may impair an individual’s ability to function effectively and which may result in social, physical, or emotional harm (Sadock, Sadock, Ruiz & Kaplan, 2009, pp. 924)^{cxxxvii} .

For Gurdeep Kaur Deo, Chief of the Anti-drug Special Task Force (STF), Additional Director General of Police (ADGP), the situation becomes unbearable when women fall into the addiction trap, she explains in her words that

“If a man goes astray, a woman can guide the family. But if a woman becomes an addict, she is vulnerable to sexual and physical exploitation and unable to guide her children. Fearing social stigma, they are afraid to declare their addiction. Women addicts are hardly visiting Outpatient Opioid Assisted Treatment (OOAT) centres for treatment due to stigma^{cxxxviii}”

The numbers of addicts getting enrolled in the Navkiran Kendra indicates the prevalence of this menace of drugs issues amongst this “other gender”, the deaddiction centre records state that 53 female addicts were enrolled in the centre for deaddiction and over 100 treated including OPD patients. Studies and surveys at the end of government also point to the fact that there are not enough deaddiction centres in Punjab to accommodate the mounting numbers of patients in the state. The govt has banked on alternative medication to solve the round off the problem of Punjab by extending the cover of OOATs, that is, Out-patient Opioid Assisted Treatment, in the rural areas for the extension of the alternative medication programmes of the state government called the 100-day Big Bang programme^{cxix}, the centres have been used for the administration of de-addiction pills which is a combination of buprenorphine and naloxone, a kind of alternative medication which is cheap given the cost of per administration, which varies depending upon the whether the centre is privately run or it is government run, the brand of the medicine prescribed, a single administration of the combination 2 mg of buprenorphine and 0.5 mg naloxone costs around Rs 25 to 35^{cxl}, in the words of consultant psychiatrists and technical advisor Dr Rana Ranbir Singh, the dosage costs less than the opioids consumed by the patients which costs between Rs 1000 to Rs 3000^{cxli}, it is in this view that the government under the former congress backed chief minister of Punjab Captain Amrinder Singh decided to expand the reach of such OOAT under whose guidance these pills are administered primarily to deal with the cases of addiction caused by opioid drugs, including heroin, poppy husk and opium^{cxlii}, the set-up of such centres came 7 months after the conclusion of the report by the Special Task force set up by the chief minister himself, the current no of centres stands around 202 government run and 11 in the jails with an already extended cover of private deaddiction centres as well as government deaddiction centres. The newly appointed STF chief-cum-Additional Director General of Police Harpreet Singh Sidhu this year has banked on the OOATs citing that the need to increase the no of OOATs is under the view to release the pressure on the existing OOATs who have to cater to patients from far off places, the ADGP Harpreet Singh Sandhu while banking for the OOATs stressed the ongoing fight against the drug addiction as well as the industry thrusted by the presence of peddlers as a convergence of a parallel fight between the drugs as well as the peddlers using the OOATs as the best answer, he says

“The heroin peddlers ensure door-to-door service. So, we need to focus on making de-addiction medicines available accordingly.”^{cxliii}

Rahul Advani suggests that the masculine image of drug addiction has been a roadblock as well as a factor in influencing the menace of drug in Punjab, he postulates that the rural economy of Punjab and its masculine image has been a driving factor in the fuelling of addiction. Kalra and Bansal propose that most often the reason that is cited amongst the addicts is to enhance sexual performance with the partner and to keep up the sexual machismo. Rahul Advani (Advani, R.N, 2013)^{cxliv} postulates that this myth is grained in the Punjabi masculinity so much so that drugs has found its way to keep up this desire formulated within the masculine Punjabi culture, in his words-

“The notions of strength, endurance and performance contained within this desire link closely to the traditional forms of Punjab masculinity. This suggests that drug abuse is, at least in part, practised for both the display of, and the consequent realisation of, masculine identity”

The male body in Punjab’s cultural lattice is the centre of masculinity or the sanctum sanctorum of masculinity. The act of farming and marks on the body typical of agriculture practise is the production site of masculinity which exclusively signifies middle class Jatt farmer. This display of physical work also helped them fare a beautiful bride. In a way the masculinity in Punjab is culturally and physically produced, Rahul Advani concludes that this masculine drive is one of the factors behind the rising Drug consumption cases in Punjab and may also be the reason why there is a neglect of cognizance of the prevalence of drug addiction amongst women, and the most susceptible drug addict is the middle-class son of a Jat farmer. R. Chopra in his phenomenal work *Encountering Masculinity* (Chopra, R, 2004)^{cxlv} argues that the body of Punjabi farmer is the mark of the social capital on which markers of physical work on the body signifies a middle-class Jat farmer and landowner masculinity, the body which is the product of the social construction. The rise of the nouveau rich in the rural Punjab has facilitated the solidification of masculinity in Punjab which precipitated into the gratification of *macho culture* resulted in the form of consumerism for sexual prowess and the display of riches and machismo (Goyal & Kaur, 2009, pp. 3)^{cxlvi}. Sociologist Akhila Verma blames that it is the cultural normalisation of the consumption of drugs in Punjab specially the regionally available *Afeem, Poppy husk*, that boys get encouraged to drink to stimulate masculine vigour and display the inherited continuity of cultural process of socialisation in Punjab.

3.3 MASCULINITY WITHIN PUNJABI CINEMA AND CULTURAL SETTING OF PUNJAB.

H.S Gill argues that at any given period of time Punjabi cinema is dominated by 2 to 3 males which have huge fan base and the usual narrative in their movies is of a rural agrarian Jat man travelling across Punjab and other states and travels to Canada living in diaspora, the undertone is of a man searching for his roots and representing his masculinity that has undergone ritualistic transformation by travelling, earning and getting back to roots (Gill, 2012). The cinema industry of the state believes that the Bollywood follows the Hollywood in sexualising the female body and creating a fantasy world which has nothing to do with the reality of the Indians and therefore has the liberty to craft female body in the likes of the Hollywood, women largely appear as a lover, wife or mother and represent the perfect union and family^{cxlvii}. The participation of women in film culture is far less in Punjab than in comparison to Bollywood. Caroline and Osella (Chopra, Osella & Osella, 2004)^{cxlviii}, note that the absence of the women from the film culture has led to the reproduction of the spaces as the centres for the performance of hyper-masculinity and claim the spaces as their own and render the women as the leftover and insecure on the streets, she asserts-

“Masculinities being reproduced and defined in belligerent opposition to women, as young men aggressively embody and mimetically perform hyper-masculinity in the space they take as their own and make uncomfortable for young women – the street” (Chopra, Osella & Osella 2004), the streets become are hegemonized by the active participation of men and deprive women presence through performances displaying active masculinity. The streets in Punjab are the spaces of central spaces often hegemonized by boys taking it to the streets of traditional and cultural performances. The streets are the epicentre in Punjab to reinvigorate and keep the past traditions lit in the state. Although H.S Gill states that the masculine presence in Punjabi cinema and film culture is not because of its belligerent opposition to women but in the absence of Punjabi women figure in contradiction to Malayali films where the acts of eve teasing such as whistling or harassing women in public and mansplaining is normalised through repeated depiction in movies frequently (Gill, 2012). It is the *theka*, a regional term for the alcohol shops, which has facilitated the masculine hegemony of the public space through acts like night-out and dance in the public spaces, hooting and shouting and publicly displaying physical fitness as well as guns and expensive cars. Bhangra has gained most of its popularity abroad because of its depiction in movies at the locus of Punjab’s cultural lattice. Although a cultural celebration Bhangra is an agrarian celebration of climatic turn, marking the change of season

and the initiation of agricultural diligence. it is because of this fertile agrarian geography of Punjab that the portrayal of masculine Jat became a facade of Punjab and Bhangra took to the streets for the boys celebrating their manhood and exploits of bravery and the bestowed Jat and Sikh ethnoreligious inheritance. In contrast to Bhangra performance of men women are sanctioned exclusive spaces during *Gidha* ceremony or the *Jaggoo ceremony* or during the *Ladies ceremony*, Nicola Mooney (Mooney, 2008, pp.111)^{cxlix} asserts that *Gidha* ceremony is a paradigmatic gendering, bridging women with the underlying Punjabi tradition in contradistinction to what Gayatri Gopinathan has to say on Bhangra, she refers to Bhangra as the "ritualized enactment of heterosexual patrilineal descent "of land from father to son, it is interesting to say that the transgression of Bhangra has seen it invading, fusing and arriving on stage of cultural industrial complex of India but the *Gidha* ceremony, feminine analogous to Bhangra has not been accorded the same treasuring and admiration from quarters of the vanguards of the culture and traditions. The relegation of Bhangra can be attributed to the transgression of Sikhism into the cultural realms of Punjab which is dominated by the Gurus rewarding the masculine bravery and exploits specially in the later days of Sikh consolidation and identity assertion. It is interesting to note that the agrarian fervour of Punjab is no distinct from other regions even after the amalgamation of linguistic assertion with religious divergence from the mainstreamed Hinduism. In the 1980s and 90s Punjabi cinema industry is dominated by the rural landscape with the agrarian emotions overloaded with the emotional upheavals to wrestle dignified life, a mark of manhood and masculine prize. The conflict for the land was considered as a challenge to the manhood, and calls for the incitation of violence for the preservation of the honour tied to the land considered as the mother, a feminine connotation attributed to the fertility and nourishment of the land to the farmers who are her sons. The feminisation of land is the identifying trait that permeates the cultural landscape of India (Bhardwaj & Banerjee, 2020)^{cl} to which Punjab is no indifferent. The sexual violence and transgression of land by a stranger other than the farmer to whom the land belonged on the paper or the sanctioning of the possession due to the repeated cultivation of the land under him a kind of sanction on the basis of ritualization of the repeated cultivation, was considered a violation in within the cultural setting of Punjab. Contrary to Joyce Pettigrew's formulation on the values and organization of caste system within Hindu caste system based on the notions of purity and pollution is different from the caste system in Sikh religious mainframe which manifests in the political superiority, land ownership and labour, the cinema industry which manifests the underbed of the Jat's own understanding of caste superiority is no different. In this reference the study by the H.S Gill (Gill, 2012) is a case study to undertake to understand

the Jat's own understanding of the caste system. While explicating the case for the comprehensive understanding of the Jat masculinity and masculinity in terms of purity and pollution is also apparent in a song of the movie *Putt Jattan De (Sons of Jatt)* released in 1980, H.S Gill notes that the song represents the key feature of the movie-

“A key feature of the film has been retained through a song and dance sequence with the same title (Putt Jattan De) that describes the physical appearance of a Jat man and how he displays his masculinity. (Gill, 2012)”

The song exhibits all the values underlying in the caste, a convergence of patriarchy, superiority as well as purity and pollution. H.S Gill further elucidates while producing the lyrics of the song that the attire of the men in character of the song as traditional and local to Punjab, typical to the Jats, batons on their shoulders, neck full of jewellery and accompanied by fellow Jats having similar appearance, making a peer group on the basis of shared traits typical to the brats of the caste group, H.S Gill observes that the band of these brats walk while challenging all in their path including a woman, in the process of singing the historic exploits of their ancestors, the men declare the challenge to the women to clear the path as the Jats were approaching the scene of appeal, the masculine body gesture while performing Bhangra persuaded the women to push herself aside-

“Though initially her presence seems to evoke sexual desire within the bandleader, she also represents an obstacle that these men must collectively negotiate in order to move forward on their path. Her presence and her sexuality pose a threat to this band of men and their ability to move forward as a collective body. Aside from this brief encounter, the rest of the music video features only men (Gill, 2012)”

The reference to the Jat pride and the provocation to clear the path also simultaneously depicts the question to keep pristine the purity of the caste which may otherwise get polluted due to crossing the road with an unknown woman whose caste associations are unknown in the context of the song. The CinemaScope stage that is portrayed in refer to Jats is always atop a vehicle, in the post-green revolution phase and in the intervening periods after the revolution but before the liberalisation of Indian automobile market, it is often either the Horse an animal that carries historical significance given the Jats assertion of their warrior lineage and exploits which slowly after the prosperity trickled down in during post-liberalisation phase, changed from tractors to the cars. The portrayal often conveyed the exclusive disassociation of Jats from being recognised as a commoner in between the other caste groups for which the physical separation is the prime feature, symbolic of his elite status. A renowned digital intersectional feminist media organisation named *Feminism in*

India in its issue named “*The Punjabi Jatt Hero and Other Toxic Masculinity in Punjabi Culture*^{cli}” capturing the pervading masculinity in Punjabi cinema industry, the writer while explicating the Hegemonic masculinity in Punjabi film industry states that the protagonist in the Punjabi cinema is always a Punjabi Jatt Hero, who is the vanguard of Punjabi culture or the ethos, safeguarding the land, protecting the honour of the lady and also to preserve the family system traditional to Punjab, protagonist remains while the landscape changes from rural to urban Punjab and to abroad in what H.S Gill has identified as a ritualistic transformation prerequisite for the consolidation of Punjabi Jatt Hegemonic masculinity^{clii}. A slight dilution in the toxicity of masculinity typical to Punjabi Jatt is discouraged and embarrassed, only the regressive and hegemonic one is considered exemplary enough to be extolled. The jokes around the less masculine is toxic, the physique of the protagonist or the male body that is the centre of the masculinity in Punjab is the often-highlighted scene in the movies, the article notes-

*“In addition to this problematic mindset, the Punjabi hegemonic masculinity also endorses a certain body shape. Examples of such regressive films are countless. For instance, a certain Punjabi film titled **Naughty Jatts** has scenes where the body shape of a character is compared to that of a ‘gainda’ (rhinoceros). A few additional examples might reveal a number of toxic qualities of hegemonic masculinity that Punjabi men exhibit. These could be like having a ‘gym body’, being the ‘owner of his wife’ and stripping the woman of her sexuality to an extent that a mere mention of her name shall be regarded as an act of debauchery.”* The popularity of masculinity in Punjab in the modern urban based lifestyle is a contribution of generational socialisation of a physical culture typical to Punjab inherent in Khalsa College Culture which has historic contribution in the inculcation of this genre of masculinity. The hegemonic masculinity of Punjabi Jatt is a social construct that was accumulated and ingrained under the colonial administration which preferred a certain type physical fitness to prepare them for military recruitment right from the beginning of the college in making it a part of the secondary socialisation process of the adulthood in Punjab in within the military landscape of India. Michael Philipp Brunner (Brunner, 2018)^{cliii} refers to this colonial scheme of masculine cultivation as “a robust transnational discourse on ‘scientific’ physical culture” which took over the paradigm of scientific outlook and biopolitics during the colonial era in the ground of Khalsa College. Despite the largely British design of non-national scheme of physical education, Khalsa college remained at the centre of growing Sikh communalism and nationalist fervour amongst the youth. The college successfully reengineered the physical culture discourse and reproduced a national and non-imperial physical culture and generated a

collective Punjabi masculine body (Brunner, 2018). Michael Phillip Brunner argues that the British sports affairs in Khalsa College was at the helm of college management to advance and assert national and communal objectives (Brunner, 2018). The biopolitics of manly-games in the college was the synthesis of the British taming through sports scheme for disciplining and socialising youth in the manners of the British Army which was tractional from the history of Sikh chivalry and warrior ethos, a deliberate fabrication for the self-discernment of Sikh masculinity and manliness against the effeminate and the feeble Hindu. Michael Brunner concludes that the management authorities were convinced that for the formation of Sikh identity and specially the one immersed in Khalsa, the neo-Sikhs, was important goal to achieve for the realisation of the goal of asserting and safeguarding the Sikh identity against amalgamation with the permeable Hindu identity. The college forged strong relations with the civil-military authorities under the British rule to keep up with the weaponization and military training required to stay afloat and distinct with masculinity as the defining thread between the other Punjab and the Jatt Punjab. The college has been quick to implement changes in the physical education curriculum, for instance in 1920, when the Punjab Department of Education floated some innovative Physical education curriculum, the college implemented the curriculum without delaying. Although the idea that was the guiding force for the ideologues and figures behind the rise of the Khalsa college was inspired from the YMCA, that is, Young Men Christian Association (Brunner, 2018). Apart from the military type games for nurturing military styled physical attributes, Khalsa college was adopted British manly games, like hockey, football and cricket, it is precisely for this reason that these games mustered good popularity and players around them in Punjab, even after independence, these games focussed teaching discipline, sportsmanship and manliness with loyalty to the Victorian overlordship. The games ethics reproduced the Victorian and Edwardian ethical prescription and helped them in the solidification of Sikh martial race identity, martial race discourse described the Sikhs as manly and also amalgamated the Khalsa order^{cliv}. The magnate the college became, could be witnessed by the fact that the college enrolled a number of students belonging to the families serving in the military as well as zamindars of Jatt caste^{clv}. Sports took a good shoot-up in the state and it went on to produce and snatch some good medals even the early days of its formation. According to the Annual Report of the Khalsa College^{clvi} the college faired good in sports and became serial winners in many sports' competition. The sports ethos which was often physical and required sound body to fair good in military and sports became relaxed with the socioeconomic changes that whirled in Punjab in the days post-green revolution. the prosperity was marked by the increasing number of tractors in Punjab on which the Jats will

infuse much of their pride. As noted by Paramjit Singh green revolution brought capitalisation of agriculture, the most important element that comprised this capitalisation was the introduction of mechanisation in cultivation accompanied by the huge number of tractors. Tractors covered the cultural landscape as well as genderscape of Punjab, a new strand and became the defining element of Jat hegemonic masculinity regenerated by the forces of green revolution. The sale of tractors alone in Punjab in during year 1970-71, totalled around 20,000, that is more than 20% of the country's total tractor population. Apart from economic asset in farming tractors have successfully intruded into the socio-cultural sphere of life and have acquired for themselves a mark of status symbol. A must in dowry demands for the bride side and a prerequisite for any click showcasing his mustered wealth from farming alone. More than an agricultural equipment, tractors are the new style statements and determine individuals' position within the social ladder in Punjab. The state has over-mechanisation of farming that is leading to unsustainable agricultural practice. The reports of sale of the year 2015 concludes that the state has around 18% of the total tractors in the country, every year an estimated 30,000 tractors are added to Punjab^{clvii}. Due to excessive sale of tractors in the state and the resultant underutilisation the state has witnessed wear and tear of this asset alone. Even during the insurgency period, a terrorist will vouch for buying tractors among other things as his condition improved dramatically after joining the movement which was a holy war in the beginning but deteriorated to extortion kidnapping and killing innocents in the end (Bal, 2005)^{clviii}. The vicious cycle of debt has also bought farmers in Punjab at the foot of banks and money lending circle. To get away from this loop of misery farmers have resorted to buying and selling tractors in the tractor mandis aka weekend mandis^{clix}, in a recent trend, after buying a tractor at the price of 6 lakh farmers sell them at the mandir for 5-5.5 lakh to repay the loan or the debt^{clx} but the return is often unsatisfactory, the reason behind the underutilisation and the compulsion to sell back the tractors is for the fact that tractors require 1000 hours of running in a year, but people in Punjab with small landholdings could not put the tractor to use for more than 200-300 hours, plus the high maintenance cost often becomes a burden for the farmer. The resale of the tractors in the state of Punjab has become a new magnate for farmers from other who get to buy tractors of less price and underutilised tractors in good condition. Equally disturbing is the increasing Gun culture amongst youth in Punjab and its rural areas, S.S Gill (Gill, 2013)^{clxi} writing on this issue in 2013, traces the origins of this culture in during the time of insurgency when personal security of prosperous and industrious Sikhs and non-Sikhs of Punjab was at risk due to the insurgent groups demanding money to keep the movement for separate Khalistan keep running and afloat. In his view culture of armed guards and rash driving is a legacy of the

days of insurgency in Punjab, it was the insurgency and the risk to life that it posed that government allowed individuals to possess guns as well as armed security guards or the gunmen, who would protect the VIPs. till the day politicians travelling by road would often use high speed vehicles, this continues even today even after the end of the insurgency 20 years back in 1993. Escort party would clear the way by using siren and lathis making it a status symbol to amass and possess state and its assets for personal use in the state, it is in this process that many politicians use to jump red light making it their display of power and showing to the youth about the uselessness of the red-light traffic signal, it is worth noticing that jumping the red light is symbolical of the power over the police functionaries and the state authorities to evade punitive tickets or the traffic police challan. Even the exchequer to these expenses borne by the state. S.S Gill (Gill, 2013) refers to this rupture giving rise to the Gun culture a result of the inevitable collapse of the civil-political machinery at the disposal of the bureau-legislative apparatuses of authority-

“The way in which electoral support is mobilised and the manner in which the political leadership has projected its power have promoted a gun culture in the state. Popular folk songs today portray Jat or Punjabi youths dancing with guns and enjoying alcohol, and they are played in buses plying in the state”

In a bizarre turn of carelessness, the state police admitted in the year 2016 before the information commission that they have sold Guns to VIPs without proper threat assessment, it clearly dispels the deplorable state of affairs in the state regarding the management of the state owned and managed assets. The police

Most number of guns licenses are allocated in the Gurdaspur district of Punjab, followed by Bathinda, Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Patiala and Amritsar (Gill, 2013). The latest report in this regard by *Tribune* reports that the state has 5 lakh gun license holders out of the 2.6-million-gun holders in the entire country^{clxiii} which is more than the data of the year 2013 cited by S.S Gill in his report referring to a 2013 report by *Tribune* which contains data by the on the Gun license holders in the state numbering round 3,25,000, an increase of 53% since 2013, this data excludes the guns in the possession of Armed forces as well as the state police forces which numbers around, interestingly S.S Gill notes that the numbers of Guns in possession of individuals is often more than one on single license, that is the data of 3,25,000 is still inaccurate and may be the number of weapon in private possession is triple fold the official data as the guns in possession of the criminal groups and members of the insurgent groups who have been inactive since a long time but still possess a huge cache of arms in their disposal at undisclosed locations. The report further cites data from the NCRB that the use of legal weapon

for crime is only 14% while the rest of the crime by the criminals and gangs account for the highest number, that is, a whopping 85% of the crimes in the country^{clxiii}. Data in this regard related to the state of Punjab is itself refutes this claim, an NCRB data shows that in a total of 48 murders in the state by using firearms, 22 murders were committed using legal firearms. The city of Ferozepur has emerged as the centre of all the illegal guns, which lies at India's international borders with Punjab^{clxiv}. Brandishing guns at the marriage parties and in during elections to hijack voting and letting the favourable parties win in the some strategically important seats in the new normal in Punjab. The helplessness of the police can be understood by the fact that the state has placed the transfer and posting of police personnel in the state under the in charge of the constituency rather than the senior superintendent of police who was earlier entrusted with the authority to do so (Gill, 2013), it is precisely because of this that the state has seen rising cases of unwarranted and unethical use and abuse of the guns facilitated by the politicised state police. S.S Gill notes that the pervasion of this Gun culture has affected the performance of the state machinery as it is contradictory to the very operationality of the decentralised governance, the culture has taken toll on the tax collection in the state which has pushed the state into an economic sinkhole, as the lower-level officials are targets of the widespread crime in the state. The electoral process has promoted the dereliction of duty and power at the disposal of the government officials and has given space to the politician-petty criminal nexus where winning elections has become more important as the employment status in the state has plunged down to misery and becoming politician with the help of nexus garners far more revenue than any employment offered by the state or the industry which does not provides to amass the assets of the state at personal disposal. The use of tractors and guns is not alone pushing the state into the sinkhole of social plague, together with tractors and guns it was also the unregulated and unscientific use of pesticides in farming to kill the pests infecting and destroying farm land that has infused Punjab's socio-cultural health with malaise and dark misery along with health-related problems caused due to the biohazardous impact of pesticides. As per a survey undertaken by the government of Punjab cited in the prestigious magazine Down to Earth which focuses on environment related problems faced in India and related politics, run by the Centre for Science and Environment, a not-for-profit public interest research and advocacy organisation based in New Delhi, the state of Punjab has 90 cases of cancer for every 1 lakh population higher than the national average of 80 per 1 lakh population^{clxv}, the study concludes that the region of Malwa which was already infamous as the cancer belt of the state of Punjab had 107 cancer patients in 1 lakh population after a screening of 2,65,000 people in all the three regions of Punjab including Majha and Doab region after the Malwa region^{clxvi}.

The state of health due to mass spread of cancer in the area has compelled government to push for taking steps in the direction in the state and out of the box solution for the malaise of cancer that has penetrated the state due to much patted Green revolution. With this view the government launched Cancer Train or the Abohar-Jodhpur Express, to help people fare them to Achary Tulsi Regional Cancer Hospital and Research Centre in Bikaner, most of the patients are the small farmer from the cotton growing region of the Punjab's cotton belt like, Mansa, Faridkot, Sangrur, Bathinda, Ferozepur, Moga and Fazilka^{clxvii}. A report in this regard in the Daily Pioneer questioned the very pride of food security, the report cites the usage data of pesticide and agrichemical which was the pre-condition of the green revolution and has destroyed the very history of organic farming in the state, the report highlights the increased toxic content in fruits, vegetables, crops and even seeds^{clxviii}. Yet again the report highlights the Malwa region as the hotbed of cancer spread in the region and infamous as the cancer belt of the country. Although Tata Medical Healthcare Director Anil D Cruz contradicts the reports of Punjab being the cancer belt of India and debunks it while calling it a myth, for him Punjab's cancerous tag is literature in making for politics. Dr Anil Cruz is of the view that calling Punjab a cancer belt" is provocative and incorrect given that there are similar number of cases of 100-110 on a population of 1,00,000 in every other state of the country, which as per him is on the national average. On a very same note, another TMH expert Rajesh Dikshit argues that-

"The kinds of cancer prevalent in the area are similar to the ones common across other parts of the country. The most common cancer prevalent in Punjab is that of oesophagus, followed by breast and cervical cancer. These are directly related to the faulty lifestyle and caused by smoking, consumption of alcohol, obesity and late-age marriages. A high dose of pesticides and fertilisers leads to lymphoma cancer (that affects the immune system) and that of uranium causes leukaemia or brain tumour. There is nothing abnormal about the number and kinds of cancer prevalent in Punjab^{clxix}"

Blaming it on the poor maintenance of case registry, Dr Anil D Cruz outlines the state's lack of infrastructure for registering its cases in within the framework of the state's own institutional apparatus and rather than relying on the cross-sectional studies and data for comparative model. In his words-

"Punjab's poor maintenance of a cancer registry". "So, when we set up a hospital in Sangrur, we concluded that there is nothing to panic about. The cases are on a par with the average number of cases reported from across the country^{clxx}."

On being asked about the disturbing figures of patients of cancer in Malwa and districts of Sangrur and Bathinda, Dr Anil D Cruz states that there is need for a data on the state level comparing the no of cases from the population size of the state. On the studies relating to the high no of pesticides being used in the food and agrichemicals increasing in the food content leading to carcinogenic food intake, Dr Anil points out that-

“Those were cross-sectional surveys, which give information on incidence as well as prevalent cases and hence the number observed will always be more. The cancer atlas, which is based on histopathology records only, is not the right way to assess the burden of cancer. The most appropriate study design is a Population Based Cancer Registry^{clxxi}”.

The statement made points out of the lack of institutional synthesis on the study of cancer in the state and the related requirement to categorise reports in order to finalise and facilitate the requisite measure for the eradication of the malaise. In the statement, it comes out that the state has been dealing with the problem with a set of solution hitting where the problem does not lie. One cannot deny the role of liquor mafia and its role in deflating the state from acknowledging the issue of the overdose of alcohol amongst the general populace and the youth which might have led to the problem at this level. One cannot deny that the modernity has hit the state and its social fabric at the turn of the time when the state and its institutional apparatuses were not evolved in light of the industrial advancement and the required synthesis to extricate the real underlying issue with the state and the society facing the onslaught of the agents of modernity. It is worth noticing that Samuel Huntington in his seminal work (Huntington, 1968)^{clxxii} asserts that it is the modernisation of the society that induces political instability given that politics is no independent of the social plane of action. Huntington convincingly proposes that the level of economic development in a society is directly proportional to the political stability in the concerned society, that is, political stability is in direct relation to the degree of the permeation of modernity. He outlines that the poor nations face far more degree of violence than the rich nations, because of the undercurrent enigma to become rich. He postulates that modernity is linked to stability and may induce instability. Huntington is of the view that -

“Developing nations must expect a rather high level of political disturbance for some time and very poor nations should expect an increase rather than a decrease of domestic violence in the near future (Huntington, 1968)”

The percolation of these new forms of cultures altered the cultural settings in the rural Punjab, the remote areas of Punjab started imitating the Chandigarh lifestyle and the masculine view

of male personality. The tractors and imported Guns became the symbol of Punjabi male rural masculinity. The brandishing of swords and horses set in motion since the late medieval times as a sign of Sikh male chivalry and honour, gradually were replaced by the modern machines and products of industrial age. The rural masculinity which acquired for itself the logo of Punjab's social expression. The rural Punjab has been a centre of dialogical process of cultural exchange, sometimes parochialization of culture down the social stratification and also upward in the strata or the process of universalisation, but to say that this follows such a process straight away will be over generalization given that rural Punjab is constituted of myriads of caste compositions, it will be an extrapolation to say that rural Punjab imitates the elite urban Punjabi society, since the pride and honour of Punjabi society which has been glamourised as an agricultural society has its locus situated in rural Punjab which allows the agricultural labour to take place. But to an extent the urban Punjab has been a centre of upper caste Sikhs who have built for themselves the Greater tradition which has been spreading downward into the little tradition of Punjabi village society. It is in this context we can situate much of the cultural and lifestyle changes in the society of Punjab. The urban Punjabi society has to borrow much from the rural Punjab and also that rural Punjab takes what percolates from the urban Punjab. Much like the Brahminical concept of Sanskritization conceptualised by M.N Srinivas, the upper caste Jatt Sikhs deter every act of imitation of their life style by the lower caste Sikhs of Punjab, by restricting their entry into the lavishly decorated Gurudwaras of the upper castes Sikhs. Prof Surinder Singh Jodhka interjects that in some Gurudwaras Dalits were denied entry in the Gurudwaras and many were deprived of the didactic rituals of being a Sikh like *Anand Karaj* and *Antim Ardas*. Prof Jodhka argues that this has the potential to create rift among the rural masses of Punjab. Rural Punjab which epitomised the masculine culture of Punjab amalgamated the caste distinction of Punjabi society together with the rural agrarian masculinity and historical chivalry and bravery engrained in the Sikh folklores and literature by the priestly class and the primogenitor or the intellectual fountainheads of the caste groups. Among the three ills identified by three Sikh organisations are drug addiction, among youth, degradation of the youth and degradation of the environment. These objects exemplify the conspicuous consumption, mostly observable in the marriage and other religious-ritual occasions and celebrations as a means to show the socio-cultural capital. The Sants and Deras has been argued have been historically a focal social agency in Durkheimian term has an acknowledgement of the same within Punjab religious lake, Prof Jodhka reproduces that Punjab's historical pattern of having footloose religious cults creating the religious landscape of Punjab-

“Babas, sants, gurus, peers and their deras have been an important part of the religious landscape of Punjab for a long time. As institutions of popular or folk religion outside the more organized structures such as mosques and temples, they represented the enchanted universe of premodern religiosity. It was perhaps through these rather loose and open structures of faith traditions that the Sikh Gurus were able to communicate their message to the wider society of the region^{clxxiii}.”

The Deras express the same pervasive masculinity of rural Punjab which celebrates the masculine body as the mark of honour and chivalry of medieval times internalised by the society of Punjab historically. Deras have become the new locus of masculinity given that people visit these centres for the fulfilment of *mannat*, that is, *desire*, desire for male child. The Deras keep intact the masculine internalisation of values and hence continue to muster the following and legitimacy^{clxxiv}.

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters clearly demonstrate the historicism of drug addiction in Punjab. The fading insurgency left its mark on the fabric of innocence of the people of Punjab. The effect of partition already had left its pushover effect on the masses, that is, a population already disturbed by the wounds of partition waiting to be scratched or bruised over again by the percolation of further issues that widened the gap between state and society and has amassed itself in the whirl of dominos effects of injuries. The historicism has to play its own role in scratching the wounds of the historical trauma of Punjab in dealing with violence inflicted on the psyche which has generated a mass neuroticism or neurosis, also known as, emotional stability, these effects have produced a demand for drug consumption on the psycho-psychological level, in common or layman language, it created a demand for the drug or a market for the consumption of Drug, that ranged directly from sociological to biological and returning again to the sociological influence, which we have seen and identified as the consequences or repercussions on the society, result of the mass consumption of drugs. The historical and the succeeding sociological causes clearly establish the multiple causes of the widespread drug consumption clearly in line with Weber's multicausality of social phenomenon. The multi-causality of Drug addiction has also multiplied effects which we have investigated in the preceding chapters over the functioning and implementation of state and its policies, the economic consequences and over the lifestyle of the people which has been drastically altered in the course of time due to prolonged exposure to symptoms of injuries of past carried on till present. The economic consequences over the state and its financial capability had serious repercussions on the patterns of wealth distribution through welfare programmes of the state government considerable duress has been experienced by the state government in balancing its policies amidst the reverberating social conflict in the state due to the drug abuse and its social malaise with its obvious agrarian welfare policies, these effects have trickled down in to the class distribution pattern in the state, many families have faced the loss of livelihood and the gap between the classes have widened in the face of loss life or livelihood due to costly treatment or the symptoms which deride the individuals of their income. Not only drug consumption has become an issue but also over addiction, drug peddling and overt sale of alcohol has surfaced as a major issue within the cultural landscape of the state. Addiction of liquor and substance abuse has percolated into all the spheres of life in the state ranging from cultural appearances of the state to family and process of socialisation being affected by the intrusion of media industry which openly supports the alcohol addiction

and substance abuse by glamourising it. The addiction in the state is also intersectional to other factors like caste and status groups in the state although the line between status and caste in India is negligible given that Weber's idea of status group was influenced from caste in India which was less an economic category and more a social category which depended upon the amount of social prestige offered to a group or community in a society. The Jat landowning caste groups have successfully monopolised the resources of the state and its political economy. Numerical preponderance and landownership of the Jats has yielded them the capability to hegemonize the state apparatuses and its offices of power as well the cultural industry or media into juxtaposing the Jat subculture over the culture of Punjab which has made Jat Culture synonymous with Punjab culture although it is undeniably also true for Haryana. With landownership and cultural hegemony, the Jats have been successful in manipulating the cultural landscape in their own favour. The electoral politics has provided the community with successful penetration into the political rule which has been snatched by the community in within the Geo-cultural landscape through easy assertion of numerical superiority compared to battlefield times in the region by the community during the late medieval times. Factors of Anomie and Alienation have become apparent in the state, as both these conditions share a distinction from the state of reference. Anomie is an objective condition but Alienation although generates through the favourable conditions in the society itself is a subjective state of mind. Course to drug addiction reflects a state of alienation in a considerable size of population which feels rejected from the accepted norms of life in the society due to class difference or divide and the anomic condition of life is resultant due to the sudden transition from a culturally overloaded space into present day Punjab which has lost its cultural assertion against the forces of modernity and its consequential fall of mechanical solidarity since the late medieval time or early/pr modern state of life which also been anomic given the cultural barriers that kept check on the individual hedonism and integrated the individual in the community through cultural nodes. Unintended consequences of modernity were evidenced in the results of green revolution which only worsened the fabric of social solidarity in Punjab. Cases of suicide further support and summarise the changes due to onset of Green revolution which broke the traditional client and patron relationship between the upper caste landowners and the lower caste agriculturalist relation from patronage to exploitation, best indicated in the study of Jan Breman (1974). The reason being the commercialisation of agriculture and the thrust for surplus production which broke the pre-modern world order of Punjab. Religious clashes with Hindus that ran along the ethnolinguistic lines favoured the call for complete segregation of Punjab from integration with the Indian politico-administrative complex which

then and now creates fissures in the apparatuses of administration evidenced in the elimination and arrest of bureaucrats in cahoots with Drug peddlers and suppliers. Toxic masculinity in the youth subcultures has now been featured in media industry sometimes as evidence and sometimes for glamourisation. The Deras have appeared on the scene of Punjab as a counter culture to the dominant Jat culture which has now hegemonized the Punjabi culture inside out and offers an alternative social prestige and honour to the otherwise marginalised communities and depressed classes of Punjab. The Deras have become alternative source of social prestige for they are also operational in Durkheimian sense as a focal socialising agency to offer the social prestige through subversive course to the numerical and cultural envelop of Jats. The appearance of Deras as a point of consolidation and to revive the Punjabi culture and identity which has historically been a product of syncretism of faiths shared in the geoclimatic landscape of Punjab is analogous to the historical situation and culture of Punjab to offer asylum to those who sought escape from the violence in the name of faith and a refuge to the travellers who wondered to seek route or way to the plains or the heart of Indo-Gangetic plains. Deras have become a new ground of electoral politics to source in favour and numbers which proves Weber's understanding of Political parties being cross sectional with class and status. One of the reasons being that Deras have also become a centre for drug deaddiction which requires the socialisation of the victims otherwise seen as criminals. The congregation offers socialisation of the victims who have either lost their family or the support of the family. The rupture of the family system in Punjab due to the alienation of the victim from the society and also for the fact that many a times the entire family is exposed to addiction in such case the loss and lack of socialisation becomes impossible in such a case Deras have retrieved the ground of social solidarity in Punjab. Deras have appeared as the new face of Civil society in Punjab as Andre Beteille established caste as the civil society in India. The effects of Drug addiction have its discriminating effect running not just along the class division but also along the Rural-Urban divide which is the subject matter of the study. The division of Rural-Urban divide is analogous to the class division indicated in the patterns of the type of substance used for addiction. Such exposure is only possible for the fact that Punjab is situated along the most dangerous Opium region infamously known as the Golden Crescent comprised of Iran and Afghanistan. The ignorance of the travails or the sufferings of women has been another reason behind the failure of the programmes to counter drug menace. The fear of social stigmatisation has been the prime reason why despite efforts the circulation and growth of Opium consumption has not been arrested. The degradation of the status of women is also witnessed in their depiction in the media industry as subservient to male. The depiction of the women of

Punjab as delicate and male's body as a result of agrarian hardship has only ignored the contribution of women in the agriculture. The carcinogenic underground water and the widespread alcoholic addiction has only added to the plight of the people even studies in this respect have been silent in recording the plight women who have been the silent victims of all the social upheaval and results of shabby rehabilitation policies of the state. Effects of cross border and international drug trafficking networks have been the prime reason behind the soaring Drug addiction in the state. Less talked upon is the issue of Alcohol consumption which has multiplied the effects of addiction in the state. As liquor consumption has also been highlighted as a source of cancer in the state. The ethnolinguistics violence in the state which slowly precipitated with religious schisms in the state vis a vis against Hindus represented by Arya Samaj comprising mostly of occupational caste groups like barbers and Panwari caste who sell Bidi, both, the occupation and the commodity is heretical to the fundamental doctrinal adherence in Sikhism. Arya Samaj and its missionary zeal and its audacity to give to the caste groups the pride and prestige which they lost under the Sikhs provoked the Sikhs who targeted the innocent Hindu minority of the state and boiled the cauldron of religious extremism in the state. The resolution of conflict requires restoration of pride and prestige and preservation of distinct identity under state patronage and protection which was always delayed and subsequent governments have failed to grant one. The separation of Haryana and Punjab helped preserve the linguistic identity of Punjab and also the non-Sikh dominated region was rescued from being amalgamated under the Punjabiya umbrella. The linguistics divide of the state and the analogous religious subscription proved to be vicious for the state and its political spectrum. The religious adherence ran parallel to the scriptural divide between the Sikhs and Hindus represented in numerical force by the Arya Samaj, both whom draw categorical, situational inspiration from the Vedic corpus and have hermeneutic differences on the interpretation of the Vedas. A significant change has been recorded in the response of the state which earlier apprehended victims of drug addiction and blamed as well stigmatised them as criminals has now softened its approach with more sociological and psychological studies appearing on the issue hinting the state to the natural susceptibility of the people towards drug addiction. Although the study is primarily based on the literature available in the public domain which clearly speaks that there is a requirement of more studies to be undertaken in this respect to gather a clearer picture of the situation and investigate into the causes of the situation with which Punjab or Rural Punjab per se is identified with. Empirical work for estimation of the present status of addiction in the state will be a new avenue for required research work further

needed. And it is here that I rest my enquiry into the causes and effects of drug addiction in rural Punjab.

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